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THE Anti-Monopolist AND

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL OPERATIVE ANTI-BREAD TAX ASSOCIATION.

"THE BREAD OF THE NEEDY IS HIS LIFE; HE THAT DEFRAUDETH HIM THEREOF, IS A MAN OF BLOOD!"—Eccles. XXIV. 21.

[No. 1.] [Vol. I.]

MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1841.

For Subscribers.

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TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

FELLOW WORKMEN,

"For a nation to love freedom, it is sufficient that she knows it; and for her to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it." These ever-memorable words will well serve for the motto of our first address to you. We know that you can appreciate the advantages of unfettered industry from having, with ourselves, groaned beneath the burden of a fettered and restricted commerce; from having seen by the operation of monopoly and wrong, the rich grow richer, more powerful, more tyrannical, and the labouring poor become poorer, more abject, more enslaved. The horrors by which you are surrounded, the knowledge that despite the daily toil of millions of industrious men, whose labour produces many times more clothing and other useful articles than they could consume, much, very much, more than they do consume, they are unable to obtain for their suffering children, for their care-worn wives, a sufficient supply of food, even of the plainest kind.—the perpetual toil, the perpetual misery, poverty, destitution, which you endure; the impossibility of duly cultivating the physical and mental energies with which, for wise purposes, Providence has gifted you, or of calling forth the nascent powers of those who must take your places in the great frame work of society, and by their industry and ability sustain, or, by their indolence and want of capacity, allow to pass away, the national greatness and glory—all that you see, all that you suffer, must force upon you the conviction, that as the present system causes you to be overworked, underfed, ignorant and enslaved, so would its abolition allow the due reward of industry to flow to the labourer, reduce the time necessary to produce the means of livelihood, and thus give you the power to do away with ignorance and slavery for ever, and to rear in their stead the sacred temple of human progress in virtue, knowledge and happiness.

Knowing the evils from which you suffer, you naturally pant for their removal. You know the curse of slavery, and you ardently love the blessings of freedom. We wish, by uniting you more closely with us in the advocacy of justice to the labouring classes, to perfect the organization of the bees; to prepare them for the great moral battle about

rigorously to be waged with the *drones* of the hive: a conflict in which we can alone be victorious by a union and mutual confidence worthy the eternal justice of our cause.

The more we reflect upon the dreadful blight which monopoly has brought upon the great masses of our country; first, physically, then mentally, and last, morally; causing human invention, the result of the combined energies of the mightiest minds, thrown with the most lavish benevolence into the teeming lap of the nation's advancement, to re-act for evil upon those whose good it was given to produce; and actually, while adorning the great idlers with a more than eastern magnificence, leaving the industrious and toiling many, shivering in rags; the more will the injustice of our oppressors, and the needless sufferings of the oppressed, appear before us. New vistas will open to us, showing the useful arts, carried to perfection by the skill of our artizans and manufacturers, in the foreground, ready to bless pre-eminently the people in whose bosom useful enterprise is fostered; lordly luxury, extravagance and tyranny, withering and destroying the children of toil, in the middle of the picture; and the means of every reasonable enjoyment as the reward of moderate labour, in the distance;—from all participation in which the people are driven by the demon of monopoly armed with the flaming sword of robbery and wrong.

We desire, in addition to making our journal the vehicle of communication and of consultation, from and by one portion of our brethren to another, and the repository of the dreadful history of a people's woes, also to expose in it the details of the baneful operations of restricted commerce; and to prove by original articles, written by working men, that in a commercial country no hope can be entertained of the due reward of labour, of the full appreciation of its usefulness, of the legitimate honour naturally belonging to "hard work" being paid, by all, to those who exercise it, of the elevation of the great "substratum" of society; and the consequent equalization of ranks, and destruction of factious titles and honours, *whatever the political constitution of the country*, until EVERY MONOPOLY IS TOTALLY ABOLISHED, AND COMMERCE BETWEEN NATION AND NATION, CONTINENT AND CONTINENT, CLIMATE AND CLIMATE, MAN AND MAN, THE WANTS OF ONE PART OF THE WORLD AND THE SURPLUS PRODUCE OF ANOTHER BE FREE AND UNSHACKLED AS THE WINDS OF HEAVEN.

The total destruction of all monopolies; the dethronement of lordly idleness, and the installation of national industry in the high places of public estimation, the promotion of the general happiness; the moral, mental and physical progression of the whole human race, are the ends which our labours have in

view. The union of the masses, strengthened by the conciliation and invited co-operation of the lovers of justice in all classes, to create one grand focus of moral, peaceful, legal agitation, are the means for achieving the glorious industrial victory. We call upon every hard-handed working man in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, actively to co-operate with us in so just and holy a cause.

On behalf of the National Operative
Anti-Bread Tax Association,

THE EDITOR.

WHAT ARE THE STARVING LABOURERS TO DO?

Seriously we entreat the attention of all classes to this all-important question. At this moment, thousands of our fellow workmen, of the fellow creatures of the common family, beings possessing immortal souls; born for high and noble ends, are literally dying in the midst of plenty, although willing to labour for the scantiest remuneration.

Within the circle of our own individual knowledge there are, in two districts of Manchester alone, upwards of two thousand men wholly destitute of the means of livelihood.

These men are walking in little knots up and down our streets with despair upon their spectre-like countenances and bitter hatred to their oppressors, we fear, strengthening in their raging breasts.

Why not go to the workhouse? it may be said.

FIRST, Because in nine cases out ten they have no settlement.

SECOND, Because by going there they consider they undergo imprisonment for the crime of poverty; a crime not of their own voluntary perpetration, but of the monopolist's infliction.

What must these men do? Must they die quietly in our streets? They ought to live, to be happy. Must they beg from their more wealthy neighbours? alas! they, too, are sinking. Must they steal? no it would be a crime. What then are they to do? Let us consider a little.

They are starving in consequence of the splendid profusion of the land-owning monopolists. The monopolists around Manchester, receive double rents as the price of the miseries of the poor. We hear the landowners are generous, we will test their generosity.

Thomas Trafford, esq., a bread taxer, residing at Trafford, two miles from Manchester, gains about £20,000 a year by the starvation of the people.

Lord Frances Egerton, residing at Worsley, seven miles from this town, gains much above £50,000 by robbing the Bread eaters.

Lord Stamford, who lives at Dunham, ten miles off, gains by the same means, £8,000 a year.

Wilbraham Egerton, Esq., of Tatton, fifteen miles distant, about £25,000.

The Earl of Wilton, Heaton Park, three miles from the town, about £15,000.

Total gains, per annum, of the five "generous Bread Taxers" by the sufferings of the masses £118,000.

Let the starving two thousand make personal application to each of these men for assistance, and let them offer to dig over and sow with grain their spacious parks and pleasure grounds, as the only means they have of recompensing the landowners for their charity.

By this plan the landowners will be no worse; the poor men now starving will be fed, and Lord Francis Egerton will be relieved of the necessity of arming his tenants, to put down the starving weavers who may rise and demand the food they are unable to purchase.



AUGUST 16th. 1841

Reader! exactly 22 years ago, we witnessed the bloody tragedy perpetrated by a drunken yeomanry on the plundered labourers of Lancashire gathered together in tens of thousands upon St. Peter's Field, there to exercise a constitutional right, that of petitioning. For what? FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AND A REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS. We dare not allow ourselves to comment upon the awful tragedy which abruptly terminated that day's proceedings; suffice it to say, *that the starving petitioners for BREAD were answered by the sharpened steel of the yeoman's sabre; and even children and women were maimed by the swords of the bread taxers' hirelings.*

The expiring victims of despotic cruelty bequeathed, with their dying breath, a legacy to the latest posterity. Reader! do you know what it was? *It was their sacred cause,—the cause of justice to the labouring classes.* The remembrance of the martyrs in the people's cause, recalls to us the holy trust in which we partake. We dedicate our Journal to their memory; and we solemnly pledge ourselves, before the world, never to lay down our pen, nor still our tongue, until the justice sought in vain at Peterloo, is awarded to the people of Great Britain and Ireland.

ADDRESS OF THE YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.

YOUNG MEN,

A righteous and patriotic cause demands our assistance. Our Manufactures paralysed, our Commerce oppressed, the finances of the country embarrassed, proclaim a crisis too serious to be trifled with. Our country groans under the oppression of Monopoly! A momentous conflict has begun. Shall we stand idly by?

During the last fifty years our country has increased in population, in wealth, and in national resources in a degree unparalleled in the annals of History. Agriculture has improved, and the value of land has increased in an unprecedented ratio. To the rise and progress of Manufactures, and of the industrial arts, aided by modern science, must this increase be attributed. Without our manufactures, agriculture, in its present extent, could not subsist a single day; and without their aid, the fertile plains of England would recur to pristine rudeness. Agriculture and Manufactures united by Commerce—such is the law of God and nature! What God hath joined let no man put asunder.

To embarrass or impede the extension of our manufactures and commerce is a national suicide—as insane in its character, as it must be awful in its results. The spell of our greatness would be broken, and a starved population and ruined capital would indicate to the nations of the earth the wreck of former prosperity and the beacon of future ages. Yet such is the prospect which now threatens us! A wicked and unjust spirit of monopoly pervades our commercial legislation, and already does the rapid increase of poverty and crime point to the abyss which yawns upon us.

We hold that all government, wherever placed, or by whomsoever wielded, is a sacred duty held in trust for the happiness of all; and that it is unjust, as well as impolitic, to interfere, in any degree, with the liberty or property of the subject, for the exclusive benefit of a

class. But monopoly denies to us the liberty of frequenting the cheapest market for the supply of our wants, and of exercising our industry in the most profitable manner. It thus robs us of the wealth which we are compelled to pay in the shape of increased price to the monopolist, and prevents the further creation of an indefinite amount of wealth which would otherwise be produced, and which would be a fresh guarantee of Peace and Plenty to Mankind. It is equivalent to the extension of the Pension List to the whole body of monopolists, or to the annual destruction, by fire or wreck, of the whole amount of wealth thus lost to the nation. Some faint idea may be formed of the extent of this loss when we state, on no less an authority than that of John Deacon Hume, one of the secretaries of the Board of Trade, that from one monopoly alone, viz., the corn and provision laws, the direct annual loss is estimated at no less than THIRTY-SIX MILLIONS per annum!*

Monopoly, stripped of the sophistry in which self-interested advocates have disguised it, means the spoliation of the Many, whose wealth has been accumulated by *industry*, for the exclusive benefit of a class whose wealth is increased *without industry*. It is thus a national premium upon Idleness and its attendant vices, and is one of the principal causes of the contempt with which the industrial class is too frequently regarded. There are not, however, wanting those who attempt to justify monopoly under the plea of protection; but if protection by Act of Parliament be of any pecuniary benefit, such benefit must be obtained at the expense of some other party. "Protection" is but a smoother name for robbery, and is the policy of the sharper who puts his hands into his neighbours pockets for the "protection" of his own interests.

That "Honesty is the best Policy" is a maxim as true of nations as it is of individuals; and the disastrous re-action of monopolies upon the very interests they were intended to *protect*, is an instructive warning to us for our future guidance. Not a single branch of industry but labours under the general depression; not a market but is glutted with our products. Monopoly refuses us the liberty of exchanging them for the products of other climes, and we are now famishing in the midst of Plenty—the Laughing-stock of nations—and this for the especial benefit of a few powerful monopolists!

But this supremacy of monopoly must not, shall not last! As young men, struggling for the enjoyment of a profitable and honourable subsistence, we feel that we have far too deep a stake in our country's prosperity to remain idle or indifferent spectators. The increasing scarcity of situations, the small remuneration for talent and industry, and the increasing embarrassments of our employers, prove how greatly our own interests are at stake, and how deeply we are involved in the common weal. Yet, powerful as these considerations may be, addressing themselves, as they do, to our private interests, we are not insensible to motives of a yet higher character.

The obstruction which monopoly opposes to the onward progress of Humanity is a consideration pregnant with interest in the estimation of those who watch with anxiety the ameliorating influence of civilization, and who love to cherish high hopes for the future destinies of our species.

The past history of our race proclaims the supremacy of force, the selfishness of empire, and the subjugation of mankind, as the prevail-

* See Report on Import Duties, published by J. Gadsby, Newall's Buildings.

ing aspects of society. But the rise and progress of the industrial arts, and the extension of a beneficent Commerce, indicate, in terms too plain to be misunderstood, the real Destiny of society and the existence of a new Epoch which shall substitute the ploughshare for the sword, and the loom for the battery. The cause of Industry is the cause of Humanity. Instead of the subjugation of mankind, and the devastation of the earth, let peaceful and attractive industry propose, as its highest aim, the *enrichment of all by the civilization and embellishment of the globe.*

But, if this be our aim, we must unshackle industry from the chains with which monopoly has fettered it, and we must vindicate the principle of *freedom of industry and security of property*, without which, the tide of human progress will be stayed.

The time has arrived when we are called upon to choose between the artificial interests of monopolies and the interests of humanity at large. If monopoly continue we shall witness the rise of a commercial feudalism more dreadful than the feudalism of the middle ages. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and if we tamely yield our right to freedom of industry we become the slaves of a few overgrown monopolists from whom we shall be compelled to receive a paltry pittance for our subsistence in return for our base treachery to ourselves and our fellow-creatures. The proclamation has gone forth. **WE MUST DESTROY MONOPOLY, OR MONOPOLY WILL DESTROY US!** Already have the young men of Manchester assembled to prepare for the conflict. We have established a Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association for the purpose of combining our energies more effectually in the approaching struggle. Our subscription is small, and our organization is simple. We place our reliance not so much on the extent of our funds as on the Righteousness of our Cause, and on the numbers and devotion of our fellow-members. We have to do the work ourselves, each according to his ability, whether by lecturing, by discussion, by writing for the press, by conversation, or by the distribution of tracts. Personal influence and personal energy are the weapons we depend upon for success in our cause.

The campaign has begun, and we summon to our aid every young man who, with true heart and fervent devotion to the cause of Industrial Emancipation, is anxious to make battle against the tyrant of Monopoly, and to protect the interests of himself, and of those he holds dearer than himself, from the ruin which threatens us. Manchester has taken the lead, and now calls aloud for help! Let every town, and village, and hamlet bestir itself, and send forth its youth in this glorious and peacefull crusade.

By Order of the Provisional Committee,
EDWARD HERFORD, CHAIRMAN.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ORGANIZE THE LOCAL COUNCILS.

The members of the Council will, no doubt, be aware that this committee was appointed by that part of the council elected at the general meeting, held at the Athenæum, for the purpose of *dividing the Town into Districts*, and of *organizing the District Councils.*

Meetings have now been held in all the districts, and the District Councils appointed in each, so that the General Council is now completed.

The Committee, having performed the duty for which they were appointed, have convened the General Council for the receiving this *Report*, and

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We particularly desire to make this JOURNAL the REGISTER of the PROCEEDINGS of the WORKING-MEN throughout the Empire, on the question of FREE-TRADE and the ABOLITION OF MONOPOLY, and we earnestly request the various Working-men's Associations and others interested in the cause immediately to open a CORRESPONDENCE with us. As we shall be at all times anxious to insert Reports of the Working Men's Meetings, &c. Direct to the Editor, care of James Morris, 22, Richmond-street, Portland street, Manchester.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The Manchester Council of the National Anti-Bread Tax Association, beg to inform their Friends in the Country, that they are willing to send out their Lecturer and indefatigable Agent, Mr. John Finigan, to lecture wherever a room can be procured, and the necessary expenses guaranteed.—on due application being made to Mr. James Morris, their Secretary.

THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16, 1841.

JUSTICE TO THE LABOURING CLASSES, as the means, not only of elevating their condition and of thus increasing their intelligence and happiness, but also of placing upon a permanent foundation the interests of all, is the point towards which our efforts tend. Freedom of commerce, the entire abrogation of ALL monopolies, are the channels through which, in our opinion, the stream of advancement must flow. The dethronement of monopoly will relieve us of the heavy burden of sustaining, at a yearly expense of above fifty millions of pounds, the greedy "interests" which fatten upon the vitals of labour; and it will destroy the unhealthy, artificial system of commercial monopoly which has, under the influence of the heated atmosphere of a narrowed field of enterprise, kept increasing with the increasing miseries of the people, till at last its overgrown immensity threatens not only to destroy every remnant of the happiness of the many, but also to annihilate itself.

We repeat, that we consider the natural influence of the present restricted system of trade is to force into life a few vast commercial capitalists, whose gains are wrung from the fleecings of labour; but who, injurious to society though they are, are still the consequences and not the causes of the system. How do we arrive at this conclusion? As follows: Every one will allow that monopolies limit the field of commercial enterprise: First, By loading the great consumers of food and clothing at home, the many, with oppressive burdens, and thus, to an inconceivable amount, curtailing their power to purchase, and circumscribing the home market. Secondly, By preventing all foreign trade with those countries who have nothing but the interdicted articles to give in exchange for our exports, except an indirect and wasteful traffic which may, peradventure, be advantageous to the merchant, but yet be a charge upon the community. A narrowed field of enterprise, and an increasing number of competitors makes success alone the reward of those possessing remark-

able industry, money getting talent, and great advantages of capital and connexion. Even with all these assistants, success is not the inevitable result of industry and prudence directing capital in its increase. A thousand unavoidable circumstances often intervene and dash the cup of prosperity from the lips, still moist with its delicious draught. A more powerful adventurer swells himself out into the place just vacant, to be succeeded perhaps in turn; the deadly struggle continues, the difficulties of business increase; the "large firms," aided by their capital, can buy "low," often "below prime cost," and can sell, in consequence, at prices wholly out of the power of the "smaller fry" to take. Business at this moment is getting more and more into the hands of "great pawnbrokers," and the poorer middle classes with the "lower" portion of society toil, and sweat, and groan, daily producing more, and daily receiving less.

Throw down the commercial barriers and what is the result? Markets abroad increase with the increase of our imports. At home, the demand for labour creates a better demand for its produce. The labourer consumes more and perhaps produces less: he accumulates in many cases a little capital, and rises into a "small middle class man" at once. Commerce continues to extend, and he takes a higher station. Capital increases, and the natural competition amongst capitalists brings down the reward of mere accumulation, and raises up the wages of the workman, by the desire for its investment producing competition; not for work as at present, but for workmen. A free trade distributes more equally the profits of commerce amongst the producers of wealth. DOWN, THEN, WITH EVERY MONOPOLY, WITH EVERY EVIL CONCOMITANT OF RESTRICTED COMMERCE, AND UP WITH FREE TRADE, THE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE ALMIGHTY, THE PIONEER FOR THE ONWARD MARCH OF CHRISTIANITY, THE CIVILISER OF THE WORLD, THE EQUALISER OF RANK AND CONDITION, THE MEANS OF ACHIEVING EVERY SOCIAL REFORM, NOT ONLY AMONGST OURSELVES, BUT ALSO THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

As the friends of our order, of the working classes wherever they are to be found, knowing the tyrannical inflictions heaped upon us, by the abuse of law, to be mainly owing to the undue power of the aristocracy and of wealth, WE SHALL ALWAYS BE FOUND AMONGST THE MOST ARDENT ADVOCATES OF THE DESTRUCTION, THE TOTAL, IMMEDIATE, AND UNCONDITIONAL DESTRUCTION, OF THE MONOPOLY OF POLITICAL POWER HELD BY THOSE ABOVE US; SATISFIED THAT THE INTEGRITY OF THE SOCIAL COMPACT DEMANDS THAT ALL WITHIN ITS PALE SHOULD ENJOY EQUAL PRIVILEGES AND EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.

We direct our attention to the exposure of monopoly, and to the advocacy of free trade; for these purposes we are bound together, and in our capacity of teachers of these subjects we cannot do more than express our abhorrence of exclusive legislation, and of the especial exclusion of the working classes from the councils of the state. As individuals, however, we assist, and shall continue to do so, every movement for the political enfranchisement of the people. By enlightening public opinion on the evils of monopoly, we consider, that, indirectly, we are furthering the attainment of, by increasing the desire for, political privileges. Let the press generally do as much.

THE ADDRESS
OF THE YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.

A WORD ABOUT YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

The present moment is eventful—if addresses—long and short, argumentative or declamatory—lachrymose or menacing can make it so. We have Lord John's address to the electors of London; Mr. O'Connell's hundred and one manifestoes to the constituencies of Ireland, and to the people generally; Sir Robert Peel's "exhortation" to the two hundred "esteemed and beloved friends" at Tamworth, whom he induced—after dinner 'tis true—to sit in silent complacency, while he delivered himself of his long pent up self-gratulations, for "two full hours by Shrewsbury clock." In Manchester, we have the address of the Ministers of Religion, to their co-adjutors in the kingdom at large, and the address of the Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association. The Ministers must find more exalted critics than ourselves; suffice it, that we wish them God-speed from our inmost soul. With the Young Men, however, we feel more at home, and can play "the general objector" without fear or trembling. It would be "unbusiness-like" to express entire approbation of their appeal to "Young England"—therefore we must slightly complain of the author's *Free Trade* in high sounding qualificatives and in laboured epithet. We are overwhelmed with terror at the conjured up resurrection of "pristine rudeness" overspreading our "fertile plains," with which our fears are worked upon, and at the bare mention of the "abyss which yawns upon us" we feel a dead certainty of becoming "the beacon of future ages," and the "laughing-stock of nations." Well, "momentous," "insane character," "awful results," "cause of industry;" and "glorious and peaceful crusade;" "new epoch," "civilization and embellishment of the globe," form, sometimes very pretty points of sight in the perspective of printed pages. In the hands of the tyro they increase the hideousness of the misshapen production—but wielded by such an adept, as our friend of the Anti-Monopoly Association, they serve to attract the eye of the listless reader to a perusal of the most excellent matter which they serve to embellish. The author must forgive our playful exceptions, therefore, and receive from us our sincere thanks for his able addition to the many incitives to action, thrown from the pen of genius, already possessed by the Free-traders of the North of England. To the whole of his production we direct especial attention. The following passage particularly pleases us, coming as it evidently does from a most comprehensive mind, stored with well applied information, and able not only to conceive, but also to communicate, ideas of startling originality:—

"The past history of our race proclaims the supremacy of force, the selfishness of empire, and the subjugation of mankind, as the prevailing aspect of society. But the rise and progress of the industrial arts, and the extension of a beneficent Commerce, indicate, in terms too plain to be misunderstood, the real Destiny of society and the existence of a new Epoch which shall substitute the ploughshare for the sword, and the loom for the battery. The cause of Industry is the cause of Humanity. Instead of the subjugation of mankind, and the devastation of the earth, let peaceful and attractive industry propose, as its highest aim, the enrichment of all by the civilization and embellishment of the globe."

Following out the train of thought suggested by this quotation, what a contrast does the political agitation of the present age present to the struggles for plundered rights, and the contests with barbarian oppression of a very few centuries back! Then right could only reign triumphant by the efforts of might. The eternal principles of justice were maintained at the point of the sword; and the unruly elements of their success became often the means of their speedy destruction! Now, the tongue and the pen, appealing to the general judgment, cause a concentration of individual effort which achieves and sustains, unstained by human

blood, unchequered by the lamentation of injured rectitude, mighty moral victories!

It has been often demonstrated that the speeches and writings of our patriotic townsmen have moved to action, not only the old and experienced, but the young and enthusiastic. In time of war, the aged act as counsellors and projectors—the young as the daring and energetic putters in practise of the enterprise, planned by maturer judgment. The moral campaign of agitation against monopoly has been again opened. Let our sages deliberate—let them provide for the sustenance of the army—let them fill the arsenal with stores of “deadly weapons” (i. e.) with full information upon all commercial matters, and upon the operations of every monopoly, and our lives for it, no associations will be more determined and zealous than Associations of the Young Men of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, and no particular one nearer to the post of danger and of honour than the Manchester Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association. We call upon the youthful portion of our working brethren to join this useful body and to forward its extension by all means in their power.

FREE TRADE, FEARGUS O'CONNOR AND THE FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF RECLAIMABLE ACRES.

No 1.

To Feargus O'Connor, Esq.

SIR,

After years of open espousal, or of silent permission, of the acts of the landowners of Ireland; acts which we have long denounced, you come forward, pen in hand, paternally to remonstrate with the “lords and gentlemen,” as you call them, the “bread taxers” according to our vocabulary, of Ireland, residing, Sir, some few in Ireland, some in England, but many others on the banks of the Seine, or amid the vice and profligacy of the regal capitals of the continent. You profess to be indignant at their want of feeling for the poor. You call upon them “to do justice to the people.” Eh bien! We will not dispute the honesty of your intentions. We will allow that your desire is to put down the injustice of the landowners; to emasculate them of their wrongfully obtained power over the people's liberties; to reduce them to honesty; and lastly, to “elevate the condition of the labouring classes.” Admitting this; as the voice of a large number of working men, we will calmly discuss the question, “Are the means which you propose sufficient to attain the objects in view?”

In the last century, when we exported corn and provisions to foreign countries, and when, in consequence, the prices of those articles at home were *certainly as low* as in the countries to which we exported, the money wages of the English labourers were, on the average, about two shillings per week lower than at present; those of the Irish labourers were as nearly as possible the same as they have been during the last few years. MARK THESE FACTS.

The prices of corn and provisions, on an average of the last ten years, reckoning the extraordinary low prices of 1835-6, remember, in the list, in England and Ireland, have been above thirty per cent. higher than in the countries to which we used to export, and forty to fifty per cent. higher than they were with us at that time. MARK THIS.

When we were exporting, the rent of land of a given quality was somewhere about half what it is at present; in some districts, rather more; in others, as in Cheshire for example, very much less. Now let us see how stands the account:—

When we exported corn, the English labourer, receiving two shillings per week less than at present, received nearly twenty per cent. more of the produce of the soil which he cultivated, represented in money, than when corn is kept by law at a “protected” price.

The Irish labourer got about the same money wages, and received forty to fifty per cent. more produce than he does under the “protecting system.”

Whilst the English labourer is docked twenty per cent. in his real wages, and the Irish labourer forty to fifty per cent. the English and Irish landlords are drawing almost double the rentals they formerly received; and with this increase they are able to get hold of, thanks to the walls of restriction, within which they have confined us, and in which we have been competing, acting through an increasing population and an increase of mechanical power, at least four times the quantity of the produce of our labour and skill, of the cottons, woollens, and silks with which they are adorned, in return for every pound

sterling, than they were able to obtain when corn and provisions were at the dreaded “continental level.” These are facts, Mr. O'Connor.

Here we have clearly a foul swindle upon the labouring classes, exposed by merely lifting one small portion of the veil, which the charity of their friends has thrown over the misdeeds of the tyrants. Justice demands that the sword of legal retribution should descend upon the guilty. You propose to these “lords and gentlemen” a contrivance for warding off the blow. You say “the storm is coming; the bread taxed are aware that you are bread taxers; split up your farms; grow twice as much upon a single acre as you do at present; thus giving two loaves or two pieces of meat for one shilling, where you now give one; remove a million of the labouring men to the waste lands; let them have one million houses built for their reception; a few thousand miles of roads, and railways, and canals cut and laid down; one hundred pounds a head to start with; fifteen acres allotted to each; and you will keep your darling Corn Law; effectually “settle the lords of the long chimnies;” and above all, *you will receive twenty millions of pounds for fifteen millions of acres which you have no right to possess.*”

Do we object to the distribution of the waste lands? No: we should like to see them in the hands of the labouring classes. Do we spurn the idea of a better system of cultivation? No: *we rejoice to hear a man “whose skill in farming has been generally acknowledged” broadly assert, that the stupidity and cupidity of the landowners restricts the quantity of food produced on our present area of cultivated acres to one half its proper quantity, and thus gives only half as much as it might in return for a shilling.* Why then do we object? Because we know that your measures cannot be carried out by an abject appeal to the sympathies of a hard-hearted and prejudiced faction; and because we know that the only way to drive them to honesty, to deprive them of their unjust gains, and of their consequent extreme political power, to force them to sell at half their present prices, to split up their farms, to render up the waste lands, and thus to extend the home market for manufactures and create a demand for labour and an increase in its reward, is by letting in, through the destruction of monopoly, a wholesome foreign competition. These, Sir, are our views; that your real belief is somewhat similar we gather from the general tenor of your letters. Carry out your admissions in your actions; rest not your denunciations of tyranny with the “cotton lords,” but examine fairly. See how far all parties are to blame, and let not your connexion with the landowners, nor your predilection for agriculture, blind your eyes to the robberies of the one, or the real interests of the other.

Yours truly,

THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.

THE CLERICAL CONFERENCE.

THE REVEREND BAPTIST NOEL ON THE CORN LAWS.

Even the scoffer at religion and religious institutions must admit the immense influence, over public opinion, possessed by the clergy of the different denominations of Christians: an influence exceeding every other in intensity. It has been used in one grand concentrated movement in favour of enslaved and suffering millions. The movement to which it then lent its aid had been without avail until the teachers of Christianity came forth, with the Bible in their hands, and, in the name of their Master, forbade the further continuance of slavery abroad.

Too often has the influence of the clergy been weakened and withered by sectarian contests, alike injurious to the best interests of Christianity and to the happiness of their flocks. Honour to the good pastors who struck the galling fetters from the slave in other climes, and ten fold hold honour to the patriots, who, casting aside, as worthless, party prejudices and sectarian bickerings, are now gathering together in solemn conference upon the best means of disenthraling, of feeding, of making happy, the millions of toiling, suffering slaves at home!

Amidst our rejoicings at the joint efforts making by the clergy at the present crisis, a shade of dissatisfaction continually obtrudes upon us. We cannot hide our regret that the ministers of the church, “as by law established,” should, with some virtuous exceptions, sneer at, or openly discountenance the proposed clerical agitation. The more aristocratic members of the Church clergy have been especially bitter in their op-

position to these efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the poor. Well! with the Honourable and Reverend Baptist Noel, an aristocrat, a high dignitary of the church, a most learned and pious divine, upon our side, we will dispense with the assistance of the clerical knights of the Fleece. The Honourable and Reverend gentleman appears in the midst of his associates like a good genius, watching over the welfare of the poor, and counteracting by his holy influence, the malevolent or ignorant misdeeds of a rampant faction. We hail his opportune appearance, as the worn-out traveller in the desert hails the green verdure of the long sought oasis, or the cooling, invigorating water-spring, after days of wandering, of disappointment, and of despair.

If our working brethren have not read Mr. Noel's pamphlet, let them at once invigorate their hopes by its perusal. They will find its arguments clear and convincing; its style forcible and elegant; while every line glows with the christian love of justice and of mercy which animates the authors breast.

We have given a few extracts and beg to call the particular attention of our readers, to the beauty and force of the concluding passage.

We hope that Mr. Noel may attend the conference of ministers; there to shed the lustre of his piety and his talent, and to increase the effect of the movement by his great influence with the religious world.

AMERICAN VIEW OF THE ENGLISH CORN LAW SYSTEM.

(FROM AN AMERICAN PAPER.)

The worst news brought by the last arrivals from England was the defeat in the House of Commons of the party who are striving to bring about a repeal of the corn laws. The event should be a source of regret to all who desire the spread of liberal principles, and especially to the people of the United States, who, besides their natural anxiety to witness just government, have a strong commercial interest in their abrogation of the tariff system of Great Britain. That system is a curse to thousands in England, and inflicts great injury upon the nations with which England holds commercial intercourse.

What would be the effect if these pernicious laws were annulled? It would strip the overgrown landed proprietors of a portion of their ill-gotten gain. It would shoot life and health into the decrepit limbs of English manufactures, by opening extensive markets to their products, and cheapening the means of their subsistence: it would diminish the artificial causes that excite feverish alternations of trade; it would restore the prospect of comfort to myriads of a working population, whose only hopes of escape are either in revolution or the grave.

Nor would the operation of the change be less benignant towards every department of industry in this country. To the agricultural interests it would administer a healthy stimulus, by greatly expanding the demand for its most important products. Those vast grain fields in the west and north-west, fast coming under cultivation, would find a more profitable outlet for their abundance, while the supply of goods in common use and wear, received in return, would increase the means and comforts of the body of consumers constituting the majority of every nation. As the market for bread stuffs enlarged, the demand for the facilities of transportation from the interior to the ocean would strengthen, thus giving more substantial ground for the hope that our present vast system of internal improvements, founded upon debt, might one day or another pay for itself by means of its own revenues. Increased exportations would prevent those immense drains of specie which periodically exhaust the strength of commerce, at the same time furnishing a safe mode for the liquidation of an enormous balance of debts which now make us the miserable dependants of foreign creditors. With this relief from the pressure of debt, accompanied by an augmented demand for the staples, which every provision of nature indicates that this country was designed to produce, there would spring up a genial activity in every branch of trade—an activity founded upon no rabid thirst of speculation, but upon the substantial and durable elements of national prosperity. So true it is that nations are reciprocally benefited by the adoption on the part of either of them, of a just, free, and enlightened policy; so true it is, with communities as with individuals, that the quality of liberality and justice, like that of mercy, is twice blessed—blessed of those that give, and in those that receive.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.—TEA PARTY AND DESSERT.

As the Conference of Ministers of the Gospel, of all denominations, will be held in the ensuing week, to discuss the all-important question of the Food Monopoly, the YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION, have resolved to give a TEA PARTY and DESSERT in honour of that event, which will be held on Thursday Evening, August 19th, at the Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester.

Several eminent Ministers attending the Conference will be invited to take part in the proceedings.

Ladies' Tickets, 1s. 6d. each; Gentlemen's do., 2s. 6d.; may now be procured at Mr. GADSBY'S, Depot of the Anti-Corn-Law League, Market-street.

By order of the Executive Committee,
H. RAWSON, Chairman.

ANTI-BREAD TAX TEA PARTY,

IN HONOUR OF THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL.

The Council of the National Operative Anti-bread-tax Association beg to announce, that a TEA PARTY will be held, under their auspices, in the Corn Exchange, on Friday evening, August 20th, at seven o'clock. Mr. Alderman BROOKS has kindly consented to take the chair. Richard Cobden, Esq. M.P. and many of the most distinguished of the ministers attending the Conference, have promised to attend, and address the meeting.

Tickets, 1s. each, may be had at the Anti-corn-law Rooms, Newall's Buildings, Market-street; Mr. E. W. Watkin, 26, High-street; Mr. Abel Heywood, Oldham-street; Mr. Aaron Nodal, Downing-street, Ardwick; Mr. Dracup, Chapel-street, Salford; Mr. Hodgson, printer, 99, Cannon-street; and Mr. J. Morris, secretary of the Association, 22, Richmond-street.

A DANGEROUS DISEASE, AND A DESPERATE REMEDY.—If Sir Robert Peel, and the tribe of monopolists who adhere to him, will oppose the abolition or amendment of the corn-laws, as an act of humanity, they should devise some means for restricting the amount of population. If the monopolists will restrict the mouths of the people to the produce of our limited territory, out of mercy to our famishing countrymen they should, by what would be an equally wise and more benevolent law, decree that a certain portion of the population should be annually knocked on the head, so that there may henceforth be food and house room obtained by those who are left. The most savage nations always decree a violent death as the most humane for those of their number who are doomed to a premature death. Sir Robert Peel and the monopolists are less humane than the savages; they are resolved to kill the people out by slow means. Want of food, confined and noxious atmospheres to breathe in, fever, and similar slow diseases, are their curses to meet the continuance of the corn-laws, and with the most glaring proofs of their evil influence, against all which the statesman, the philosopher, or the philanthropist would rejoice to see prosper. Peel and the monopolists, with dogged resolution, stand by their system alike decidedly through evil and through good report.

FREE TRADE.—It is by commercial interchange; by the mutual offices which arise out of one country supplying another with what it is able to produce, and obtaining something that it values in exchange, that the less civilised are enabled to start in their career, stimulated to rise above the lower form of social life, gradually adorned with all that the arts, and legislation, and government can achieve, and a result produced such as war is utterly unable to effect; because, whatever services it renders to civilization are stained with blood in their commencement, and accompanied with bitterness in their career. And this intercourse between nation

and nation, a narrow-minded, selfish, and sordid legislation would restrain. It would, for its own purpose, control nature's highway across the globe; limit the communications which must inevitably arise out of a free trade; and with states, as with individuals, promote that comparative isolation which is the concomitant of barbarism. The lowest considerations of physical good, and the highest claims of morality and religion; the dictates of the most calculating prudence, and those of the most expansive benevolence; the simplest justice towards those who toil for the support of society; alike demand the repeal of laws so unwise, oppressive, and pernicious as those which prevent a free trade between man and man, or nation and nation, in the produce of the earth which is the support of their existence.—*For.*

MISCELLANY.

"From grave to gay."

THE WORKING CLERGY.—The curate of one of the most populous parishes in the diocese of Durham, who is still living *et diu vivat*, has filled that situation thirty years. During nearly two thirds of the time he had read prayers every day, read prayers and preached twice every Sunday, some times thrice, and performed all the occasional parochial duties, both on Sundays and during the week. It is calculated that he has baptised and buried in *propria persona*, the whole population (20,000) once over. He has had nine children, has been forty years in the church, and for three-fourths of that period never received more, upon an average than £40 per annum!—*Durham Chronicle.*

ILLUSTRIOUS PUNS.—"I will tell you a good thing I said to my Lord Cartaret. 'So,' says he, 'my Lord—came up to me, and asked me, 'No,' said I, 'my lord never did, nor ever can come up to you.' We all pun here sometimes. Lord Cartaret set down Prior the other day in his chariot, and thanked him for his *Charity*: that was fit for Dilly. (Dillon Ashe, an inordinate punster of those days.)—I'll tell you a good pun. A fellow hard by pretends to cure *agues*, and has set out a sign and spells it *egoes*. A gentleman and I observing it, said 'How does that fellow pretend to cure *agues*?'—'I said I did not know, but I was sure it was not by a *spell*.' That is admirable."—*Private Correspondence of Swift.*

THE PARSON AND THE LABOURER.—A parson agreed to give a labourer a shilling for weeding a garden; but when the work was done his Reverence said he thought sixpence was quite sufficient for the time the man was employed. The poor man, being half starved, agreed to take the sixpence, on condition that the parson would teach him the Lord's Prayer. To this the teacher of the truth readily assented, beginning with "Our Father," "What!" said the labourer, "both our Fathers," "Yes, yes: come, say after me." "Our Father,"—when the labourer again asked, "What your father and my father too?" "To be sure," said the parson. "Well then," said the labourer, "You must be a confounded rogue to cheat your brother out of sixpence!"

CHARLES BANNISTER AND JUSTICE STAPLE.—When Charles Bannister performed for John Palmer at the commencement of the Royalty Theatre, he was indicted with the rest of the company, and had to appear before the Magistrates of the Tower Hamlet; when there, the above justice addressing himself to Charles in particular, said, with an air of great personal consequence and authority, Mr. Bannister, I shall clap a *padlock* upon you. "Will you?" answered Charles, "then by Heaven! I'll draw your *Staple*."

An old bachelor, who resides in Acre Lane, Brixton, in order to prevent itinerant traders annoying him by knocking at the door to dispose of their wares, had affixed to his knocker a label to this effect:—"The inhabitant of this house never buys anything at the door. Hawkers beware!" He was dreadfully annoyed a few days ago by a loud knocking at his parlour-window; and on looking out, he saw two fellows with clothes-lines, mats and pegs to sell. Throwing up the sash in a rage, he accosted them thus—"Can you read?" "Yes, master," said the hawker. "Then don't you see a notice affixed to my knocker that I never buy any thing at the door?" "To be sure we do, so we thought we would make bold and try to do a little business at the window." The fellow's wit pacified the old bachelor, who straightway made a purchase. Immediately afterwards he sent for a painter, and had the following addition made to his announcement:—"Nor at the window either."

MARRIAGE.—The more married men you have, the fewer crimes there will be. Examine the frightful columns of your criminal calendars; you will there find a hundred youths executed for one father of a family. Marriage renders men more virtuous and more wise. The father of a family is not willing to blush before his children. He is afraid to make shame their inheritance.

AMERICAN MILITA MUSTER.—"Tention the hull! Shoulder! As you were!"—"I say, capting, Mike's priming his firelock with brandy."—"Why, deacon Michael Bigelow, aint you ashamed to do such a thing arter the temperance paper? I'll report you to the court-martial. You without bagnets on your corn-stalks—stand back in the rear rank—trail arms."—"Capting, why the dickens don't you put the ranks farther apart? That are chap's bagnet has stuck into Jem's trowsers, and I rather guess he won't sit down so slick as he used to do."—"I say, mister, don't blow your backer smoke in my face."—"Why, darn it, how could I help it? This here fellor, shoulderin' his firelock, stuck his bagnet strate thro' the rim of my beaver, and I rather guess any on ye would jerk your head a little on one side, smoke or no smoke. Mister, hend me down my hat."—"Can't do it—wait till capting tells us to order arms; won't bring down my firelock without orders if your head were at the top of it."—"That's right, Joe, rale sogor, I tell ye—only arter this shoulder your firelock perpendicular."—"John you've got a firelock—what made you bring your nembrel?"—"Why capting the wind was due east, and I heard the turkeys screeching, so I knew we'd have a shower."—"Tom, what are you bawlin about?"—"Why, capting, Jim Lummis smashed my toe with the butt of his gun, and I rather guess its a 36-pounder, for its tarnashun heavy."—"Jim Lummis, just have the purliteness to take your gun off Tom's toe; and look out how you smash arter this."—"Capting, I say, here's an engagement on the right flank."—"You don't say so, lieutenant—what is it?"—"Why Parks Lummis and George King fighting like blazes."—"We'll make a ring after parade, and see fair play, only tell them to wait till we're done sogerin."—"Capting, I say, its arter sun-down, and I rather guess I needn't stay any longer according to law."—"Well, I'm agreed. Now get into a strate line as quick as greased lightening. Right face, dismiss."—*Norfolk (U.S.) Herald.*

THE SCOTCH FIDDLE.—Isaac, or Iky Sparks as he was commonly termed, lodged on one occasion in a house with a Scotch doctor, who amused his leisure hours by learning to play the fiddle. These gentlemen, it must be remarked, were not upon the most amicable terms; the Scotchman turning up his nose at Sparks as a "vogabond plee-actor;" and the latter retorting by calling him a "legal vampire," since he lived by the death of other people. The doctor made it an invariable rule to rise at day-light to practise, about which time the convivial Mr. Sparks was getting into his first nap. As their rooms were adjoining, it was a necessary result that Sparks lost his sleep; and it soon became another, that he should lie awake to meditate revenge. He did not like to leave the house (perhaps he could not); but he resolved, if possible, to expel this fiddling Macbeth "who murdered sleep," and was instrumental to his annoyance. One morning, he heard Mr. McIntosh the doctor, desire Judy the servant, who waited on both of them, to go out and buy him a pennyworth of rosin for his "feedle;" and as she passed his door, he called her in, and inquired her errand. "Sure I'm going to get some rosin Mr. Sparks for Mr. McIntosh's fiddle." "Ros'n, rosin, you crachur!" said Sparks; "and isn't rosin you are going to ax for, Judy, arrant nonsense?" "Arrah, Mr. Sparks!" "Ros'n's Latin my jewel: the shopkeeper won't understand you!" Latin; och sure, Mr. Sparks! I know nothing of Latin; will your honour tell me what am I to ax for?" "Say you want a piece of stick-brimstone, darling, that's English to spake, and good Irish to the bargain." The girl complied with his direction, procured the brimstone, and returning to Mr. McIntosh, presented it to him. "You dom b—h!" exclaimed the Scotchman, "what ha'ye broot me?—what do you ca' this?" "Brimstone, sirr!" "Breemstun! did I na send you for rosin!" "Plase your honour, and so you did; but Mr. Sparks told me that brimstone was the raal thing to ax for." Foaming with rage away flew the doctor into Isaac's room (who was listening to the result), and demanded of him how he dared to interfere with another person's affairs, and alter his commands to the servant? "Why, Mr. McIntosh," said Isaac, very coolly, "what did you send for?" "Rosin, sir,—rosin for my feedle, and be domm'd to ye." "Well," replied Sparks, "I always thought brimstone was rosin for a Scotch Fiddle!"—*Ibid.*

THE VOICE OF THE TIME.

BY CHARLES MACKAY.

Day unto day utters speech—
 Be wise, oh ye nations, and hear
 What yesterday telleth to-day,
 What to-day to the morrow will preach.
 A change cometh over our sphere,
 And the old goeth down to decay.
 A new light has dawned on the darkness of yore,
 And men shall be slaves and oppressors no more.

Hark to the throbbing of thought,
 In the breast of the wakening world!
 Over land, over sea, it hath come.
 The serf that was yesterday bought,
 To-day his defiance hath hurl'd,
 No more in his slavery dumb;
 And to-morrow will break from the fetters that bind,
 And lift a bold arm for the rights of mankind.

Hark to the voice of the Time!
 The multitude think for themselves,
 And weigh their condition, each one;
 The drudge hath a spirit sublime,
 And whether he hammers or delves,
 He reads when his labour is done;
 And learns, though he groan under penury's ban,
 That freedom to think is the birthright of man.

But yesterday, thought was confind;
 To breathe it was peril or death,
 And it sank in the breast where it rose;
 Now, free as the midsummer wind
 It sports its adventurous breath,
 And round the wide universe goes;
 The mist and the cloud from its pathway are curl'd,
 And glimpses of sunshine illumine the world.

The voice of opinion has grown;
 'Twas yesterday changeful and weak,
 Like the voice of a boy ere his prime,
 To-day it has taken the tone
 Of an orator worthy to speak,
 Who knows the demands of the time;
 And to-morrow 'twill sound in Oppression's cold ear
 Like the tramp of the seraph to startle our sphere.

Be wise, oh! ye rulers of earth,
 And shut not your ears to the voice,
 Nor allow it to warn you in vain;
 True freedom of yesterday's birth,
 Will march on its way and rejoice,
 And never be conquer'd again.
 The day has a tongue—aye, the hours utter speech,
 Wise, wise will ye be, if ye learn what they teach,

The AUTOBIOGRAPHY of an ENEMY
to the STARVATION of the PEOPLE.

[The following *true account* of the life and actions of a well-known Corn-law Repealer, at present residing in Manchester, has been placed in our hands by the author, whose name, for obvious reasons, we are compelled to withhold from our readers—at least, for the present. We have perused it with pleasure and interest; and as it recounts scenes of thrilling interest, enacted in times-gone-by 'tis true, but still living in the recollection of many of our older friends, and is also interspersed with remarks and opinions of men and things of no common order, we gladly lay the whole before our readers, in the hope that it may act as a guide and counsellor to those who may have a like path to tread, and as a collection of pleasant reminiscences to those who have, with our friend, traversed the thorny wilderness of political agitation, and who, like him, have at last arrived at the point from whence *the promised land* can be seen *stretching out at no great distance from us.*]

MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY,

By an Enemy to the Starvation of the People.

CHAPTER I.

A record of the life of "one of the people" might perhaps be thought to present little interest or novelty, especially to the people themselves, who know but too well the details of the dull monotonous round of events, of toils, hardships & struggles, which it is the lot of the great majority to undergo in one never-varying circle. In my case, however, the charm of romance has been mingled with the every day struggles of the working man's existence; and the lowliness

of my position has perhaps been the means of bringing me into scenes, both as a spectator and as an actor, which it falls to the lot of few to witness or to participate in. Nurtured amid squalid poverty—accustomed, in childhood even, to the often daily knowledge of the miseries of the most abject want, I have toiled in youth and in manhood as the sons of labour only toil; and amid the frozen region of work and of want, glimpses of other conditions of life have burst upon me, sometimes merely as passing shadows, at others as short lived, but substantial realities. I have been in prison. I have been domiciled in aristocratic mansions. I have known the enfeebling and degrading torture of the want—for months together—of a sufficient supply of the coarsest food—and I have partaken of the pampered luxuries with which lordly tables are overloaded. At times my life has flowed on, unchequered by griefs or gnawing cares; and perhaps when peace and quiet seemed to have smiled lastingly upon me, terrible events have burst over my head, threatening to destroy my dearest hopes. I have suffered much, and enjoyed much. I have done something for my fellow-creatures, and I can say—no small boast for man to make—that I regret no action of my life, because I never intentionally injured any one of my fellow-creatures.

My father was bred to the sea, or rather a love of roving caused him to run away from home at thirteen years of age, and embark his fortunes on the fickle deep. I never knew much of him, but believe he was one of those good-natured, broad shouldered, brave & prejudiced men who loved Old England and King George, and damn'd the French with right good will. Poor fellow! He was returning to England in the Kent, East Indiaman, in 1799, when that vessel was attacked by the French Privateer, the "*Confiance*," commanded by Captain Surcouffe, and my father fell covered with wounds, bravely defending himself against superior numbers. I well remember the tidings of this sad event reaching us. We had been long expecting his return home, and for sometime looking forward to his return, not only as the means of restoring to our embraces a long absent father and husband, but also as the end of a series of severe privations and of much bodily suffering. The gradual wasting of the little store left in my mother's hands, had forced us from the comfortable cottage, snugly seated in which my father left us on his departure for India, to cheap but comfortless lodgings, and finally to a dark, damp cellar in that delectable part of London, known as Rotherhithe. Having at length received a letter from my father, which had been delayed for some time on the way, in which he spoke of his return in such a manner as to induce us to expect him almost immediately after the receipt of these glad tidings, we were in painfully eager excitement; every vessel which was reported off the coast, was set down as the long-wished for Kent; and though we were often disappointed, still our hopes were unimpaired, and we still looked and watched untiringly. One afternoon, after having ascertained that a vessel which had been beating about for some days, owing to unfavourable winds, was not *our* ship, we were seated at our scanty meal, when the well-known tramp of a seaman was heard approaching—we listened—it came nearer and nearer, and at last descended the narrow steps leading to the door. My mother opened it, and instead of rushing into her husband's arms, sunk back in disappointment. The intruder was a middle-aged son of the ocean, whose bronzed countenance bespoke a residence under a burning sun. Enquiring if my mother's name was

and if her husband had not been mate on board the Kent, he said "Well, dame, God help me, I'd as soon bring ye good news as bad, but shiver my timbers, I've nothing but ill luck for you a-board." My mother's cheek blanched, and faintly muttering, "my husband, my husband!" she caught at the wall for support. "Poor Tom," said the sailor, "is—is—damme—died fighting like a true British tar as he was—from stem to stern." A faint shriek was the only reply made by my poor parent; staggering across the floor, she fell senseless to the earth. The hue of death was upon her countenance, and her limbs appeared in corpse-like rigidity, as she lay stretched upon the ground. Our new friend raised her up, and gently placing her upon our miserable couch, ran out for medical aid. When he returned with the doctor, he first assured himself that my mother had merely fainted, and then, with a look full of compassion, said, "Poor thing, I'd better budge, when she comes to, she'll only ask about Tom—and damn my tarry trowsers, if I can stand it." With this, and shoving a doubloon into my little hand, he rushed out of the cellar. After due means had been taken, my mother gradually revived, and dismissing the good-natured Esculapius, who would receive no remuneration for his services, she gave herself up to the luxury of grief. At length, thanks to the little soothing, which I in childish sorrow administered, a new hope seemed to break upon her, and she went in search of confirmation or contradiction of the dreadful tale. Late in the evening—worn out with wandering and with grief, she returned—a fresh burst of lamentation shewed the full confirmation she had received of the terrible blow to our hopes and affections. Again she fainted—but why minutely detail the different scenes of this awful drama;—suffice it to say, fit succeeded fit, and that returning light cast its radiance upon the cold lineaments of my mother's corpse.

(To be continued.)

CONSERVATIVE ORATORY.—We give the following address, for the sake of the poetical version of it which follows. No fitter person for the representation of such men as were driven to the poll by orders of my Lady Bridgewater and Lord Stamford could possibly be found. He is quite as blockheaded as any tory could wish.

ADDRESS OF THE HON. W. DAWNEY, on being nominated (he has since been elected) member for the county of Rutland:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must bring in the ladies, for I see there are some pretty blue bonnets. It's a very fine day. Every thing seems to favour us: it's a very fine day; there is a good number of flags, and a very good band: it's a very fine day for the corn. I am a conservative. I have come forward as a candidate for Rutland at the request of several gentlemen: it's a very fine day. I hope our cause will be prosperous. I will not detain you longer; it is a very fine day, and I have a great deal of work to do."

Attempted in verse by an ardent supporter. Pray examine this speech, it will repay your pains; He don't use many words, but oh, crikey! what brains!

Good ladies and gents,
 I aint much to say;
 But I must just remark,
 It's a very fine day.
 I spy two young ladies,
 Just over the way,
 They are clad in blue bonnets;
 It's a very fine day.
 We've a great many flags,
 And don't they look gay?
 The band, too, is good;
 It's a very fine day.
 We are favour'd by all,
 But the band we shan't pay;
 Don't let that cat fall;
 It's a very fine day.

I'm a conservative,
 And I really must pray,
 I shall have good success;
 It's a very fine day.
 Some gentlemen grand,
 Who keep their own shay,
 Did ask me to stand;
 It's a very fine day.
 The season is fine
 For the corn and the hay;
 We've a great deal to do;
 It's a very fine day.

Exit SAWNEY, followed by
 the cat—Stamford Mercury.

The HON. & REV. BAPTIST W. NOEL,
ON THE CORN LAWS.

We lose not a moment in drawing attention to a pamphlet printed in an economical form by that truly benevolent individual the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, under the title of "A Plea for the Poor, showing how the proposed Repeal of the existing Corn laws will affect the interest of the working classes." The reputation of the author, one of the brightest ornaments of the church of England, who is looked up to as a high authority by the religious world, will, no doubt, obtain for this pamphlet a very extended circulation. Connected by birth with the nobility of the land, the reverend author seems anxious only to incline the hearts of the rich and the powerful to do justice to the humbler classes. We anticipate from his candid and enlightened pleading in their behalf the best results. A sincere christian can hardly rise from its perusal without asking himself the question—Can I really hope for salvation, if I neglect the observance of the first christian maxim, "Do unto others, as ye would that others do unto you?" By listening to the advice of this worthy clergyman, the landowners would be benefited more than they can hope to be by their array of yeomanry-cavalry.

"The destitute condition of numbers (he observes) among the labouring classes, has been to me for some years one of the most painful subjects of reflection. My professional duties have forced me to witness something of it in London, and from gentlemen habitually occupied in visiting the poor, I have learned much more respecting it. There are many families in the metropolis half-starved: in other parts of the country there is equal want. In the summer of 1839, several poor persons with whom I conversed, in Devonshire, assured me that the whole of a poor man's wages at that time would scarcely procure dry-bread for a family of four or five children. In various agricultural counties, if I am rightly informed, the labourers and their children can scarcely ever touch meat. But the distress among agricultural labourers is not equal to that among many of the operatives in manufacturing districts. * * It is shocking to look down into the cellars, which are tenanted by destitute thousands in the poorer parts of Liverpool and Manchester. The town-missionaries in these two towns, who, living entirely among the poor, probably know more of their circumstances than almost any other persons, not excepting even clergymen, assured me last year that the distress which they witnessed in visiting among the people was wide spread, and intense beyond description. How could it be otherwise? I saw some mills closed; others were working half-time, and in the store-rooms of several I saw immense piles of goods heaped up to the very ceilings, for which the manufacturers could find no profitable sale. * * But all English penury is trivial compared with that of Ireland. * * In the poorer districts of large Irish towns, as Limerick and Dublin, I have seen such nakedness, starvation, and emaciated misery, as makes me shudder in the recollection of them. * * There are at present more labourers than enough in many villages. Our commerce with Europe in finishing goods has been diminishing, while cotton twist and machinery have been largely exported; and while the handloom weavers have been intensely suffering from inadequate work and poor pay, there is not enough employment for those who work at the power looms. * * With all this want of employment, 400,000 souls are being annually added to the population. It is very painful to reflect upon the consequences of this

extended penury. Numbers, driven to a debasing mendicancy, have lost all sincerity, and all self-respect; numbers are irritated against that state of society under which they suffer, and seem to welcome any symptoms which may arise of riot and revolution. In town and country, in Great Britain and Ireland, the labourers are too numerous to be employed; and although willing to labour for their livelihood they ask for work in vain. The competition for employment depresses the wages of those who are employed, while the rest, as Mr. Carlyle (I think) has said, are hedged up every where, by property to starve; like horses turned out when no longer wanted for work, to graze on the dust of the roads, between brick walls and endless lines of building. To this hungry multitude, already goaded by want, into rick-burning and trades unions, into chartism, and every other expression of impatience at unendurable calamity, 400,000 beings are added year after year. What is to be done for them? Soup kitchens, tickets for coals and potatoes, mendicity societies, night asylums, and charity balls, or charity sermons, will not fatten their lean visages, nor furnish their empty dwellings, nor make them bless God for plenty. And yet God has provided plenty for them all. The earth would give a hundred-fold more corn than they want; and they have strength, skill, and industry wherewith to purchase it. Only allow them the opportunity of labouring for the food with which Europe can supply them; only fix and reduce the duty on foreign corn, and they will be fed."

Mr. Noel examines a question on which the Tories, during the late elections, expended much sophistry—namely, the effect of reduced prices on wages:—

"So long (he says) as there is a surplus number of workmen the competition among them to obtain employment leads them to underbid each other, and depresses wages."

But, he observes, that the manufacturers would find markets from which they are now excluded, and that a large number of workmen may be employed who now see their children starving.

"The advantage to the operatives would not cease here. Were wages reduced in equal proportion to the reduction of prices, they would only profit from the increased facility of finding work; a larger number of men would be employed, while all in work would be as well off as before. But wages would not fall as far as prices. An abundance of labourers lead, as we have seen, to a competition among them for employment, and depresses wages; but an abundance of employment making labourers scarce, produces a competition among masters to obtain them. For this purpose masters are obliged to bid above each other, and wages rise. The extension of our commerce, therefore, by giving more employment, would raise wages; and, while greater numbers would be employed, they would, at the same time, be enabled to obtain better supplies of food and clothing. * * * * *

Should our manufacturing industry be repressed, the country labourers, already too numerous, must become an intolerable burden to the parishes; but should our manufacturers flourish, many will find employment as domestic servants, porters, warehousemen, artisans, and sailors. The effect of this demand for labour must be the same as a similar demand in towns. While labourers are abundant and labour scarce, the farmer may obtain labourers at the lowest wages which will sustain life; but when labour is abundant, and labourers scarce, the labourer

can make his own terms. The extension of our commerce would speedily be felt by the labourers, who would obtain better wages and enjoy a more comfortable existence. Their number at present pauperises them; their scarcity would then increase their comforts."

The idea of reducing the population to some fanciful proportion between towns and country will only recoil on those who entertain it. The people will not suffer themselves to be driven out of existence without involving others in ruin. No! Employment must be allowed to the people, and all notions of destroying them abjured. Yeomanry cavalry will not do the business. The people have at present no idea of violence; but the natives of these islands are naturally brave and energetic, and the recourse to violence against them would elicit qualities that their oppressors do not dream of. Let us hear no more of starving down the people for the sake of the tory aristocracy.

"Four hundred and thirteen thousand persons, added every year to the population of the kingdom, must be employed. Emigration cannot employ them, agriculture cannot, and manufactures can. With the corn-laws, they must starve; emancipated from them, they will prosper. Cheap bread and a regular commerce with other countries will feed the people, supply the exchequer, promote morality, lessen the chance of war, and injure no one. In the name, then, of the unemployed poor, whose sufferings I have witnessed; on behalf of the depressed artisan, the ill-fed labourer, and the starving Irish peasant, I entreat every religious landowner, clergyman, or member of parliament, who may honour these pages with a perusal, to reflect seriously, and to pause long, ere he uses his influence to prolong the existence of those laws which, in the actual condition of our country, must lead to such calamitous results. When our Redeemer preached the gospel to the multitudes who followed him, he also healed their diseases and supplied their wants. Like him, his disciples should seize with joy the opportunity of affording a relief to the necessities, compared with which all the charitable contributions of England are absolutely insignificant. Myriads of the working classes, whose interests are especially at stake, have implored the legislature not to vote them any public money, not to give them any unfair advantage over others, not to invade private property, but to break off the fetters which the law has laid upon their industry; to restore them their natural liberty to purchase bread in return for the produce of their labour; to permit them to maintain their families by honest and laborious exertion. For no fault of theirs, they are suffering the pain of hunger and all the physical and moral evils accompanying it. God has provided for them corn, not in their own crowded country, but in others less densely peopled. They have the ability to buy it by their labour, if the law forbids not, and the restoration of their natural right will invigorate every branch of British industry. Generously, therefore, as becomes the disciple of Christ, let every christian reader overcome all party spirit, silence each ignorant prejudice, and, trampling on the suggestions of a short-sighted self-interest, labour with every friend of his country to effect that extension to our trade, which, while it improves the condition of the working classes, will open the prospect of unbounded prosperity to the whole nation."

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MONDAY, AUGUST 16th, 1841

THE Anti-Monopolist AND

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL OPERATIVE ANTI-BREAD TAX ASSOCIATION.

"THE BREAD OF THE NEEDY IS HIS LIFE; HE THAT DEFRAUDETH HIM THEREOF, IS A MAN OF BLOOD!"—Eccles. XXIV. 21.

[No. 2.] [Vol. I.]

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TO OUR READERS.

We hope that we need make no apology to our readers, for devoting so much of our present number, in reporting the *first* speech, and what has been unanimously agreed upon to be the *best* that has been delivered this Session, by (as Mr. Prentice observed in the Corn Exchange,) "*One of the ablest and best Members of the House of Commons.*"

If any of our readers should feel inclined to be sceptical on this point, and think our picture of Mr. Cobden is too highly coloured—we would refer them to any of the two thousand persons that he astonished and delighted at the Corn Exchange, last Wednesday evening, and their doubts, we feel assured, will be effectually removed.

Ed. "*Anti-Monopolist.*"

THE SPEECH OF R. COBDEN, Esq.M.P.

For the Borough of Stockport,

In the House of Commons, on Wednesday Evening, August 25th, 1841, in support of the Free Trade Address to the Queen.

Mr. COBDEN commenced his address to the house as a new member by saying, that in addressing himself to their notice it was not his desire to trespass long upon their attention. He must own, however, that he felt some difficulty how to treat the question that was placed before the house. There did not seem to be a very good understanding as to their position on this occasion. They heard very different opinions expressed as to the object which had sent them to that house, and as to the nature of the principles that were determined at the last general election. They had heard that the last general election was not a test of public opinion as to the monopolies that were complained of; that it was merely a question of confidence in the ministry. He knew that that opinion had been expressed by the right hon. baronet, the member for Tamworth, and he was happy to perceive the disposition that existed in the party opposite to take the *dictum* of that right honourable gentlemen as their law. They, therefore, said, that they were not to represent a monopoly. (hear, hear.) It would, indeed, be strange to hear a majority of that house coming forward to declare that they had been sent there by the people of England to represent, to advocate, and to uphold monopoly. Let him just remind the house of the circumstances under which the late general elections had taken place. A recommendation had come from the executive, advising them to do that which was something unprecedented in the history of the country—namely, to set or fix a reduction of taxation;

and this message was accompanied by an assurance from the executive that not only would the reduction of taxation not injure the revenue, but actually increase it. It was then on such a message from the executive that the late house had been dissolved. Had honourable members on the other side then come forward and said that a majority of that house was ready to tell the executive that, notwithstanding its assurance, yet they did not want the present taxation to be reduced on bread, timber, and other articles, and this, too, not only without improving the revenue, but increasing it; notwithstanding all this, they, the constituency of England, were for retaining monopoly and taxation, and all their mischievous results, and that they did so because they preferred the advantages of monopoly to the well-being and benefit of the state. He was glad to know, then, from the other side, that the people of England, who were impatient of taxation—of whom it was said that they were afflicted with "an ignorant impatience of taxation"—that they had not all at once become enamoured of monopoly. (Hear, hear.) There was, too, another difficulty in addressing the house upon the present occasion. They were told that the question now was, not whether the corn-laws were to be repealed or monopoly maintained, that they were not to consider those points which her Majesty had recommended to their notice, but that they were to discuss that, and that only, which some gentlemen on the other side of the house had thought proper to put after the address on her Majesty's speech; (hear, hear;) that all they were to think of, and all they ought to speak about was, whether or not her Majesty's government was worthy or not of their confidence. (Hear, hear.) And how came hon. gentlemen on the other side to that conclusion? They went over the conduct of the present ministers for the last ten years. They travelled after them to India, China, and to Canada. They touched upon every thing but that which was the last and most important of all their acts—namely, their recommendation to revise the corn-laws. (Cheers.) Hon. gentlemen on the other side left that important topic untouched, but that was no reason why gentlemen on his side of the house, knowing what the working of the corn-laws was, what their effects, and that they were infinitely more important in the eyes of their constituents than Canada, or Syria, or the affairs of New York; (hear, hear;) there was then no reason why gentlemen on his side should not give to such a subject the prominent attention it deserved, and at the same time treat with the proper deference and respect which any communication from her Majesty ought to receive. (Hear.) He was very young in that house, but still he was accustomed to read the speeches that were made there, and, if he was not mistaken, he thought that in the olden time, conservative gentlemen especially were accustomed to treat

the speech from the throne as if it were something appertaining to the monarchy. They did not like on these occasions to draw ministers prominently forward, unless there was very great reason for doing so. ("Hear, hear," from members on the opposition benches.) They were not accustomed to draw forward ministers, but to give their entire attention to the speech from the throne, as a matter entitled to a calm and respectful discussion. This is what he thought ought still to be done by honourable gentlemen on the other side, and particularly with respect to a speech from their most gracious Sovereign, who, since the time of Alfred, was the most popular monarch they ever saw in these realms. (Cheers.) He would take up but a moment of their time while he glanced at that great and paramount question, which had been attempted to be cast aside. He alluded to the food tax. The people of this country had been petitioning for three years. They were anxious for a total repeal of the food tax. He spoke, too, in the utmost sincerity—he was also for a total and unconditional repeal of that tax. (Hear, hear, hear.) He would not allow an aspersion to be cast upon the three millions who had been petitioning for three years upon this subject—he could not permit it to be said that they were not sincere in what they sought for. He knew that they were, because he knew what they asked for was just. (Hear, hear.) What was this bread tax—this tax upon food, and tax upon meat? It was a tax upon the great body of the people; and hon. gentlemen opposite, who had such sympathy for the poor, when they had made them paupers, (cheers,) should not refuse to give a calm, a marked, and a prominent consideration to this question, as affecting the working classes. (Hear, hear.) There were twenty millions of persons in these realms who depended upon wages for their subsistence. There was about a million who lived upon the public alms; and he claimed from gentlemen on the other side, who were hugging the paupers as their pets, to let some of their sympathies be extended to the twenty millions who were in that situation that entitled them to their support—these were the independent hard-working men, who maintained themselves by their honest industry. He told them that their tax on bread pressed more severely upon that class of men than upon any other. He had heard that tax called by a multitude of names. Some designated it as a "protection;" but it was a tax after all, and he would call it nothing else. (Hear, hear.) The bread tax was levied principally upon the working classes. He called the attention of the house to the working of the bread tax. The effect was this—it compelled the working classes to pay 40 per cent. more, that is, a higher price than they should pay if there was a free trade in corn. When hon. gentlemen spoke of 40s. as the price of foreign corn, they would make the addition 50 per cent,

He would not overstate the case, and therefore he set down the bread tax as imposing an additional tax of 40 per cent. He had now to call their attention to facts contained in the report of the committee on the hand-loom weavers. It was a report got up with great care and singular talent. It gave, amongst other things, the amount of the earnings of a working man's family, and that was put down at 10s. Looking at the metropolitan and rural districts, they found that not to be a bad estimate of the earnings of every labouring family. The hand-loom committee then stated that out of the 10s. every family expended in the week 5s. in bread. Their tax upon that was 2s. weekly, so that every man who had 10s. weekly, gave out of that 2s. to the bread-tax. That was twenty per cent. out of the income of every labouring family. But let them proceed upward and see how the same tax worked. The man who had 20s. a-week, still paid 2s. a-week to the bread-tax; that was to him ten per cent. as an income tax. If they went further—to the man who had 40s. a-week—the income tax upon him in this way was five per cent. If they mounted higher—to the man who had £5. a-week, or £250. a-year—it was one per cent. income tax. Let them ascend to the nobility and the millionaires, to those who had an income of £200,000 a-year. His family was the same as that of the poor man, and how did the bread-tax affect him? It was one half-penny in every £100 [cries of "oh, oh," and laughter from members on the opposition benches.] He did not know whether it was the monstrous injustice of the case, or the humble individual who stated it, that excited this manifestation of feeling, but still he did state that the nobleman's family paid to this bread-tax but one halfpenny in every £100 as income tax, while the effect of the tax upon the labouring man's family was £20 per cent. He wished not to be misunderstood upon this point. Suppose an honourable gentleman were to bring in a bill levying an income tax upon the different grades in society; let it then be supposed that it was proposed to impose upon the labouring man an income tax of 20s. per cent., and that the nobleman was to pay but a halfpenny out of every £100; in such a case as that he was sure that there was no member of that house, and he hoped no Christian man out of it, who would be parties to the imposing such a tax [hear, hear, hear.] And yet that was the tax which was actually levied, not for the purpose of the state, but for the benefit of the richest of the community [hear, hear.] This, he apprehended, was a fair statement of the working and effect of the tax on bread [cries of "no, no," from members on the opposition benches.] He promised this to honourable gentlemen, that, as far as he had stated, he was willing to explain every thing in which they might find anything that appeared to them to be a difficulty [cries of "oh, oh," from members on the opposition benches.] He begged not to be misunderstood [cries of "hear, hear, hear," from the opposition benches.] He would sympathise with the incredulity of honourable gentlemen opposite. He was convinced that if they, as Christian men, knew what this tax was in its operation, they could not lie for one moment in safety or tranquillity in their beds, could they vote for it [hear, hear.] Such, then, was the nature of the tax. He cared not whether it was forty, twenty, or five per cent. It was a portion of the evil of the bread-tax—a tax that was in no country that he was aware of, unless in England and Holland. It was monstrous and unjust to levy a tax upon bread [hear, hear, hear.]

He was aware that honourable gentlemen might point to laws passed upon the importation of corn elsewhere. There had been import duty in France and Spain, and the United States of America; but he was prepared to show that in those countries they exported corn one year with another, and therefore no import duty could there operate as with us. There had been some mystification about this question. He remembered the noble lord opposite, at his election for North Lancashire, propounding the doctrine of protection to the working classes, which was afforded them as a set off to the corn-laws; and as the doctrine came from so high an authority, he believed that other gentlemen, in other counties, had taken the same view of the case. The doctrine of protection was unfounded. The noble lord had told the electors that the manufacturers wanted a repeal of the corn-laws, because they wanted to reduce wages [cheers and counter cheers]; and that unless, by a repeal of the bread-tax, they did reduce wages, they could not be better able to compete with the foreigner, and therefore could derive no benefit; and, on the other hand, if they did reduce wages, that would be of no benefit to the working man [hear, hear, and cheers]. That was the doctrine of the noble lord. Let him remind the house that the noble lord spoke for parties who had been for three years patiently struggling for a hearing from that house, and had never been allowed to state their own case [cheers]; that when the honourable member for Wolverhampton, for whose distinguished services he, in common with millions of his countrymen, felt sincerely obliged, two years and a half ago proposed that those who were agitating this question should be heard at the bar of the house, that house scouted and rejected his suit, and when they denied him a hearing they misrepresented his motives [cheers]. Let him look at a case as given by the noble lord opposite. He would not for a moment allow it to be supposed that the noble lord had wilfully misrepresented, but he must contend that he had unconsciously misapprehended the case, and if he, with his brilliant talents, fell into error, other gentlemen must excuse him if he ventured to think that they also had fallen into error. Now, in reply to the case put by the noble lord, he must say that those who advocated the repeal of the corn-laws had again and again avowed as their object that they might be allowed the right, for they claimed it as a right, to exchange the produce of their industry for the productions of all other countries, and at the same time, they not only expressed their willingness, but their anxious desire, that all duties for protection, so called, levied upon articles in which they were engaged, might likewise be removed, and that a free and unfettered intercourse between all nations, in all commodities, might be carried on as designed by nature. He would come to that portion of the case of the noble lord which related to the wages of labour. The noble lord said that a repeal of the corn laws meant a reduction of wages. Now, if he (Mr. Cobden) knew what it meant, it meant increased trade. They did not wish to diminish wages, but they claimed the right to exchange their manufactures for the corn of all other countries, by which means they would, he maintained, very much increase trade; and how they could do that except by calling into operation an increased amount of labour, he was at a loss to imagine [cheers]. And he would ask the noble lord how could they call an increased demand for labour into activity without raising the rate of the wages of the working classes [cheers]. It appeared

to him, therefore, that there was a palpable fallacy in the statement of the noble lord on that occasion when he said that the object of the anti-corn-law party was to reduce wages, in order that they might be better enabled to compete with the foreigner [hear, hear, hear]. He maintained that we did now compete with the foreigner. He maintained that we sold our manufacturers cheaper than they were sold by any other country, for if we did not, how could we sell our manufactures upon neutral ground in competition with the producers of other countries? We now sold in New York every article in competition with the foreigners of other countries, and if we could there sell it cheaper than the foreigner, where was the protection given to the home producer? We sold articles at home as cheap as we did abroad, and he hoped the house would not forget this, that it was the foreign market that fixed the price in the home market. Did honourable gentlemen suppose that we would send articles 3,000 miles for sale if we could get better prices at home? He begged to say a few words more on this important question, and to draw the attention of the house to the relation between the price of food and any other article, and the price of labour when in a wholesome and natural state. He could understand in the slave holding states of America or Cuba that the price of labour might be determined by the price of provisions. The slave holder sat down and calculated the cost of raising his produce, and he calculated the price of labour accordingly. But he would come to another state of society; he would refer to the agricultural districts, where wages had reached the minimum; and he would ask, was the rate of wages raised when the price of provisions was increased? They were told that such was the case; and why was it the case? Was it because the high price of food increased the demand for labour; or rather, was not the increase given out of charity, and in the shape of charity, because the wages which labour before brought was reduced to a scale at which the labourer could not support himself and his family [hear, hear]? He would come to the state of the labour market in the manufacturing districts, and he was happy and proud to say that it was sound, nominally; but God knew how long it would continue so. There the rate of wages had no more connection with the price of food than with the changes of the moon [hear, hear.] There the rate of wages depended entirely upon the demand for labour [hear, hear.] There the price of food never became a test of the value of labour. The markets were elastic, and would be infinitely more elastic, if they were allowed. The markets, if they were permitted, would continue in a sound and wholesome state, and the people would be employed; but if they continued their present system of legislation, they would bring the manufacturing, the commercial, the trading, the town population, to the same point at which the agricultural labourer had reached; and then the manufacturers perhaps would come forward and state, not as an act of liberality—not that they were merely conferring alms upon paupers, but that as the price of food had risen, therefore they would raise the rate of wages, and not because the demand for labour required a rise in the rate of wages. He would dismiss the question of wages, although it was one he must say ought again and again to be mooted in that house and in the country, and he would come to consider the important question as to the state of our manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural labourers, which had already

caused some sympathy, and for which he must again implore the sympathy of the house. The house had heard of the condition of the labouring population in the north. He had lately had an opportunity of seeing a report of the state of our labouring population in all parts of the country. Probably honourable gentlemen were aware that a very important meeting had lately been held at Manchester, he alluded to the meeting of the ministers of religion [laughter on the opposition benches, and loud cheers from the ministerial benches.] He understood that laugh, but he should not pause in his statement of facts, but might perhaps notice it before concluding. He had seen a body of ministers of religion of all denominations—650, and not 30 in number—assembled from all parts of the country, at an expense of from three to four thousand pounds, paid by their congregations [hear, hear.] At that meeting most important statements of facts were made relating to the condition of the labouring classes. He would not trouble the house by reading those statements, but they showed that in every district in the country—and these statements rested upon unimpeachable authority—the condition of the great body of her Majesty's labouring population had deteriorated woefully within the last ten years, and more especially within the last three years, and that in proportion as the price of food increased, in the same proportion the comforts of the working classes had diminished [hear, hear.] One word with respect to the manner in which his allusion to this meeting was received. He did not come there to vindicate the conduct of these Christian men in having assembled in order to take this subject into consideration. The parties who had to judge them were their own congregations. There were at that meeting members of the established church, of the church of Rome, Independents, Baptists, members of the church of Scotland, and of the secession church, Methodists, and indeed ministers of every other denomination, and if he were disposed to impugn the character of these divines, he felt he should be casting a stigma and a reproach upon the great body of professing Christians in this country [cheers.] He happened to be the only member of that house present at that meeting, and he might be allowed to state, that when he heard the tales of misery there described, when he heard the ministers declare that members of their congregation were kept away from places of worship during the morning service, and only crept out under cover of the darkness of night—when they described others as unfitted to receive spiritual consolation, because they were sunk so low in physical destitution—that the attendance at Sunday schools was falling off—when he heard these and such like statements—when he, who believed that the corn-laws, the provision monopoly, was at the bottom of all that was endured, heard those statements, and from such authority, he must say that he rejoiced to see gentlemen of such character come forward, and, like Nathan when he addressed the owner of flocks and herds who had plundered the poor man of his only lamb, say unto the doer of injustice whoever he might be, "thou art the man" [hear, hear, and loud cheers.] The people, through their ministers, had protested against the corn-laws. Those laws had been tested by the immutable morality of Scripture [cries of "oh, oh," and cheers.] Those reverend gentlemen had prepared and signed a petition, in which they prayed the removal of those laws—laws which, they stated, violated

the scriptures, and prevented famishing children from having a portion of those fatherly bounties which were intended for all people; and he would remind honourable gentlemen that besides these 650 ministers, there were 1,500 others, from whom letters had been received, offering up their prayers in their several localities to incline the will of Him who ruled princes and potentates to turn your hearts to justice and mercy. When they found so many ministers of religion, without any sectarian differences, joining heart and hand in a great cause, there could be no doubt of their earnestness. He begged to call to their minds whether these worthy men would not make very efficient ministers in this great cause? They knew what they had done in the anti-slavery question, when the religious public was roused; and what the difference was between stealing a man and making him labour and robbing a man of the fruit of his industry he could not perceive. The noble lord the member for North Lancashire knew something of the abilities of these men. The noble lord had told the house that from the moment the religious community and their pastors took up the question of slavery, from that moment the agitation must be successful. He believed this would be the case in the present instance. Englishmen had a respect for rank, for wealth perhaps too much; they felt an attachment to the laws of their country; but there was another attribute in the minds of Englishmen—there was a permanent veneration for sacred things, and where their sympathy, and respect, and deference were enlisted in what they believed to be a sacred cause, "You and yours (addressing the opposition) will vanish like chaff before the whirlwind." Having described the condition of the people, he would ask what must be their feeling when they found that the gracious, most kind and benevolent recommendation of her Majesty, that house would take into their consideration laws which restricted the supply of food and diminished labour, was scouted by a majority of that house as a question secondary to the question whether a gentleman in a white hat opposite, or a gentleman with a black hat on that side, should occupy the Treasury benches? He would tell them that the people of England would reject such a course of proceeding, as the most factious that had ever characterized the conduct of that house; and if he turned from their conduct there, to declarations made elsewhere—it was not in conformity with the rules of the house to state where—he found an illustrious duke declaring that the condition of the labouring classes was enviable as compared with the population of other countries; and when that illustrious duke stated that every labouring man, who was industrious and sober, could obtain a competence, he would ask what must be the feeling and opinion of the country upon such a declaration? Honourable gentlemen who echoed the sentiments of the illustrious duke might remember that, ten years ago, the same illustrious individual said that the old boroughmongering Parliament was the perfection of human wisdom [loud cries of hear, hear]. He should not be surprised if the declaration of yesterday turned out the precursor, as the former was, of a far greater change than that proposed by the present government [hear, hear, hear]. Before he sat down he wished to say word to the right honourable gentleman the member for Tamworth. Allusions had been made to the opinions of Mr. Huskisson; and the right honourable baronet was fond of shrouding his opinions under the sanction of that distinguished statesman. He was most anxious that the right honourable baronet should not fall into the error of supposing that he was arrayed in the mantle of Mr. Huskisson, when, in point of fact, he had only his cast off garments. The will of Mr. Huskisson was often referred to, but he would introduce his last codicil. Mr. Huskisson's opinions in 1828 were often referred to, but he would refer to his last speech upon the subject of the corn-laws. On the 25th. of March, 1830, upon Mr. Poulett Thomson's motion upon the subject of taxation, Mr. Huskisson said, "It is my unalterable conviction that you cannot maintain the present corn-laws, and preserve public permanent prosperity and private contentment, and that those laws may be repealed without doing injustice to the landed interest is my firm belief [cheers]." This was the last codicil to the will and testament of that illustrious though in many respects failing man, and he trusted that after this, the opinions of Mr. Huskisson would never be misrepresented in that house. He begged to remind the right honourable baronet, the member for Tamworth, that when Mr. Huskisson spoke in 1830, the country was suffering from a state of collapse not so severe or lasting as at the present. If Mr. Huskisson then spoke in desponding terms; what would he have said in 1841, if he had witnessed the accumulation

of distress since that period, if instead of the Bank of England holding ten or twelve millions of money upon which three per cent, was with difficulty obtained, it had only about half that amount, and money was to be had in the market at five per cent.? What then would have been his opinion on the subject of the corn-laws? He wished to give his most earnest opinion upon this subject, and he wished particularly to address himself to the right honourable baronet the member for Tamworth, because he had the greatest means of serving the country. He asked him carefully to consider the prospects of the country. He asked him to go back to 1830, and inquire into the cause of elevation from the prostration of trade that then took place, and he would find that it was not a natural trade that had sprung up. From 1831 to 1836, our exports, as compared with our imports, had increased by £120,000,000. These exports went to America, and were locked up there. They were neither sold nor consumed; they merely went out to purchase bank stock, railway and canal shares, and such like articles. Besides, from that period, there had been an extension of our banking system, by which number of our banks was increased nearly one hundred, while the capital was increased £60,000,000. The expansion of the currency gave a factitious exercise to trade, and this, with other circumstances of unprecedented good fortune, raised up a factitious prosperity, which enabled the new ministry to pass an act reforming the poor-laws, as well as other acts. But this was not real prosperity [hear, hear]. Was the right honourable baronet prepared with any plan by which he could now rise up England to real prosperity? for he could tell him that any plan that created only a factitious prosperity would recoil with infinitely greater force than the last. He was glad that the ministers of the Crown did require money [a laugh]. He was glad of it, because they could only get that money through the prosperity of the trading and manufacturing interests. The landlords spent their money at Paris or at Naples, but they did not find the revenues of the state. Their revenues were most flourishing when the farmer was distressed, and the trading community was prosperous, and in proportion as the land-owner feels prosperous on account of the starvation of the millions, in the same proportion the revenue of the state fell off. With these few remarks [a laugh from the opposition, and loud cheers from the ministerial benches.] He could assure the house that the declarations he had made were not made with a party spirit. He did not call himself Whig or Tory, he was a free trader, and opposed to monopoly wherever he found it; and this he would conscientiously say, that although he was proud to acknowledge the virtues of the Whigs in stepping out from the ranks of the monopolists, and going three-fourths of the way, if the right hon. baronet and his supporters would come a step forward, he would be the first to shake hands with him if he would allow him, and give him a cordial support [loud cheers.]

VARIETIES.

COURTING SCENE.—"Jonathan, did you read that ere story about the man as was hugged to death by the bear?" "Guess I did, Sewke, and it did make me feel so bad." "Why, how did you feel, Jonathan?" "Kind'er sort'er as if I'd like to hug you eenamost to death tew, you tarnel, nice, plump, elegant little critter you, Sewke." "O, la! Go away, you—Jonathan."—*American paper.*

THE following announcement appears in a country paper:—"The order to discontinue the Cheltenham Salts advertisement did not reach our office until the first page was worked off."

On a cold frosty morning, an unfortunate spalpeen was late in his attendance at school, when he was severely reprimanded by his master. "Faith, Sir," said young Pat, "it was no fault of mine at all at all. The road was so slippery, that every step I took forward was two backward." "Oh you big blackguard, how can that be? If you walked in that fashion, you never could be here by any means." "No more I could, Sir, and so I played the road a trick: I turned my back on the school, and made it believe I was going home again."

TOO SLOW.—A Yankee gentleman railing it to Birmingham, inquired what was the speed, and on being answered forty miles an hour, replied that if they didn't put on more steam he'd go a-head and walk it.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We particularly desire to make this JOURNAL the REGISTER of the PROCEEDINGS of the WORKING-MEN throughout the Empire, on the question of FREE-TRADE and the ABOLITION OF MONOPOLY, and we earnestly request the various Working-men's Associations and others interested in the cause immediately to open a CORRESPONDENCE with us, as we shall be at all times anxious to insert Reports of the Working Men's Meetings, &c., Direct to the Editor, care of James Morris, 47, Richmond-street, Portland street, Manchester.

TO THE PUBLIC.

The Manchester Council of the National Anti-Bread Tax Association, beg to inform their Friends in the Country, that they are willing to send out their Lecturer and indefatigable Agent, Mr. John Finigan, to lecture wherever a room can be procured, and the necessary expenses guaranteed, on due application being made to Mr. James Morris, their Secretary.

THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1841.

Since we last addressed through the columns of our little periodical, the working classes—the bread taxed suffering, working classes—many things have occurred to throw greater light upon the workings of monopoly, and to embolden us in the belief that relief is at hand. The conference of ministers of the Gospel has been of incalculable benefit to the cause of the people and the unheard-of fact, that nearly 700 preachers of the word—coming from all parts of the country were assembled for four days together—to give and receive information upon the operations of the Corn Laws—and in the name of their Divine Master to denounce as unchristian those odious enactments has carried alarm into the very citadel of injustice. Meetings have been held in many parts of the country, and a vast amount of new information has been diffused throughout the land. In fine—the cause has been rapidly progressing. Our association has nobly aided in the good work. We had a tea party in the Corn Exchange, in honor of the Conference, which was attended by 680 of our members, and at which one—not only of nature's nobles, but also of the nobles of the land attended, and held out the right hand of assistance to the working men engaged in the attack upon monopoly. We had a large meeting upon St. Peter's Field, on the anniversary of the tragedy of the 16th. of August, 1819, at which strong resolutions were passed. We have had several lectures in Manchester, Salford, and other places, and have co-operated with other associations in many works of agitation.

Now—what we want is, a Universal Association of the Working Men. We want our thousands making into tens of thousands, and tens of thousands increasing into hundreds of thousands. We want all to assist—since all suffer. By a perfect organization and union of the vast mass who, from suffering from monopoly, are friends to its abrogation, we should forge a weapon by which injustice would be speedily destroyed. This good work has been nobly begun. The operatives of Manchester have done wonders, and are ready, again and again, to attack the citadel—to fight the battle—until a full and complete victory shall re-

ward their efforts. We most earnestly urge upon the working classes not to hesitate a moment in joining the Operative Associations—and if there be no association in their neighbourhood, immediately to form one, and to communicate their progress and proceedings to us, in order that we may give and receive advice and encouragement.

ALL want to see the labouring classes as comfortable and happy as they are industrious. Now they are miserable and degraded by poverty and want. On the progression of the great masses the onward march of the human race in a great measure hinges. As they wish to be comfortable and happy themselves, and to see the smile of gladness and of joy, light up the faces of those around them whose countenances are darkened and disfigured by the furrows which the hand of sorrow draws in deep lines even upon the youthful visage—as they wish the higher faculties with which man is endowed to be fully developed—to the benefit of the human race and the glory of the great Creator of all good—as they wish knowledge to be diffused amidst all classes, and not as it now is, almost entirely penned up within a narrow circle from which poverty excludes millions upon millions of our species—in fine—if our working brethren all over the empire desire to see carried out the great and beneficent designs of the Creator—the adoption of measures in accordance with which will permanently secure the happiness and well being of society—we call upon them to put their energies in motion, not in the cause of faction, or of party—not to serve the interests of one class at the expense of those of all the rest—but in their own especial cause, and to serve themselves by the unshackling of their industry.

JUSTICE—versus—TAXES.

The taxation of the country is about fifty millions per annum. Nearly half of this sum goes to pay the interest of the "National debt," as it is called—a debt contracted by the landowners, to defend their acres from a foreign foe. The rest goes in maintaining forces to keep down the people—for what other end can there be in keeping up a standing army in time of peace?—and, in other, perhaps as necessary, expenses. This taxation comes entirely out of the wealth produced by labour, and decreases the amount left to be enjoyed by those that produce it.

Monopoly, saps the vitals of labour, and prevents the industrious millions from earning the means of paying the taxes levied upon them. They are prevented BY LAW from keeping themselves; they cannot, in too many cases, get bread—is it just, so long as this state of things continues, that the people should be forced to pay taxes, which, by law, they are denied the power of raising? It is evidently unjust. We are glad to know that some amongst the middle classes think so much as we do, that they are going to do what has been done before, to refuse any longer to pay the demands of the tax gatherer. Perhaps some of these men may have their goods and chattles sold by virtue of distraint for taxes. People! BE TOO VIRTUOUS TO BUY THEM.

RICHARD COBDEN, ESQ., M.P.,

"The Man of the People," is a title to which Aristocratic hypocrites have impudently aspired, and which has been prostituted by hypocrisy and deceit, to suit the basest ends, and to destroy the very people for whom the traitors have professed to be labouring.

"Judge the tree by its fruits," says the bible, and we echo the remark. We hope Mr. Cobden will be judged by his deeds. His professions are known, and his deeds more than equal them. He

has been, through evil report, and through good report,—in all situations,—and before all parties, the firm and consistent advocate of the rights of the people. When the people of Stockport, or rather the electors of Stockport, rejected his services—thanks to a venial and ignorant few, he told them that before long they would be compelled, by a regard for their own interests, since other motives were powerless, to do justice to the people, by returning an opponent of monopoly, and a friend to the poor, to parliament. For his noble declaration, the working men of Stockport, to the number of 800 subscribed 1d. each, and presented him with a piece of plate, as a kind of retainer to him to act as counsel in their behalf at the bar of the House of Commons, whenever he could be returned to parliament. By a triumphant majority he has been placed where he ought to be,—and his first act has been to denounce the injustice of the aristocracy, to the labouring millions. We hail him as THE man of the people!

YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION TEA PARTY.

The Manchester Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association, desirous to do honour to the ministerial conference now being held in this town, resolved to hold a social tea party, and invite thereto a number of the distinguished ministers. Accordingly, the tea party was held on Thursday, August 19th in the Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, which was decorated for the occasion with festoons of drapery, and with a very great variety of anti-corn-law flags, banners, &c. Amongst the new ones, we observed a large fringe-bordered flag of white silk, inscribed "We will destroy monopoly, or monopoly must destroy us."

The president's table was raised on a *dais*, and ten long tables extended from it down the room. There were upwards of seven hundred and eighty ladies and gentlemen present; and the appearance of this large party was most animating. Over the chairman was the word "Justice" in gas lights. Mr. Edward Herford, president of the association, occupied the chair.

We had prepared a report of the speeches, &c., but are compelled by want of room briefly to state that the proceedings were of the most interesting character—and at the conclusion, every one seemed highly gratified with the "Feast of reason, and flow of soul," of which they had so abundantly partaken.

YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.—A numerous meeting of the members of the Stockport Young Men's Anti-monopoly Association was held in their room, Millgate Hall, on Monday evening, for the purpose of taking into consideration the rules, with a view to their immediate adoption. H. Coppock, Esq. president of the Association, occupied the chair. Suitable rules were agreed upon, and ordered to be printed forthwith. It is intended to have a lecture delivered, or a discussion introduced, each alternate Monday evening; and the association room will be open every Friday and alternate Monday evening for the diffusion of information respecting monopolies. All young men who wish to see the destruction of monopolies, which are so prejudicial to the welfare of the community, cannot do better than become members of the association. The Rev. J. Waddington delivered a lecture to the members on Monday evening, the 13th inst.

CORRESPONDENCE.

YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.

On Wednesday Evening the 19th. August, Mr. W. J. Birch delivered an address in the Mechanics' Institution, Cooper-street, on the establishment of the above society, and traced the effect of the Corn Laws on the

several industrial classes of the community. He de-claimed eloquently against the Monopolies of Trade, and the restrictions in the mutual intercourse of nations. Dr. Ritchie, who had been at the conference of Ministers, succeeded Mr. Birch, and spoke generally on the subject of the Corn Laws and Education. He appeared to have mistaken the object of the meeting from the circumstance of the place being a Mechanics' Institution, for his address containing only a partial reference to the topic under consideration. Mr. Acland, an official lecturer of the Anti-Corn Law League, concluded the evening's discourse, by a clear and succinct exposition of the Corn Laws. He possesses a slow and confident delivery and a pleasantry in illustrating his points, which have a powerful influence on the audience. Mr. J. P. Holland, who acted as chairman, noticed that these meetings would be continued, but as discussions rather than lectures, and the committee would endeavour to bring their opponents into the arena. There were not so many present at the meetings, which we attribute to the limited announcement that was made of it.

In my crisis of the public weal, when the people are suffering from the wants of the common necessities of life, there are always some speculative theorists arise and advance their nostrums of relief. It was this state which originated Chartism, and the enthusiasm of its leaders to support their credit with the people, led the body of the Chartists to violence, which has damaged the cause against those who yet follow the leaders in that precipitate movement. Accordingly a division has been made in the Chartists, and those who maintain the principles of the charter in the abstract, and hope for the realization of the five points, by the force of moral means, are distinguished from the followers of O'Connor and Stephens. At present, in consequence of their breach of the law, their progress is hindered, and they have to retrieve their character by a good course of conduct, if they mean to continue their existence in the public field of political advocates. Another class, offering itself in the same van, is the Socialists, whose prospects of their elysiums, the new moral world, are more distant than the hopes of the Chartists, as one holds to the present organized system of society, and would reform the evils in it, which encourages a chance of their practicability, whilst the other have no sympathy in the community at all, holding it to be founded in error, and would start again under a system of co-operation, and undergo the suffering in the intermediate course of its establishment. The distance of time, at which either of these classes can see their principles in operation, has temporarily given them a futile character, and the objects of a general and wholesome agitation, in which all might have an interest by the blighting influence of individuality and isolation, are widened in the attainment of immediate possible measures. A Chartist will not be a Socialist; a Socialist will not be a Chartist; neither will a Corn-Law Repealer unite with either. A point in the profession of one, is irreconcilable with a point in the profession of the other,—and in this manner the charm of dissension is supported. A Chartist is sometimes so violent as to obstruct the public hearing of the Whigs, because that they are Whigs,—the prejudice sticking at the mere name. Politics is a wide field for controversy, and is, perhaps, as open for difference as any other science. On this account we can pardon a many denominative characters. As political economy, however, assumes

the direction of the people, it is becoming that the government should absorb all private class interests in the general welfare, which should not be misrepresented by the weaknesses of the people themselves. The division of the working population, in a national question, is an instance of their own suicidal practices, and the dominant interest take the advantage of it, to refer the claim for their continued ascendancy. There is an opening to connect these discordant elements, and give them mutually an effect equal to their importance, in the question of the Corn Laws; for, as Dr. Ritchie remarked, at the Mechanics' Institution, "every one who has a mouth ought to be a corn law repealer." A cheap loaf can offend no reasonable class of beings who depend on legislative enactments for their sustenance,—and if the measure by which the boon is gained, does not reach the climax of every parties' creed; yet, it is a high step towards it, for the Corn Law is the Ossa of all monopolies. We write these remarks, to induce the Chartist, the Socialist, and every society of industry, to unite in one common bond for a measure which would elevate every class. Their distinct exertions will be ineffectual for their own cause,—while if the Anti-Corn Law Question is gained, each grade of society will be approximated more closely. It will raise the middle class higher, and exalt the poor class in an eminent degree. We then recommend the closest union of our working brethren,—

"Our plains with plenty shall be crown'd;
The sword shall till the fruitful ground;
The spear shall prune our trees around,—
And joy shall ev'ry where abound,
To bless a nation's union,"

M.

Manchester, August 21, 1841.

To the Editor of the Anti-Monopolist.

SIR,—The members of the Huddersfield Operative Anti-Corn-Law Association held their half-yearly meeting on Thursday the 19th inst., in the Guild Hall, which was numerously attended, Mr. Baker, president, in the chair.

Mr. Swann moved the adoption of the report in an able and energetic speech, which was briefly seconded by Mr. Abraham Dawson.

Also, the following resolution was moved by Mr. Wright, Mellor, in a good speech.

"That this meeting pledges itself to use every constitutional means to obtain a speedy and total repeal of the unjust, oppressive, and destructive corn laws."

Other resolutions were moved and seconded by Mr. Batho, Mr. John Wild, Mr. T. S. Capstack, and Mr. Hanson, which merely related to the business of the association.

Your's respectfully,

WILLIAM CAWTHRA, SECRETARY.

FIRST HALF-YEARLY REPORT OF THE HUDDERSFIELD OPERATIVE ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATION.

FELLOW-WORKMEN,—Your committee being deeply convinced of the injurious and oppressive nature of the corn and provision laws, feel themselves justified in calling you together at this time, to lay before you the first report of your association, and to take council together how this mighty monster—oppression—can be exterminated from our land.

The bread of the people is taxed, and this tax puts the working classes on short allowance; and if the people cannot get sufficient food, how can they purchase articles of clothing? and if clothing cannot be obtained, trade becomes stagnated. employment gets scarce, wages are reduced. And what is all this for? For no other purpose than that a few thousands of rich landed proprietors may live in luxury and extravagance. How then can this evil be removed? Why it is sufficient that the people will it, and monopoly will speedily be scat-

tered to the four winds of heaven. The people must be united and proclaim that its existence shall be no longer. To this end and for this purpose your association has been formed.

For a considerable time previous to the formation of your association, another Anti-Corn-Law Association had been in existence; but owing to the unreasonable, unmanly, and unprincipled opposition it met with, it was not able to make much progress in the cause it was established to promote; but no sooner had your association come into full operation, than the joint energies of both associations were able to overcome all the opposition which could be brought against them, and much good has been done.

The first means which your committee adopted for spreading information amongst the people, was the employment of Mr. Finnigan, to deliver a course of lectures in the town and villages in its neighbourhood. Two lectures were delivered in the Philosophical Hall; one at Hanley, one at Netherton, one at Deighton, one at Berry Brow, one at Lirdley, and at Brighouse, one at Kirkheaton, and one at Longwood, all of which were well attended. At some of the places, a trifling opposition was manifested by the chartists, but which only tended to draw out the Lecturer. Encouraged by the success which attended these lectures, your committee, in conjunction with the committee of the other association, got up a tea demonstration. Great numbers attended, and more would have been present, if the room had been large enough.

This was one of the most interesting meetings was ever held in Huddersfield, and far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its promoters. The consequence was, that a great acquisition was made to our numbers; and by the circulation of tracts, and other means which have been employed, your committee has been enabled to establish six branch associations, viz.: at Deighton, Berry Brow, Meltham, Marsden, Honley, and at Linthwaite.

It would be tedious to lay before a meeting of this description, all the operations and movements of your committee since the commencement of this association, suffice it to say that your committee believe the association to be in a most healthy and prosperous condition.

The enemies of our cause have vainly supposed that the results of the late elections has settled the question against us; but we see no reason to despair; our cause is a righteous cause and must succeed. The Queen and the people are on our side. The God of heaven has declared that he that withholdeth corn from the poor the people shall curse him. Arise, then, fellow-workmen, exert yourselves, and the victory is yours.

The members of the Huddersfield Operative Anti-Corn-Law Association, with its branches, number nearly one thousand.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

You have been often told what would be the effects of a change in the corn laws; some saying that "cheap corn means low wages;" others "that the manufacturers would be the only parties who would be benefited:" some say "that the land ought to be protected, because the land pays all the taxes." My object will be to show you that the corn laws entail a tax upon you, to show you the amount of that tax, and to prove that the land does not pay its due share of taxation. After having done this, I shall leave the subject to your own good sense, as to the benefits to be derived from excessive taxation. The amount of the taxes on food have been estimated at various sums;—my plan will be to estimate it under the proposed duty of eight shillings per quarter. The tax at present must be much greater, as the farmers say that eight shillings is not sufficient protection. If the farmers have a protective duty of eight shillings, then, if we add the carriage, which will be on an average 4s. 9d. per quarter more, this law will have the effect of raising the price of corn in this country about 12s. 9d. per quarter over what it is in the cheapest exporting corn countries. But as oats and barley pay a less duty, I will assume that the effect of the proposed change in the food laws will be to raise the price of

all sorts of grain in this country *five shillings* per quarter, which will be a great deal below the truth. The consumption of all sorts of grain in this country was calculated, a few years ago, to amount to about 52 millions of quarters. If we multiply 52 millions by 5s. we shall have the amount of the tax upon grain which will be £13,000,000 of money. If wheat were admitted into this country at a fixed duty of 8s. per quarter, the price could never rise to more than 53s.; for the average price on the continent is 40s. 6d.; add to this 8s. duty, and the 4s. 9d. freight will make 53s. 3d. The average price of wheat, during 1840, in this country, was 64s.

Well, having seen the amount of protection upon grain, I will now turn to the other articles of British food. In our house, we use of wheat, meal, and malt, about 8s. worth every week; and of other British produce, namely, butter, eggs, milk, cheese, potatoes, and beef, we use about 12s. worth. This proportion will hold good in other families, some using more and a many less. Then, according to the rule, we pay for protection on these articles, £13,000,000, and the half of it, £6,500,000, being £19,500,000; if we add this sum to the amount of the protection upon grain, we shall have the enormous sum of £32,000,000 being £3,046,000 more than the interest of the national debt.

I should be justified in taking the tax as being much higher on the following articles, because they are entirely prohibited by the 3rd and 4th William 4th. c. 52:

Beef, fresh or corned, or slightly salted.

Cattle, great.

Lamb.

Mutton.

Pork, fresh or corned, or slightly salted.

Sheep.

Swine.

Fish, of foreign taking or curing, or foreign vessels, that is, herrings, &c. except, (and, bless the mark! do mind the exceptions) TURBOTS, LOBSTERS, stock fish, live eels, anchovies, sturgeon, botargo, and caviare.

Did any of you hear the names of these fish before? I must confess that I never did until I read them in the act of parliament. The rulers of this country have not followed the Divine example, where it is said, "He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away." They, on the contrary, have filled the rich with good things; and send the poor empty away. Those articles which form the food of the rich, are allowed to pass without paying taxes, while those which form the food of the poor are totally prohibited. I shall leave this subject now, and allow you to form your own conclusions as to whether these laws be just or wise.

Let us now turn to the taxes. Freehold land pays no probate duty; when an estate of this description passes from father to son, it contributes nothing to the state. When Lord Wilton dies, his large estate will pass to his next heir without paying a farthing PROBATE duty: and he is even exonerated from paying his just debts, if he think proper. Now how is personal property treated? I will give you a case. A man that I knew died, and left about £600 for his wife and six children, there has been paid £15 for probate duty; and when the property comes to be divided amongst the children, it will then have to pay legacy duty which will be £6 more. Farming stock is exempt from paying any duty upon insurances; and the amount of farming stock which was insured last year, and which did not pay one farthing of duty, was £51,977,751. A large farm is exempt from paying insurance duty, but a factory must pay duty.—Farming stock is insured on an average of one shilling and sixpence per cent. Cotton factories are insured at about 14s. per cent., and they have likewise the additional sum of 3s. per cent. to pay for duty. So the amount for insurance of these two descriptions of property will stand thus: Say they are insured at £50,000. A farm insured for this sum would pay £37 10s., while the factory would have to pay £350, in consequence of the property being of a more hazardous kind, and the duty will be £75, making the total amount of insurance for such a mill £425. Now which description of pro-

perty ought in fairness to pay duty? Horses employed in husbandry pay no duty; nor do farmers pay duty for a riding horse, if they occupy a farm of a less value than £500 a year. Market gardeners' horses pay no duty. The horses belonging to lords, and used by bailiffs, shepherds, or herdsmen, are exempt from duty. But the horses of manufacturers, when used by their servants, pay duty.

Dogs wholly kept and used in the care of sheep or cattle are exempt from duty.

The Tamworth doctor asked who paid the highway rates? Whoever pays the rates, it is clear that the farmers do not pay their share of toll, for all kinds of manure are allowed to pass through the toll gates without paying toll. The canals and railroads are compelled by law to carry manure for one-third less than other merchandise.

Bricks pay a duty of more than 6s. per 1000, for building houses or factories, yet when the farmer wants brick-tiles he pays *neither duty nor toll*.

Farm houses, belonging to farmers, under £200 a year, are exempt from window duty.

When a farmer sells the produce of his land, he pays no *auction duty*; but if a manufacturer sells his goods by auction, he must *pay duty*.

Even the law of settlement, in the New Poor Law, has been made to favour the owners of large tracts of land. Look at the Earl of Wilton, he owns nearly all the land in one township; and he has knocked down all the labourers' houses that were on his estate, when he came into possession. The consequence is, that no one can, for the future, gain a settlement in his township; because the law of settlement principally depends upon where a person is born; and as there are no houses there can be no births: as no poor person can obtain a settlement, so there are no poor rates of any importance.

I remain

Your Obdt. Servant,

JOHN HEYWOOD.

PROSPECTS OF THE PEOPLE.

FELLOW WORKMEN,—Although the aspect of affairs may be said to be gloomy, still we see enough in the dark horizon to convince us that the seeds of as great and mighty a change as ever took place, are not only sown but are throwing out shoots—vigorous and healthy—the precursors of a growth which will be so rapid as to speedily overshadow the land with its protecting branches. Yes, the consummation "devoutly to be wished," is near at hand. The people are beginning, not only to appreciate the advantages of unrestricted commerce—for this they have long done—but, also, firmly to resolve that monopoly SHALL cease. The signs of the times are invigorating to the labouring millions—fearful to the monopolists. They are as

"A star to US, a comet to THE FOE."

We have read of eruptions taking place in countries where burning mountains exist. We have found that where a free outlet is left for the escape of the lava,—the scorching stream flows down the mountain sides, without doing any great amount of injury; but that when every aperture is closed, when the stubborn and flinty rock resists with stern obduracy, the outpouring of the fluid contained within its bowels, the glowing mass is for a moment checked and re-checked in its progress—for a moment it remains within its vast caverns, sullen and grumbling, and then, gathering fresh strength from its forced confinement, it bursts asunder with resistless violence—its *then* insufficient—though mighty—restraint; hurls high into the air its red-hot stream, rushing, with majestic force, down the mountain slopes—overturns, overcomes, and destroys every impediment to its onward movement, and leaves waste, scorched and barren, vast tracts, which would otherwise have retained their fertility and beauty. The aristocracy fattened, and enriched by a corn-law, and backed by other monopolising interests on the one hand, and by a corrupt electing few on the other, have laid their ponderous weight upon the safety valve, have for a moment succeeded in keeping in the boiling tide of a people's love of justice. Thank

heaven, we say, that they have done so. Though wishing to *keep the people as they are*, they have, by their own acts and deeds, sealed the fate of their system. Most heartily we thank them, and to show our gratitude, now tell them *that, despite themselves, they are going to become honest men!* Yes, fellow-workmen, a full deliverance is at hand! The lava of public opinion is gathering strength, though shut up still; a little longer, and its accumulated force shall break asunder every industrial fetter—overspread monopoly, with its scorching weight, and never cease flowing until monopoly, injustice, and tyranny, are utterly and for ever burnt up and destroyed.

Sir Robert Peel cannot, *dare not*, meddle with the corn, or any other monopoly—his support, as head of the government, is dependant upon his retention of *injustice, as it is*. We wish our readers to bear this in mind, and we exhort them to "gird up their loins," for a resistance of oppression, as determined, as is the spirit displayed by the two houses of incurables, in retaining "*injustice by law*." "Total repeal of every monopoly." "No compromise of injustice." "Full justice to the labouring millions," shall be inscribed upon our banners, which, floating on the breeze, shall collect around them, the true hearted and devoted of the land, whose united moral force shall overcome every attempt to impede it, and shall place the STANDARD of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, high upon the towers now polluted by the death's head and cross-bones, which landowning oppression has in effect, taken for its motto.

"Justice, full justice, and nothing less than full justice to the working classes" SHALL be done, and that right speedily. The people demand it—a bounteous providence frowns upon oppression, and the people will have it.

Your Friend, the EDITOR.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF THE LATE H. HUNT, ESQ., M.P., FOR PRESTON.

To Edward Curran, Manchester.

[NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.]

You will have seen by the papers the fact of my motion for the *Repeal of the Corn Laws*. Eight for the motion, and 197 for the continuance of the Starvation Laws. Recollect, 150 of these, at least, are Reformers on Lord John Russell's plan. Recollect this! You may easily conceive that I made them not only look blue and black, but that I made some of them tremble; when you see what the newspaper fellows have *selected* out of my speech on the occasion. I commanded the most profound silence and attention for above *one hour*. I went yesterday in order to do what I shall on Monday give *notice* for a motion, the first open day to move for leave to bring in a bill to admit WHEAT and WHEAT FLOUR, to be imported free of duty, &c. &c.

Mr. H. of all men moved the *previous question*, as the tool of the Ministers, and with his Scotch philosophy declared that it was ill timed, that the people must *WAIT patiently*.—"I replied" *wait, wait, and die starved!!!*

Ought you not immediately to call a meeting on Peterloo, about this rejection of the Corn Question? Consult Mr. Cox.

Pass strong resolutions, and do what else you like.

Have your meeting at once about the Corn Bill, and speak out. Mr. E. Dixon, and I should think Mr. Doherty will join you in this; remember me to these gentlemen, I believe them sincere although we may differ.

Your's truly, H. HUNT.

Names of those who Voted with me on the Corn Laws.

Mr. James, of Carlisle, seconded my Motion.
Mr. Gore Langton, County Somerset.
Sir Gerrard Noel, Rutland.
Mr. Bulwer, Coventry.
Mr. Ellis, Leicester.
Mr. Hughes Hughes, Oxford.
Mr. Calvert, Southwark.
H. Hunt, Preston.

MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY,
BY AN ENEMY TO THE STARVATION OF THE PEOPLE
CHAPTER II.

My recollection of the sad event, spoken of in the preceding chapter, is as distinct as if it had only taken place yesterday, while of succeeding incidents, consequent upon it, my mind only retains a confused and general remembrance. My infant senses were staggered by the overwhelming misfortune which deprived me of both parents, at a time when they were most needed. The minutest circumstances attending the sad tragedy were, so to speak, burnt into my memory, which, by the force and all-absorbing nature of the impression, refused to register succinctly, events following in its train. I have, therefore, a gap in the history of my life, as recorded in my remembrance, which can only be filled up in general terms. A dream, like a series of shadowy scenes, occasionally obtrude into this otherwise empty space. In the first, I see a number of strange faces, gazing with awe-stricken curiosity at the corpse of a female—beside which sits a little child apparently stupified with grief. In the second, I see a parish funeral, attended only by a single mourner, and that one the same little being who was so attentively and sadly watching in the chamber of death. In the third, the child appears sitting over the newly-filled grave, in mute but tearful agony, until a rude hand drags it reluctant and resisting away, where—to place it is hidden in mystery.

Following the course of my more vivid recollections, behold me the inmate of one of those cold, comfortless, cruel, contrivances of legal charity—a workhouse. I do not remember when, how, or by whom, I was placed there. I simply know the fact of my being there—and recall the sickening routine of my life, while existing under the care and at the cost of "the parish."

In the parish poor-house there were, at the time when my more early reminiscences commence, about 400 souls, about 80 of whom were, like myself, the children of the parish. Some of them being like me, fatherless and motherless, but the majority the children of shame, the innocent victims of lewdness and wickedness, or of ruined innocence, and devilish arts. Palsied and helpless, old age, diseased and premature imbecility, with idle and vicious youthful vigour, made up the complement of inmates. Oh! what a hell was this! What concentrated selfishness—what blunted and withered feelings—what a desert of all that was good or holy—what a rank wilderness of incipient, or burnt-out crime; a jungle of moral deformity in which untrained, unpruned, unchecked, sprung up the most hideous weeds, and strengthening and aiding one another's growth, by their mutual support, and destroying in the earliest stage every tender plant of purer growth, which, by chance, might erect its head for a brief space, amid the general deformity—was here! The master, as we called him, of the place, was a fit ruler for such a colony of degradation. Low in his ideas, as the office he held was disgusting, he appeared to regard his charge, merely, as the means of procuring the gratification of his beastly tastes. His salary, and the dishonest perquisites of the office procured for him a supply of those things which the house did not furnish—while the provisions and liquor provided for the paupers, enabled him to gorge and intoxicate himself to satiety. As he lived in a

detached portion of the building, which went by the name of the governor's house, he generally selected from amongst the inmates, two or three persons at a time, as his especial attendants, for whom he found accommodations in the holes and corners of his own den. The honour of being his personal attendant usually fell upon one of the prettiest amongst the frail ones, whose weaknesses had brought them to the parish, and upon the smartest and most active boy and girl in the children's ward.

One of the first of my workhouse recollections, is my instalment into the office of lacquey to the great man. I was at this time about eight years old,—my fellow servants were a pretty little foundling, named Mary Williams, and a tall, dark-eyed, stout built brunette, whose passion for the sterner sex was matter of course, jest with her late co-partners in suffering & vice. Peradventure this failing—together with her undeniable good looks, had caused governor Witcham to enthrone her in the high office of servant of all work to the parish officers—i. e. to the governor himself—to the beadle—the clerk—all of whom occasionally messed with us, and considered the occupation of the house, when they chose, as one of their vested rights.

Under the guidance of master Witcham, and of his "parish wife," as the paupers called her, Mary and I worked from morning to-night without ceasing, living upon the leavings of our master and mistress; buffeted and cursed when their low passions raged against any body or any thing—unsolaced by kindness—unencouraged by affection, save that which grew up between us, and without which, perhaps, we should have both become as irretrievably lost and degraded, as the rest of our co-inmates. When Mary, tired by continued occupation, was willing and ready to sink to the earth with fatigue, my assistance was offered and accepted, and my cheering words and childish encouragements, caused a ray of hope and happiness to shine into her innocent little heart; which, in grateful return, poured forth the sincerest and kindest expressions of sympathy for my many pains and cares. Yes—gentle, or ungentle reader, the recollection of the infantile caresses of this little girl even at this period of my life—a period, when all the romance of youth has been scared away, and forced by the winter of old age to fly for refuge to more sunny climes, causes my heart to heave with delightful emotions and tears of joy to flow unbidden from my aged and bedimmed eyes. My lot was dark, the black clouds which had gathered around me, made blacker still by the total setting of the sun of parental affection—had no palliative, when the love of this little sylph, stretched like a beauteous rainbow, over the dark expanse, heightening the blackness of the cloud, but being rendered itself more sweetly luminous by the contrast!

(To be continued.)

UNITED ORDER OF ANTI-MONOPOLISTS.

It has been suggested by a few zealous friends of the "Total Repeal of the Food Taxes" that an Order of Brotherhood, similar to the Odd-Fellows, Rechabites, &c., under the above title, would greatly promote the object we have in view, viz:—the *Total Abolition of all Monopolies*.

Many friends are of opinion that it would be a powerful means of uniting the Working Classes, and their Employers in one common bond of union and good-will. Those of our readers, who may approve of the suggestion, will be kind enough to send their names and addresses to our Publisher; and we will hand them over to the parties. A Meeting can then be called, and the necessary arrangements made for carrying the plan into operation.

P O E T R Y .

RHYMES FOR CORN-LAW TIMES.

(From "The United States," a Philadelphia Paper.)

The toiling sons of England!
From tyrant hands they wring
The massive keys
That lock our seas,
Lest friendly barque should bring
The fruit of smiling fields that gladden Europe's spring.
The famish'd sons of England!
I hear their piercing cry,
Like raven's brood,
Whose God-sent food
Does vulture's maw supply;
While pamper'd Luxury's sons look on with tearless eye!
The haughty sons of England!
They rise with sullen frown;
They little heed
The people's need,
But trample freemen down;
Yet, ah! a freeman's curse would shame earth's brightest crown.
Ye noble sons of England!
Who dare to stem the tide,
And calmly brave
The adverse wave
Of selfishness and pride!
Your hallow'd barque o'er all shall still triumphant ride.
Then up—free sons of England!
Your banner high display;
Tyrants shall wail,
Despots grow pale;
We'll drive them all away;
Till thundering shouts shall hail fair Freedom's brighter day.

TIME.

Time speeds away—away—away;
Another hour—another day—
Another month—another year—
Drop from us like the leaflets sear;
Drop like the life-blood from our hearts;
The rose-bloom from the cheek departs,
The tresses from the temples fall,
The eye grows dim, and strange to all.

Time speeds away—away—away;
Like torrent in a stormy day;
He undermines the stately tower,
Uproots the tree, and snaps the flower;
And sweeps from our distracted breast
The friends that loved, the friends that blest;
And leaves us weeping on the shore,
To which they can return no more.

Time speeds away—away—away;
No eagle through the skies of day,
No wind along the hills can flee,
So swiftly, or so smooth as he.
Like fiery steed—from stage to stage
He bears us on—from youth to age,
Then plunges in the fearful sea
Of fathomless Eternity.

KNOX.

ADVERTISEMENT.

YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION, SALFORD DISTRICT.

A PUBLIC TEA PARTY of the members and friends of this association, resident in the above district, will be held in the Town Hall, Salford, on Monday Evening, September 20th, 1841,

EDWARD HERFORD, Esq.

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION, IN THE CHAIR.

The objects of the society will be stated by the Council of the District, who have the pleasure to announce that the Rev. J. W. MASSIE and Counsellor MOORE, B.A., have kindly consented to address the meeting on the injurious effects of restrictions and monopolies.

J. CURTIS, Esq.

OF OHIO,

Has also been invited, and is expected to attend.

Tea on the Table at Seven o'clock.

Tickets, one shilling each, may be obtained at Mr. Wood's, Mr. Dracup's, and Mr. Duxbury's Chapel-street, Salford, and from the Stewards of the Association.

HORNE TOOKE AND WILKES.—Horne Tooke having challenged Wilkes, who was then sheriff of London and Middlesex, received the following laconic reply:—"Sir, I do not think it my business to cut the throat of every desperado that may be tried for his life; but as I am at present high sheriff of the city of London, it may happen that I shall shortly have an opportunity of attending you in my official capacity, in which case I will answer for it that *you shall have no ground* to complain of my endeavours to serve you."

ADDRESSES TO CONFERENCE.

(From 615 Workmen in the employ of Messrs. Sharp, Roberts, & Co.)

TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF RELIGION, ASSEMBLED TO DISCUSS THE TAXES ON FOOD.

We, the undersigned workmen, in the employ of Messrs. Sharp, Roberts, and Co. engineers and machine makers, are desirous of respectfully expressing to the Conference our full concurrence in those views of the injustice of all laws which restrict the supply of food, and which have led to their meeting; and our admiration of the courage and devotion to sound principles which have brought so many hundreds of ministers from their usual retirement to meet in conference upon this vitally important and all-interesting subject. We have long been deeply convinced, that the food monopoly is unjust, unchristian, and oppressive. Our situation, as workmen in a very large manufacturing establishment, has given us many opportunities of witnessing its destructive influence on trade; although, owing to the peculiar position and extensive connection of our respected employers, we have not hitherto (comparatively) suffered from its direful effects to the extent that others have, yet our familiarity with the homes and circumstances of the working population in this town, enable us to affirm, that the amount of misery and want which the corn laws have produced among us, is heart-rending and appalling. We rejoice in all efforts to put an end to a system which we hold to be so wicked and demoralizing, and hail, with peculiar satisfaction, the present combined exertions of men, whose frequent intercourse with the poor leads them to feel for their distress, and whose just influence in society adds weight to their sentiments. We believe that ministers of religion cannot devote their talents and valuable time to more blessed or more important objects, than in advocating the rights, and exposing the wrongs, of their suffering fellow-men. We welcome your assembly with heartfelt pleasure; we sympathize with you in feeling; and we trust that your efforts will be sustained in hopeful perseverance; that more and more of your profession will soon feel constrained to join with you; and that a glorious success will, ere long, be your gratifying reward. The prayers of many who are ready to perish are with you, and their blessings are upon your endeavours to aid in procuring for them that share of the means of subsistence, which was designed and is provided for all by the Creator of all things.—We are, with sincere respect, &c. &c.

(Signed) BENJAMIN FOTHERGILL,
CHAIRMAN,
On behalf of 615 workmen.

(From the Operative Anti-corn Law Association.)

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL ON THE CORN AND PROVISION LAWS.

REVEREND SIRS,—We cannot allow the present opportunity to pass, without publicly thanking you for your patriotic and Christian efforts on behalf of the interests of the country generally, and more especially of the numerous important, and useful, but unfortunately suffering class, of which our association is almost entirely composed. We thank you on behalf of the working men of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

We need not enlarge upon the sufferings which, for a long period, it has been our lot to experience amongst ourselves, and to see amongst different portions of our working brethren. These sufferings have been steadily increasing. The details of privation and misery which have been laid before the conference by rev. gentlemen, of all sects of Christians, ministering in almost every part of the empire, are unparalleled in a civilized and enlightened community; and they sufficiently demonstrate, not only that you are well aware of the miserable condition of the poorer classes, and of the main cause of their distress; but also that you have well and faithfully fulfilled one of the most important duties of the sacred trust delegated to you,—that of searching out the sorrowing beings who are crushed to the earth by poverty and want, and of carrying the hopes and consolations of religion to relieve and sustain those who, without them, would fall victims to the blackest despair. We have, therefore, no occasion to prove to you, that the unrighteous corn and provision laws produce an incalculable amount of distress amongst the working classes, and that at present the baneful influence of those laws is acutely felt throughout the whole country. Suffice it to assure you, that the working classes know full well from what source their sufferings proceed, and are resolutely determined to do all in their power, by moral and peaceful means, to produce a radical change in the present wicked and cruel system. Such a change cannot, in their opinion, be effected, without a total and immediate annihilation of the monopoly in food.

By your timely assistance, you have invigorated our hopes of a speedy improvement in the state of our affairs; you have shown, that you hold in just contempt the sneers and opposition of those who appear to rest satisfied with promulgating the precepts, without enforcing obedience to, or denouncing the violation of, that Christian charity which forms the practice of the real disciple of Jesus. You have caused thousands who could only see a reinstatement of their prosperity through the bloody vista of revolution, to say their unhallowed thoughts, and to withhold their hands from violence. Your reward hereafter will be great. Here you will receive, at least, all that the people have to offer,—the heartfelt thanks and sincere prayers of millions who rejoice in your aid, amongst whom the members of the Manchester Operative Association desire to be considered not the least sincere.

(On behalf of the Association),

JAMES MORRIS, Secretary.

Passed at a meeting of members, Aug. 19, 1841.

LORD MELBOURNE.—The exhibition of the late jaunty premier at the close of his five years may be likened to that of a play-actor at the fall of the curtain, with this difference, however, that his lordship appeared quite indifferent whether his performances met with the applause or hisses of the spectators. Amongst other vagaries, the rollicking lord turned casuist, and in a serio-comic tone declared that the corn laws were neither immoral nor irreligious. Six hundred and fifty ministers of the gospel have pronounced the starvation laws to be a violation of the law of God, and Lord Melbourne vouches for the morality and religion of the food monopoly! We shall be curious to see the decision of the bishops on this point;—will they prefer the Melbourne religion to that of the Bible.—*Anti-bread-tax Circular.*

THE FARMER'S FRIEND.—Peel is going to play the game of "no surrender" with the corn laws, cry some on seeing the Duke of Buckingham's name announced as a member of the Cabinet. Sir Robert may be foolish enough to act as they expect,—we shall soon see,—but their premises are not sufficient to bear out their conclusion. The Duke of Buckingham is a man of one idea; he thinks only of his interest of "the most noble Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos."* His opposition to corn-law abolition may be traced to the same source with that of some other patriots, the fear that it might derange the existing balance of rentals and mortgages. But let no mortgagors, therefore, count on the steady support of Richard Plantagenet. If he can save himself he will make no bones of throwing them overboard. Remember the game he played with the West India Planters. It will never surprise us to hear him preaching the doctrine that the corn laws must be modified to admit of their being more easily defended, although not a year ago he was declaring, that to alter one word in them was to hazard their total repeal. We shall rather enjoy the astonishment of the farmers, when their oracle begins to point out the double meaning of his response.

THE IRISHMAN'S HORSE.—Observing that one of the horses was lame, we noticed this to their owner, as an infringement of our contract. "Lame, your honour!" he replied; "no such thing—the boy's quite perfect; only, you see, it's a way he has of resting one leg till the other three are tired."—*Bernard's Retrospections.*

UNNECESSARY APOLOGY.—A learned Irish judge, among other peculiarities, has a habit of begging pardon on every occasion. On his circuit, a short time since, his favourite expression was employed in rather a singular manner. At the close of the assize, as he was about to leave the bench, the officer of the court reminded him that he had not passed the sentence of death on one of the criminals, as he had intended. "Dear me!" said his lordship, "I really beg his pardon—bring him in."

HOW TO MAKE A FREEHOLDER.—Beg, borrow, steal, or buy, an empty sugar cask or dog kennel, and a bundle of pea sticks; carry the whole to the nearest waste crown land, and there inclose with your pea sticks as much ground as they will encompass. Having thus secured your estate with a ring fence, place your kennel or cask in the centre, creep into it, and swear boldly that you won't come out though £10. a year were offered to you.

DIAMOND CUT DIAMOND.—Not long ago, a couple of roguish Yankees went to Canada to purchase spurious bank notes. After they had been gone some time, the manufacturers of the paper ascertained that they had been paid in counterfeit money.—*New York Examiner*

REQUISITES FOR THE MARRIED STATE.—A wise man being asked, what was requisite to make the state of wedlock pleasant and easy, replied, "Only two things; the wife should be blind, that she might not be able to see her husband's pranks; and the husband deaf, that he might not be able to hear his wife's tongue."

A REAL CURIOSITY.—Among the curiosities which are shown to travellers at Cologne, is the first animal that drew blood, and thus broke the general peace—namely the veritable flea that bit Eve the night after her fall. This antediluvian flea is almost as large as a well grown prawn.

CURIOUS ENDORSEMENT.—A ten pound note (says the *Brighton Herald*) came a few days since, into the hands of a gentleman, on the back of which was written the following political distich:—

Go, buy the poor man's vote once more,
With lies and liquor cram him;
God bless him if you gain him o'er,
But if you can't, why—d—m him.

* What a felicitous conjunction of names. "High-reaching Buckingham," and Richard Plantagenet, "the Self-same name, but one of softer nature" in one person.

MANCHESTER:

Printed by James Hodgson, 99, Cannon Street, for the National Operative Anti-Bread Tax Association, and Published by James Morris, 47, Richmond Street, Portland Street, to whom all Communications to the Editor must be addressed [Post Free.]

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th, 1841.

THE Anti-Monopolist AND

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL OPERATIVE ANTI-BREAD TAX ASSOCIATION.

"THE BREAD OF THE NEEDY IS HIS LIFE; HE THAT DEFRAUDETH HIM THEREOF, IS A MAN OF BLOOD!"—Eccles. XXIV. 21.

[No. 3.] [Vol. I.]

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1841.

For Subscribers.

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"WHAT SHALL WE DO?—AWFUL STATE OF THE LABOURING CLASSES. DANGER TO SOCIETY FROM A STAR- VING POPULATION."

CONVENTION OF DELEGATES FROM THE WORKING
CLASSES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

What shall we do next? has been the repeated exclamation of the friends of free-trade throughout the country. It has been but too evident to all who have noticed the speeches of the Tory Ministry, both in and out of the house, that the suffering artizan and the bankrupt merchant and manufacturer are to be "LET ALONE," that no *attempt even* is to be made to grapple with their distresses; and that in order to rid themselves of the "nuisance" of the complaints of an injured people, the doors of the house of commons, and with them the ears of the Ministry, are to be closed—until when? Till a month hence? No, reader, but UNTIL THE END OF FEBRUARY 1842! Oh, if ever a monstrous piece of callous-hearted neglect of duty was perpetrated by the executive of the country, this is one of the most atrocious. "Do nothing till next February?" said a highly respectable merchant to us.—"Why the people of the North, here, will be eating one another by that time!" We were told before the present batch of incapables succeeded the last, that, only let "SIR ROBERT" get into power and all our woes would be immediately alleviated. Alas! it is but too apparent that the present government will not even turn their gaze to our sad condition until the end of a period of FIVE MONTHS, and of five months of winter too; and that when they do so, it will be merely flip-
pantly to declare that they have 91 reasons, connected with "the land" for doing nothing for us! We are suffering,—dreadfully. Even the Tories admit this. Our artizans are sinking by wholesale into that desponding and after-

wards reckless and desperate condition, which is the sure consequence of abject poverty. THOUSANDS, TOO, ARE DYING OF STARVATION. Case after case is brought before the public, in which even a coroner's jury has been *compelled*, by the glaring facts of the case, to bring in a verdict of "died by starvation;" and, reader, how many thousands of cases are there in which the poor sufferers drop into their cold grave, unknown and unpitied? We have lately been round one of the most distressed portions of this town, and we solemnly declare that poverty is killing—killing both body and soul—the thousands who inhabit it. We have found in houses of four rooms as many as SEVEN FAMILIES. We have seen many cases where the hard boards, or the cold flags of the damp cellar floor were, without even a bit of straw or a shaving to cover them, the only couches of the miserable wretches who lived there. We know of a poor widow with several children having sent them out to pick up potatoe peelings or cabbage stalks, and having then boiled this filthy refuse for her childrens' food! The poor creature, not daring to touch it until the clamorous cries of her infants were satisfied. In fine, from the poverty of the people, from their lack of food and clothing, they are fast assimilating in condition to the "Fellahs" of Egypt, who, under the iron rule of Mahomet Ali, live in mud huts, sleep on the ground, and only receive in return for their labour a scanty supply of the filthiest garbage. We repeat that in one district of the town especially, and also in many others to a less degree, WANT reigns paramount, and is rapidly extending its horrid empire. Spinners, card-room-hands, mechanics, weavers, both by hand and power, dyers, printers, males and females—old and young—inferior workmen and first rate hands ALL are suffering—many from low wages, short time and dear food—many more from utter inability to obtain the *privilege* of labouring hard for something to eat. "On the prosperity and happiness of the labouring millions the real greatness of an empire must entirely depend." This axiom we wish particularly to impress upon the public mind. If the many are overworked, underfed, and unhappy, they will be discontented, careless about moral duties, and obedience of the law, and ripe for violent revolutionary changes. Society, in such a state of things, will be like a town which is mined by the enemy and liable to be scattered to the four winds of Heaven at any moment. Poverty breeds discontent—discontent combinations and plots—plots, insecurity of life and property—a low state of industrial effort and a degraded state of public morality. Oppress and degrade the labourer, and you of necessity undermine the foundations of the common wealth. Continue the tyrannical infliction, and down comes the whole edifice, dashing to pieces in its fall, the

suffering and enraged revolutionist—utterly annihilating the guilty tyrants, but for whom it had remained in all its integrity.

"Princes and Lords may flourish or may fade,
A breath can make them as a breath has made;
But a bold Peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

"A bold peasantry," a hardy, intelligent, enterprising race of working men, will preserve Britain's greatness far better than the "wooden walls" or the wooden-heads who boast of them. Such a race will cause useful knowledge to be more widely diffused than it ever will be by the "society," and will *carry* scientific research farther than the few hundred "scavants" of the British Association can *drive* it. With such a race, knowledge and religion are sure to prosper; without it, neither the one nor the other can be permanently secured.

At the present crisis the working classes are receiving less for their labour than will properly sustain life. They cannot be healthy in body or in mind. Neither their minds nor their bodies possess that elasticity which distinguishes both when the daily fear of starvation is absent; and when the spirit can rejoice, as it ought to do, on contemplating the successful and rewarded labours of the body. Sullen, dogged and desponding they turn with disgust from all mental culture, and are indignant at the efforts to secure their soul's welfare, which the pious ministers of the Gospel may make, thinking in their moody dissatisfaction that the care of their bodies should engross the sole attention of all. A starving people never can be a highly moral people. Starve them, and you make them immoral;—you break down all mental restraint. *The people are starving, they are losing their high tone of moral feeling—they are ceasing to regard law except as the means by which they are made wretched. A little longer and the mighty evil will increase, and strengthen until a bloody outbreak will mark the era with the recommencement of the reign of force and the dethronement of religion and of virtue.*

Something must be done! The people united are omnipotent. Let us labour to unite them. To this end we propose that a Convention of Delegates from the Working Classes, all over the Empire, should assemble in Manchester to devise means for consolidating the efforts of the masses in one grand struggle for the liberty and happiness of the people, with as little delay as possible. Let every town send its Delegate. Let every Delegate bring with him accurate statements of the condition and opinions of his fellow-workmen. LET IT BE DONE AT ONCE. "Who would be free himself must strike the blow." Let every man "be up and doing." Communications on the subject, directed to us, will oblige.

THE CORN AND PROVISION MONOPOLIES

versus

THE WORKING CLASSES.

What have the working men to gain by the Abolition of Monopoly?

This is a question often asked—we propose to go fully into the question, and to clearly show that our order will gain in such a case:—

1st.—At least 40 per cent, in the price of all the food, home-grown and foreign, which they use.

2nd.—An increase in the rate of their wages, and a greater steadiness and certainty of employment. And as the result of these important benefits:

1st.—A great elevation in the scale of society, and in physical and moral condition.

2nd.—A greater power over the means of obtaining, and consequently a greater possession of the blessings of education, both in their own persons, and in those of their children.—And,

3rd.—A vast increase of political power, *without any alteration in the present system of representation*, and with it the means of obtaining all those changes in the constitution, which are based upon justice to the people, upon the natural equality of man.

Before entering into this interesting enquiry, we may observe that some people, *noodles we confess*, would endeavour to prove that the labouring classes, generally, would not be benefited by the repeal of one monopoly, viz. that of corn and other home-grown provisions; because a great portion of them, *having had their wages increased by the increased price of those provisions*, would suffer from a reduction in their wages! In order to show that this would not be the case, we will prove that the agricultural labourer, both in England and Ireland, has been seriously reduced in his real wages by the operation of the corn-laws; and also, that it is the natural effect of such restrictions to limit the quantity of land in cultivation, and so to circumscribe the field for the employment of agricultural labour. In 1769, 1770, and 1771, our corn-laws, (for even then we had a shuffling legislative expedient for robbing the people,) were rather to encourage exportation than otherwise, as the price of corn and provisions at home assimilated to the price abroad. Indeed, in three years, we exported a considerable quantity of corn, plainly proving that the price in the countries to which we exported, was less than in England; since, then, the price of corn was at something like its natural level, the period is a safe one for ascertaining the condition of the producer of food—the labourer. Here it is:—

ENGLAND.

Average wages of able-bodied agricultural labourers, (from "Young's Tour in the Agricultural Counties.")

	s.	d.
Average to 50 miles from London	7	1
Do. from " 50 to 100 Ditto	6	9
" " " 100 " 200 "	7	2
" " " 200 " 300 "	7	0
Upwards of 300 " "	5	8

Gen. average
6s. 9d. per week

Average prices of four staple articles of food, produced by this labour, for which six and ninepence per week was paid, viz.:—bread, butter, cheese, and meat—

In 5 parishes	21
" 18 "	21
" 7 "	3
" 9 "	3
" 24 "	3
" 13 "	4

General average,
3s. 4d. per lb.

Thus we see that the labourer, when we exported corn to Foreign countries, could buy with his weeks' wages, 25 lbs. of the four articles of food—or 6 lb. two ounces of bread, 6 lb. two ounces of butter, 6 lb. two ounces of cheese, and 6 lb. two ounces of butcher's meat.

Now, for the wages at present, (see parliamentary report.)

In the Southern Counties average	7s. 6d. per week.
" " Midland do.	9s. 6d. do.
" " Northern do.	9s. 0d. do.
Manufacturing Counties	10s. 6d.

Average,
9s. per week.

Average prices of four staple articles of food produced by this labour, viz.:—

Bread,	2d. per lb.
Butter,	1s. 2d. " "
Cheese,	7d. " "
Butcher's meat,	7d. " "

7½ per lb.

So that the labourer can only buy with his week's wages 15½ lbs. of the four articles of food, or 4 lbs. of bread, 3½ lbs. of butter, 3½ lbs. of cheese, and 3½ lbs. of butcher's meat; showing clearly, that the labourer of the present day, *protected by a law to raise the price of corn to 64s. a quarter*, receives 9½ lb. out of 25 lbs. less of the food he produces in return for a week's labour, than he did when we exported corn, and when the price was under 40s. a quarter. In other words the corn laws take 5s. 11d. per week out of the pockets of the labourers!! And as the number of agricultural labourers in England and Wales is about 800,000, *the annual tax levied upon them, in the shape of unnatural increase in the price of their food, without a corresponding increase in the rate of their wages, is no less a sum than £12,000,000!!*

NOW, FOR IRELAND!

At the same period to which we have referred, viz., about 1770 Arthur Young who travelled through the whole of the country, reckoned the average wages, summer and winter, at 6½d. per day. Taking the same articles of food, and reckoning them at the same price, they were in England, we find that the Irish labourer could buy with his week's wages 3 lbs. of bread, 3 lbs. butter, 3 lbs. of cheese, and 3 lbs. of butcher's meat.*

By the parliamentary reports and other credible documents, we find that the best judges estimate the average wages, at present, at something under 6d. per day. Again, taking the price of the four articles of food, as the same as in England, we find that our Irish brother can only buy with his weeks' wages 1½ lb. of bread, 1½ lb. of butter, 1 lb. of cheese, and 1 lb. of meat. Thus showing a falling off of more than one half of the quantity of food received in return for his unremitting labour!! or an annual tax upon the agricultural labourers of Ireland of £5,000,000!! *But this is not all as regards the Irishman. In 1770, he had, in very many cases, in addition to his wages, the keep of a cow, and a bit of land, on which to grow potatoes for his family. But now the cow's keep is gone, unless he can afford to pay dearly for it, and the bit of "con-acre" is rented so highly, in some cases as high as £7. and £10. an acre, that it is hardly worth having.*

We thus discover an annual robbery of the agricultural labourers, sufficient to keep them down to the lowest mode of living, to the coarsest food and the plainest clothing; and effectually to prevent their accumulating property, by the acquisition of which they would be enabled to become farmers on a small scale, and to cultivate, in addition to the land tilled by the farmer, a little patch of potatoe or garden ground, or an acre or two, with the produce of which their families might be supplied with the useful articles of food, which are now too much confined to the rich. Whilst the labourer has been getting less and less of the produce of the land, the framer of the corn-law, the landlord has been getting more and more, in the shape of increased rent. When the labourer got 25 lb. of the four kinds of food for a week's work, the landlord got about 15s. an acre for good Cheshire land. Now, that the labourer only gets for his week's work, 15½ lbs., the landlord for the very same land is getting £3. an acre!! The farmer has been getting poorer from having these high rents to pay; he has not been able to accumulate capital sufficient to keep constantly increasing the land in cultivation—and thus has the field for the exercise of labour been narrowed—the landlords being too avaricious to allow the farmer to cultivate waste lands, and too selfish to permit the starving unemployed workmen to do so for themselves.

We will now cast a glance at the estimate burdens inflicted upon the country by the "great" monopolies. The quantity of corn annually consumed in this country is 50,000,000 quarters—the greater part of it is wheat, which, for the last three years, has averaged 63s. a quarter, or 23s. a quarter more than it can be grown and sold for by English farmers, as shown by their evidence before a committee of the House of Commons—

* We have taken the wages in England and Ireland on the average of the year round. By reckoning the price of food in Ireland as the same as in England, we may be charged with unfairness, as it is known not to be so high; but the reader must remark, that we have taken it in this way, in both cases, so that what is too much in favor of our case, in one instance, is against it in the other.

or than the price at which it can be imported from abroad. Reckoning this increase of price, caused by monopoly at 20s. a quarter on all the corn used, we have an annual burden of £50,000,000.

The annual consumption of meat is estimated at 2,000,000,000 lbs. The increase of price caused by excluding foreign cattle from our markets, is calculated by Doctor Bowring at 2d. per lb.; lately, it has been much more, which creates an annual tax of nearly £20,000,000. Then there is cheese, butter, poultry, &c., the operations of the provision laws upon which will add, say £3,000,000 to our burdens.

The consumption of sugar in this country is estimated at 17 lbs. per head on the whole population. The colonial monopoly enhances the price, exclusive of the tax going to the revenue, about 3d. per lb. Thus inflicting an annual tax of about £5,000,000.

The consumption of coffee is 25,000,000 lbs. annually. The discriminating duties, by excluding the coffee of Hayti, which has been a little under 5d. per lb. for the last 15 years, and at which price, without duty, it could be supplied here, and other foreign coffees, have raised the price, exclusive of the duty paid to the revenue, 80 per cent. Here is an annual tax of near £1,000,000.

Now let us see how much we have already detected on our shoulders:—

Corn	£50,000,000
Meat,	20,000,000
Butter, cheese, &c.	3,000,000
Sugar,	5,000,000
Coffee,	1,000,000

Add for monopolies in timber, tea, treacle, molasses, &c. &c. } 11,000,000

Or * £90,000,000 per annum to be paid for out of the toil, privations, and sufferings of the producers of all wealth, the working classes!—a sum five times as great as the total wages paid to the million and a half of persons depending upon the cotton manufacture for support!

[To be continued.]

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CORN-LAW REPEALER.

CHAPTER III.

Notwithstanding the natural unpleasantness of the position in which I was placed, and the melancholy cast of my fate—my life at the period alluded to, in the preceding chapter, was comparatively happy. In fact, the little endearments which passed between Mary and myself, together with a mutual "castle building" to which we were, (and is, perhaps, to all the young who have anything to hope,) prone and the magic charm of a pure friendship even amongst such a horrid den of selfish brutality as the one in which we were placed, made even this era, not the least happy of my life. However, we are perpetually "changing sides, and going back again in this world—and it was suddenly my lot to ascertain, by practical experience, the truth of the remark.

Mary and I, having finished, at rather an early hour, the labours of the day, were engaged in taking sweet counsel together, when the governor abruptly broke the thread of our discourse, by informing me, that on the following morning, at day break, I must quit the "house," and journey with about a score unfortunate wights from the same place, to the north, to learn spinning! Had a thunder-bolt fallen at my feet, I could not have been more taken by surprise. "To-morrow morning? So soon? Oh, sir, pray, let me stay," were the ejaculations which first fell from my lips. "Aye, to-morrow, and that early too, you young pauper, would you have the parish keep you like a gentleman all the days of your life, eh? You must work a bit now, and you ought to be devilish thankful to me for choosing such a good birth for you, and for not making a chimney sweep of you, as I did to that red-haired young rogue of Sir Robert's." There was no hope for it, go I must. Mary mingled her

* As it may appear to some that we are exaggerating, we beg to remark that John Mc. Gregor, Esq., who has long been connected with the customs, &c., estimates the burden of protection at £100,000,000. per annum.

tears with mine, and we both vowed never to forget one another, and to seek one another out as soon as we were able.

On a cold, snowy morning in December, behold me, reader, thrust with twenty other "prentices" into a spring waggon, which was to carry "the workhouse lads and their fortunes," to the mill of Messrs. D——, at Pendleton, near Manchester. Unlike my companions, who were uproarious at the bare idea of leaving their late quarters for others, without the surveillance of the workhouse Cerberus, my cheeks bore the traces of recent weeping, and my little heart beat mournfully at parting with the kindest little friend in the world; who, in turn, seemed to vie with me in sadness at our sudden parting. Whip, crack, rumble, rumble, and off we set, the master declaring the "infernal" nature of his gladness to part with us—the lads signifying their *regret* on leaving their "old house," by giving three faint cheers, for which they were treated with a taste of the but end of our driver's whip. Though this summary infliction of corporal punishment served to inspire the delinquents with a wholesome fear of their conductor, it did not suffice to quench the fire of their excited feelings, which found a fit object for the exercise of their peculiarly lively turn of mind in the damp cheeks and convulsive twitchings which my unfortunate countenance exhibited. From derisive taunts, they proceeded to remark upon my evident liking for Mary, and at last, meeting with no rebut, they set to work to discover whether a good "licking" would cause me to cry as soon as leaving the "Vurkass." I endured, patiently, a few blows and kicks until their annoyances became so unbearable, that I treated one of the ring-leaders with what his companions called "a riglar smeller," or in other words, a sharp hit upon his somewhat prominent nasal organ. My blow was returned, and we soon began to belabour one another in good earnest. Our driver, out of earshot, and out of sight of the workhouse, did all in his power to encourage us to proceed to extremities. Well done, little-un," he said, as I planted a successful stroke upon the capacious mouth of my opponent, by which his front teeth were "rather" loosened, I consider as how you've hadapted his mug more perticklerly to soft mashes than to hard feeds." Now, big-un show your science,"—go it, my little Cribbs, "aye if old Witcham saw yer, he'd glory in his poopils—my eyes, who'd think as Vurkass keep ad sustain their pluck like that." These, and similar exclamations were continued, until my left eye being completely closed, my opponent's face cut in all directions, and both of us pretty much exhausted, we by mutual consent abandoned the struggle, and slunk each to his corner of the waggon, "satisfied" with the punishment he had received, and like two combative curs surly and snarling from the soreness of our wounds. This battle secured me from any further annoyance from my tormentors, as my late opponent was "Cock of the walk" amongst his companions, and it was, therefore, not considered safe to touch the match of the best fighter amongst the whole set.

We jolted on, going at the rate of about 4 miles an hour, until night, when, hungry, tired, and almost frozen to death, we arrived at a small town, some forty miles from London, in the workhouse of which we were housed for the night. In the morning we continued our journey, and making a long day of it, passing through Wolverhampton, arrived late at midnight at the town of Birmingham. Here we again rested at the workhouse, and the next

day being Sunday were kept within the walls of the establishment during the whole of that day, and until the Monday morning; when, again, setting off, we arrived after three miserable days of cold, freezing, hunger, and unhappiness in the much-talked-of and somewhat remarkable town of Manchester. Leisurely jogging down a narrow thoroughfare called Market-street-lane, we passed through what appeared to be a market for provisions &c., over a bridge and into Salford, through which we passed, and at length came to the end of our journey before the massy gates of Messrs. D——'s mill. Here we were received by the manager, who, after looking at us, and calling over our names, handed us over to the care of a man and woman, who acted as master and mistress of the "Prentice House." This building was a large, plain, dismal looking place, with small gloomy windows and high walls—something like a poor-house on a small scale—in which some hundreds of poor unfortunate creatures like myself were lodged, and out of which, except when the fitfulness of the master—the errands of the mistress, or the truant disposition of the "hands" led them from the premises, not a soul dared to stray. The master's first care was to give each of us a number, to re-christen us in fact—for instead of the child's name remaining John or Thomas, as it was when he entered, his baptismal cognomen was altered into number 99, number 1, and so on. My Christian name vanished before the mystic sound, and no less mystic mark of 314. And here, reader, we will leave your humble servant, number 314, until the next chapter.

(To be continued.)

ANTI-CORN LAW HYMN.

Lord, hear the people's piercing cry,
To thee for succour they apply;
The wealthy but deride their woe,
They make them poor and keep them so.
Hath not thy hand abundance given?
Yet millions to distress are driven;
The lordly owners of the soil,
Combine to starve the sons of toil.
Our Sovereign is the people's friend;
And gladly would their state amend,
She bade the senate seek their weal,
And for its bleeding country feel,
Of Senators, the greater part
Displayed a proud unfeeling heart;
They scorned—(to thee the truth is known)
Thy word, the People and the Throne.
Lord give them wisdom from above,
Their selfish bosoms fill with love;
Bless those who plead the needy's cause
And strive to get impartial laws.
O hear a suffering nation's cry,
And send us succour from on high;
Remove our burdens we implore,
So will we praise thee evermore.

J. P.

REFLECTIONS ON AN IRISH PEASANT.

The night approached, but no friendly door
Was open to penury's child;
While the tempest waved o'er Blackstone-moor,
In dark succession wild.
And I mused on home, and its kindred joys,
The drooping spirit to cheer;
On the loving, the social, and friendly ties,
That man to life endear.
And I thought on the poor adventurous wight,
In glowing affections warm;
But cold, perhaps, ere the morning's light,
Beneath the heaving storm.
Then glanced o'er oppression's varied ills,
As its victim had met my view;
A wanderer far from his own green hills,
Clad vales and mountains blue,
Dejected and silent, he hasten'd along,
In the garb of misery dress'd;
The sickle that o'er his shoulder hung,
Seemed all that he possess'd.
'Twas his to culture the fruitful soil,
And to fertilize the waste;
'Twas his to sow, to reap, and to toil,
But not the sweets to taste.

In vain for him that his native shore,
Was nature's peculiar care;
In vain she shed her bounteous store,
In wild profusion there.

For there, those saintly epicures feed,
Whose zealous labour goes
To tarnish his name, revile his creed,
Then revel in his woes.

Thus is he fore'd from his land to roam,
Nor friends nor acquaintance near;
Oppress'd by his heartless lords at home,
And ruthless rulers here.

But not appeased till they share his blood,
By draining his languid veins,
And taxing his pittance of scanty food,
While yet one meal remains.

I saw him pause on the mountain top,
'Mid the storms impetuous force;
Certain of nought, but his hopeless lot,
Seeming to doubt his course.

There facing his "Own loved Isle of the West,"
A lingering look he cast;
Then bent his way o'er the barren waste,
But bent not to the blast.

To sorrows injured those fleeing fears,
Appal not his manly heart,
The scornful scoff and the thoughtless jeers,
A keener sting impart.

I felt his wrongs, and millions beside,
Then muttered in hasty tone;
Retributive justice, then calmly sigh'd,
Where has man's spirit flown.

But now the clouds begin to disperse,
And a cheering light we see;
As the struggling rays of knowledge pierce,
Through dark monopoly.

Thence spring our hopes, and these fears take flight,
That the cloud might burst o'er all;
Now brooding in awful gloom alike,
O'er Cot and Courty hall.

Halifax, October 12th.

J. M. GOWAN.

JUST PUBLISHED,

PRICE TWOPENCE,

Nos. 1 & 2 of

The Bread Eaters' Advocate, and National Daily Bread Societies' Journal.

By the Author of "DAILY BREAD."

This is a small publication, issued at short, and at present irregular intervals, containing spirited original Articles on the vital question of the Food Tax, and reporting the proceedings of this newly-formed rapidly increasing Society. It also contains very interesting, important and impartial Commentaries on the proceedings of the Manchester Anti-Corn-Law-League, which should be read by all. The public press have spoken out strongly in its favour, and the public have responded to it.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

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"The plan is at once bold, startling, yet perfectly legal."—*Anti-Corn-Law Circular*.

"For aught that appears, the process would be perfectly legal. Analogous experiments have been tried on former occasions—these experiments won a place in history, they were scouted with great superciliousness, but they did the work."—*Morning Chronicle*.

"The idea is certainly a very novel one, the practice of it is perfectly legal."—*Hampshire Independent*.

Published by Heywood, Oldham-street, Manchester; Effingham Wilson, and Henry Hetherington, London.

Operative Anti-Corn Law and other Associations; and individuals requiring a quantity, may be supplied with this publication, and with the celebrated pamphlet, "Daily Bread," at the wholesale price, by sending their orders to the Honorary Secretary of the National Daily Bread Society, No. 6, Bedford street, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Manchester.

To whom also may be addressed communications from any parties desirous of information for forming a Society in their place.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

We desire the UNION of the Operative Corn-law repealers throughout the empire. We want a NATIONAL Association to carry out a NATIONAL OBJECT. Our lecturer Mr. J. J. Finnigan, is at the service of any Operative Association, willing to defray the necessary expenses connected with his lectures. An association of a million in number would repeal the Corn-laws immediately. Let us bring a million Corn-law repealers within the pale of our National Association, and the business is done. To this end, we beg our working brethren throughout the country to originate Anti-Corn Law Associations; and to bring those already originated, under the title of National. Let every association manage its own funds, and elect its own committee, and be perfectly independent; but let all adopt one title, as all have one object. The proposed conference of working men will have this matter brought before it. The Corn-laws must be repealed by some wise and vigorous measure, and the measure must be set a going by a mighty association.

Communications from our friends, wherever they may be found, directed to the Editor, care of JAMES MORRIS, No. 47, Richmond street, Manchester, will be duly attended to.

The delay in our publication is owing to a wish to indulge our readers with a full report of the doings of the week, and of Colonel Thompson's admirable speeches.

THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1841.

Again, *most worthy* and *most unworthy* readers—*most worthy* to receive a full day's pay for a full day's work—*most unworthy* to be taxed and starved for the benefit of the "Corinthian capitol" of society—we appear before you to give an account of our stewardship—to cheer your drooping spirits—and to guide your rising energies to the right position from whence to attack the strong hold of the life-destroying, country-ruining, hope-blasting, beggar's-bread-robbing *wholesale dealers in legal murder*.

Since we last went to press, our Manchester friends have triumphantly carried a solemn public protest against the atrocity of adjourning the assembly, which professes to watch over the liberties and happiness of the people, until the alarming state of the country is fully considered, and a full and efficient remedy for it adopted. Our friends all over the country have imitated the example set them by Manchester, and have convinced the government—if they are open to honest conviction, which we somewhat doubt—that the people WILL that their "house" should, *without blinking or shelving it*, gravely deliberate upon the condition of the labouring classes. What has been the answer to the prayer of these vast assemblages held in all parts of the Empire? THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE. The "incurables" have thus tacitly admitted one of two things—either that self-interest prevents their listening to the prayers of their wretched fellow-creatures, or that they have not the power to legislate for our sad case. In the first case, we would arraign them before the bar of eternal justice, as the cold-hearted and self-condemned destroyers of their species; in the second, we would denounce them as a useless, twaddling, incumbrance. Well, reader! are our law-makers knaves or fools? A bit of both, eh? Oh! fie, reader! Why you treasonable, ill-conditioned rascal! you would not even give the d—l his due. Has not the "honourable house" in the person of its "leader," Sir Robert Peel, showed its desire to "bottom" the distress of the people by sending a commissioner all the way from London, to enquire into a case of

death by starvation which occurred in this town? and its power of "alleviating the people's sufferings" by paying the aforesaid commissioner for his services as much as would have kept the poor operative, who perished through lack of food, and his family to boot, a whole year in plenty? Oh, reader, don't let your "radical prejudices" blind you to the fact that the "houses"—aye, both of them—are humane, (to their dogs and horses)—charitable, (to the "unfortunate" jockies and black-legs who tend their "stud")—liberal and generous (with your money)—kind to the poor (bishops)—and friends to civil and religious liberty—(no where in the world.) Faugh! while we joke at the expense of the Lords and Commons, our pen trembles in our fingers with the indignation and disgust we feel at their neglect of the plainest dictates of humanity. They profess to be Christians too! Good God! what a profanation of the sacred name of Christianity it is to call them so! Christianity teaches that all are equally accountable for their thoughts and actions—that all are creatures of the common Creator—that all mankind are brethren—that we should love our neighbour, and that every man is our neighbour—that without charity our faith availeth nothing—and yet these men can riot in luxury, and above all, sustain "the church" in its "proper dignity," upon the spoils wrung from the bankrupt tradesman, and the starving operative! Yes! reader, never forget that they "do justice" by robbing the people of the fruits of their labour, and "love mercy" by building churches, while the cries of perishing thousands—the sighs of the broken-hearted, and the wail of the orphan made fatherless by legal famine—even in the very neighbourhoods where they rear their stately spires, drown the sound of worship, and echo back in bitter mockery of their chaunted prayers!

"The battle is not always to the strongest." Public opinion is daily advancing in its determination to have justice done. The aristocracy are stronger than the people—at present—backed as they are by a "physical force," by sea and land maintained by the country, and by acts of parliament made by and for themselves. But their strength is weakness. Their cause is the cause of tyranny, immorality, and irreligion. Our's is that of justice, of morality, and of religion. God has endowed man with certain powers of mind and body. He has given him laws by nature and by written revelation. The due exercise of his faculties, within the bounds of the law, constitutes the happiness of man. The possession of these powers, and the existence of the law, are proofs, irrefragable and undeniable, that the Deity intended that every gift, with which he has endowed his creatures, should be improved to His glory through their happiness. The aristocracy keep the people poor, ignorant, starving. They shut up their minds in the iron prison of misery, with which they surround them, from childhood to old age. They destroy the happiness of millions, and thus thwart the manifest designs of Providence. THEY ARE GUILTY OF VIOLATING THE COMMANDS OF GOD. Can we believe that the oppressors of man, the despisers of moral precept, and the contemners of the everlasting decrees of Omnipotence, can long triumph? To believe so, would be to doubt the justice of heaven. "The night is far spent, the day is at hand."

We direct attention to our remarks upon the proposed Convention of the working classes, and to our Reports of the tea party, &c. The Con-

vention must be held. The people must now take their cause into their own hands. They have the power to repeal every bad law, in one month, without shedding one drop of blood, without a single act of violence. When the Convention assembles, we will show how. All that is wanted to put the plan into operation is UNION. With union we can do every thing. Without it nothing. Unite, then, and be FREE.

"GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD."

We all want the bread tax abolishing. We all want total repeal, and nothing less—above all, we want immediate repeal. We want bread. We want it now. We direct attention to the plan proposed by the author of a pamphlet called "Daily Bread"—a talented, and as far as we have the means of judging, honest and indefatigable repealer, Mr. Hill. This gentleman's plan is this—that the men, women, and children of Great Britain and Ireland, enrol themselves members of a Joint Stock Company, to be called the "National Daily Bread Society," and pay one penny for their share. That every town appoint a treasurer, to receive from the collectors the share money, and that as soon as the number of shareholders amounts to one, two, or five millions, all duly enrolled, the names and residences of all duly entered, a quantity of Foreign flour and meal be imported into every port in the empire on account of the society; and that then, the one, two, or five millions of owners, divide themselves into detachments, and on the same day, at every port in the empire demand, free of duty, the corn for which they have paid. We like this plan. If put into operation, the corn-laws would be a dead letter in twenty-four hours. Once let millions demand, at hundreds of places at one time, and all the parchment, injustice, and bayonet argument of the man-destroyers would be at an end. We like the plan—and shall try to give it a shove forward. We hope our readers will shove too.

Tickets may be had from nearly all the members of the Operative Association Committee.

The Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association of Manchester, held its second monthly meeting, at the Athenæum, on Wednesday week. The object of these meetings is to prepare the members to combat the arguments of the supporters of monopoly. The question for the evening was:—"Are the Corn Laws Just?" First, a Lecture was delivered on the subject, and then a general discussion followed. The discussion was neither narrow nor one sided. Several arguments in favour of the supporters of the law were kept in view; one speaker, for example, remarked upon the lecturer's censure of indirect taxation, that it might be concluded that since the nation had agreed to it, it was just; another gave the aristocracy credit for legislating with a view to the general good.

Several members joined in the debate, which appears to have been kept up with equal vivacity and good order.

An association of this kind seems an improvement upon the ordinary debating club, its subjects of discussion are real and practical; and, therefore, the debaters, while practising their readiness of thought and tongue, are less likely to fall into idle word-catching and sentence-grinding than when they set themselves to discuss—"Whether Milton or Shakspeare was the greater poet? Demosthenes or Cicero the greater orator? Alexander or Julius Cæsar, Napoleon or Wellington, the greater general?" knowing perhaps as little of strategy as of Greek or Latin, rhetoric or prosody. Yet even a debating club, is better than the mere tavern parlour. The "Young Men" of Manchester take a grade still higher, and their example deserves imitation.—Spectator, Sept. 25, 1841.

YOUNG MENS' ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT THE ATHENÆUM.

On Wednesday evening, September 15th., the monthly meeting of this Association took place in the Concert Room of the Athenæum. The attendance of members was numerous, and exhibited the lively interest felt by the young men of Manchester in the question of Free Commercial Intercourse.

After the business of the Association had been briefly disposed of, the Chairman called upon Mr. J. P. Culverwell, to read a paper to the meeting. Mr. Culverwell commenced his address, which was "On the Injustice of the Corn Laws," by stating that he had chosen the subject, because of the paramount importance of the operations of the food-monopolies, and that he had resolved to select the question of the justice or injustice of the law, because he considered that as young men mutually pledged for the extinction of the food-monopoly, it were more fitting for the meeting to satisfy themselves of the abstract justice of their cause previous to the discussion of those points which involved, not so much the justice or injustice of the monopoly, but merely the manner and degree in which its effects were exhibited. "This question," he said, did not require for its solution an intimacy with technicalities or minute statistics, but merely that honesty of mind which can distinguish between the principles of RIGHT and WRONG. "Do justice and love mercy," is the great moral obligation which I propose to acknowledge, in answering this important question. Its terms are absolute, and admit of no qualification. If the food monopoly does not satisfy the terms of this obligation, it matters not the extent of the injustice done—it matters not how exaggerated may be the charges which its opponents have made. If it be unjust in principle, or unmerciful in its operation, our position will be amply maintained, and the principles on which this association is founded will be unconditionally justified."

The Corn Laws, avowedly upheld by the legislature, to secure to the corn grower a higher price than he would otherwise obtain. This, said Mr. Culverwell, was admitted by all parties—from this he argued upon the injustice of the matter, clearly showing that its operation was a direct robbery of the bread eater—a worse crime against society than a breach of the law committed by a thief or swindler, as it was inflicted secretly, artfully, and under the wing of the law's protection, and that it was a gross breach of the principle of security of property. After fully exhibiting the details of the mode in which the Corn Laws violate every principle of justice and of humanity, he proceeded as follows:—

"The injustice of the Corn Laws is manifested in the robbery of the people, and like most other robberies, is upheld by *physical force*. *A just and equitable law requires no standing army, no forests of bayonets to enforce it.* The attachment of an enlightened people to a just and equitable government would render superfluous the organised band of slaughterers, which, under the name of military, overruns the length and breadth of the land. The more despotic and oppressive the government, the more has it depended on brute force for its support. *It is the highwayman, and not the peaceful merchant who is clothed in armour.*"

"*Fraud* is a main agent in upholding the Corn Laws—their workings being hidden from public sight. The Corn Laws, unjust also, because their pressure is *unequal*, the poor labouring man paying twenty per cent out of every Pound of his total earnings as a tax, and the rich aristocrat paying only 5-8ths of a penny upon every £100. The Corn Laws a contrivance for producing partial famine—the agents in producing disease and untimely death amongst the poorer classes. To be equal in their operation, the aristocracy should kill off, by the same means, a proportionate number of their high-born offspring."

The elaborate and eloquent essay, of which we have given, a mere sketch, (having by want of space been obliged to exclude many passages, well worth extracting,) concludes as follows:—

"If the people of Great Britain and Ireland could be convinced of the justice of our cause, and the magnitude of the evil which they now suffer, it would not be impossible to make the name of Bread Taxer as odious as that of Slave-holder. Let no one have dealings with the robbers. Let their company be carefully shunned. Let it be considered as disgraceful to serve as exciseman or as soldier as it is now to serve as hangman, and their Bread-taxing Government would at once be dissolved; and while we resolutely oppose their iniquitous laws, let us show that *justice* and not *revenge* is our object. We wish not to injure them—we wish not to revile them—or to hate them—we will willingly offer a free pardon! We will forget the past, if they will only amend in the future. We *would* respect them—we *would* even *love* them; but while they are unjust men we can do neither the one nor the other. If we are to have an aristocracy, respected and beloved, let it be at least an aristocracy based upon political justice, and decorated with public virtue."

Mr. Culverwell concluded, amid loud applause. The essay was then discussed. Messrs. Holland, Spencer, Rawson, Sichel and others, taking part in the debate; after which, the essayist briefly summed up, and the meeting dispersed.

ROBBERS.

At the second monthly meeting of the Young Mens' Anti-Monopoly Association, held on the 18th September, at the Athenæum, a complaint was made by a member against the essayist in his Thesis "Are the Corn Laws just?" for qualifying the landowners as robbers, and against the body of Anti-Monopolists, for the expression of violent language in their advocacy of Corn Law Repeal. It is undoubted that the Anti-Monopoly Association is mostly composed of the middle class in society, and this circumstance in itself, considering the sympathy that appears naturally to exist in the gradation of the classes, the middle depending on the higher—the lower again depending on the middle, would, we think, be sufficient to modify the influence of political hatred, if there were not a more common ground, beyond mere class distinctions, on which they raised their conflict. We defend an uncompromising hostility to the landowners, and an open honesty of expression as legitimate means for conducting our suit. The time is passed for scrupulousness, in regard to crime committed by the wearer of broad cloth, and narrow cloth, and Burke's fashionable morality, that "Vice loses half its evil by losing its grossness," is only suited to an effeminate and voluptuous age. The maintenance of the Corn Laws abstracts from the enjoyments of the people by an interception of a supply of food, which would otherwise fall to them, and the supporters of this unholy enactment represent in a more flagitious view the immorality of the robber by profession, who has his wants, nature's stern necessity, to offer as a plea; whilst the aristocratic Wild, conscious of his injustice, inhumanly hoodwinks his feelings to the wickedness, for the sake of falsely ministering to his luxuries. We should commend a vehement tone against the banded vampires of the human race, remembering their own respect to the character of the industrious community, whom they have stigmatized as "the swinish multitude;" and recollecting also that we have an example for our guide in Mr. Richard Cobden, who has termed the Corn Laws, "murderous laws," which were baptized in blood. No distinction of persons is made in our opposition, and the voice we raise is not so much from the Anti-Monopoly Association, as from the whole human family.

Manchester, Sept. 29th. 1841.

If the spring puts forth no blossom, in summer there will be no beauty, and in autumn no fruit. So, if youth be trifled away without improvement, manhood will be contemptible, and old age miserable.

A barrister blind of one eye, pleading with his spectacles on, said, "Gentlemen I shall use nothing but what is necessary." His antagonist immediately replied, "then take out one of the glasses of your spectacles."

CORRESPONDENCE.

SIR,—As a working man, and one who has been a reformer for the last thirty years, I think you presume too much when you ask the Chartists to join you in repealing the Corn Laws.

The advocates for Universal Suffrage were the first in the field; and if you are so great a friend to the working classes as you profess, you surely cannot be less than a Chartist.

A writer in your *Anti-Monopolist* says, "that a Corn Law Repealer will unite with neither Chartist or Socialist;" and yet, strange to say, he asks both these parties to join him.

If a man cannot join the Chartists, or if he refuse to give political power to the people, however much I might feel disposed, I cannot call him a friend to the working classes; and for that reason I look with suspicion upon the cry "Repeal, Repeal!" when no other measures, besides repeal, are mentioned.

The Chartists aim at the root of the evil, and would deprive the hydra-headed monster of its sting, by universal political freedom to all, and thereby lay the foundation of a system that would prevent such things as "fixed duties," and "sliding scales," ever being forced upon the nation. If the Repealers of the Corn Laws had spent all the money they have done—all the time they have lost—all the agitations, lectures, publications, &c. in assisting the people to extend the suffrage, it would, I have no doubt, have been achieved. But say you, if you Chartists would only assist us to get the Repeal,—join with us in demanding untaxed Corn—the thing would be accomplished to-morrow. I likewise have no doubt about that; and thus it is, we are placed, because those who constitute the League (the Young Mens' Anti-Monopoly Association) refused to assist the people in attaining political representation. I say the national movement should be for national justice, and good measures would be the result. But to keep agitating for this particular object, and that particular object, we may go on for generation after generation, knocking down abuses, and all the time we are doing it, up spring others quite as bad in their nature, and the effects they have upon society. Your correspondent says that "Chartists and Corn Law Repealers cannot unite." Well, then, if these parties are formed of such brittle materials as to prevent any union from taking place, let them do another thing—let each other alone.

The Chartist should advocate his Bill of Rights, without hindrance or opposition from the Corn Law Repealers; and the Repealer should have the same privilege.

Let this system be adopted, strict neutrality observed, and depend upon it a better feeling will be evinced than any we have hitherto seen.

I remain, Sir, yours,

J. ADAMSON, Hamblin Street.

[Although much pressed for room, we insert the above letter. Our correspondent must be aware that we are not responsible for the opinions of our correspondents either amongst the repealers or the chartists. We differ from our friend, M., as to the impossibility of a union amongst the two bodies, as we know that some of our most honest leaders, Henry Hunt, and Col. Thompson, for instance, have both espoused, universal suffrage, and the repeal of the corn-laws. No honest chartist can oppose the repeal of the bread-tax. No sensible operative, bread-tax repealer, who knows any thing of the matter, can oppose the charter. It is rather too bad for Mr. O'Connor and those who back him, to keep crying out, "Join us for the charter, and we'll repeal the corn-laws for you," when at the very time, if we ask them if they had the power, whether they would repeal those laws at once for us—they tell us, NO. We will support every honest move for universal suffrage—but we will have no connexion with bread taxers, or their intentional or unintentional supporters. Let the chartists come forward and denounce the corn-laws—let them make repeal a part of the charter, and our lives for it, we will bring them such support as they little dream of. As to "Letting one another alone," we would refer our respected correspondent to the resolution come to by the chartist convention viz., that all anti-corn-law meetings must be met by charter amendments, and to the disgraceful proceedings consequent upon it. The chartists have done all they could to oppose us—we defy them to point to an instance in which we have attempted to palm anti-corn-law amendments upon chartist resolutions. We have shown the chartists that we can defy factious opposition. We will leave all alone—but we will not be molested by any party.]

We give the following extract from the Report of the Tea Party, in the Morning Chronicle of October 14th.

ANTI-CORN-LAW DEMONSTRATION AT MANCHESTER.

Manchester, Tuesday.—A grand demonstration of the working classes took place here last evening, in the Old Manor Court-room, High-street, on the occasion of the National Operative Anti-Bread-tax Association holding a tea-party, at which Colonel Thompson was invited to be present. The meeting was intended for discussing the propriety of holding a convention in London, in February, on the vital question of the Corn-laws. J. Brooks, Esq. presided; and among the principal guests present, in addition to the Colonel, were G. W. Burnes, Esq. Hull; J. Curtis, Esq. Ohio, United States; R. Moore, Esq. barrister, Dublin; the Rev. W. J. Massie, and the Rev. William Shuttleworth. After the repast—the Chairman observed that the operatives were the wealth-makers of the Nation, without whom neither the landlords nor the middle classes could live. Last Monday he had been called upon by Dr. Sleight, the Duke of Buckingham's pro-corn-law lecturer, who had accompanied him on a visit to some of the distressed weavers, and so strongly were the doctor's sympathies excited, that he could not keep his hands out of his pockets. They went round next day, and on the question being asked, the answer was that times had never been known to be so bad in Manchester. He mentioned this for the sake of the Tories of Manchester, who declared that the distress was not so great now as it had been on former occasions. He could give a better test of this than Sir Robert Peel's savings' bank test. Last week he had bought 27 inch power-loom cloth, which was the standard in Manchester, cheaper than he ever bought it before. The distress made no distinction between Whigs and Tories; but, by and by, they would be made to feel it.—Mr. Finnigan then addressed the meeting in a forcible speech, and was followed by Mr. Moore, and Mr. Curtis, of Ohio. Colonel Thompson, said, I am extremely sorry that I should have been introduced with any preface here, as if oratory had been my forte and profession, whereas, if I do occasionally speak to my friends in public, it is, at all events, a custom I have taken up late in life, and therefore I am not capable of excelling in that particular point; all I can do is, to think first, and then to tell your honestly the honest conclusions which I have come to. I have in truth given to this question of the corn-laws the consideration of many years of my life, at that period, perhaps, when a man is most able to form a sound judgment, as having seen a good deal, and having also those means and leisure which enable him to improve the fruits of his experience [applause.] What have we now to do? We are the weak contesting against the strong: we must behave as the weak against the strong; at least, until we are strong we must use prudence. What means, then, should we have recourse to? Let me suggest some. You have knowledge, it is true; but every man man has not.—diffuse that knowledge! [Reiterated applause.] Col. Thompson concluded amid loud applause. Mr. Burnes, and Messrs. Acland, Watkin, and others followed. Mr. Culverwell said he had heard that the landowners, should have compensation offered them as bait. But he wished to move a resolution on this subject:—"That this meeting not only considers the total repeal of the corn-laws to be a measure both reasonable, just and especially beneficial to the work-

ing classes, but also considers that the landowning aristocracy ought to compensate the working classes for years of robbery, by refunding the whole of the unholy gains wrung from the people by these wicked imports." The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Meeting of the Working Classes, preparatory to the General Meeting of the Trades, &c.

A meeting of the working classes took place on Wednesday evening last, in the Old Manor Court Room, Nicholas Croft, preparatory to holding a large meeting of deputies from associations, trades, mills, &c. in this town and neighbourhood. Mr. E. Watkin was called to the chair, and opened the proceedings by briefly detailing the objects, to promote which the meeting was called; after which he called upon Mr. J. J. Finnigan to move the first resolution. Mr. Finnigan ably refuted some of the leading fallacies of those who, professing to be friends of the working classes, opposed the repeal of the bread tax. He then showed in a clear and forcible manner the benefits which such repeal would confer upon the labouring many, by reducing the price of their food, and increasing the demand for their labour, and also the mighty lever it would put into their hands for the dethronement of political monopoly, and the elevation of the political condition of the people.—Mr. W. J. Birch, in an eloquent speech, seconded the resolution:—"Total and immediate repeal of the bread and provision monopolies."—Colonel Thompson responded to the resolution.—Mr. John Murray moved the next resolution, and Mr. Cunningham seconded it.—The next resolution was, that "the town and neighbourhood, do send deputies to attend a meeting to be held in the Carpenters' Hall, on Monday October 25th. to take into consideration the best practical mode to be immediately adopted for obtaining the total extinction of monopoly, and the compensation of those who have for years been robbed by the unjust enactments of the landed aristocracy."—Mr. Acland, addressed the meeting, in an excellent speech. The resolution was like the former one, carried amid cheers.—Mr. Warren, in a pithy address, which was remarkably well received by the meeting, moved the following resolution:—"That Messrs. Watkin, Warren, Finnigan, Kelly, Cunningham, and Morris, be appointed a committee for making arrangements for the invitation of the trades, &c., for carrying out the resolutions of this meeting."—Mr. Neal seconded it and it was carried unanimously.—After a vote of thanks to Colonel Thompson and to the chairman, the meeting broke up at a quarter to a eleven. The proceedings throughout were marked by the utmost unanimity and enthusiasm, and when the compensation spoken of in the second resolution was mentioned, the enthusiastic cheers of the meeting sounded ominously for the "landlords' interest."

COLONEL THOMPSON AT THE CORN EXCHANGE, ON FRIDAY NIGHT.

INTERRUPTION BY THE CHARTISTS.

A meeting of the Young Men's Anti-Monopoly Association took place at the Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, on Friday night, when Colonel Thompson was to be present to address them, and the public were invited to attend. By half-past seven o'clock, the time announced for the proceedings to commence, there could not be less than 2,000 persons present, and the Colonel, on his entrance, was greeted with loud cheers. Mr. Holland, surgeon, was called to

the chair: he merely said a few words expressive of a wish that order should be observed, and stated that the object of the meeting was not a political one, but would be to consider the effects and operation of monopolies, especially that greatest of all monopolies—the corn laws. (Applause.) Colonel THOMPSON then came forward. He was received with loud cheers, and listened to throughout, with a few interruptions only from the chartists, who on this occasion had assembled again to play their old game of interruption. After a few preliminary observations, he said, boldly, that he wanted to obtain the charter, and therefore he came here to advocate the repeal of the corn-laws. (Cheers, with some slight murmurs from the chartists.) I had the honour to be one of ten or twelve members of the House of Commons who were assisting, in conjunction with many most meritorious, able individuals of the working classes, in drawing up that composition. (Applause.) When that was done, there did, as it appeared to me at least, arise another set of men, who said—"You have drawn up a charter, and the charter is a very good charter; but we are the only men who know anything about how it should be gained." (Hear, hear.) Now, on that, I say, there may be two opinions; for I never flinched, nor hesitated in declaring what I thought, and I always maintained, wherever I had opportunity to lift up my voice, and propriety admitted of it, that the great open door for obtaining the charter was to get rid of the restrictions on trade and industry, which make you poor, and of no consequence in the eyes of any of your enemies. (Applause.) It was because I loved the charter that I wanted to see you put down the corn laws, as a step towards the obtaining of the charter. (Loud cheers.) Now upon that, let there be no quarrel; 'tis a difference of opinion, it is clear; but if we are to quarrel till all difference of opinion is at an end, we shall quarrel till there is an end of the world, and all that is therein. (Applause.) We must screw up our efforts to a better courage on this point. Lord Stanley said at Lancaster that he never heard of any body in the House of Commons, and, I believe, in the legislature, who ever went so far as the total abolition of the corn-laws. Now, let us correct that mistake, by showing his lordship that there are people who will demand something more. Why, when they have put the manufacturing interests in a state of restriction and depression for years together, should not the manufacturing interests look to the question of something like compensation for the same? I won't propose to you the Mosaic five-fold retribution, though that has carried with it a good deal of the sense of justice on the part of the greatest portion of mankind. One compensation will be enough for us; nay, if we established the principle, we might be easy about the amount. He quarrelled with no man for holding a different opinion on that subject, but he said the way to carry an important fortress was to advance upon the weak point first, and not upon the strong one. (Cheers.) He knew there were those who said, "carry the charter and then we should be able to carry every thing else." Now hear his feelings on the subject. He had already said that the policy of a skilful general was not to attack the strongest point of the enemy's fortification, but the weakest. Now he had some doubt for that reason whether they ought to seek the charter first. The story that if they got the charter first they should be able to secure the repeal of the corn-laws afterwards, reminded him of a story he used often

to hear when a youth—about the way to catch birds. The way was by getting near enough to put salt on the bird's tails. Now he stood not to deny that fact, but simply to ask how they were to place the salt on the birds' tail? [Hear, hear.] He proceeded to argue that the corn laws were the weakest point of attack, by a comparison of the strength of the two parties (the chartist and anti-corn law) in the House of Commons; and observed that while the chartists had only about 39 supporters in the House of Commons, the repealers mustered 200, or more than five times as many.—At the conclusion of his speech Mr. BIRCH, a member of the Association, addressed the meeting in an able speech, and moved, "That this meeting views with disgust the conduct of Sir Robert Peel and his associate monopolists, in advising her Majesty to prorogue parliament, without considering the destitute condition of the labouring classes; but that fully convinced of the necessity for the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the corn and provision monopolies, we pledge ourselves never to cease our efforts till we have attained that object, and the obnoxious laws are swept from the statute book."

Mr. CULVERWELL seconded the resolution, and read some statistics taken at Coventry, shewing the effects of high price of food in increasing mortality—the increase being at the rate of from 77 in 10,000 in the years of plenty (1833-4-5) to 121 in 10,000 in the years which had succeeded 1835!—At the conclusion of this address, when the Chairman was about to put the motion, the notorious chartist, Christopher Doyle, accompanied by Leech (the two men who disturbed the meetings at the Town Hall), advanced to the platform, and Doyle insisted upon stating his sentiments, and proposing an amendment. The Chairman assented to his proposition, and expressed his willingness to allow full scope to free discussion. A great part of the meeting however expressed their disapprobation, and Doyle stood a considerable time amidst a storm of invectives, vainly striving to get a hearing. Vincent, of Bath, and Leech, both came forward in turn to request the meeting to listen; but the answer was, they would hear them or anybody but Doyle! Doyle however, persevered, and at length succeeded in uttering a few sentences and reading his amendment, which was in favour of the charter.—Leech seconded the amendment, and asked if the middle class and working class interests were the same, as had been stated, why did not the former come forward and give the working classes a just participation in the fruits of their labour? If there was so many more members in the Commons for repeal than for the charter his remedy was to sweep the house away altogether. (A voice: "How would you do it?" and laughter.) He admitted that was a hard question, and the way to do it and the application of the means must be put in force at the same time. He then proceeded to argue that the cause of the people's distress was machinery, and denied that Colonel Thompson's advice to operate upon the legislature by agitation at the elections would have a beneficial result.—Mr. FINNIGAN came forward to answer him amidst great cheering, and said that he thought when an amendment was put to a meeting it ought to have been based upon something like argument in support of it, but he had heard none. They had heard something about machinery and the stringent rules of the factories, where a man, when he should be at work, was not allowed to read; but admitting it to be true—was that a reason why the aris-

tocracy, for their own benefit, should tax the food of the hungry and starving operative? (Loud cheers.) But Mr. Leech had said the House of Commons, with two hundred members for it, would not repeal:—then, from what rule of common sense did he draw the inference that with only thirty-nine advocates in the house they were more likely to get a charter? (Loud cheers.) He said the people were in misery, but he denied the corn laws were the cause of it. Did he bring anything like facts to prove that they were not? He admitted the corn law was a great evil, and a bad law: had he said a word to shew that a repeal of it would place the people in a worse position? (Cheers.) Brontë O'Brien had said the corn laws robbed the people of 20 millions a year: what law was there in operation to give them back that money of which they had been robbed. (A voice: The currency.)—The currency!—there was a currency crotchet-man present: he would give him a word. Had the man in 1825 with 18s. a week more wages now? ("No.") Well, according to the price of food, the man who earned 18s. ought, to provide the same comforts in 1841, to have £1 8s. 8d. Did the alteration of the currency give him back the difference? [Applause] If, as Leech had said, the factory system was the cause of all the evil, how was it that the agricultural labourers of Ireland, where there was no factory system, were so badly off—even worse than our operatives? [Great applause.]—Mr. ACLAND next came forward and delivered a very able and effective address. He said: Monopoly was the robbery of the many by, and for the gain of, the few. It was a tax imposed by the property men upon the poverty men. They came there seeking to procure its repeal; but in doing so they had to fight the battle, not with the landlords alone, but, strange to say, with the *soi disant* leaders of a portion of the operative classes. [Uproar from the chartists.] That it should be so was matter of regret, while it was matter also of surprise. Strange, indeed, that both parties, desiring two different objects, and each having the good of both in view, that one party would not allow the other to pursue its own course. [Cheers.] The one party was for the repeal of the corn laws, the other for the people's charter; both, it was conceded, would benefit the people if obtained. He stood there an advocate of repeal, but not an opponent of the charter. [Loud cheers.] He was prepared to sign the charter; but was he, as the Colonel observed, to be looking about endeavouring to put salt on the bird's tail while he ought to be setting the trap which would catch it. [Hear, hear.] He contended that these monopolies were the outer walls of the citadel of corruption, and surely if they scaled that they would have the better opportunity of slapping into the enemy. [Loud cheers.] He proceeded to prove by the arguments used in his Monday night's speech, which proved that the anti-corn law movement ought to take precedence of the charter, because it had made a greater advance, especially among the middle class, whom the physical force men had prejudiced against the charter. His friend, Mr. Finnigan, had said something about the logical arguments of Mr. Leech. He must confess that he had heard nothing very logical. He had told them that it was of no use to try for repeal through public opinion, because he said parliament would turn a deaf ear to it; according to him, public opinion was powerless; and yet the next moment he said that it was public opinion turned the whigs out of office! [Cheers.] One word about machinery, He thought he could give them a reason why

they should not destroy machinery. That reason was, that foreigners used machinery; and did they not think it would be folly to destroy theirs unless foreigners would do the same? [Cheers and a cry of—"Tax it."] Yes, some said they only wanted it taxed. Now he had no objection to that, provided the foreigner would also let them tax his machinery. [Laughter and cheers.] Why, had we not to compete with the machinery of the foreigner, and if so, how foolish to talk of destroying or taxing our own! [Loud applause.] The mischief was that the human machine was already taxed in the article of its food, and that was the cause of all the mischief. [Applause.] Mr. Acland then said, "But those who laid the fault of distress on machinery should explain how it was that the cotton stocking weavers of Nottingham and Leicester, who used no machinery, were so badly off. The mischief was there were three men in the market wanting loaves, and there were only two loaves to buy: the result was that each being anxious to secure one; competition was going on for it in their labour, and the landlord reaped the benefit. The cause was explained by Sir James Graham, who said that the landlords' estates were 9-10ths of them mortgaged. The corn law then was a poor law for the rich, but there was this difference between it and the new poor law which gave the pauper a miserable diet of skilly—that the corn law instead of taxing property taxed poverty—(hear, hear.)—and the tax too was the heavier in proportion as the payer was poor. And this tax was levied in order that the pauper landlord might have a splendid out-door allowance to travel to Paris, to Milan, to Rome, and other places, where he might spend it and laugh at them. (Cheers.) Mr. Vincent rose and attempted to answer the two last speakers. He spoke at some length, but we have not room to notice his arguments further than to say that they were in favour, like his friends, of the charter—and nothing but the charter. His arguments were ably met by Mr. E. Watkin. —After a few observations from other parties, the amendment was put and negatived, the Chairman declaring the original motion carried, by a large majority to the no small chagrin of the of the intruders." The meeting separated a little before twelve o'clock.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.
SIR,

It is desirable at the present crisis, that the most effectual steps should be taken for agitating the country on the subject of monopolies. It has occurred to me upon reflection that a movement of the trades in their individual capacity as such, in public meeting assembled, should petition the Queen against all Restrictions upon their Industry, and claim the Right to Exchange the results of their industry, how and where they can obtain the best return. It appears to me that this example would be followed by the same trades throughout the country, in places where anything like an effective organization would be difficult. That at these meetings Addresses should be delivered, showing the peculiar Influence of Restrictive Laws upon their peculiar Trades. I think this would be a great step towards a combination of trade,—in giving each trade an individual interest in the destructor of monopoly; a draft of a petition might be prepared and given by the National Anti-Corn Law Association upon application.

I am, your's, respectfully,

Manchester.

J. W. BIRCH,

To the Editor of the Anti-Monopolist.

SIR,—Mr. John Campbell, secretary to the National Charter Association, has just published a book which, he says, is to furnish his party with statements to show the fallacy of the arguments used by the corn-law repealers. He divides the subject into six parts: he would have done much better if he had confined himself to the question, whether the corn-laws were *just* or *unjust*. We should then have seen whether he had ranged himself on the side of the people, or on the side of the aristocracy. We have nothing to do either with the length of time, or the purposes for which the corn-laws have been enacted; nor with the parties or motives, of those who are seeking their repeal. It might be asked, what are the motives of the Chartists? And it would have to be confessed self-interest, namely, to better their condition.

At page 6th., he treats us with an extract from an act of parliament, passed in the reign of Edward the IVth., which fixes the price of provisions and the rate of wages. He states the wages to be *four-pence* per day. So far from the wages being four-pence, they were only a *penny* per day, which his own table of the price of commodities will show—for the price of a pair of shoes is stated at 4d., and as it takes a man a day to make a pair of shoes, he could not receive four-pence for his day's work, unless he either had the leather given him, or had stolen it. If so, then this puts an end to his statement that the working man received four times the amount of provisions for his labour then, to what he does now. If this table proves any thing, it proves that the corn-laws have so raised the price of food, that the real wages of labour are greatly reduced. Mr. John Fielden has published a table of wages, and the price of corn, and from that table you will see the action of the corn-laws. In 1815, a piece of third 74's., calico sold for 18s.; the quarter of wheat sold for 63s. and 8d.; the weaver for weaving the piece received 4s. 6d., or if measured in corn and calico, he received 45lbs. of wheat, and 4½ yards of calico. In 1832, the piece of calico sold for 5s. 6d.; the quarter of wheat sold for 61s., and the weaver received for weaving it 1s. 6d.; or if measured in corn and calico, he received 16 lbs. of wheat and 5 yards of calico. That is, he received 29 lb. less of wheat; but he could buy with his wages ½ yard more of calico. Why has not wheat fallen in the same proportion? The answer is simple, the one is protected by act of parliament, but there is no protection for the poor man's labour.

At page 12, he gives a statement of the quantity of cotton that has been manufactured at different periods; but it is a very dishonest one, he has picked the years when the greatest quantity was used, instead of giving the average. I will give the average along with his table, and you will be able to judge of the importance to be attached to his statements:—

Average lbs. of Cotton Manufactured:—		
From 1804 to 1811,	76,223,532	
" 1811 " 1818,	89,178,575	
" 1818 " 1825,	156,667,547	
" 1825 " 1835,	256,338,578	

Mr. Campbell states the consumption to be as follows:—

1811, lbs. of Cotton manufactured ..	90,309,668
1818, " " " " ..	162,122,705
1825, " " " " ..	202,546,869
1835, " " " " ..	333,043,464

In the statement of the quantity of cotton consumed, he says nothing about the increased number of people employed, but leaves it to be inferred that there were no more employed in 1840 than what there were in 1797. Since that period the total population has more than doubled, and there are about ten times as many people employed in the cotton trade now as there were in 1797.

It should likewise be recollected that we do not expend as much labour upon the cotton goods now exported as formerly. In 1831 we exported 62,821,440 lbs. of cotton twist, and in eight years after 1839, we exported 105,686,442 lbs. Now, were it not for the high price of food, a great portion of this twist would be woven in this country, instead of being sent into foreign countries to be manufactured into cloth, where food is cheaper.

There is another table at page 13, which he has only given part from "Porter's Progress of the Nation." I will add what he has left out; he only gives the price per pound paid for spinning, without saying a word about the improved machinery, or the wages paid for a week's work.

Years	Quantity spun.	Net earnings.	Price per lb. for spinning.
1804,	9lbs.	36s 6d	7s 6d
1814,	13½	60 0	6 8
1833,	19	42 6	3 5

If these tables are worth any thing, they are surely worth quoting in full, and not to leave out the principal fact.

At page 14, he informs us what improvements have taken place in spinning machinery. It is surprising to me that there are no complaints made about other inventions, that they should all be confined to cotton factories. Previous to the invention of moveable types, books were all written by the hand. Now, if the "*Northern Star*" were written by hand, it would give employment to 120,000 people, for it has sold 40,000 in a week, and it would take one man three weeks to write a single copy. If the paper were only printed by hand (instead of being printed by a machine, and worked by a steam-engine,) it would employ many more people than what it does. Mr. Campbell does not, I think, believe that machinery is injurious; for if he did, I think he would have had his own book written by hand, instead of having it printed. It would take a man at least three days to write a single copy, then for every thousand copies sold, he would have given employment to 120 men for one month; instead of that he has only given two men employment for one week; see what employment he might have given to his unfortunate countrymen.

At page 15, he gives a list of articles, with the amount of duty they pay on being imported into this country; and asks, if the free-traders are prepared for free-trade in these articles. I answer, yes. Mr. Campbell is singularly unlucky in all his tables. If he had given the subject a moment's consideration, he would have seen that all the

articles which he has enumerated are made from a raw material, the produce of the land of this country except two, and that the protection which these things enjoy is not for the benefit of the working man, but for the landlord, who obtains a higher price for his raw material, in consequence of the protection.

Page 16, he gives a table of the amount of taxation per head for different countries in Europe and he puts it down for England at £3. 13s. 4d'. In order that you may judge, how far this statement is true, I will only state that the total taxation is under 50 millions, and the population in 1831 was more than 24 millions, so that the taxation cannot be much above £2. per head.

At page 17, he gives a list of the rate of wages in Russia, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Germany, France, and England. He asserts too, that the manufacturers wish to reduce wages to the level of these countries; and such will be the result, he says, if there be free trade. In giving the rate of wages, I wonder why Switzerland and America were left out, because corn is cheap in these two countries; but it did not answer Mr. Campbell's purpose to cite these two countries. I shall conclude with noticing another of his tables at page 28, where he calls Cornwall and Monmouth two agricultural counties, the reason why he has called them agricultural counties, is, because they enjoy the highest state of health of any counties in England. He compares the state of health of these two counties with the county of Lancashire. Now, if his object had been fair play, he would have given an average of a few of the most agricultural counties, and compared them with the same number of manufacturing counties. So far from Cornwall and Monmouth being agricultural counties, they are decidedly manufacturing counties. I will give you the proportionate numbers employed in agriculture and manufactures, in six counties. Three manufacturing and three agricultural:—

	Agricultural population.		Manufacturing and other classes.	
Cornwall,	30,7	....	69,3	1 died in 64
Monmouth,	28,2	....	71,8	1 " " 69
Lancashire,	9,5	....	90,5	1 " " 48
Divide by .. 3)				179
Average, ..				59
Bedford,	56,8	....	43,2	1 died in 54
Bucks,	53,0	....	47,0	1 " " 52
Cambridge,	53,3	....	46,7	1 " " 45
Divide by .. 3)				151
Average, ..				50

Bedford, Bucks, and Cambridge, are the three most agricultural counties in England, and, on an average, one person dies in fifty. Cornwall, Monmouth, and Lancashire, are as you have seen manufacturing counties, and one dies in fifty-nine, being decidedly above the agricultural counties in point of health.

I remain, Sir, your's respectfully,
Oldham Road, Oct. 11th. JOHN HEYWOOD.

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15th, 1841.

THE Anti-Monopolist AND

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL OPERATIVE ANTI-BREAD TAX ASSOCIATION.

"THE BREAD OF THE NEEDY IS HIS LIFE: HE THAT DEFRAUDETH HIM THEREOF, IS A MAN OF BLOOD!"—Eccles. xxiv. 21.

[No. 4.] [Vol. I.]

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THE MONOPOLY OF LEGISLATION.

The Folly of Chartist Opposition to the Repeal of the Rent Law.

The exclusion of five-sixths of the adult male inhabitants of the country from all voice in the election of those who must make laws, which ALL are forced, whether they think them just or no, to obey, and by which ALL can be punished, is a remnant of early barbarism, of that reign of brute force, which was once paramount, and is unworthy of a civilized age, and degrading to a nation boasting, forsooth, of its *free institutions*. It is founded on no principle of equity—based upon no political axiom. The landed interest—(i. e.)—the landlords and the larger farmers, have the preponderance in the councils of the state, and the result of this has been, that they have made laws for their own benefit exclusively. This all must be aware of; nor is it at all strange that it should be so. The instinct of self-preservation with which, for wise purposes, man is gifted, unguided by strong religious principles and corrupted by a state of society, eminently selfish, directs the energies of each to his individual advantage. So WITH CLASSES. Give the individual uncontrolled power, and he will serve himself, to the exclusion of the rest of society. Place the same power in the hands of the class, and the class interest will thrive at the general expense. For this reason it is that each should possess the power of restraining the selfishness of the other, or, in other words, should have his selfishness represented. When all are represented, no particular class will be fattened or favoured at the cost of the others; because it will be the interest of the others, and they will possess the power to prevent it.

By the present system of representation, as set forth in the "Reform Bill," as it was called, PROPERTY is the test of qualification to vote for members of parliament. "Bricks" are pronounced by the law to be the evidence of "Brains." A forty shilling freehold is proof positive of the sanity, honesty, and love of freedom of its possessor, and a fifty pound tenant-at-will can appeal to his little holding, and to "the Bill" for proof of his superior intelligence, even tho' he be the veriest ass of which the "independent yeomanry" can boast.

The Corn and Provision Taxes take away a large portion of the wages of the working men—force them to live more sparingly than they would otherwise do—drive them into houses rented at less than £10 a year, when, under other circumstances, they would live in the £10 or £12 houses, and prevent the accumulation of that property which by the Reform Bill is made the test of ability to vote. Thus, the corn and provision laws are laws, not only for the starvation, but for the disfranchisement, of the people. First they starve us; and, secondly, they forbid the possession of a legal power to remove the grievance.

The chartists have attempted, on many occasions, to overturn Anti-Corn Law Meetings, under the pretence of furthering the universal suffrage agitation. Let them reflect upon the view which we have here taken of the question, and remember when in future they would play the old game, unless they grow wiser and more liberal and cease their evil waste of strength—which we hope they will do. *That they are opposing the feeding and enfranchising a large portion of the people.*—No true chartists can do this—a tory chartist may oppose both.

ANTI-BREAD TAX MEETING.

A few weeks back a meeting was held in the Old Manor Court Room, when a resolution was passed—"That a meeting of deputations from the various trades, mills, workshops, &c., in Manchester and Salford, and of the working

classes generally, be immediately held for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means to be adopted by the working classes in order to obtain the total repeal of the bread and provision monopolies, and the compensation of the people who have been so long robbed by the landed aristocracy."—A public meeting was held on Monday se'nnight, in Carpenters' Hall, but the proceedings were brought to an end prematurely by a party of chartists. On Tuesday night the corn law repealers held another meeting for the same object, and the proceedings were of an unanimous character.

Mr. E. Watkin (Chairman of the National Operative Anti-Bread Tax Association,) was called to the chair, and said:—On this occasion they should avoid shewing to the enemies of the labouring classes that, to them, a pleasing sight—that of seeing the working classes, instead of being united as one man divided amongst themselves, and open to the basest influences which tyranny could devise. The less, however, they said about a late occasion the better.—If the parties had any sense of shame, they must feel themselves placed in an unpleasant and dishonourable predicament; they would draw the veil over those proceedings and leave the parties who denounced them, to do so to empty air, satisfied that they (the corn law repealers) were doing their duty, and determined that they would do their best to elevate the great mass of society, and to place the working classes in that position which would enable them to possess the comforts which their labour produced, in lieu of their present miserable and depressed condition. (Cheers.) He asked what the chartist had gained by their attempt to upset the late meeting? (Hear.) Had they forwarded the agitation for the charter by it? Had they not shewn to the middle classes that they did not wish to give to others that liberty of feeling and license of speech which they claimed for themselves? (Cheers.) A chartist named Lees, at Leeds, is stated to have said—"We will not allow you to have your rights; we will not allow any measure to pass, nor any expression of public feeling till we get the charter." What did this mean? Because these men were advocates for universal suffrage had they a right therefore to put a curb upon public opinions, and dictate to all around them what should be their opinions? (Cheers.)—Mr. Watkin concluded by hoping that they should unite in a long pull and strong pull to pull down the fabric of monopoly and raise a new and splendid edifice—the edifice of universal liberty, in its place.

Mr. Neal moved the first resolution:—

"That this meeting of deputations from the various trades, mills, workshops, &c. in Manchester and Salford, and of the working classes generally, loudly pro-

test against the injustice and injurious operations of the corn and provision monopolies, and pledges itself never to rest satisfied until monopoly is for ever done away with, and compensation for years of misery is made by the aristocracy to the labouring millions; and that, in order to effect the object in view, this meeting do adopt the following addresses, and that it calls upon the labouring classes of Great Britain and Ireland generally to send deputations to a conference of labouring men, to be held on New Year's Day, in Manchester, for the purpose of devising some effectual means for obtaining the total repeal of the bread and provision taxes, and the compensation of the long plundered bread eaters; and that the chairman and Messrs. Finnigan, Kelley, Warren, Fothergil, Perkins, Harrison, Morris, Neal, and Neville, with power to add to their number, be appointed the representatives of this meeting in the proposed conference, and the committee for making arrangements for the convocation and holding of the same."

The Chairman then read the following addresses:—

TO THE WORKING MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND

Fellow-sufferers,—We want a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. We want no charitable assistance we want the privilege of being allowed to exercise our labour and skill; and we demand, as a right, that the return for our toil should flow to us, untaxed, and reward our efforts without being pillaged by the laws or landowning legislators. For six and twenty years the landowners of Great Britain and Ireland have been taxing your labour and skill somewhere about £50,000, 000 per annum, an amount three times as great as the entire sum now paid in wages to the million and a quarter persons depending on the cotton manufacture for support; a sum greater than the entire wages of all the agricultural labourers in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales!

At the present moment corn and provisions are selling at starvation prices; manufactured goods are at ruinously low prices; wages are being daily reduced; thousands of men, willing and able to work, are sauntering listlessly along our streets, and the cries of starving women and of children perishing through want of food ring in our ears and break even the sad stillness of the midnight hour. Happiness has flown from the cottage of the poor, and is fast deserting the mansion of the once rich. Knowledge, instead of being diffused throughout the land as the harbinger of mental supremacy and the means of increasing and of securing the general good, is at a stand, or else is retiring reluctantly within the walls of the rich man's palace. The public health is deteriorating; sickness dashes the last remaining drops within the poor man's cup of felicity from the hand which holds it.

Working men, are we to stand idly by while starvation and misery, [INFLICTED BY LAW, make fearful havoc amongst us? We want, first, IMMEDIATE RELIEF; and, secondly, a permanent alteration of the whole system. The intelligent and honest portion of the middle class are willing to assist us in obtaining a total repeal of the monopoly of food. This repeal would lower the price of our food, increase the demand for our labour, reduce the power of the aristocracy, increase our political influence, and put us in a better position for carrying on the war against the multitudinous oppressors of the people, and by laying the foundation of such a thorough, radical, effectual, and consequently wise reform in our political institutions as would redound to our honour, and cause millions yet unborn to bless our virtuous struggles in the sacred cause of liberty.

One grand struggle and the food monopolies are overthrown; one united effort and the cause which has boasted the honest adherence of a Cartwright, a Cobden, and a Hunt, will be gloriously achieved. Let us make it.

Let all continue their agitation on abstract political questions. Let not a single effort in the cause of untaxed food counteract another for the abolition of the monopoly of legislation: one is the end, the other is the means. Like men, struggle ye for both.

Again we call upon you to flock to our standard—to meet with us—to protest with us—to demand justice with us. United we shall conquer: united let us be.—We are, your fellow men,

THE WORKING MEN OF MANCHESTER.

TO THE WORKING MEN OF BIRMINGHAM.

Fellow-workmen.—Differing upon many religious, social, and political grounds, we are all agreed upon one—that the corn and provision laws rob the labouring classes and fatten and enrich the aristocracy, who use the unholy wealth thus gained to annihilate the rising demands for political justice which an enslaved but virtuous people continually make. We have always been accustomed, when the word "Birmingham" has been pronounced, to consider it synonymous with the love of justice and the hatred of oppression. The good men and true of Birmingham are now called upon by their brethren of Manchester to arouse from their repose and lend their aid to cast down monopoly from its blood enamelled throne; and, by giving immediate relief to the unemployed and starving millions, to re-inspire them with hope and energy for the coming struggle, which, without bloodshed or anarchy, shall heave up the working classes from the depths of slavery and place them on an equality with those whom the abuse of power has factitiously placed above them.

The bread and provision taxes enable the richest and most haughty faction in the country to live tax free, and to revel in luxury, at the expense of the toil and privations of the labouring classes. But this is not all. These accursed monopolies prevent the extension of our foreign trade, make machinery the indirect means of bringing down the value of human labour by limiting the markets for the produce of the machine, and thus causing an artificial redundancy of productive power; and prevent the production, distribution, and enjoyment of wealth by causing the labourer to be idle when he desires to work, and his belly to be empty and his back bare when the exercise of his industry and skill would, if his labour were free, more than replace the food and clothing he consumed. Consequent upon all this is the creation of a vast amount of sickness and of crime, and the prevention, in multitudes of cases, of the diffusion of that moral and intellectual education which must be the lever whereby the human character is to be exalted, and the happiness of the human family ultimately secured.

We ask the men of Birmingham to assist us in making a grand effort to sweep away this system of monopoly, and to obtain for the millions the compensation they deserve. The people are starving; the empty houses of Birmingham re-echo with the sad sounds of starving poverty's low wail; the whole empire protests against the system. We do not ask you to lay down your various political views; continue all honest agitations for every thing which is good. We should despise you if you gave up ought to assist us. Keep your opinions—abandon nothing; but, in the name of heaven, strike a blow alongside of us in behalf of the suffering, starving, toiling millions.—We are, your fellow-men,

THE WORKING MEN OF MANCHESTER.

Mr. J. J. Finnigan seconded the resolution, and noticed some of the fallacies of the Leach and O'Connor chartists, respecting wages having fallen before the corn laws were put on, though commerce had increased in a five-fold ratio. These men, did not tell that from 1793 to 1794, the ports of Europe was as effectually closed against our goods, as though the corn laws had been in existence. France was revolutionized in 1793, and accordingly as the French arms were successful or otherwise, the demand for labour varied and wages fluctuated. This continued till 1814. But the O'Connors were careful never to mention 1814—it was a bugbear to them. (Laughter and cheers.) Now how was it the handloom weavers had not higher wages in 1812 than in any year from 1793 to the present time? In 1812 wheat was 122s. per quarter, and yet wages were not near so high as in 1814, when corn had fallen to nearly half the price! (Applause.) Wheat in 1812 was 122s., in 1813 it was 136s. 6d., but in 1814, when Europe was at peace, wheat

had fallen to 72s. 1d. But wages, the chartist argued, with the price of wheat, went up. The man who in 1813 received 13s. per cut for weaving a piece of cloth was raised to 20s. in 1814. He who had 22s. for 24 yards of 70 reed cloth in 1813, was raised to 32s. in 1814—[cheers]; and he who had 14s. for 24 yards of 60-reed cambrics in 1813, was raised to 26s. in 1814. [Renewed cheers.] Now he would add the test of 1815 that wages depended on demand and supply and not on the price of corn. In 1815 the corn laws passed prohibiting the import of corn from abroad till the price at home reached 80s. The consequence was the close of foreign ports against our goods. The demand for labour was checked, and the wages of the handloom weaver, which had risen in 1814, fell down below what they were even in 1813. He who had 22s. in 1813 and was raised to 32s. in 1814, now suffered a decline of wages to 18s. Mr. Finnigan further illustrated the operation of the price of corn upon wages by reference to the years 1835 and 1841, and shewed that instead of wages rising with the price of food they had decreased. The wages of the man who had 18s. a week had deteriorated by the operation of the corn laws as much as 6s. 8d. per week, between 1835 and the present time, leaving out of account that the decrease in the demand for labour was daily threatening him with a reduction of wages in another shape, or with starvation for want of any work at all.

Mr. Daly moved, the next resolution:—

"That this meeting, desirous of seeing the immediate elevation of the condition of the working classes, and knowing that the destruction of tyranny can only be achieved by the union of all, denounces all who seek to paralyze the efforts of those of the working classes who are agitating for a repeal of the bread-tax, by opposing their denunciations of that murderous monopoly, under the false pretence of furthering the agitation of the charter; and that this meeting calls upon all honest men, whatever their creed or party may be, without ceasing to agitate for any other good object, to assist in the coming effort for the disenthralment of the bread-eaters of Great Britain and Ireland."

Mr. Daly referred to the conduct of the chartists in preventing the establishment of a Parthenon, and said he was sure if the people were thoroughly educated, united, and sober, no government could trample on the people as they had done.

Mr. Baker seconded the resolution.

Mr. ACLAND then came forward amidst great cheering and said—Mr. Chairman and working men,—Our chairman has called to your recollection the very feeling and cordial manner in which I was responded to in this room some eight nights ago. I am glad to see the good feeling and union which seems to pervade this meeting. The resolution I rise to support holds out the olive branch of peace to those of the chartists who have shown themselves to be our enemies, as those who are our friends amongst that body, for those who call themselves chartists are not all opposed to the justice we claim from the tory bread taxers. It is their paid leaders who would sacrifice all the rest of them for the sake of their pay. (cheers.) Let us fearlessly denounce these men, while we would take their dupes by the hand. (cheers.) These men are the abettors of corn laws—the tools of our feudal oppressors,

working out their designs, and lending their aid to accomplish the destruction and degradation of their fellow-men. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) But do not let us denounce them—let us endeavour to win by fair and honest argument these men from the ranks of the tory-tool chartists, by showing them the dishonesty of their leaders, and the manner by which they have been humbugged into an opposition of the repeal of the corn laws. (Applause.) Sir, it strikes me we hardly need argue the justice of repeal now—we have done that so often and successfully. With whom are we to argue it? Surely not with the chartist leaders. The best debater in parliament, Lord Stanley, has already admitted all we could wish on that head. Nay, you should not groan at him, you should rather cheer him, and leave it for the Duke of Buckingham and Sir Robert Peel to hiss him—(cheers and laughter;)—for he admitted at Lancaster, in answer to a question from our friend, John Brooks, Esq.—That the corn laws were intended to raise the agricultural produce. He admitted that if the corn laws were repealed they would have to reduce their rents, and he admitted that it was the greatest absurdity to suppose that the price of food regulated the price of labour. Now, with this admission from such a man as Lord Stanley, what use it is to argue the question with the smaller fry of politicians who come buzzing about our ears! (Loud cheers.) Shall we argue it with some little man who thinks he has been made great and wise by becoming a chartist leader? (cheers.) Shall we throw Lord Stanley to the winds and take in Feargus O'Connor, or some little man who thinks he understands the question because he is paid a salary of 30s. a week for arguing against the repeal of the corn laws? (Laughter.) Not I—I take Lord Stanley to be an admirable man when he opens his mouth honestly. But those who come to oppose us say the best way to get the repeal of the corn laws is to get the charter. Now I know that Feargus O'Connor, their recognised head, would not, if he could help it, give us a repeal of the corn laws. I know he is a landowner in the county of Cork, and his land is charged with annuities to certain individuals, and he receives only the balance of rent after these are paid. I have been in Ireland, and I know that the rest of his estate yields him now a balance which it would not yield him if the corn laws were repealed. I read Feargus O'Connor's *disinterested* leaders in the *Northern Star* against the repeal of the corn laws without surprise. His rents have got up through these enactments, and this honest leader of the chartists, who was ever in the rear-guard when he directed the people against the bayonets of the soldiers, and only in the advanced guard when they were running away—(Loud cheers) he has an interest identical with the landlords. After alluding to the dishonest report of their proceedings at a previous meeting given in the *Northern Star*, Mr. Acland continued:—This may be taken as pretty good evidence that the chartist leaders are not very sincere in their professions, and our object ought to be to endeavour to rescue their dupes, from under the misdirection of their dishonest leaders. How? By the means proposed in this resolution; by asking no man to give up his political opinions to unite with us; without requiring them to give us one iota of their claims in other matters. I think we have a right to this. (Applause.) I have told you that I am a *charterist*; but I have a little charter of my own. [Hear, hear.] I do not hold to the five points; I go a little further, and I do not see why the chartists should tie me down any more to the five points than that we should chain them to repeal. My charter does not lead me to rest satisfied with the House of Lords while the bishops are on its benches, more than with the House of Commons; and it goes a little further than Feargus O'Connor's, but never mind that, let us respect the opinions of others and go for all that is right. I would not

shrink from exposing the dishonest chartist leaders. These men have been playing a tory game. At the elections they played it. They were paid to do it. (Cheers.) O yes, they were paid to get up meetings and sow disunion among the people, in order to give the bread taxer an opportunity to triumph. Mr. Acland went on to contend that corn law repeal was making rapid progress, that the people were capable of being made to thoroughly understand it if properly laid before them, and would support it at every risk. He pointed to Tamworth, he had gone there unknown, and called a public meeting, the result of which was to convince them the bread tax was unjust, and he raised a storm there, the effects of which the tory leader would feel as long as he was connected with the borough. He referred to the tory persecution which the proceedings there had led to against the six men who had suffered the petition against the bread tax to lie for signature at their dwellings, and declared his intention to start a subscription for presenting them with a substantial testimonial. (Applause.) He again advised the meeting not to slacken their efforts, but stand forward resolutely to assist any man who would stand forward to assist them in seeking honestly, to obtain bread for the hungry, and to clothe the naked.

At the conclusion of Mr. Acland's speech the chairman stated that the business of the meeting was over; but that Mr. Hill, editor of the *Daily Bread Circular*, had a plan to lay before them for the repeal of the corn laws, and, as he thought they should be always open to learn. Mr. Hill then explained his proposition, and proposed the following resolutions, which were carried:—

“That with a view to its being shown peaceably and orderly that there is little hope of a repeal of the corn and provision laws, unless the people show their determination not to indure them, and on the principle that taxation without representation is unconstitutional and unjust, it is the opinion of this meeting that the plan of the National Daily Bread Society should be put into active operation in Manchester forthwith, so that by the time of the deputations assembling, the results may be seen, and they, on their return, may spread it in their respective localities, and that this assembly will strenuously exert themselves in its promulgation.”

“That a committee be appointed to carry it into execution; and that such committee do consist of Messrs. Watkin, Warren, Neal, Perkins, Finnigan, Morris, and Neville, if they will consent to act as the collectors of the Daily Bread Fund, with power to add to their number, and of Mr. Hill; and that a committee be requested to make application to the upper and middle class, requesting them to countenance and further the efforts of the committee.”

POETRY.

A FRAGMENT FOR THE PEOPLE.

BY C. CRITCHLEY PRINCE.

It is not sad to see a mass of men,—
The sinews of the state—the heart of wealth—
The never-failing life blood of the land;—
Is it not sad to see them stand like trees,
Swayed by the breath of every wind that blows;—
Drinking with greedy ear the specious tale
Of some deluding orator? And, when
The artful speaker with a flourish makes
The accustomed pause, shouting they know not why,—
Acting they know not how—till, having sent
The exulting demagogue in triumph home,
They find, alas! what they have ever found,
For freedom—scorn, and words instead of bread.

When will this suffering people learn to think,
And, thinking, learn to know the good from ill,—
The true from false—the metal from the dross?

When will they watch their own frail steps, and shun
That subtle serpent shining in their path
Whose glance is danger, and whose tongue is death?
Behold, the to wn is all astir; each house
Sends forth its eager inmates; to and fro,
Promiscuous crowds are hurrying in haste,
With haggard looks and savage; in the air
Gay banners flaunt it bravely, square and street
Echo the sound of music, and the shouts
Of gathered multitudes: in Reason's eyes
This is a foolish jubilee of shame,
When Britons sell their manhood for a promise,
“Held to the ear, but broken to the hope.”

A few more hours of riotous display—
Of wolfish warfare and of party strife—
And night shall draw her curtain o'er a scene
Unworthy of the glory of the sun:
Then shall this mass of artisans retire
To pass the midnight in a rude debauch,
Till morn shall wake them to a painful sense
Of all that is and has been,—babes without food,—
Wives without peace,—themselves without a hope
Of aught save vengeance for a thousand wrongs.
Poor sons of toil! your destiny is dark,
Without the light of knowledge; sad your lot,
Without the cheering influence of truth;
Vain your resolves, till virtue shall inspire
Your souls with moral dignity, and bring
The power to win what God has given for all.

Oh! thou Almighty and Beneficent God!
Beneath thy span of glorious heaven, I kneel
Upon thine own fair earth, and ask of thee
The boon of truth and liberty for man.
Look down, I pray thee, on this groaning land,
Where Wrong rides rampant o'er the prostrate form
Of helpless Right—where crime of every shape
Is rife, and that of greatest magnitude
Allowed to go unpunished. True it is,
That harsh injustice is the chief of all.
The flower of social virtue scarcely lives.
But droops and saddens mid the weeds of vice
That grow on every side; gaunt Famine sits
Upon the threshold of a thousand homes:
The holy bonds of brotherhood are loosed,
And Man, a worshipper of Self, lifts up
His hand against his neighbour; every door
Of misery and death is opened wide;
Madness, and suicide, and murder bring
Unnumbered victims to the ready grave;
In parish prisons many pine and die,
And many on their own cold hearths unseen;
Some, bolder than their fellows in distress,
Snatch at the means of life, and find their way
To lonely dungeons, and are sent afar,
From wife and children severed, o'er the seas,
Or else, perchance, the gallows is their fate,
Which waits to take them from a cruel world.
O God of Mercy, Justice, Love, and Peace!
How long must we despair? When wilt thou make
This part of thy creation like the rest?
Thy universe is wonderful and vast,
And beautiful, and pure; sustained and kept
By Thee in perfect harmony for ever!
Then why should Man, thine image, still remain
The jarring string of thine eternal harp?
Bright essence of all Good! Oh, deign to give
To human hearts a portion of the bliss
Which thou hast promised in thy written Word!
Give to the nations liberty, and love,
And plenty of the fruits of thy fair earth,
And charity, and knowledge, and a thirst
For Truth's bright fountains, and a trusting hope,
To share, at last, thine immortality!

LINES ON THE BREAD TAX.

By a Minister of the Anti-Corn Law Conference.

“Shall starving millions sweat and toil,
To plough for pamper'd Lords the Soil
And pamper'd Lords deny them bread,
Or only let them be half fed?
Forbid it Heaven! forbid it Earth!
That so much wrong be done the Serf,
Are these things so—can we be men—
True-born—free-born Englishmen?
It should not—shall not, long so be,
If our hearts be true, or our minds be free,
And such as these were the Barons bold,
Who wrested from John, Magna Charta of old;
They trusted to God, and a righteous cause,
And they repealed unrighteous laws.
Our cause is a just one—deny it who can,
With the breast of a woman, or head of a man,
Let us then with our wrongs the welkin rend,
And our prayers for redress, to Heav'n ascend;
For never in vain shall millions pray,
When thousands scornfully turn away
From the poor man's cries—the injured's wrongs,
When they speak with the force of a million tongues.
Let our hearts be true, and our minds be free,
And Lordly disdain shall humbled be;
—To force, concede, what to right it denies,
When assailed by hunger's menacing cries.”

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

TO THE WORKING MENS' ANTI CORN LAW ASSOCIATIONS, AND OTHER BODIES OF WORKING MEN FAVOURABLE TO THE IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF MONOPOLY.

As will be seen from the Report in another part of this paper, it was unanimously resolved, at a large Public Meeting of the Working Classes, that the Conference of Labouring Men, be held on New Year's Day.

We now desire all bodies of working men, favourable to our course, immediately to discuss the matter and appoint Representatives, and to favor us with their names as soon as possible. Those associations and others, unable, from want of funds, to send a Representative, can either send us their opinions by letter, or can appoint some one in whom they can confide, residing in Manchester, as their organ.

It is intended, unless something occurs to alter the arrangement, to hold the Conference in the Old Manor Court Room, or the Corn Exchange, and to commence at eight in the morning. The sitting to continue till twelve, and recommence at two, and to terminate either by a Public Meeting or a Tea Party.

Every Representative is expected to bring, ready written, a Statement of the General Condition and Opinion of the Labouring Classes in his locality.

Communications to be directed to the Committee, care of Mr. HODGSON, 99, Cannon-st., Manchester.

THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1841.

SINCE our last publication the ball of agitation has been kept rolling—slowly in some places—and rapidly in others. In Manchester the operatives have been working vigorously, and we hope successfully. We are glad to see the working men beginning to take the lead in the agitation. With some of the large master manufacturers the abolition of monopoly has been demanded principally as a matter of profit. When profits were momentarily good and business brisk, we heard little complaint against the accursed system which they have at last so vehemently denounced. With the working men, however, it is a question of life or death—"Bread, or we die!" It is not regarded either by them solely as a question of immediate relief, but as the stepping-stone to greater changes in the general system. The repeal of the food monopolies is viewed by the millions as the gathering together of provisions and stores would be by a congregating army, as the first necessary step in a mighty struggle.

We are, therefore, glad to see our working-men's association calling a meeting of working-men deputed from trades, mills, workshops, and of their "order" generally as our friends did on Tuesday, Nov. 2, in Carpenters' Hall, and there, on their own behalf, and without aid or countenance from the middle classes, demanding re-

peal—total repeal and—COMPENSATION. This looks like business! Long have we cried out to the aristocracy—"Cease to rob us!" Now, we cry in addition—"Restore the millions out of which you have swindled us!"

From the resolutions and addresses published in another part of this number, it will be seen that a conference of working-men is to take place in Manchester on New Year's Day. At this meeting the future course of the peaceable and rational portion of the working-classes must be resolved upon. Wisdom must preside at the council, and energy must reign while the matured plans of the conference are carried out. If the deputations decide wisely, and act with promptitude and courage, the page of history may shine with the glorious deeds of this parliament of the people, and future generations may look back with pride upon them, as the seeds from whence have proceeded that vast tree of liberty under whose green leaves & vigorous branches they are reposing in peace—free, contented and happy. Great care, then, ought to be taken by constituencies which send deputations. Let no man come who does not thoroughly understand the question—*above all, let honest men be sent.* Let them come from a sense of solemn duty, not for the sake of making a figure, or of having the eyes of the country directed towards them. Let us have a "parliament" of honest, sober-thinking men, and the cause will prosper as it ought to do, in their hands.

COMPENSATION.

"COMPENSATION!" roared out the Borough-mongers, when the houseless towns of Gattton and Old Sarum were ruthlessly popped into schedule A. Compensation said the slave-owners, and unluckily they got it! Compensation, say the Bread Taxed millions, and if they are true to themselves they will get it. Colonel Thompson has conferred another favor upon the country by suggesting the idea. Already it has created some stir in the ranks of the monopolists, and we have a shrewd guess that when they hear it demanded at public meetings, all over the country, and when they see the tables of the House of Commons loaded with petitions, praying for it, they will tremble in their high places, and become confirmed in their belief that the people are "very immoral!" and are sadly in want of Church Extension.

The Burden of the Corn and Provision Taxes is £50,000,000 a year. The present Corn Laws have been in operation twenty-six years. Thus, during this period, the people have been

robbed of £1. 300, 000, 000, or about as much as the value of the entire land of the kingdom!! Thus, if the people have a right to one penny of Compensation, they have a right to the whole of the land, having paid for it by eating taxed food for six and twenty years. Landed Aristocrats! look to it. *Lord Stanley has admitted that the Corn Laws keep up rents, and raise the price of bread—thus robbing the people to benefit you—here you see that you have forfeited your lands—you have forced the people to buy them from you. Take care you do not starve them until as one man they demand to have, what has been paid for by the sweat and toil of millions, by the unutterable misery of those who ought to have been happy, and by the premature death of thousands.!!*

UNJUST LAWS.

Those portions of a Nobleman's estate which are laid out in *plantation* ground do not pay any thing in the shape of poor rates, while the cottage of the Poor man must pay. For instance, all the ground which is growing wood upon Lord Wilton's estate, does not contribute one farthing to the support of the Poor.

The following duties are payable on goods sold by auction:—On sheep's wool, the produce of any part of the United Kingdom, a duty of 2d. for every 20s.; on any interest in possession, or reversion, on any freehold, customary, copyhold, or leasehold *lands* and *tenements*,—on any shares in the stock of any corporation or chartered company,—on any ships or vessels,—on any annuity or reversionary interest in the public funds,—on *plate* or *jewels*, a duty of 7d. for every 20s. The above are things which Poor men never own. On furniture, fixtures, books, and all chattels whatsoever, a duty of 1s. is charged for every 20s.-worth sold. The last are things which a Poor man may have to sell by auction, and therefore they pay the highest duty. He pays six times as much in duty as the Farmer, who sells his wool by auction, and nearly twice as much as the Lord, who sells his estate or jewels by auction. Yet the Farmers and Landholders pay all the taxes!!!

SALFORD YOUNG MENS' ANTI-MONOPOLY ASSOCIATION.

A meeting of the members of this branch of the Association was held on Wednesday evening, October 27th., in the School-room, under the Unitarian Chapel, Greengate, when an essay was delivered by Mr. Chilton, one of the council, on the effect that a repeal of the corn-laws would produce on the rate of wages. A very spirited discussion ensued, in which several chartists took part; and we can only say, that if the whole body was actuated by the same desire for reason and argument, a speedy adjustment might easily be made of the differences which now exist between two most im-

portant and useful portions of the operative classes. The meeting, which was pretty numerous, terminated with a very animated and eloquent reply from the essayist, who answered, most effectively, all the arguments advanced against his position. We are glad to be able to state that this spirited branch of the Association is steadily progressing, and the Secretary informs us that considerable accessions are made weekly to the number of its members.

THE TIMBER DUTIES.

It is owing to the operation of our *Timber Duties* that the working-classes in Great Britain, and particularly in Scotland and Ireland, are so wretchedly lodged; an evil by which the whole community suffers. The Timber of America is not adapted, either in size, strength, durability or price, for the wood-work of small houses. For the beams, roof-timbers, or other parts in which there is strain or exposure, it is considered totally unfit; and were it stronger, the waste in reducing its size to the proper dimension prevents the application of it to such small buildings. The duties upon the kind of wood alone, suitable for the poor man's habitation, which is the small sized logs, deals, and battens of Norway, and the Baltic coast render it impossible for the lower, or even the middle classes to lodge themselves comfortably or even decently. It affects the price not merely of the good building material, which these countries could furnish at a cost lower than the duty now levied upon it; but it raises our worthless planted fir-wood, which no prudent man can use in any work that is intended to last 20 years.

If our labouring classes understood their own interest, they would find that the timber duties press as heavily upon them as the corn laws. A dry, warm, light, comfortable roomy dwelling, such as induces a man to stay at home, keeps him out of the ale-house, and his family out of the doctor's books, would be a real improvement in the condition of the working man, which he would obtain by the total abolition of the timber laws, and which would in no way effect the rate of his wages. There is, perhaps, no one cause which drives the labouring man to the spirit and beer shop so much as the want of a comfortable, decent dwelling to retire to when the work of the day is over. This timber duty, is the most pernicious, perhaps, in the whole range of British taxation, it stands also in the way of the industry of numerous and important classes in the middle rank of life. It prevents, for example, the industrious sea-faring man, who has gathered a little money, from ever obtaining that object of every seaman's ambition, a small vessel of his own. It is not necessary that small vessels of a small class should be of oak; Prussian and Norwegian ships of large burden are built of pine. If the duty upon the east country timber were abolished, our small capitalists would form a floating population, engaged in the various trades of communication and conveyance between the British, Irish, and Foreign coasts. But the duties put it out of the reach of small capitalists to have such vessels as are suited to their means, and as the same class in other countries, having a free timber trade, are able to fit out. It costs as much with us to make a herring boat as it should require for a coasting sloop.—*Lang's Norway.*

ON THE EXPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE CORN LAWS.

BY J. C. SYMONS.

The open intercourse that happily exists amongst all classes on public questions removes any chance of entire ignorance of them, and the knowledge received through this medium enables, in a great degree, their minds to decide in their encouragement to the question temporarily agitated for the public amelioration. One of these questions opening that facility for the mere discrimination of right and wrong is the question of the Corn Laws, as it assimilates to the disposition, on an international scale, of a division of employments in a private concern, each servant applying himself to that which he can do best, and the Corn Laws to the productions that are indigenous to the soil of different countries, and their necessary exchange.—We have individually formed our opinion of the Corn Laws through this view, the minutiae of the question being the narrow consideration of private and class interests, unreasonably admitted into discussion with the professed test of our modern system of legislation, "the happiness of the greatest numbers." We have been highly pleased with the following clear exposition of the Principle of the Corn Laws, by J. C. Symons, in his "Arts and Artizans," and present it to our readers:—

"The principle and advantages of division of employments, hold good equally among nations, as among trades in the same nation. But I go still further, and I assert, that this principle is still more advantageous between nations than between trades: for particular countries have always some natural or indigenous facility, in the production of certain articles, over and above the skill in perfecting them, which practice imparts. Thus, if France, for instance, has a peculiar advantage in producing silks, and England in producing knives, it is manifestly to their mutual advantage to exchange British surplus knives with French surplus silks; and for this plain reason, that if France refused to take England's knives, and devoted a part of her labour to make knives herself, it is quite clear that, as she labours under disadvantages for making them, she would produce in a given time, a less amount and a worse quality of knives, than she could have produced of silks; which silks, had she exchanged for English knives, would have produced, with the same labour, a larger amount, and better quality, of cutlery for France. I will repeat this in another form, because, as the whole theory of free-trade is centred and contained in the advantage I am here endeavouring to describe, it is essential we should have a very clear notion of it.—I will suppose, then, that France with 12 hours labour can produce 100 pieces of cutlery; we will suppose that each of these countries wants for its own use 50 pieces of silk and 50 pieces of cutlery. The question is, whether they will do best to exchange the 50 extra pieces of silk with the 50 extra pieces of cutlery, or, whether they will do better each of them to devote six hours of every day to the other commodity?"

"But though France can make 50 pieces of silk in six hours, it is evident that it by no means follows that France can make can make 50 pieces of cutlery in that time. On the contrary, the case we have taken, is that in which France possesses greater facilities for making silks than knives; therefore, if France makes 50 pieces of silk in six hours, she will necessarily make a lesser number of pieces of cutlery—say 40.

"Thus it appears, that, in the case in which A makes nothing but silks, keeping fifty pieces for herself, and exchanging the other fifty against the knives of B;—it appears in this case, that A enjoys for her twelve hours' labour fifty pieces of silk, and 50 pieces of cutlery, making 100 commodities. And it appears that when she divides the same labour, between making silk and knives, refusing to exchange with her neighbour, she en-

joys for her twelve hours' labour 50 pieces of silk' and only 40 pieces of cutlery; making only 90 commodities.

"Now, the first case is the case of free trade: the latter is the case of restrictions on trade; and thus the latter produces 10 per cent less wealth than where interchange is free.

"This is the broad ground on which the advocates of free trade take their stand. On the strength of this principle we assert, THAT INASMUCH AS TRADE IS RESTRICTED, COMMODITIES ARE DIMINISHED; and with commodities wages, since wages can alone consist in commodities."

Manchester, Nov. 1841.

M.

MR. WAKLEY—THE WHIGS—AND DEAR BREAD!

"You must not go for the Abolition of the Corn Laws, because if you do you will bring the Whigs back again!"—*Speech of Mr. Wakley, M. P., at the meeting in St. Luke's, Parish.*

A short time ago, had we been asked, we should have said that we had never heard more than two arguments in favour of the continuance of starvation by law. We have at last found another, and now present our readers with the "three graces" in all their naked beauty. The first was the celebrated declaration of the Duke of Buckingham, "That if the corn laws were repealed, if protection were taken away from the landed interest—HE would sell his property and leave the country to its fate." The second was brought out in rather a novel way. A gentleman who attended one of our lectures, was observed to pay such marked attention to the lecturer, that when the proceedings were over he was urged to become a member of the association. This he steadily refused to do, and for some time declined to give his reasons, for a course which was rendered strange by his admission that the lecturer "had convinced him." At length he let out the secret.—He was a PAWN-BROKER, he said, and in 1835 and 1836, when food was low in price he did not clear expenses—but since food had been high, he had done exceedingly well, and had opened, in addition to his old establishment, a new shop, in —street, and, he added, if you repeal the Bread Tax, my increased expenses will ruin me.

The third is the sapient declaration of Mr. Wakley, with which we have ornamented the heading of this article. Now, first, be it observed—the declaration was made in the Parish of St. Luke's, and within a short distance of that celebrated establishment, within the wall of which gentlemen of too ardent imagination—or insane gentlemen as the vulgar call them, are confined. This is an important fact, as it gives evidence of the existence of a sympathy "in Mr. Wakley's soul," with certain situations. We recommend it to the lovers of science—as the deductions from it might be valuable and the fact applicable to more cases than one. Mr. Wakley's saw amounts to this—"If you cease to starve the people, the Whigs will put out the Tories—continue to starve them, and this unwished-for consummation will not happen. Therefore according to Mr. Wakley—the starvation of the people is the condition on which the Tories hold

office. This we steadfastly believe, and we believe too, that both Buckingham and the Pawnbroker will be *protected*—so long as Peel remains unopposed by the *universal* voice of the people. Wakley says, “don’t shout or you will break the spell.” We have hinted that the atmosphere at St. Luke’s might have some influence on the brain of the member for Finsbury—but we forgot that the “Fire King,” as his friends, the Tories, call him was *Coroner for Middlesex*; and albeit we are unwilling to charge him with so grave a crime against humanity—we still cannot help thinking of the Pawnbroker, who, by the by, is considered to be a *liberal and benevolent fellow by many*—and wondering whether the fact that the corn laws throw many a good fee into the coroner’s pocket, in the shape of inquests upon poor wretches who have died through lack of food, has had any influence in producing a declaration, which has caused Buckingham to chuckle, and Peel to smile on his soi-disant radical supporter.

We are no friends to either Whigs or Tories—but we say do justice to the starving millions, and fear not the consequences.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CORN-LAW REPEALER.

CHAPTER IV.

[Continued from our last.]

The dormitory in which we passed the first night of our vassalage to Messrs. D—, was a long, low, whitewashed hole, thronged with wooden sleeping places. The “beds” were very small, but small as they were, four and sometimes six of the lads, apprenticed to the firm, were crammed into each one. The bed-clothes were of the coarsest description, and miserably scanty. Instead of the boisterous and rude greeting which it might have been expected we should receive from the “older inhabitants,” our accession to their ranks was apparently a matter which excited little notice; a few boys stared at us in a dull, vacant manner; a few others said a few words to one or two of us, and then we appeared to have quietly settled down into the dull, monotonous track which they had trod so long. I wondered at this indifference of manner at the first. Too soon, however, I learnt why it happened. Their energies were destroyed by the inhuman cruelty which condemned them to work out life and youth, in order to bring gold into their masters’ pockets.

A miserable night it was to our sleepless senses, apparently drawing to a close, when the loud and harsh-pealing of the factory bell produced an immediate stir amongst the sleepers around us. Numbers immediately jumped out of their hard beds, and hurried on their trowsers and shirts; a few lingered as if wishing to rest till the very last, and were only induced to rise by the sudden appearance of the master of the house, who, cane-in-hand, drove all, ourselves included, from their beds, and as soon as a few clothes could be hurried on, led us all through the snow which covered the large yard leading to the scene of our future labours, and handed us over to the overlooker, under whose care we

were to be placed. The morning was dark as pitch, for the clock had but just struck four, and the great oil lamps, with which the mill was lighted, gleamed faintly through the sombre atmosphere. Shivering in every limb, our teeth chattering from the intense cold, we were made to sit upon some pieces of wood, in a little corner, which was lighted by a single lamp, and some waste cotton or sweepings, being thrown down before us, we were shewn which to put into the large basket, and which into the small one, both of which stood behind the cotton.—Here we kept picking out the cleanest, and laying aside the oily and dirty portions, until the sound of the bell and the striking of the clock informed us that it was eight o’clock, and that the time for breakfast was come. With alacrity we answered the summons, and going under the convoy of our keeper, marched to the house and took our places with the rest of the apprentices, both male and female, upon some rows of forms in our dirty-looking “breakfast room.” Here, a brown earthenware dish, containing about half a pint of *very* thin gruel, a small piece of brown bread, and a wooden spoon were given to each; and when the scanty fare was hastily despatched, we were again driven across the yard, and placed at our several employments.

We picked away until twelve o’clock, when the bell again rung as the signal for dinner. Again we entered the house, where we found, in addition to the forms, two rows of narrow deal tables; around these we took our position. Potatoes, and a very small modicum of blue milk, formed our “sumptuous” repast. At one o’clock we were at work again, where we continued until eight o’clock in the evening, at which hour, owing to our being “new hands,” although the hands generally continued their work until nine, we were permitted to adjourn to our supper, and thus finished our hard day’s labour, with a kind of echo of the morning’s meal. We were soon hurried off to bed. My companions soon gave signs of their being in the arms of Morpheus, by snoring most melodiously; for my part, the novelty of the day’s occupation, the singularity of our treatment, and of the people amongst whom I found myself, together with the noise occasioned by fresh batches of hands coming to their rest, contributed, tired as I was, to keep me awake for some time. I had been too much occupied during the day to think of Mary, and of our parting; and now, that I had leisure to recal the past, I was so much troubled, by thoughts of what had taken place more recently, that I could only revert to what saddened me the most—as to a great evil—seen through a mist of more immediate, though minor troubles. At last, however, I tired myself with meditating upon my prospects at the mill, and then recalled with tears, my parting from the only friend my childhood could boast of. I cried, until worn-out nature gave up the contest, and I fell into a sound and refreshing sleep, which was only broken by the sudden ringing of the bell which again called us forth to labour beyond our strength.

For the remainder of the week, we worked, with the slight intermissions of meal times, from about four in the morning until eight; and sometimes nine at night, and on the last day we continued our labour until within an hour of unday morning. We then were conducted in-

to an old boiler-house, and made to strip and wash ourselves in warm water—a luxury to me—a sad source of annoyance to others. This was usually observed with the new comers and occasionally, but rarely, with the older inmates.

On the Sunday morning we were called at a late hour, just in time for dinner. As it was Sunday, we revelled in the luxury of about an ounce of meat to our usual weekly allowance of potatoes; and, after dinner, the oldest of the boys were allowed to stroll out, a privilege only made use of by those whose knowledge of the neighbourhood made them confident of meeting somewhere with greater pleasures, despite the snow, than could be found under the roof which they seemed glad enough for an hour or two to quit.

And now, reader, the master and mistress being comfortably ensconced in their own private apartment, where the ennui, which a secluded life might peradventure inflict, when the active operatives of the week-day were, for a short period, dispensed with, was being scared away by rum and water, tobacco, and the society of a few choice spirits. We will, with your permission, lay before you a brief description of the inmates of this “prison with the tall chimney.” As you have, no doubt, already gathered, the apprentices were almost entirely the outpourings of the workhouses, and more especially of those of the south of England. The children were either the illegitimate offspring of the poor—the orphans which expiring wretchedness could not provide for—or the children of dissipated and heartless parents whose laziness and profligacy prevented their maintaining the poor little sufferers from their vile conduct. Messrs. D—, took these children off the hands of the parish, with the understanding that for seven years they were to receive food, board, clothes, washing and lodging, in return for their work; and that at the end of the period of apprenticeship, they would be sufficiently instructed in the mysteries and intricacies of cotton-spinning, as to be able to earn for themselves an independent livelihood. The parish officers signified their intention of visiting the mills, at stated periods, in order to ascertain whether the children were properly attended to or not. These visits *ought to have been paid*. Sometimes the governor of some country workhouse, anxious for a little change of scene, would make a visit to Messrs. D...’s, the excuse for an out at the expense of the parish; but rarely, if ever, did he enter the mill or look at the children, satisfied with the hospitality which he was sure to meet with, and with the eating and drinking which was made to give him the idea that Messrs. D...’s were “damned good fellows;” and that the lot of an apprentice was a most enviable one. Alas! could the parish authorities have seen the poor children, surely public justice would, the instant their condition was made known, have hunted from society the wretches who could permit such wholesale destruction of life and happiness. I sicken when I reflect upon the horrors of that place! But to return; five out of every six of the oldest inmates were deformed in their bodies or limbs, and this in consequence of the severe and unnatural labour which they had to undergo. A little boy, five or six years of age, would be placed in the mill and made to work for somewhere about sixteen hours a day!

and, at times, when "things were good," would be forced to work four and twenty hours on a stretch! This, and similar things, added to the natural weakness of many of the children, and the insufficient diet, caused the spines of numbers to lose their rectness, and their legs to grow crooked. Yes, so much deformed had many become, that it was matter of jest in the neighbourhood, that D...s could show more bow-legs, knock-knees and crooked backs, than any man in England.

THE MEN OF BIRMINGHAM.

BIRMINGHAM, Monday Evening, half-past Ten.

The splendid Town Hall was thrown open on Monday evening for the purpose of enabling the Men of Birmingham to hear an Address from Mr. Curtis, of Ohio. Mr. Scholefield was announced to take the chair, and did so at six o'clock, when there were about 6,000 persons present. Richard Cobden, Esq. came from Leamington, on the invitation of the Committee, and was on the platform, with Joshua Scholefield, Esq. M. P., Joseph Sturge, Esq., Messrs. Boulton, Salt, and many other Friends of Free Trade.

We regret, however, to state that from six to eight o'clock not a single sentence was heard, one continued clamour being maintained by a knot of Bread-Tax Chartists from the moment the chair was taken to the dissolution of the meeting. This manifestation of despotic irrationalism, was under the guidance of a fellow named WHITE, who calls himself a CHARTIST LEADER, and who conducted himself throughout the entire proceedings with a degree of insolence truly disgusting. Another Chartist Leader, Mr. THOMPSON, felt called upon to DENOUNCE this WHITE as a TRAITOR to their CAUSE—asking him his price—charging him with being a TORY TOOL—and expressing his DISGUST at his OUTRAGEOUS and UNMANLY CONDUCT.

The moment the Chairman, at the instance of Mr. Sturge, announced the dissolution of the meeting, a rush was made upon WHITE by persons near him on the gallery platform and a tremendous call burst forth from the body of the Hall to throw the Bread-Taxer over. His hat fell among them and was torn into a thousand pieces—but Mr. Sturge and others returned good for evil, shielded the man from personal violence, and escorted him to the stairs, where a policeman took him into his charge and showed him the *direct way* to the street, when he was glad to escape by a *quick march* through the adjacent lanes.

The affair has produced a noble re-action against the miserable tools who affect to desire liberty for all—yet refuse the right of utterance to the advocates of bread for the hungry, and remunerative wages to the unemployed children of industry!

MEETING AT ST. LUKE'S.

A public meeting was held in the parish of St. Luke's, on Monday, to consider the propriety of forming an Anti-Monopoly Association. Nearly 2,000 persons, of the most influential character, were present. Col. THOMPSON was called to the chair, amidst loud cheers.

Mr. S. ALLEN read an address on the evils of

class legislation, and called upon them to assert their natural rights. They had asked for a repeal of the Corn Laws, they had failed, and they now sought the abolition of all monopolies, and invited all classes to join them.

Mr. WALKER said that the meeting wished to take measures for the formation of an Anti-Monopoly Association, in the place of the local Anti-Corn-Law Association, which had been dissolved, without producing the slightest effect upon the legislature. He then moved a motion to abolish, not only the corn and provision laws, but likewise all other monopolies.

A. R. SHAW, Esq., seconded the resolution.

Mr. GOODFELLOW having also addressed the meeting, — a Chartist of Birmingham attempted to get a hearing, but was opposed by the committee, when great confusion ensued, and ultimately he was expelled from the platform.

Colonel THOMPSON said it was customary for the chairman to address the meeting on opening the business of the evening. He had been prevented by a misapprehension from doing this, but he would endeavour to atone for it by making a few observations now.—[Loud cheers.] They were met in order to try if something could not be done in order to further the objects in which they all could agree, and act with common utility. The difference of opinion lay in the mode of advancing the People's Charter, the best document, as it regarded the people's rights, that had ever proceeded from the pen of man.—[cheers.] What is it that oppressed them all? The power of an unjust aristocracy. (cheers.) Why then did they run against and impede each other, in bringing that aristocracy to the grindstone? [cheers.] He begged of them to consider whether they would not lay aside their hostility, and not run against each other on those points in which they were agreed. Why could not one party agitate against mischief at one end, and the other party at the other? The time might come when they would arrive at a solution of both. [cheers.] Was it the part of sensible men to say to each other, "You shall not advance in any direction but our own?" The Corn-law repealers did not blame the chartists for not coming over to their cause; but the chartists could as little expect the corn-law repealers to come over to them. (Here, here.) He did not come there to ask either party to come over to the other; but to ask them to consider whether it was not advisable to agree to let each other alone. (Cheers.) He came to make no concession, nor to ask anybody else to do it; but simply to invite them to let each take their own way. (Hear.) When each party separately petitioned for their rights, the aristocracy replied to both "Half the people are against you." If they could not act together, he begged of them not to oppose each other. They should not oppose anybody until they knew they were their enemies. [cheers.]

Mr. KNIGHT moved an amendment,—"That the charter was the best remedy for the evils of the corn and all other monopolies, and that the way to abolish these evils was to extend the suffrage."

Mr. WILLIAMS seconded it.

Mr. PALLISER said that the resolution went to the principle of the charter, namely,—universal suffrage.

Considerable discussion ensued, which ended in the withdrawal of the amendment.

The original resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. PALLISER moved the second resolution,—"That the means hitherto employed to obtain a repeal of the food taxes having proved ineffectual, from the indisposition of the parliament to grant the just demands of the people, the mid-

dle and working classes of this parish henceforth engage to enter into a solemn compact to unite their energies for the attainment of their natural rights."

Mr. CARR seconded it, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. Wakley, M.P., rose and said it afforded him satisfaction in addressing a few words to the meeting, as he wished to disabuse their minds as to certain malicious statements that had been circulated as to his parliamentary career. He thought that to the great majority that was unnecessary.—(A voice, "But it is necessary.") Every elector had a right to call for an explanation, and when they had a right to call for an explanation, and when that was done, he should always cheerfully respond. It had been charged against him that he had ratted—he did not find, however, that his tail was lengthened.—[Laughter.] He had been maligned because he thought that the greatest injury would accrue to the country if Sir Robert Peel was forced to bring forward measures before he was prepared.—(A voice, "But you asked time.") Mr. Wakley—"That's false." He had stated in the House, that if Sir Robert Peel were not prepared, it was better that he should have time than that he should bring forward crude and imperfect measures. And were they afraid to give him time? He (Mr. Wakley) did not join in the Whig cry, because it was factious cry. He had been in the midst of the battle, and he knew that the cry had been raised to restore to office a faction that had betrayed and insulted the people. Was not that true? It had been said that he had betrayed the pledge given to his constituents, and was called upon to resign, but had any portion of them ever made that call? Had it been made, he would have resigned his trust within twenty-four hours after.—[cheers.] What more could a representative do? They had been oppressed by two aristocracies. One of these aristocracies had got itself into a rather awkward position. He had helped to place it there. If it was restored, the people would gain nothing but misery. They were in favour of an 8s. duty, and even that they could not carry if restored to-morrow. What could the Whigs faction do with regard to the Tory faction and the House of Lords? There was but one line of conduct for the people to pursue. If the 8s. duty were carried to-morrow, he feared that in a very short time the people would be as miserable as before, because Parliament legislated for the rich and not for the poor. They must not attack the Corn-laws, for if they did they would bring the Whigs back again. He wished a radical reform, in which should be embodied the principles of the Charter.—(Loud cheers.) These were his views, and if the tradesmen of Finsbury said "Resign your seat" he would do so instantly.—(Loud cheers.) They had given the Whigs ten years. They would now give the Tories time, and if they proposed good measures should he refuse them?—(Cries of "No!" and cheers.) The manufacturer asked the working man to join in asking for a repeal of the Corn-laws; but the working man wanted the suffrage. He would join in no agitation which was not for giving the suffrage to the working classes of the country. Let them not call the new Society Anti-Monopoly Association, but the Suffrage Association, which would do more to further the cause than any other step whatever.—(Loud cheers.)

Mr. PALLISER said, well, we will make Mr. Wakley godfather to our society, and call it the Enfranchisement & Anti-Monopoly Association. The proposition was agreed to, and carried with enthusiasm.

A committee was then named to complete the organisation of the association.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and three cheers were given for Mr. Wakley, and the meeting broke up at a late hour.

SELECTIONS.

LONGEVITY.—According to the Brussels paper, there are in Belgium fifteen persons who are above one hundred years of age, of whom nine are women. One of these, Maria Theresa Mayor, of Antwerp, is one hundred and four years old; two others, Marie Ann Stastin, and Catharine Abrait of Luxemburg, are above one hundred and five years old.

AN EXTRAORDINARY REQUEST.—A person named Argent, lately residing in Cambridge, England, being possessed of some real property, devised it, or part of it, to a niece, upon condition that before he was buried *his head should be cut off*, he having for many years previous to his death, been under an apprehension that he should be buried alive. He died a week or two ago. His extraordinary wish was complied with, and the niece of course claimed and obtained the property.

LEGAL FUN.—At a trial of a man for keeping a disorderly "dance house" in Boston recently, one of the unwilling witnesses for the prosecution admitted, on cross-examination, that he had been in the house five nights out of six for six weeks—that he left a young wife at home to attend there, &c. In the argument of the case that fact was strongly commented on, that a married man should so constantly attend so vile a place, abandoning his wife to solitude. The Transcript, from which we get the story, continues: The next day, the prisoner being called up for sentence, after the verdict of guilty, his counsel said an explanation was due to that married witness. *by day* he was indeed a rigger; but *at night*, a fiddler, and in fact was hired at a dollar a night to fiddle there. The prosecuting officer then said *the studied concealment* of that fact, by the witness and counsel, at the trial, was reprehensible; had he known it, the Attorney of the Commonwealth said that he doubted not, that from the cross examination of such a witness, which he should with that knowledge have much extended, and sifted to the bottom, he would have been able to have brought more fully to the knowledge of the jury all the *crotchets, flats and sharps*, and *ad libitum* passages, and libertine *con amore* notes, which were usually *scored down* literally in that place, every evening, and have drawn out from the musician the *WHOLE THOROUGH BASE* of the establishment, which was the thing to be proved.

NOT IN TUNE.—When those aids to singing, called musical pitchforks, were first introduced, the precentor of Carnock parish, a few miles from Dunfermline, thought he might not be the worse of one and accordingly ordered the Edinburgh carrier to bring it over. The honest carrier, who never heard of any other pitchfork but that used in the barnyard, purchased one at least ten feet long. It was late in the Saturday evening before he came home, and as a message had been left to bring it up when he came to church next day, he marched into the church-yard before the bell rung, where the master of song was standing amid a group of villagers. "Aweel, John, here's the pitchfork you wanted; but I can tell you, I ne'er thought muckle o' your singing before, and I'am sair mista'en if ye'll sing any better now!"

MORE REFINEMENT.—Instead of saying a man runs on his own hook, the phrase is now more elegantly rendered by saying, *he progresses on his personal curve.*

CORRECT PRINCIPLES.—A gallego [a water carrier] was sent for by a hidalgo, who aware of his fidelity, unburdened his mind to him, by saying that a certain individual was obnoxious to him. The good-natured gallego understood the hint; the price agreed upon was a moidore; and the Senhor Mendez declared that his excellency's enemy should not witness the setting of the sun. The hidalgo rose from his seat embraced his Gallacian friend with rapture, and insisted on his partaking of some 'vacca com arros,' on which he was just dining. Mendez recoiled with horror at the proposition, and exclaimed, "Your excellency little knows my principles, if you conceive me capable of eating beef on a Friday!"

THE LION BARKER.—Several of the shows in the Champs Elysees were opened on Sunday last to the public. In one of them (says the *National*) an animal, described as an African lion, tamed according to the process of Van Amburgh, was exhibited in a cage with a young female, who from time to time put her head into its mouth. A soldier who was present, alarmed at the apparent danger of the female, exclaimed vehemently against the exhibition, and just as she was about to repeat the experiment endeavoured to prevent it by attracting the attention of the animal to himself. The lion, offended by this manœuvre, began not to roar but to bark, and turned out to be a large dog clothed in a lion's skin.

CHINESE COOKERY.—There is an amusing anecdote told of Captain Anstruther, when in confinement in China, which is said to have come in a private letter from himself: "One day a mandarin sent him a very savoury stew, garnished with sharks' fins and birds' nests, in compensation for a likeness which he had taken of the nodding gentleman.—Captain Anstruther having tasted the delicious contents, gave an inquisitive look at the attendant, and pointing to the stew, said, "Quack, quack, quack?" The servant shook his head and replied, "Bow, bow, bow."—*Indian paper.*

A NEW WAY TO GET AN OLD DEBT.—A poor creditor, wearied out with continued calls upon a rich rogue of a debtor, and being told repeatedly he was not at home, at length hit upon a way to get a sight at him.

"My master is not at home," said the servant, "as usual."

"Is he aware that his debt to me has been discharged?" said the creditor.

"What is that?" said the debtor, darting suddenly out of an inner apartment. "Good morning, I am not aware that my bill has been discharged, sir!"

"Nor I, sir; here it is, and as I have at last found you at home, I will now thank you to discharge it."

"Um—O, certainly; a—yes, yes—walk in and you shall be paid."

A POINT OF LAW.—In New York, a roller boy of a printing office summoned his employer for five dollars, which he claimed to be due him for labor. The judge decided for plaintiff on authority older than any thing to be found in Coke or Blackstone—on the well recognized maxim, that "the d—I should have his due."

MORE MODESTY.—That young lady who frequently walks Camp Street towards evening, puckers up her mouth like an old-fashioned work-bag when she laughs, lest she should show her teeth, having read in a book written by Lady Blessington that they are nothing but *naked bones*."

THE BISHOPS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—The Duke of Cumberland came up to us as we were sitting in a knot upon our bench, and talking of what was then passing. He said, "My Lords, it is observed that you always keep silence, and except you, (addressing himself to me,) I never heard any of the Bishops speak." "Sir," said I, "whenever I hear religion or the bench insulted, your Royal Highness shall hear me speak in their vindication." "Aye; but why will not your Lordships speak on other occasions?" "Sir," replied I, "haranguing in this assembly is a trade like other trades, and generally the Bishops come to this bench so far advanced in years as to be too old to learn. Besides, sir," said I, "we have been long accustomed to severe reason and exact method; so that we should be as much at a loss to talk *nonsense* as others, more habituated, to talk *sense*."

THE GREAT UNPAID.—The mayor of a borough, under the old municipal system, had a man brought before him for stealing blankets. The town clerk was absent; and his worship thought he could manage so simple a case as that himself. He fetched down 'Burn's Justice,' and, on opening it, said to the prisoners 'Thee see'st, my man, that thee mustn't think of me for what I do; it's all down i'th'bewk here, what thee must be done at.' His worship then turned to the index, and read out Bastardy, Bigamy, Burglary, &c., till he got to the bottom of the B's. He then said, 'Ga'd, thee'st had a lucky escape, there's no law for stealing blankets, yet; but let me gi' thee a bit of advice: there's one a coming out, and donna thee be cotched again.'

The following admonition was addressed by a Quaker to a man who was pouring forth a volley of ill-language against him, 'Have care, friend, thou mayest run thy face against my fist.'

NEVER SATISFIED.—Last week, as a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Brompton was examining an old desk which has stood in an old outbuilding for a long time, he found a small bag, which he thought was a shot-bag; but on taking it up, the bottom came out, and, to his great surprise, out rolled 5000 spade-ace guineas. After counting them, and said he was sorry he did not find them, twenty years sooner, that he might have the interest on them also, during that period.

The Bellman of a seaport, not 100 miles from Whitby, announcing a teetotal meeting, to be held at the Temperance Hall, in that place, said the meeting would be addressed by six females who never spoke before!—Prodigious!

An honest farmer in the neighbourhood of Doncaster, was taunted the other day at one of the market tables in this town, with having turned his coat. "Why," replied he laconically, "I think I had better turn it than have it torn from my back." There was much serious reflection in the reply.

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AND
JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL OPERATIVE ANTI-BREAD TAX ASSOCIATION.

"THE BREAD OF THE NEEDY IS HIS LIFE; HE THAT DEFRAUDETH HIM THEREOF, IS A MAN OF BLOOD!"—Eccles. XXIV. 21.

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To the Readers of the Anti-Monopolist, and to the Friends of Free Trade, amongst the Operative Classes generally.

FELLOW WORKMEN,

The Anti-Monopolist is the first Periodical which has especially been devoted to the advocacy of the working-man's interests, as regards the great question of Freedom of Commerce, and of untaxed and unforestalled food. Its columns have not been devoted to the advocacy of the *expediency* side of the question. They have not been filled with the fine-spun sophistries of the eight shilling fixed-duty-men. They have never contained any thing like an attempt to *reconcile* the landholders to an act of justice, by shewing them that repeal would not *injure* them: nor have they ever pandered to the love of profit, which alone stimulates *some* of the masters in making their demands from the aristocracy. No, we have always taken up the question as a question of *Justice*: and we have laboured to shew to the unconvinced and indifferent portion of the working classes, that "monopoly is the robbery of the many, for the benefit of the few;"—and that the working classes, both manufacturing and agricultural, are more interested in the dethronement of the whole system than any other class in the community;—since it is out of the proceeds of their labour, that the whole monopoly tax is paid—and since the burden thus inflicted serves to chain them, Prometheus-like, to the rock of slavery—where, without the power to defend themselves, they are left a prey to the political vultures, who fatten upon the peoples' sweat and blood. Although, as we stated in our first

number, we direct our efforts mainly to the abolition of commercial monopolies; still we have not refrained from denouncing the monopoly of representation; and we have shewn, *we hope* successfully, that, while it is wrong to ask those who place their reliance upon Universal Suffrage alone, as the means of bettering the condition of the people, to *abandon* their agitation, in order to assist us—still it is the duty of all such persons *at least not to oppose* us, because our case involves the enfranchisement of vast numbers of the unrepresented, by involving an increase in the peoples' portion of *that property, which the Reform bill makes the test of ability to vote.*

We ask, therefore, for the support of all who value the well-being of the working man. We ask all enemies of monopoly to read the Anti-Monopolist. We desire our Chartist brethren to peruse our columns too. One shilling paid in advance to our publisher, will entitle the subscriber to receive twelve numbers of the periodical. Surely, no friend to the cause will begrudge *one penny per month*, to aid in disseminating the principles he espouses.

THREE THOUSAND COPIES OF THE LAST NUMBER were disposed of. We ought to sell TEN TIMES THIS NUMBER. We ask those for whom we labour, to assist us in attaining such a circulation.

THE EDITOR.

ARE THE REPEAL OF THE BREAD TAX AND THE PEOPLES' CHARTER—IN THE HANDS OF HONEST MEN—ANTAGONIST PRINCIPLES?

To Feargus O'Connor and J. Bronterre O'Brien, Esquires.

Learned Gentlemen,

Were we implicitly to believe the statements of the "*Northern Star*," or the *incomprehensibly profound* assertions with which your speeches are burthened, we must immediately conclude:—

First.—That the Repeal of the Bread Tax would throw all the land out of cultivation, and all the agricultural labourers out of employment.

Secondly.—That the Repeal cry is nothing more than the reverberation of the sighings after profit of the "bloated millocrat."

Thirdly.—That machinery alone is the cause of the distress imputed to the operation of the Bread and Provision Monopolies.

And Fourthly.—That as the land of Great Britain and Ireland is sufficient for the production of food for the people—if partitioned out in five or six acre allotments—it would form an Arcadian paradise on which to locate the spinners, weavers, mechanics, tailors, and others, who are all sighing for a rural life; *and that therefore* it is no use to resist starvation by law, because *when we get the Charter—as we wish we may do*—we shall arrive immediately at this devoutly to-be-wished-for consummation.

Unfortunately for the *first position*, we shall be able to upset it on the authority of its "fond parent," and to convict the "*Northern Star*" out of the mouth of Feargus O'Connor. Before doing this, we must observe, that the people of this country could consume—supposing food were cheaper or wages higher—at least one-fourth more food than they can obtain at present; and that from this source, importations from abroad, to a vast extent, might take place without displacing a single ounce of the food produced by British and Irish labour. And that the only mode by which land could be thrown out of cultivation would be, Firstly, large importations from abroad, at a low price, without an increase in the consumption; and Secondly, the inability of British agriculturists "to compete with Foreigners."

In the "Letter to the Landlords of Ireland, by Feargus O'Connor, Esq." it is stated *that, under an improved mode of cultivation, 100 acres of land can produce nearly double the amount of food obtained from it at present*; at the same time employing, to a profit, a much greater quantity of labour than is now employed upon it. *Therefore, Gentlemen, the land cannot be thrown out of cultivation, unless you can prove that Foreign Corn can be sold here for half the usual British average, or for about 32s. a quarter.* Every body knows that 40s. is the lowest average at which it can be imported; and every careful enquirer is

aware that by the evidence of British farmers (given before the House of Commons in 1836) it was proved, that, paying the present rent, wages, taxes, &c. on an average of years, it can be produced in Britain at that price.

As to the second proposition,—That the cry for repeal is the cry of the “bloated millocrats,” &c. Undoubtedly some “millocrats” have been praying for repeal—Undoubtedly some of them *have* been “bloated” too—(though at present, we think, “a change is come o’er the spirit of their dream,” and it is only natural that these men should be more earnest in their wish to see the measure carried, in consequence of believing that it would benefit them. But are the “millocrats” the only body of men who desire repeal? Large meetings of the working and middle classes in almost every town of note, in Great Britain and Ireland, have demanded it. A million and a half of Britons have demanded it by petition. Thousands upon thousands of agricultural labourers have demanded it. But you know, gentlemen, the importance of the party in favour of this measure, else why do you continually abuse the men who seek to obtain that *which all the great radical leaders who laid the foundations of the party, a portion of which you endeavour to lead*, strived for so untiringly. HUNT, was no “bloated millocrat,” and he demanded repeal at Peterloo. Major CARTWRIGHT was not one of the “lords of the long chimneys,” and he, too, sanctioned our cause with his support. The original FRAMERS of the PEOPLES’ CHARTER were not “Factory lords,” and they, TO A MAN, WERE TOTAL REPEALERS. The first of them was the father of the Anti-Corn Law agitation,—Colonel THOMPSON; the second was the present LORD MAYOR of DUBLIN, who was always for the total abrogation of the Rent Law;—the third was FRANCIS PLACE—*but you know them*—and you know that, to a man, they denounced the landlords’ injustice, and that, at this moment, they are most strenuous in their exertions totally to repeal it.

As to the third proposition,—Machinery is the natural result of those inventive faculties with which man is gifted. It is the evidence of a natural desire to have the *drudgery* of labour performed by an *untiring* power, under the superintendence of man; and the possession of the inventive faculties proves that the Creator intended them to be exercised, and considered their exercise would conduce to man’s happiness. True—under the operation of unwise laws, even this blessing is to some, made a curse. The hand-loom weavers have

suffered, not from machinery by itself, *but from markets, narrowed by law, acting through machinery*. The spinners, owing to the increase of productive power, *without a corresponding increase of the return for the yarn they made*, have had to turn off a much larger quantity of yarn, though with a very slight increase of labour, for the same money per week. On the other hand, the mechanics who have made the machines, have been prospering; the bricklayers, bricklayers’ labourers, plasterers, painters and tailors, who buy the cottons and woollens, produced by these machines, have been gaining by the increased cheapness of the articles with which they are clothed. But listen to TWO FACTS. *The Hand-loom Weavers of Manchester met in St. George’s Fields, last June, and petitioned for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which, they said, were the main cause of their distress. The Spinners’ Union, meeting at the house of Mr. Daniels, the Sherwood Inn, Manchester, published two resolutions in the “Manchester Advertiser,” last April, the first of which set forth that the Repeal of the Corn Laws would bring employment and food to the unemployed spinners; and the second, that the repeal was a measure deserving of their support. The weavers and spinners ought to know their own case, certainly, as well as you, gentlemen, know it.*

Now our exports of manufactures have increased in *quantity* very much, during the last 20 years. But to what extent has the food which the people should receive in exchange increased? *Hardly any food is imported*. Why? Because the law says, you shall not import any thing but the raw materials for your manufactures, *which our landowners cannot grow*, and the luxuries which, *although our landholders do not produce, they know full well how to consume*. Yes; the return for our exports consists mainly of articles which the poor do not use, and by the operation of the food-laws, our exports are little else than a means of paying the rentals of the bloated aristocracy which permit “live and dead turtle” to enter for their use, while they exclude the bread which the children of the hard-handed operative cry in vain for.

Can it be wondered at, that our machinery does not benefit us as it might, when we see that the law prevents the labouring classes from enjoying the fruit of their labour? Oh! no; machinery may be perverted by the Corn Law; but this *surely is no excuse for a food tax*.

As to the fourth proposition.—If the land of England is capable of producing such a large quantity of food, in addition to that which it now produces, *which you admit to be insufficient, by asserting that the land, under another system can produce enough*,... the system which prevents such a proper production must be a bad one, and ought, for this, your own reason, to be abolished. It is the interest of the landowner, who excludes foreign competition in food, to grow as small a quantity of food as possible, because by doing so he can alone keep up an exorbitant price. Repeal the *Corn Law*: let in foreign corn, at an average of 40s. a quarter for wheat, and the landowner will be compelled, either to cultivate with little

profit, which his selfishness will indispose him to do; or to grow such a quantity as will enable him to sell to a profit at 40s. Arguing from your proposition then, we arrive at the conclusion, that he ought to be made to do so; and reasoning further, as above, we find that the way to make him do so, is to repeal the *Corn Law*. So much for your stock arguments.

We find from the particulars into which we have entered—

1st. That the repeal of the *Corn Law* will induce a greater growth of Corn at home.

2nd. That it will do much towards putting an end to the system which makes our export trade benefit the aristocracy above every body else.

3rd. That it will mitigate, at least, what your scribes call “the curse of machinery,” by increasing the quantity of food to be exchanged for the produce of machinery.

4th. That it is a measure advocated by the old radicals, and by all those who framed the Peoples’ Charter—by men whose talent, honesty, and knowledge was, and is, at least, equal to your own.

How then can this measure militate against the Charter? How can any thing which reduces the power of the aristocracy, and increases that of the people injure the peoples’ cause? No, gentlemen, either you must set yourselves up as superior in knowledge and wisdom, to the men whose memory a grateful people has graven upon their hearts, or you must deny all evidence, trample upon your own admissions, and declare yourselves the abettors of the aristocracy, whose acts have caused myriads of your fellow-creatures to weep tears of blood.

Do you wish to be thought honest? Then denounce land-owning as well as mill-owning oppression. Do you wish to be immortalized in the same historic page which shall record the good deeds of the most virtuous of mankind? Then, while persevering in your agitation for the Charter, assist the starving poor to obtain bread. Do you wish to bring into the ranks of your association the friends of universal suffrage, now standing aloof from you because of your indirect support of the Bread Tax? Then shew them that you, too, are REPEALERS, and that you only differ with us as to the means of getting repeal, and are determined if you get the Charter, to make a total and immediate repeal one of the first measures you will propose. “Be just and fear not.”

THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CORN-LAW REPEALER.

CHAPTER V.

(Continued from our last)

Much work and little sleep continued to be my fortune for nearly two years and a half, during which time nothing occurred at all out of the usual round of events. Day succeeded day—week followed week—spring took the place of winter, and the heat of summer succeeded the freshness of spring. Again

came winter, spring and summer, and still the same dull sameness—the same insupportable loneliness in the midst of the hum of industry and the contact of hundreds of human beings, made my life a barren desert, over which the hot breeze of disappointment and unhappiness swept, obliterating every hope of greenness or verdure. I have borne unhappiness—I have tasted felicity;—the one never caused me to forget that it was of uncertain tenure; the other, I trust, I bore like a man; and now that age has laid its hand upon me, I can declare with perfect truth, that I know not how I bore the dreadful life of a factory-lad, nor how it was that my body bended not, and my mind did not become barren for ever, amidst the horrors of such a mode of existence. I know of many, very many, some of whom have long gone to “that bourne from whence no traveller returns;” and others, who are still living, who were degraded by it from high-souled erect bodied beings, to the crookedness and dull animal vacancy which is not to be found even amongst the brutes of the creation.

Sometimes, in the summer, we were allowed to go out, either during the time allowed for dinner, or on the Sunday, to bathe in the river Irwell, which runs past the mill in which we worked. One Sunday, after I had been at D——’s, about two years and a half, about a dozen of the “softest” and least experienced of us, went out to bathe for the first time. We followed the winding of the river for about three quarters of a mile, until we came to Agecroft Bridge. At this place the water was as clear as crystal, and revealed to the eye the pearly whiteness of the stones which paved its bed. On one side of the river, close to the bridge, and under the shade of the trees which overhung the water, was a bed of stones. This appeared to us so convenient a place from which to walk into the clear stream, that we took up our station upon it. Here we undressed, and laying our clothes upon the water-worn stones, we, one by one, ventured into the cool and refreshing water. For some time we lingered in the shallow part of the river, growing bolder and bolder, we trusted ourselves in the deeper parts, until at last it became a matter of rivalry as to who should “go overhead.” One of our number, a mischievous rascal, advanced a short distance, and bending his body, made us believe that he had got into deep water. This served him as a reason for jeering us upon our cowardice. We ventured deeper and deeper—some went up to the chin—others ducked down, and letting the water close over their heads, rested satisfied with having performed so wonderful a feat. For my own part, I had once or twice done this, and at length resolved to *wade under water*. I cautiously advanced, and no sooner did the water come over my erect body, than the stream took me off my feet, and hurried me into deeper water. After a brief struggle, I rose to the surface. I saw the frightened faces of my comrades—the

ripple of the stream—the leaves and branches of the trees with terrible distinctness. I at tempted to call out, but fear tied my tongue. The whole of the events of my life crowded upon my memory in an instant. I thought of Mary—I felt sure I should never see her again. I sunk struggling—I rose again to the surface, and again sunk. I remember nothing more until I awoke and found myself lying in a large and handsomely furnished bed. For some time I could not collect my scattered senses sufficiently to call to mind who I was, or what had taken place. On one side of the bed stood an elderly gentleman, with a handsome, though melancholy cast of countenance, and on the other, was a younger man, who occasionally felt my returning pulse.

“He is coming to himself,” said the first-mentioned person, “poor fellow! a little longer and my search would have been in vain.” “Fortune favours you,” returned the other; “I hope the fickle dame will not deceive you yet.” “I hope not” said the other, “it would indeed be a bitter disappointment to me to find it so.” “Well, you will see—but the mark on the neck is exactly the one mentioned in your sister’s letter,—but hush! he is fully awake.”

My companions enquired how I felt, and thanks to their care, I was soon able to leave my bed, and walk slowly with them to the mill. As we walked, I learnt that the two gentlemen were passing at the time of the accident, and had got a boat and drags, by means of which they had recovered my body, which had been carried to the house of the younger of the two, who was a physician of the neighbourhood. The words which I had heard kept returning to my recollection, and had such an influence upon me, that I was not surprised when the elder gentleman informed me, that I must return with them to Dr. N——’s house: and that, as he had taken a fancy to me, I might, if I pleased, accompany him as soon as I was perfectly recovered, to London. This opportunity I gladly accepted, not knowing clearly how it was that such a sudden turn should have been taken by my fortunes, as it afforded a probability of again seeing the darling of my childish affections.

In the morning of the following day I awoke, not aroused by the harsh pealing of the factory bell, but by the kind voice of my new protector. He enquired how I felt; for learning that I was almost recovered, he determined to leave for London immediately after breakfast. A servant brought me a suit of clothes, belonging to one of the doctor’s sons, and assisted me to dress, washed my hands, face, and neck, combed my hair, and effected such a change in my outward appearance, that the doctor and my protector both appeared to be pleasingly surprised at the favourable alteration which had been made in their protegee.

We will pass over the details of our journey, a journey, so different from my last, to London, and the gradual change in my manner, deportment and thoughts, which intercourse with an educated and kind-hearted man caused to ensue. Suffice it to say, we arrived in London, and took up our residence at a respectable hotel in the city.

[To be continued in our next.]

MEETING AT HALIFAX.

Colonel Thompson delivered an Anti-Corn Law lecture here on the 24th ult. at the Odd-Fellows’ Hall, to a crowded audience. A Chartist chairman being appointed—

The Colonel commenced by supposing an island at first inhabited by a few, who lived by the cultivation of the soil. But in the course of time, the population so increased, that the land could not afford them employment and maintenance. A large portion of the community betook themselves to the manufacture of certain articles which they exchanged for the surplus produce of the surrounding islands, and thereby maintained themselves in comfort and independence. But a few having got possession of the land, through their influence, had laws enacted to prevent the exchange of surplus commodities between this and the surrounding islands; so that idleness, distress and starvation were the natural and inevitable consequences. England, he said, was similarly circumstanced, but on a more extensive and more alarming scale. He then drew a striking illustration of the difficulties that beset the English merchant in trading with the Hamburg and American merchants, by restrictive laws on commerce, and traced the evils resulting therefrom through the various grades of society; [Cries from the Chartists] he saw it was not unfrequent to see meetings of this kind turned to a double purpose: but if things continued, other meetings might be turned into a double purpose also. The Colonel, in the course of his address, was cheered from the galleries, platform, and many parts of the hall, with some hisses.

Mr. West, a Chartist lecturer, was then introduced by the chairman; he did not think the Colonel was a Malthusian before now; he believed the soil of these countries sufficient, if cultivated, for the maintenance of the population. He did not want this country to be a workshop for the world, or the people the toiling slaves of other nations. He then drew some calculations from Mr. Culloch, to shew the Corn Laws would be of no benefit to the people if repealed; if they wanted to remedy the distress, they should aim at the root of the evil, Class Legislation. He concluded with a long address on the necessity of union for the Charter alone.

Mr. Mc. Gowan next addressed the meeting. He would not trespass on their attention but that he felt strongly impressed with the importance of the subject that called them together, on the settlement of which he believed depended the existence of thousands of his fellow-workmen. He did not dispute with Mr. West as to the capability of the soil, but the Corn Laws were an inducement to limit the supply, and keep up a starvation price for food. For while animal food was prohibited, the landlord would turn the land into grazing, which insured him full remuneration, while the agricultural labourer was turned out of employment. [cheers and uproar] He then alluded to the depressed state of the country, and asked, should not something be done to repeal the laws that left the parents without employment, and the children without bread, and was injurious to the best interests of society? It could not be denied that they were unjust, and therefore oppressive; and it was inconsistent in the advocates of justice to throw any obstacle in the way of their repeal, they were only injuring the cause they seemed so anxious to advance. [Mr. West then put several questions to the Colonel, all of which he answered to the satisfaction of the meeting. After it broke up, the Chartists remained to enjoy the triumph, and carry their favoured resolutions.]

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

TO THE WORKING MENS' ANTI-CORN-LAW ASSOCIATIONS, AND OTHER BODIES OF WORKING MEN FAVOURABLE TO THE IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF MONOPOLY.

As will be seen from the Report in another number of this paper, it was unanimously resolved, at a large Public Meeting of the Working Classes, that the Conference of Labouring Men be held on New Year's Day.

We now desire all bodies of working men, favourable to our course, immediately to discuss the matter and appoint Representatives, and to favour us with their names as soon as possible. Those associations and others, unable, from want of funds, to send a Representative, can either send us their opinions by letter, or can appoint some one in whom they can confide, residing in Manchester, as their organ.

It is intended, unless something occurs to alter the arrangement, to hold the Conference in the Old Meal House, or the Corn Exchange, and to commence at eight in the morning. The sitting to continue till twelve, and recommence at two, and to terminate either by a Public Meeting or a Tea Party.

Every Representative is expected to bring, ready written, a Statement of the General Condition and Opinion of the Labouring Classes in his locality.

Deputies are requested to come to the Anti-Corn Law Rooms, Newall's Buildings, Market-Street, as that place is most central and most known, and a Member of the Committee will be in attendance to direct them to the place of meeting.

Communications to be directed to the Committee, to the care of Mr. HODGSON, 99, Cannon-st. or to Mr. John Kelly, Sec. 34, Cable-st. Manchester

THE ANTI-MONOPOLIST.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1841.

THE meeting of deputies in Manchester and in the Midland counties—the conference of ministers of the Gospel in North Wales—the amendments upon the addresses of congratulation to the Queen, which have been moved, expressing alarm at the present distress—the meetings in America to urge the government to admit the food they can grow for the starving British operatives—all these things must convince the monopolists all over the world, that the days of their injustice are numbered, and must animate the people with hope of a speedy change in the accursed system which grinds them to the dust.

The tide of public opinion not only in England, but in other countries, is setting in stronger and stronger against the villanies of Britain's oppressors.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin has caused multitudes to thank him, by declaring that he will send a million of signatures to petitions, pray-

ing for a repeal of the *Bread Tax* from Ireland. Let Britain emulate this noble example, and let every man who loves his country, and who hates monopoly, be found amongst those who demand full justice to the Bread Eaters,

We have received communications from Leicester, Huddersfield, Oldham, Warrington, and many other places approving of the *Conference of Working-men* to be held here on *New Years' Day*, and pledging themselves to send deputations. *Welcome to the Bread Taxed Peoples' Parliament!*

A FEW WORDS TO JOURNEYMEN TAILORS.

—o—

The wages of Journeymen Tailors we believe to be 20s. to 30s. per week. Out of this sum the amount expended in food* of all kinds subject to the tax of monopoly, will be on the average at least 15s. a week, and the tax upon this will be much more than 5s. per week. To avoid all cavil, however, we will reckon it at 5s. per week per head upon all the tailors in work, or £13 each per annum.

The number of Tailors in the Metropolis is estimated at 7000, or about one for every 150 of the population. In smaller cities, and in the country, the proportion will be much less. Taking it, however, as one in 500, the number of tailors employed in Great Britain and Ireland, will be 56,000, and the tax, deducted by the robber-laws of the land, from the comforts which their labour should bring to be enjoyed by themselves and their families, will be annually £728,000!!! This sum, annually placed out at compound interest, would in twenty years, amount to £30,000,000, or as much as would purchase a perpetual annuity for every tailor in the kingdom of £20 a year. Thus are the tailors defrauded of that which should assist them to live in ease and affluence in the evening of a life usefully employed.

The Landowners, Parsons, Colonialists, and others, who employ the "elite," of the sartorial body, forbid cheap bread or beef to come from Germany, or sugar and coffee from Hayti, for the use of the English workmen; but—mark the inconsistency, injustice and selfishness of their conduct—they permit *Foreign Tailors* to come to England and compete with British and Irish tailors in the labour market, thus doing their work and receiving their wages. In London there are more than 1000 Foreign tailors, 800 of whom come from the very Germany whose cheap food our aristocracy refuse to allow us to import. In other large towns the same thing occurs. What is the consequence? Why the "surplus supply" of tailors come to seek work in the smaller towns, and at this moment, owing first to the general commercial distress, and secondly to the above cause, *one third of the tailors of Manchester are unemployed!*

* Bread, Meat, Cheese, Butter, Eggs, Tea, Sugar, Coffee, &c

We advise the tailors, who are a superior set of men, superior in education and intelligence to very many of their labouring Brethren, immediately to take steps to remove this monster grievance, under which they and millions beside are labouring. Let them in a body *petition Parliament against the injustice of the Food Taxes*, and let them not forget to tell the Honourable Houses, that inasmuch as they permit the importation of German Princes and German Tailors, they ought at the same time either to permit the importation of German food or make the landowners and other monopolists sell theirs as cheaply as the Germans can buy it, viz.—at about *half the price* it is in England.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE CAUSE.

MANCHESTER.—On the 15th ultimo, a meeting of deputies from various associations co-operating with the League, took place. About 120 persons attended, and the utmost unanimity and zeal was exhibited. Amongst other resolutions, it was resolved to hold district conferences in the various manufacturing districts, and to collect and publish all the evidence bearing upon the injurious operations of the Corn and Provision laws—not only upon manufactures and upon the wages of the operative, but also upon public health, morals and education, before the meeting of parliament. This will be highly useful. One of these meetings will be held here on the 17th of December.

In the evening of the 15th November, our Operative Association gave a public tea party to COLONEL THOMPSON, and the other deputies, in the Corn Exchange—JOHN BROOKS, Esq. in the chair. Several lectures have been delivered in various parts of the town by Mr. FINNIGAN, and petitions for repeal and compensation are now in course of signature.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. has lectured to the females of Manchester, Bolton, and other places, and memorials to the Queen from the females of Great Britain are being signed.

WALES.—In the Principality the friends of justice have been all alive, in consequence of the conference of Ministers of the Gospel held there on the 1st December, and following days. 150 MINISTERS HAVE DECLARED IN FAVOUR OF IMMEDIATE REPEAL. What a vast influence 150 pious and just ministers must have upon the public!—We may henceforth consider, Wales as one of our strong holds.

In London, Liverpool, all through Yorkshire, Birmingham, and the midland counties, the note of preparation is loudly sounding, and we expect that such a rally will be made by the meeting of parliament, as will convince the iron-hearted Duke, that the people will have justice.

COLONEL THOMPSON.

The gallant Colonel, since he visited us at Manchester, has been to Huddersfield, Halifax, Liverpool, and Carnarvon, at all of which places he has delivered powerful and convincing

* See Evidence of Dr. Bowring.

addresses to audiences of from 1500 to 5000 persons: and has, by so doing, convinced the wavering, inspired the dispirited with hope, and strengthened the peoples' cause, by bringing into the ranks of the enemies of monopoly, a vast accession of good, radical, thorough-going supporters.

At HUDDERSFIELD, 1500 persons listened to his eloquence, and after a friendly conversation with a few Chartists, an unanimous vote of thanks was given to him. At HALIFAX, the audience numbered 3000; the Chartists made a sham fight in favour of land-division, and the pulling down of the towns, as opposed to repeal: but our friend, John Mc. Gowan, one of the most talented and honest working-men we know, replied to them, and convinced many of the folly of setting an abstract plan, however excellent, in opposition to the abolition of a foul injustice.

At LIVERPOOL, 2500 persons attended the lecture, and a resolution, pledging the meeting to agitate for repeal, was unanimously agreed to.

At CARNARVON, the Colonel addressed the conference of ministers, and afterwards delivered a soul-stirring harangue to 5000 honest, warm-hearted Welshmen, assembled in the Market-place.

"Well done, thou good and faithful friend of the poor!" Long may he live to help us. May he live to see the consummation of his exertions in the prosperity and happiness of the people; and when death at last shall remove him from a world of turmoil to mansions of peace, may his reward be as sure as that a grateful people will inscribe his venerated name upon their hearts!

PETITIONS.

We have petitioned for Total Repeal for a long while, and our petitions, although they have convinced the Bread Taxers that we are alive to our own interests, have failed so far, to wring from the hard-hearted mercenaries the justice we have prayed for. The time is approaching when we must again knock at the door of the Parliament House. Let us put a little more "pepper" into our "prayers." *We must petition for compensation.* We subjoin a draft of a general petition, and also one of an individual petition, both of which we recommend to the adoption of the working-classes. Let it be attended to at once. A million of petitions from a million individuals, and a few thousands numerously signed general petitions, would cause as much alarm in the house as the Bristol burnings did to Sir Charles Weatherall. We urge upon our friends the adoption of this course.

"To the Honourable the Commons &c.—(or Lords as the case may be, both should be petitioned.)

"The humble petition of the undersigned inhabitants of

"Humbly sheweth,

"That your petitioners are fully aware that the Corn and Provision Laws raise the price of

food above its natural level, and thus limit the demand for labour, keep down its price, and cause misery, wretchedness and woe; the extent of which, in the opinion of your petitioners cannot be known to your honourable house, or else they are convinced, since they have been taught to consider you as the guardians of national justice, you would long ago have removed the odious grievance under which they labour.

"That in order to shew the extent of the burden inflicted by the Corn and Provision Laws, your petitioners beg to refer to the evidence of the servants of government, given before a committee of your honourable house, wherein it is proved that the tax amounts to more than the whole revenue of the country, or above £50,000,000 per annum.

"As your petitioners know that this vast sum has not been received by government; they now pray that you will at once ascertain into whose hands it has flown, in order that compensation may be made by the receivers of it for the years of misery which the people have had to suffer in consequence. And your petitioners also pray for the Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

INDIVIDUAL PETITION.

"To the Honourable the Commons, &c.

"The Humble Petition of of
street, in the town of

"Humbly sheweth,

"That your petitioner being aware that it has been proved before a Committee of your honourable house, that the Corn and Provision Laws tax the community above £50,000,000 per annum, besides the small amount of duty which goes to the revenue, humbly prays that as he has upon the quantity of food consumed by him, paid about £, in the shape of tax; the parties who have received the money may be compelled by your honourable house, immediately to refund the same to him,

"And your petitioner will ever pray," &c.

MR. GEORGE THOMPSON'S ANTI-MONOPOLY LECTURE.—The first of a series of public lectures against the corn-law and other monopolies was delivered on Friday night, in the theatre of the Athenæum, by Mr. George Thompson. At eight o'clock, the chair was taken by Mr. Charles Cobden, who informed the meeting that the Young Men's Anti-monopolist Association had invited Mr. George Thompson, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Bright, of Rochdale, Mr. Moore, of Dublin, and other advocates of free trade, to give a few lectures on the corn-laws. He then introduced to the meeting Mr. G. Thompson, who was received with loud cheers. After some introductory observations, in the course of which he quoted some very apposite remarks from the historian, Gibbon, on the evils of monopoly, Mr. Thompson said,

"Monopoly is the bane of improvement—the parent of every conceivable species of abuse—the engine of plunder and oppression. It narrows the channels of human industry; it checks the march of invention; it stifles the motive of enterprise; it robs industry of its remuneration, it stops the flow of knowledge; it says, 'Men shall not be wiser to-morrow than they are to-day;' it raises the prices, it deteriorates the quality, it diminishes the quantity of every thing it touches; it is old-fashioned, and bigoted, and proud, and prejudiced; it refuses to learn itself, and forbids others from profiting by their learning; it smites with sterility the fairest lands, and begets the worst and most unrighteous passions; it has no corrective principle in its composition; it is a reservoir of stagnant water, engendering only noxious vapours; like the dog in the manger, it will neither eat itself, nor suffer others to do so; it frustrates the designs of nature, and renders useless, except to a few, the rarest and most valuable bounties of nature; its growth, if growth it may be called, is always backward; it is the worse for age, and use, and experience; like the barren fig tree that cumbered the ground, and only fit to be cut down, it is not to be mended; it spurns advice, and never reads the signs of the times; it never relaxes the rigour of its sway; it is the nurse of patronage, the school of corruption and ignorance; knowledge brands it, slavery attends it, truth abhors it, religion condemns it. Such is monopoly—and you are an Anti-monopoly Association."—(Loud applause.)—Mr. Thompson then reverted to the history of the East India monopoly, as illustrative of the truth of the previous assertions, and concluded a speech which occupied upwards of an hour in the delivery, amid loud cheers.—On the motion of Mr. W. J. Birch, seconded by Mr. Dale, the thanks of the meeting were given to Mr. Thompson, for his eloquent address, and the assembly separated.

HENRY HUNT—REFORM—AND A REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS.

We give below a portion of the speech of Mr. Hunt, in the House of Commons, on Thursday, September 15th. 1831.

The Chartists say Mr. Hunt always went for *Universal Suffrage, as the means of obtaining the Repeal of the Corn Laws.*

Mr. Hunt gave notice of his motion the first day he entered the house, and this speech was delivered on the night of the discussion upon the Reform Bill.

Act (1 and 2 George IV., c. 87; 6 George IV., c. 65; and 9 George IV., c. 60;) having been read:—

MR. HUNT.—Said in rising to move that this House do resolve into a Committee of the whole House to consider these Acts,—a motion of which I gave notice the first night I entered this House,—I beg to say that I have been anxious to bring it forward before, but in consequence of the Reform Bill intervening, I have, at the request of his Majesty's Ministers, consented to defer it from day to day, but I have now the opportunity of redeeming the pledge which I voluntarily gave my constituents. My only regret is, that a subject of such vital importance to the interests of the whole country has not fallen into more able hands, but I shall be content for the present if I give Ministers an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the

subject, which I trust they will do so notwithstanding the laugh of the Right Honourable Member for Windsor. I do not expect that they will concur in my proposition, but I do hope they will hold out some prospect of this question being settled. It is the opinion of many very able men that as the corn-laws stand at present, they are neither beneficial to the landholder, to the farmer, nor to those who deal in corn, for as the averages are at present taken, the whole trade is in a state of uncertainty. If my motion should be met by an amendment in favour of a fixed duty, I should not oppose it, but I go for a total repeal of the existing corn-laws, and for the admission of corn without restriction in all the ports of the country. I know it will be said that without a duty it will be impossible for the home grower of corn, with all his burdens of taxes, tithes, rates, and dear labour, to compete with the foreign grower; but this is a species of argument which I will not attempt to answer, leaving it to the political economists, of whom there are many in this House, who will be able to shew to Members disposed to listen to them, that by a repeal of the corn-laws no sacrifice will be made on the part of the landowners. Such, however, is not my opinion; for I say there must be sacrifices—that there must be a lowering of rents, of tithes, and of taxes. I go, then, upon the broad principle that there must be a sacrifice. I say it without meaning to cast any reflection upon the aristocracy, but there has been a great rise in the rental of corn farms within the last forty-five years,—in most cases it has been trebled, if not more. Tithes have been raised in the same proportion, and in some parts of the West of England more so. Having for so long a period had these great advantages, I do not think it is too much, in the present condition of those who have to purchase bread, to call for a decrease of rents. I am aware that upon this subject I have a great many obstacles to contend with; that a large portion of the Members of this House are great landowners, and are, therefore, strongly interested parties in this question. But the question must be decided, whether rents and tithes shall be reduced, and the peace and tranquility of the country preserved, or whether a starving people shall be driven to the same state of desperation they were last winter.

One of the petitions on the Table states that every meal a poor man eats costs him a penny more than it would do if there were no corn-laws. Now my calculation runs thus:—at Hamburg, upon an average of the last three years, the price of corn has been 33s. 6d. per quarter; whilst, in Mark-lane, for the same period, it has been 61s. 2d. Now, when it is known that the freight of corn from Hamburg to Mark-lane is not more than 2s. per quarter, it is demonstrated that we might have wheat at two-fifths less than it is sold for. Such would be the fall for a year or two were this change to be made, and if there had been no such things as corn-laws in existence. I have no doubt that the prices of wheat would have been one-third less than it would have been during that period. I am aware that if our corn-laws were abolished, the price would rise abroad, and that therefore we should not get it so low as we might now seem to do. From a report on the Table of the House, and from other

sources of information, I find that for the last three years bread has averaged in this country twopence per pound. Now, the lowest amount of parish relief given anywhere except in parts of Wilts, where it is at a starvation point, is a pound and a half of bread, or the worth of it, every day per man. By the returns on the Table it appears that the population of the country in 1821 was 21,000,000; and supposing that the increase in the last ten years has been equal to what it was in the ten years preceding, the population will now amount to not less than 24,000,000. A pound and a half of bread, at twopence per pound, would make for each individual one shilling and nine-pence per week; but in order not to be over the mark, I will take it all over the country to be one shilling and sixpence per week. If, therefore, there were no corn-laws, the poor man, getting his bread a third less than what he now pays, would have to pay only one shilling where he now pays eighteen-pence. This sixpence a week which each person on the average pays extra for his bread, makes, for all the eaters of bread throughout the country, 31,200,000*l.* in the year. Does this all go to the landed interest? No such thing; a great part of it is absorbed by persons intermediate between the landlord and the consumer.

It may then be asked, why take a step that will compel the landowner to reduce his rents one-third? I say yes, for they have been raised 200 per cent., and he can and ought to reduce them one-third, though I do not think that the repeal of the corn-laws would compel so great a reduction as that. The tithes ought in like manner to be reduced. Why, Sir, the tithes in the parish of Chapel Allerton, in Sussex, amounted, forty-five years ago, to 55*l.* only, but now the clergyman charges 500*l.* a year, and is never known to come into the parish except to collect his tithes, I do not say that the rise has been so great generally, and this may be an extreme instance; but there being many similar cases, though perhaps none so great in degree, the question will be whether or not the House is prepared to take some measures to reduce the price of corn. I know that a large portion of the farmers are now incapable of meeting the demands of rent and tithes from the profits of their farms, and are entirely paying their rent out of their capital. I may be asked, if I admit that such is the case, upon what principle I propose to take away the protection that gives the farmer his present price for his corn? I do it to preserve the peace of the country; for I am satisfied that the country has now reached such a state, that the Reform Bill will be of no avail. Greater sacrifices must be made by people of property than will be made under the Reform Bill. We all recollect the situation of the country less than twelve months ago. I say that the price of bread had a great deal to do with that situation. It was high rents, high tithes, high taxes, high bread, and low wages, that drove our agricultural labourers to desperate insubordination. Wages have been brought low, whilst everything else has risen most enormously. I will state one instance I know of, to the truth of which the Honourable Member for Wiltshire can bear witness. Forty-five years ago there was an estate which he knows very well, let at 600*l.* a year, but which is now let at 1800*l.* When it was let at 600*l.*, a year, the labourers received six shillings per week for their labour, but when the estate let for 1800*l.*, they only received seven shillings per week. The fact is, the farmer pays such an extravagant rent that he is compelled to screw down his labourers almost to a starvation price;

and every thing short of seven shillings that he wont pay comes out of the poor-rates. The allowance to the poor some time back in Wiltshire, was a gallon of bread per week and three-pence over; that is, eight pounds eleven ounces, and three-pence over.

Mr. BENNETT.—The rate has been increased.

Mr. HUNT.—Yes, the labourer is paid out of the poor-rates. I know that many who profess to be great friends to the poor will meet me with all sorts of reasoning and excuses, that this is not the time nor the proper plan to relieve the people of this country. My only answer to them is, that the lower class of the people of this country are in a state of starvation at this moment. We have an instance of death by starvation in this very metropolis,—the verdict of the coroner's jury being to the effect that the deceased died a natural death by the visitation of God, brought on by extreme want, and the refusal of the parish officers to afford relief. So this natural death turns out to be death from want of food! No instance of this kind can be found in a country without corn-laws. I never heard of such a thing, except in England; and rather than such a thing should occur again, the landholders ought to be called upon at least to run the risk of making a sacrifice, which I think, after a year or two, would be very small. These are my opinions; but what say other people upon them? what says his Majesty's Ministers' great oracle, the *Times*, on this subject? I have frequently condemned the editors of this paper for promulgating that which is not true, and for giving false statements of speeches delivered in this House; but they know what will sell their paper, and what they put forth is what they think will best please their readers.

(To be continued in our next.)

R. COBDEN ESQ., M.P., & THE SUFFRAGE.

Friday Morning, December 17th.

We stop the press for the purpose of inserting the admirable speech of Mr. Cobden at the Corn Exchange, last night. We hope our working Brethren will give it an attentive perusal, coming, as it does, from a man who has always proved himself a friend to the Working-Classes and a hater of Monopoly and Tyranny, under whatever guise they may assume.

At a Meeting of Anti-Corn Law Deputies in the Corn Exchange, yesterday, Mr. Cobden, in the course of his address, alluded to the necessity of a cordial union between the middle and working classes. He first addressed Mr. Rylands, of Warrington, and the gentlemen on the platform, and told them that if they wanted to secure the respect and attention of Parliament to their petitions, they must first come to a friendly understanding with their work-people. He pointed out the way in which the master and operative were equally interested in the Repeal of the Corn Laws; and he adduced the peaceable, orderly, and patient endurance of their sufferings on the part of the Working-class, as a proof that they were deserving of the sympathy and confidence of their employers. Then turning to the working-men in the body of the meeting, he said, "My friends of the working class, you, are of all others, the most deeply interested in the abolition of the Corn Laws, for it

is upon you and your families that they press most severely:—But you have also other objects in view, and one in particular, the obtaining the Suffrage, and I rejoice that you do feel as Englishmen, that you are unjustly deprived of your rights to the Franchise. But why should this desire separate you from the gentlemen on the platform? [hear.] Are you sure that there is any essential difference of opinion between you and the most active of the Corn Law Repealers, even on the subject of the Franchise?—I do most sincerely believe that there is not. [cheers.] I do believe that if you will enquire in a candid spirit and at the fitting moment, you will find that the Advocates to the Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws are also, nearly to a man, the Advocates of the fullest extension of the Suffrage. [cheers.] Ask them—not as members of the Anti-Corn Law League; for, in that capacity, they cannot entertain any other question; but ask them, as *individuals*, and you will find that they are friendly to your views upon the Suffrage. [cheers.] But I do entreat my friends of the working-class to take this matter into their own hands, and not to allow themselves to be represented by men who seek every opportunity of thrusting the question of the Franchise before the members of the Anti-Corn Law League, at the only time when they are precluded by the rules of their Association from entertaining the subject; and when they were certain to bring the two questions of Corn Law Repeal and the Suffrage in collision. [cheers.] I think I am entitled to say that those men are not at heart anxious that the Corn Law Repealers and the Chartist should co-operate together—their object is, I fear, to keep them disunited. [cheers.] I think I am justified in this opinion by what took place in this very room, two years ago, when an individual led on his deluded followers, and drove us from this platform, and nearly sacrificed our lives. That individual was afterwards found to have been hired to oppose the Anti-Corn Law party:—and I solemnly believe, that there are others who will still follow his example, who are also hired by your enemies and ours, to prevent our uniting in defence of our common rights and interests. [Tremendous cheers.] Mr. Cobden concluded, by assuring the working men, that whether in Parliament, or out of it, he should be always found by his actions (though he had never been a noisy professor on the subject) as determined an enemy to the present Franchise, as to the Corn Laws. [Loud cheering followed the close of Mr. Cobden's speech]

THE MIDDLE CLASSES AND THE SUFFRAGE.

We have great pleasure in laying the following circular and its accompanying document before our readers. The more fiery of our Chartist friends have often point-blank declared that the middle class Corn Law Repealers are opposed to the enfranchisement of the masses. What reason for the passive support of the Bread Tax, by these fiery gentlemen, this asserted fact could form, we could never understand. We confess, perhaps, it may be our want of the same wisdom, that we are at this moment HERETICAL as to the truth of the doctrine that because a few silly middle-men refuse to as-

sist us to get votes, we must, therefore, starve ourselves and leave those most dear to us to pine in ragged wretchedness. Nevertheless this glaringly absurd opinion has been the practical creed of by far too many of the Chartists, who, we regret to say, have endeavoured to perpetuate their own misery and social degradation, out of an insane belief that the middle-class reformers refuse to accord adhesion to their political views.

We are glad that a middle-class movement, under the guidance of men who possess the confidence of all parties, is about to be set on foot—Glad, because we think it high time that the middle-classes should awake from their culpable apathy, and assist to drive the ill-omened birds of aristocracy—the political vampires—out of the nests with which they have cumbered the edifice of the constitution, and to pull down and sweep away for ever, the rubbishly abuses which have been the parents of monopoly, and an outrage upon common sense.

Be it observed that this movement is set on foot by Corn Law Repealers. Corn Law Repealers presided at its birth, and Corn Law Repealers will sustain it in its infancy, and urge on its progress when matured. We hope that all the GRUMBLERS will cease their foolish opposition to MEASURES which they admit to be good, but which they oppose because of MEN, and by a generous and honest co-operation with the men who now are striving not only to get them BREAD, but also to get them VOTES—shew to the still wavering middle-class-men that they are willing to hold out the olive branch to all honest men, and while striving to obtain the enactment of their own especial measure, are desirous of assisting others to obtain the Repeal of the most glaring grievance, caused by the class legislation, they are striving to remove.

To the dishonest few, who may still reject the proffered aid of the patriotic friends of the people, we say—GO ON—GO ON—and SINK; (as you are even now doing) into insignificance—and become, as you are becoming, a mock and a byword in the mouth of all honest men.

The following brief statement must be my apology for first attaching my name to the accompanying document:—

When attending the meeting of the Anti-Corn Law deputies in Manchester, on the 17th. of last month, I invited those who were favorable to an extension of the Elective Franchise to a separate conference on the subject. This was entirely distinct from the proceedings of the League, but every individual who was present at the close of their sittings, I believe remained to consider this question. After a full discussion a request was unanimously made that William Sharman Crawford and myself would draw up a declaration, affix our own names to it, and then forward it to be signed by others.

I much regret that severe and continued illness has deprived me of the advice and counsel of Wm. Sh. Crawford, and it is feared he will be unequal to any mental exertion for some time to come. The document herewith sent has received my most anxious and deliberate consideration, and I trust it is so expressed that all will be ready to subscribe to it who sincerely desire to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them. I would suggest that those who are favourable to William Sharman Crawford's bringing forward a motion in the House of Commons, in accordance with the principles therein recognised, should attach to their signatures the letter C. I am, respectfully,

JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, 12th. Month 13th. 1841.

Deeply impressed with a conviction of the evils arising from Class Legislation and of the sufferings thereby inflicted upon our industrious fellow subjects, the undersigned affirm that a large majority of the people of this country are unjustly excluded from that fair, full, and free exercise of the Elective franchise to which they are entitled by the great principle of Christian equity, and also by the British constitution; for "No subject of England can be constrained to pay any aids or taxes, even for the defence of the realm or the support of the Government, but such as are imposed by his own consent, or that of his representatives in Parliament."

(JOSEPH STURGE and RICHARD COBDEN, the two most influential members of the League appear first on the list.)

*See Blackstones Commentaries Vol. I.—Book I.—Chap. I.

INCREASE OF POPULATION.

Although the summary of returns of the census show that the population of the empire has not increased in the same proportion during the last ten years as in the ten years preceding, still the simple fact that, in such a country as this, we have a continually & rapidly increasing population, is sufficient to create anxious solicitude. In forty years the inhabitants of England have nearly doubled; and this portion of Great Britain, which, but so recently as 1801, contained only 8,331,424 individuals, now musters 14,995,508, or taking in Wales, 15,906,829, say sixteen millions. The entire population of Great Britain (excluding Ireland for the present), which in 1801, was 10,472,048, is now 18,664,761.

As might naturally be expected, it is in the great seats of our native industry that the largest proportion of increase is manifested. The coal-pit and copper mine, the steam-engine and the power-loom, bring around them a population increasing with extraordinary rapidity; while the richest agricultural districts, aided by the extraordinary demands of a teeming manufacturing population, and having the all but exclusive possession of an extraordinary market, advance with tardier steps. Thus, during the last ten years, while Buckinghamshire has only advanced at the rate of 6-4 per cent. on its population, Cornwall has increased at the rate of 13-3; while wheat-growing Essex, with its proximity to the vast market of the metropolis, has advanced at the rate of 8-6; iron-making Monmouthshire has increased at the rate of 36-9; and while Norfolk, Devon, Dorset, and Berks advance at the rates of 5-7, 7-8, 9-7, and 10-2, Derby, Cheshire, Stafford and Durham have increased at the rates of 14-7, 18-4, 24-2, and 21-2 per cent.

The county of Lancaster has now a population overmatching that of the three ridings of Yorkshire. Lancashire contains 1,130,240 acres, and the three ridings of Yorkshire, 3,735,040 acres: yet the population of Lancashire is now 1,667,064, while the total amount of the three ridings is 1,591,584.

The only decrease in any particular locality of Great Britain (excluding Ireland) has been in a few of the out-lying or bleak counties of Scotland. Thus, in the wild district of Argyshire, a county composed of islands and mainland, filled up by mountains and cut-up arms of the sea, there has been a decrease of 3-9 per cent.; and in the large and diversified, but more favourably situated shire of Perth, there has been a decrease at the rate of 3-4 per cent. Again, in Sutherlandshire, an immense and remote district, where, however, under the fostering care of the late and present dukes of Sutherland, very great improvements have been made, there has been a decrease at the rate of 3-4; and in the small but bleak shire of Kinross, there has been a decrease at the rate of 3-5.

At the same time, the comparative rate of increase of some of the Scotch shires is remarkable. Berwick and Haddington shires, so far as agriculture is concerned, are model counties, where the farmers are intelligent, spirited, and comfortable, yet the former has only increased at the slow rate of 1-1, and the latter has positively decreased 1-; while Caithness, remote, bare, and bleak, has increased at the rate of 4-8, and *Ultima Thule*, the "storm vexed" islands of Orkney and Shetland, at the rate of 3-0 per cent. Indeed, Berwickshire is something of a phenomenon. In 1801, its population was 30,621, and in 1841, it is 34,427; while, during the same period, England has nearly doubled its population, and Scotland, collectively has increased from 1,599,068 to 2,628,957 souls.

From henceforth, the question will press with tenfold power on every ministry that ventures to rule this country.—What is to be done with the

population? We do not complain, because Essex, with its wheat fields, or Bucks, with its fertile vale, has not increased its population at the same rate as rugged Cornwall, with its mines; Monmouth, with its iron-works; Stafford, with its potteries; Lancashire or Lanarkshire, with their factories; or Durham with its coal fields. But we do complain, and think it very hard, too, that the copper and tin of Cornwall, the coal of Durham, the earthenware of Stafford, the factories of Lancashire and Lancashire, and even the salt of Cheshire, should be "cribbed, cabined, and confined," to fatten the wheat fields of Essex, or raise the rents of Buckinghamshire.

We hope the "rent-and-mortgage" majority of the House of Commons will "mark, learn, and inwardly digest" the returns of the census of 1841. If they would only consider that it is easier to provide for such a population as we have now, *than to get rid of it*, much future misery might be spared, and much danger averted. It is no doubt very clever to say, that Britain would be as happy if all her manufacturing towns were at the bottom of the sea. *But how are we to get them there?* It is no doubt very provoking, that a county containing such a smoky city as Glasgow should advance at the rate of 34.8 per cent., while a county containing so fine a city as Edinburgh only advances at the rate of 2.8. *But how are we to stop it?* It is no doubt extremely annoying, that while canny Berwick "looks before it leaps," heedless Lancashire fills up every nook and cranny with a swarming multitude. But by what process can we effect the change?

Oh, that the "rent-and-mortgage" majority were inspired with the wisdom of statesmen, or even the ordinary discrimination of men! In that case, the dry figures of the census would stand out to their eyes in bold relief—in that case they would pierce the screen of the corn laws, and drag from behind it the lurking, the terrible danger! But, no—we fear they are infatuated. We fear they are about to play the part of true destructives, to plough their way through human suffering, to the ruin of the vital interests of the empire.

In 1801, the population of England was 8,331,434; of Wales, 541,546; and of Scotland, 1,599,063; together 10,472,043. In 1841, the population of England is 14,995,508, of Wales 911,321, and of Scotland 2,628,957; together 18,535,786. But an analysis of the increase shows some curious results. The manufacturing and mining counties of Chester, Cornwall, Derby, Durham, Gloucester, Lancaster, Leicester, Monmouth, Northumberland, Nottingham, Stafford, Warwick, and West Riding of Yorkshire, in 1801, were 3,110,803; Glamorganshire, 71,525; the manufacturing and mining counties of Aberdeen, Ayr, Dumbarton, Fife, Forfar, Lanark, Renfrew, and Stirling, were 696,543; together, 3,878,876. In 1841 the En-

glish mining and manufacturing counties were 6,349,015. The Scotch manufacturing and mining counties were 1,375,837; Glamorganshire, 173,462; together, 7,898,314. If we deduct from the remaining English counties the metropolitan counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, amounting in 1801 to 1,394,796, we find the remainder in 1801, 3,825,835; the metropolitan county of Edinburgh amounting to 122,954, we find the agricultural counties of Scotland, 779,561; and Wales, deducting Glamorganshire, 470,021; together, 5,075,417. We find the agricultural counties of England, 1841, 5,939,103; of Wales, 737,859; and Scotland, 1,027,497; together, 7,704,454. It thus appears that the mining and manufacturing counties have increased from 3,878,868 to 7,898,314, or more than double. But the increase of the resources in these mining and manufacturing counties is much greater than that of the population. An agricultural population can bear very little taxation. Of this we have a proof when we compare Scotland and Ireland. The taxes raised on Scotland, with a population of 2,600,000 odd, are equal to the taxes raised on Ireland with her 8,200,000 odd.

SELECTIONS.

THE WAY TO PREVENT A PIG FROM BEING IMPOUNDED.—The owner of a pig, enraged at being a second time called upon to pay the penalty for its breaking bounds, went to the pound with a large whip, and, shutting the door to prevent piggy's egress, whipped the poor animal until it squeaked for mercy. He then told the hayward that if he ever got the pig within the pound again "he would forgive him." Within a day or two the pig again broke loose, and the hayward was at his post, but all attempts to get it any where near the pound were fruitless. The hayward pushed forward—piggy pushed backward, and beat the hayward by chalks. The Irish method was tried; and an attempt made to persuade piggy that it was required to go a different route, by putting his head towards the pound and pulling his tail from it; but piggy was not to be done. Neither strength nor stratagem had the least effect. At length the owner came, and amidst much laughter took the animal home. —*Hampshire Advertiser.*

CLEVER QUACKERY.—The following advertisement appears in a city paper:

DEAFNESS CURED—PARODY.

BLOWING AN EAR OIL.

It's not the thing for me—I know it—
To crack my own oil up and blow it;
But it is the best and time will show it.

There was Mrs. F.

So very deaf,

That she might have worn a percussion cap,
And been knocked on the head without hearing it snap;
Well, I sold her the Oil, and the very next day
She heard from her husband at Botany Bay!

HIS FRIENDS ARRIVED.—A large consignment of game-cocks recently arrived at Curraghmore, for the Marquis of Waterford.

DESCRIPTION OF LORD STANLEY, THE BREAD TAXER WHEN A MEMBER OF EARL GREY'S ADMINISTRATION.—His exceedingly youthful appearance—that of a boy of seventeen—and his pale countenance, smooth face, and light hair, produce a disadvantageous impression on the mere spectator: but the hearer is soon convinced that he is a man of talent, possessed of keen perceptions, capacity for close observation, excellent memory, methodical arrangement, logical deduction, great command of language, power of invective and sarcasm, and, indeed, all the elements of a finished orator and skillful debater. But, with all these advantages, (and they are both high and many) his address is calculated to awaken any impression rather than veneration or regard. Not a benevolent sentiment escaped his lips—not an enlarged view was developed by his statements—not a heart was moved to quicker palpitation, nor an eye moistened with sympathy, by all the eloquence which he displayed. And why?—It was a body without a soul—a marble statue, exact in all its proportions, but cold, inanimate, and uninspiring. He spoke of Ireland as a possession of the crown for ministers to deal with as they saw fit. He regarded the miseries of the people as of no account, provided their impatience under those miseries could be curbed, their cries stifled, and their acts of insubordination put down: He would "resist to the death" any attempt at separating the government of the two countries: and his whole language, tone, gesture, and manner, wore an air of defiance, which was enough to kindle the indignation of every disinterested English heart, and more than sufficient to fill an Irish one with a burning desire of justice and revenge. It was, indeed, a melancholy and almost revolting exhibition to witness, as proceeding from the ministerial benches; where now sat, silently approving, the very individuals who, when they occupied the Opposition benches of a few years ago, would have torn such a speech to pieces, and denounced, with becoming indignation, this ever-recurring appeal to brute force, as a remedy for wrongs that this very application of force has been so instrumental in creating.

TAKE CARE, SCOLDS!—A woman in England, the other day, actually dislocated her lower jaw, while scolding at her husband. He compelled her to nod affirmation to a solemn oath, that she wouldn't scold again, before he permitted the surgeon to mend the dislocation.

CREDULITY.—A lady, on being told that the skull shown to her at the British Museum was that of Oliver Cromwell, observed that was strange, as she had seen another skull of the Usurper in the Oxford Museum, which was much larger. "Yes, madam," said the conductor, "but our specimen is his skull when he was very young!"

VIRTUE ITS OWN REWARD.—The editor of the Texas Galvestonian undertook to heal a quarrel between a man and his wife recently. She slapped him on either cheek and told her husband of him, the husband being absent on that interesting occasion. The next time the peacemaker called, the husband knocked him out of doors, for being too familiar with his wife. He has concluded henceforward to mind his own business.

MANCHESTER:

Printed by James Hodgson, 99, Cannon Street, for the National Operative Anti-Bread Tax Association, and published by James Morris, 47, Richmond Street, Portland Street, to whom all Communications to the Editor must be addressed [Post Free.]

Thursday, December 16th. 1841.

THE **Anti-Monopolist** AND

JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL OPERATIVE ANTI-BREAD TAX ASSOCIATION.

"THE BREAD OF THE NEEDY IS HIS LIFE; HE THAT DEFRAUDETH HIM THEREOF, IS A MAN OF BLOOD!"—Eccles. xxiv. 21.

[No. 6.] [Vol. I.]

THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1842.

For Subscribers.

MANCHESTER: PRINTED BY JAMES HODGSON, 99, CANNON STREET, AND PUBLISHED BY JAMES MORRIS, 47, RICHMOND STREET.

Published on the 15th. of each Month :

TO READERS.

We had prepared for publication some very valuable matter, amongst other things the remainder of Mr. Hunt's speech, a highly important Paper from the pen of an American gentleman, and other interesting documents; but owing to the importance of the meetings, a full report of which is contained in this number, we have reluctantly determined to omit them in order to present, in one entire form, the PROCEEDINGS of the CONFERENCE. We hope our readers will respond to our exertions, by circulating the result of our labours as widely as possible.

In our next number which will appear, if possible, the first week in February, all the omitted articles will be published.

THE "BREAD-TAXED PEOPLE'S PARLIAMENT,"

as it was named in our last number, has assembled, has furnished a mass of evidence, of the most vital interest, upon the moral and physical condition of the people, and upon the operations of monopoly upon the national industry—has deliberated, and has dispersed, each man to his own home, in his own neighbourhood to light the fire of agitation with the brands of truth brought burning from the meeting. It was a glorious beginning of a new year. Glorious to see working men, deputies, from places as far north as Forfar, in Scotland—as far south as Torrington, in Devonshire—from Birmingham and Nottingham—in the midland counties, the heart of the kingdom,—from Liverpool and from London—from sturdy Bolton—from radical Oldham—from silk-manufacturing Macclesfield—from Halifax—from the towns close around us—from the Operative Association,—from trades—from the largest workshop of the kind in the kingdom, (Messrs. Sharp, Roberts, and Co's.), and from other workshops and mills in Manchester. It was glorious, we say, to see these men on the first day of the new year, on behalf of their constituents, entering their protest against the food monopolies, and demanding their total and immediate repeal—asserting the right of the people to compensation; and pledging themselves to use every effort to work the downfall of the accursed system.

A glorious sight it was too, to see the Town-Hall crammed with working men, enthusiastic in their support of *immediate justice and of compensation* for the past. Glorious to hear working men appealing with all the eloquence of nature—all the fire of patriotism, to their fellow working men, and asking for, and receiving, their cordial support.

Were the conference a mere exhibition of feeling or of strength—the chimera of a day—called into being merely for a moment—it would be of little import to the cause, further than the effect it might have upon public opinion at a distance; *but the Conference resolved itself into a STANDING COMMITTEE*, to be summoned when required—to be in communication all over the country;—in fine, to be a continuing, and, to the bread-taxers, unpleasant reality—endowed with life and activity so long as injustice shall exist; and only dying when justice shall have reared its trophy upon the ruins of despotism.

The effect of the conference upon public opinion, has been exhibited in the great notice which has been taken of it by the press. The London papers copied the excellent report given by the Manchester journals, at full length and the anti-corn law press throughout the land; has teemed with commendations of the proceedings. The Manchester Tory papers have kept an ominous silence upon the matter. The bread taxing papers have generally done the same—*they feel the blow. They, no doubt, thought that the working men were dead to the importance of the question; they find themselves egregiously mistaken, and hence their silent astonishment.*

The *moral effect* of the conference, we venture to assert, will never be obliterated. By it a tone has been given to the opinions of all;—the importance of the working class movement has been proved—the rationality and true liberality of the working men has been vindicated; the awe in which the bread-taxers hold the power of the many has been clearly tested;—*above all, the good sense and practical wisdom of the constituencies who chose the deputies, has been exhibited to the middle classes, in the talent, honesty and wisdom of their representatives*, and we trust, another incentive given to the more rich and affluent, to put their trust in the virtue of labour.

The deputies have now to show their power, in a vigorous, combined, and well-directed attack upon the citadel of monopoly, which we know they are commencing; and to show to the world that they know their strength, and are determined to use it, in aid of the suffering millions looking to them and to others, for help, in this their time of need.

THE

MEMBERS OF THE WORKING MEN'S ANTI-CORN-LAW CONFERENCE TO THE RADICAL REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Fellow-Countrymen,

The appalling distress under which hundreds of thousands of our countrymen are at present suffering, the alarming fact that distress is daily increasing both in extent and severity, and the melancholy prospect that we, with millions more, ere long may have to be numbered among the sufferers, if some means be not adopted to stay the progress of the evil, and relieve those at present suffering from its influence, call loudly and imperatively on every one who wishes well to his country to endeavour to apply a remedy. Guided in our deliberations by the evidence which was laid before us, and the state of public opinion, we have come to the determination to support, and to endeavour to procure, the repeal of the corn and provision laws; because we are convinced, that the remedy sought will more easily and speedily be obtained by such conduct, than by any other course of proceedings which, under present circumstances, we could adopt; and our purpose in intruding upon your notice is to state to you the reasons which have induced us to come to this determination, and to endeavour to convince you of the propriety and the necessity of pursuing a similar course of conduct.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the iniquity of all prohibitory duties on the necessities of life—fully aware of the unjust and partial principle upon which the present corn-laws are founded—and sensibly feeling, in the high price of food, the effects of their oppressive operation—we have often expressed our abhorrence of their principle, our dissatisfaction with their operation, and our conviction that they ought to be repealed. We, therefore, make no sacrifice of principle in endeavouring to obtain their abrogation.

We do not pretend to assert, that the corn monopoly is the greatest; but it is one which is so glaringly unjust, that almost every person who has the slightest perception of right and wrong, except those who are benefitted by its existence, can see and must admit the oppressive and selfish nature of its establishment. It was not designed and enacted for the purpose of increasing the national revenue, but for individual aggrandisement—not for the protection of the nation, but of a class—not for the benefit of the people, but the aristocracy; and from the injustice of its provisions being more directly, prominently, and frequently presented

to the perceptions of the people, the natural consequence may easily be inferred—that a very great portion of them, who have studied but little the principles of general politics, will seek to obtain the destruction of a monopoly, the influences of which are so obviously injurious, before they will attack any other.

Consistency of principle dictates that those who condemn an abuse should assist in removing it; and sound policy will point out the propriety of attacking that abuse, against which the greatest numbers can be arrayed. Convinced by our own observation, and the information of others, that, if all who condemn the present corn-laws would assist in destroying them, there would be found a greater number of opponents to their existence, than could possibly be at present obtained against any other abuse, either in the constitution or laws of the country: we, therefore, feel constrained to use our best exertions to obtain their repeal.

But let it not be imagined that we compromise, or wish you to compromise, the great and righteous principle of equality of political rights for which we have so long contended; and without which, we venture to assert, no permanent good can be effected for the people of this country. On the contrary, we believe we are doing more to further the success of that principle, by joining in the present agitation against the corn-laws, than we could either by opposing or standing aloof from it. For surely, by seeking to stifle the expression of other people's opinions, when they do not exactly coincide with our own, we should only show our intolerance and bigotry, by endeavouring to deprive others of their liberty, we should only prove our unfitness to be entrusted with our own, by standing aloof from, or by endeavouring to thwart, any agitation having for its object the good of our country, because it may not be for objects which *we* think are of the greatest importance; we should only make known that we were the slaves of ambition and faction; whilst, by allowing to others the same freedom of expressing their opinions which we claim for ourselves—by being as careful of trenching on other people's liberty as we should be firm in resisting their invasion of ours—and by assisting in abrogating every abuse in the institutions of our country, whether those abuses be attacked singly or collectively, we should prove to all intelligent and candid men, that we are honest and consistent advocates of the great principles of commercial, religious, and political equality. The latter course of conduct will ensure the respect and co-operation of all liberal-minded and intelligent men in obtaining our rights; while the former would only convince them that there would be danger in admitting us to any share of political power.

But, independently of principles of consistency and duty, principles of policy would compel us to join the present agitation. Every reflecting mind must be sensible, that, as the number and extent of monopolies can be diminished, the number of those interested in their existence will diminish in proportion: and those who had an interest in their continuance, on finding that there is no hope of a renewal of those by which they benefited, will be amongst the most strenuous opponents of those which may remain, because they will have the best

knowledge of their operations: those who are seeking to destroy monopolies will increase in intelligence, in confidence, in numbers, and in strength; and those who are striving to uphold them will be diminished in number, dismayed in spirit, and weak in action, till at last every monopoly, save that of legislation, will be destroyed; and the people at large, on finding that they are not benefited so long as that is suffered to remain, will attack it with a union, an energy, an intelligence, and a determination, which will be resistless. But should the utmost efforts of the advocates of commercial freedom be of no avail in inducing the legislature to comply with their wishes, then we shall have gained a host of allies in attacking and endeavouring to destroy the monster monopoly—the monopoly of political power, which is the fruitful source from which all others spring. The corn-law repealer will attack it as a means of removing those laws which he believes are so injurious to the commerce and prosperity of the nation; those who are desirous of removing religious distinctions in the state, and are striving to abolish compulsory payments for religious purposes, will attack it as a means of enforcing their principles, and redressing their grievances; whilst the friends of freedom in commerce, in religion, and in politics, will seek its destruction as a means of correcting every abuse, and removing every impediment which prevents the full development of the faculties of man and the attainment of the greatest degree of happiness at which he can possibly arrive.

That the reasons which we have adduced will be sufficient to persuade you to imitate our conduct, is the fervent wish of the undersigned members of the Working Men's Anti-corn-law Conference.

James Mills, Thomas Lees, *Oldham*.

James Greaves, Waterhead Mill, *Saddleworth*.

John Adam, *Forfar*.

Joseph Corbett, Thomas Mackay, *Birmingham*.

Robert Tetlow, *Halifax*.

Robert Jones, John Canon, *Liverpool*.

William Parker, *Leicester*.

Robert Dronsfield, George Smith, *Ashton-under-Lyne*.

Timothy Falvey, A. Carruthers, *Macclesfield*.

John Finnigan, Great Torrington, *Devonshire*.

John Hampson, John Williamson, *Warrington*.

William Wragg, Henry Raine, *Bury*.

B. S. Treanor, *Stalybridge*.

John Murray, *Nottingham*.

William Taylor, *Royton*.

William Rattray, *Coventry*.

R. D. Ramsden, *Mossley*.

J. Coddington, *Stockport*.

Thomas Bury, *Salford*.

G. A. Fleming, *London*.

James Driver, William Pilling, Samuel Howarth, } *Bolton*

Thos. Davenport, Richard Edge, Christopher Wood, }

Edward Young, H. Rothwell, Thomas Yates, }

James Walkden, James Robb, William Aston, }

Manchester:

Thomas O'Brian, President of the Fustian Cutters,

P. O'Neal, Copper-plate Printers,

Isaac Higginbottom, Engravers to Calico Printers,

Alexander Hutchinson, Edward Allen, James Naylor,

T. Alley, J. Fletcher, at Messrs Sharp, Roberts & Co.

Edward Watkin, James Morris, John Kelly, James

Neville, James Daly, William Hague, James Harrison,

William Perkins, Michael McCabe, J. Haywood,

John Watts.

Henry Bulfe, Thomas Mack, at Gallimore & Sons.

CONFERENCE OF OPERATIVE ANTI-CORN-LAW DELEGATES.

In pursuance of a resolution, unanimously agreed to by a numerous meeting of deputies from the trades, mills, workshops, &c. in Manchester, held in Carpenters' Hall, on 2d. Nov. 1841, a meeting of deputies from the working-men's anti-corn-law associations throughout the kingdom was held in Newall's Buildings, on Saturday (New Year's Day), "for the purpose of devising some effectual means for obtaining the total repeal of the bread and provision taxes, and the compensation of the long-plundered bread-eaters." It was announced that the business would be commenced at eight o'clock in the morning; but, owing to the arrangements that were in progress for holding the anti-bread-tax meeting in the Town Hall, the chair was not taken until twenty-five minutes after nine. Mr. Edward Watkin was then called on to preside, and, having stated the objects of the meeting, he observed, that all the working-men's associations, whose addresses could be obtained, were written to respecting the conference; and the result was, that favourable replies had been received from fifty-two of them, and about two-thirds of that number had sent deputies to the meeting. Besides these, there was in attendance a considerable number of deputies from workshops in the neighbourhood of Manchester.—The chairman then introduced

Mr. JOHN ADAM, of Forfar, who read the following documents:—

Forfar Central Association, Dec. 28, 1841:

DEAR SIR,

In answer to your's of yesterday, I beg leave to hand you the following remarks, regarding the condition of the labouring portion of the community.

You will please to observe, that in our establishments (Associations) all the goods disposed of are sold for ready money, and the commodities are almost exclusively confined to the article of food. Another feature must also be kept in view, for the better illustration of the annexed statement, viz.; all the members are bound to purchase what goods they may require, from the shop of the particular body of which they are shareholders; and that we manufacture on our own account, what bread may be required, and consequently purchase flour or wheat for that purpose.

In the years 1835 and 36, this institution averaged 255 members. During these years, we sold the 4lb. loaf at 4½d. and 5d. We sold of bread, from fine flour, weekly, from £24. to £27., or nearly three loaves for each family.

Bread being one of our staple commodities, I have selected it as furnishing the best criterion by which to judge how far, and in what proportion, the labouring man (our members being all of that class) has been driven to deny himself and family, the use of nutritious and wholesome food, and to substitute something in its stead, inferior in quality, because lower in price.

By comparing the prices of sugars during the above period, I find the average for the two last years, to exceed that of 1835 and 36, by fully 15s. per cwt. Indeed, almost every kind of food has been advancing latterly, while the price of labour has been decreasing in more than an equal ratio.

There can be no doubt from what comes daily under my observation, that the working man is now compelled to purchase smaller quantities of every article, and there can be as little doubt, but his scanty means confine his expenditure, entirely to the bare necessities of life. The condition of the operative classes has been retrograding daily, for at least two years back, which has brought them to the verge of destitution. Their clothing is now worn bare; their families in want of those comforts at home, which the inclemency of the season demands; and the hopes of bettering their condition in this country, are now almost annihilated. What renders their evils still more distressing to a reflecting mind, is, that the education of his children must be neglected; the means of procuring it being beyond any exertion he can make; and it may be asked, what results such a state of things must naturally produce on a future generation?

It may also be observed, in reference to smaller quantities of goods being purchased at a time, that the amount of our weekly receipts are gradually falling off, although the number of members be the same. Since last May, the difference is quite visible on the amount.*

Were we to change our ready money system and allow credit, the quantity sold would be very much increased; but under the existing circumstances in which the community is placed, they would inevitably prove ruinous.

From what can be observed regarding the condition of the labouring classes, it may be confidently asserted, that were provisions lower in price, and labour better paid, the weekly receipts in such shops as ours would be doubled, as it is plain, the people have it not in their power to get either the *quantity* or *quality* of the *necessaries of life* which they *do require*.

I remain, Dear Sir, yours, J. BARRIE."

"For the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the working class, the town of Forfar was divided into eighteen districts, which have been carefully gone over, and great pains taken to get as full and impartial information as possible. The following is the result from seven of these districts taken indiscriminately, as the lists were given in. The lists of the remaining districts not having been extended when this was drawn up; but this exhibits a fair view of the real condition of the working classes of Forfar.

There were visited 510 families, consisting of 1769 individuals. These, although almost all who are able to work, have employment have, after deducting for rent, fire and light, only the following sums per day to keep them in existence, viz. :—

40 Individuals have from 6d. to 8d. pr. day.
61 " 5d. to 5½d. do.
116 " 4d. to 4½d. do.
247 " 3d. to 3½d. do.
578 " 2d. to 2½d. do.
567 " 1d. to 1½d. do.
118 a great part of which }
— are single women } ½d to ¾d. do.
1727 winders }
— and only 42 are out of employment.

The above gives a view of about a fourth part of the working population of Forfar. W. LOWE.

* At that time we had drawn £127. per week for the previous year; and at the present time, the amount will not exceed £112; yet on the whole, our individual labour in selling, is *greater* than it was when the receipts were higher.

The result of four week's sale of bread, taken in the month of July 1835 and 6, 1840 and 41, in the East Association, Forfar :—

1835 1836 1840 1841

962 loaves 1183 loaves 606 loaves 643"

"The Lower Lodge of Free Masons consisted of seventy-four members entitled to alimont in 1840; there was paid of sick alimont, £8. 14s. being at the rate of 87 weeks' sickness among the seventy-four; in 1841 there was paid of sick alimont £13. 13s, being at the rate of 136 weeks among the same members."

STATEMENT OF CATTLE CONSUMED IN FORFAR, FOR THE LAST SIX YEARS.

Years.	Population.	No. of Cattle killed.	Average wt. of Cattle.	Average quantity to each person.			
				per Year.	per week.	per day.	
1836	8786	825	28 stone.	stone. lbs. 2 10 12	oz. 14 12	drams. 13 12	13 12
1837	8980	854	"	2 10 13	14 12	13 12	14
1838	9180	857	"	2 9 12	13 12	13 12	13
1839	9380	724	"	2 2 10	8 12	8 12	8
1840	9650	569	"	1 10 12	3 12	3 12	2 3
1841	9805	483	"	6 12	14 12	14 12	15 12

"The population for 1831, was 7949. I have supposed the increase to have progressed as above, judging from the state of trade for the various years. You are aware that this year a good many have emigrated, which kept down the population at the last census, and this has been kept in view. If you look at the difference between 1840 and 1841, compared with the other years, the average amount of cattle has been rather high. I have failed in getting the prices of meat, but one is aware that it has risen."

Mr. J. J. Finnigan, who was deputed to represent the association of Great Torrington, drew a very distressing picture of the condition of the working classes in that neighbourhood. He had sojourned among them for a considerable time, and then considered them in the worst possible condition; but he had been authorized by the chairman of the association to state, that their condition was ten times worse now, than when he considered it at the lowest possible point.—Mr. Corbett and Mr. McKay were then introduced, as the deputies from Birmingham. Mr. Corbett stated, that, as the communication requiring their attendance had not reached Birmingham until 28th December.

there was not time to collect the information necessary to lay before the meeting; but that information was now collecting, and would be furnished as soon as possible. Mr. Corbett dwelt for some time on the evils of monopoly, and concluded by recommending union and sobriety among working men, as necessary preliminaries to the removal of their grievances.

Mr. Robert Jones, of Liverpool, next addressed the meeting. He rejoiced to hear the preceding speaker recommend sobriety among the working classes. He (Mr. Jones) knew both sides of that question, and thanked God that he had been a sober man for the last six years. He was ready to go as far as any man in the extension of the suffrage. Though he was nothing but a labouring man, a porter in Liverpool, he thought he had as good a right to say who should make laws for Robert Jones, his wife, and eleven children, as any man in the kingdom; but, when he saw thousands of his fellow-countrymen starving from hunger and nakedness, and suffering miseries which he could hardly describe, he thought the removal of the corn-laws, which produced such a state of things, had the first claim on his attention. He then enumerated several instances, which had come within his own knowledge, of privation and suffering among the industrious classes of Liverpool, arising from the dearness of food and the want of employment.

REPORT.

The bread and flour dealers say, that in the years 1835 and 1836, when bread was cheaper, the working class customers in general bought flour or bread in large quantities. This last year they have bought little flour and bread in small quantities.

The Grocers.

A many of them that have been in business for ten or fifteen years, declare that they never knew the trade so bad as it has been these few months back.

Provision Dealers.

There is a class of persons that deal in salt pork, salt fish, and potatoes, and they all say, that the trade in pork and fish is nearly gone; all the trade they have now is in potatoes.

Tailors and Clothiers

That deal in clothes for the working class, say, that their trade has been going worse for the last two years; and at this time a many of them are nearly ruined.

The Shoemakers

That have to deal with the working class, all say they never were in so bad a state as they are at the present time. There are instances of tradesmen of various trades, pledging their clothes, or furniture, to buy shoes, so that they may leave the town and look for work elsewhere. And I believe we shall eventually find, that there are thousands of our fellow-workmen out of employ. I know from actual observation, that there is a great amount of suffering in many of the unhappy homes of the labouring classes of the town.

I have visited many houses of the poor, and have found great misery in many of them; one house with three small apartments, inhabited by four families, consisting of sixteen human beings without beds, and very little furniture, all sold or pawned, to buy bread or potatoes with. It is my opinion, take tradesmen of all kinds, labourers, dock-porters, sailors, &c., that one half of them are out of work, or in other words, take the town through, the labourers and tradesmen are working, at the most, half time.

The Report from the schools is, that many of the children of the working class, are not enabled to attend the schools, in consequence of their parents being out of employment, and the want of means to send them.

ROBERT JONES.

Mr. Murray, the deputy from Nottingham, stated that he had seen the effects of the corn-laws on the importation of food; and, from inquiries which he had made as to its effects on the wages of workmen, he had ascertained that, when the corn-laws were passed, the wages for maid's hose were 19s. per dozen, and the rent for frame-work 4s. 6d.; and now, 12s. 6d. a dozen was the most that could be got for that description of goods, and the rent for frame-work was 3s. 9d. The workmen who received 19s. a dozen for drawers at the time the corn-laws were enacted, now received only 9s. 6d. a dozen, with the same drawback in the frame rent. He had always observed, that when food was cheap, work was plentiful; and when food was dear, work was scarce, and wages were low. So that, whenever wages were most wanted, they were least to be had. In Nottingham the working classes were in great distress. He had counted 117 stout, healthy men engaged in "making a hole, and filling it up again." They were employed at the forest, in removing a bank of red sandstone, in order that they might receive parish pay. Eleven of them were harnessed to the gravel cart, like beasts of burden. That was not a suitable occupation for human beings. The children in the workhouse of Nottingham died so rapidly that a coroner's inquest was held to ascertain the cause. It was then found, that, in consequence of the crowded state of the workhouse, the mortality was five-fold greater in it than outside. This circumstance was sufficient to show the pauperized condition of the working classes of Nottingham. He had frequently stood in a baker's shop, and observed that the majority of the customers bought no more than a pennyworth of bread at a time. A strong feeling of opposition to the corn-laws had grown up in that town; the working men had taken the cause of free-trade into their own hands, and they were determined not to relax in their exertions until the food monopoly was utterly abolished.

Mr. Greaves, of Waterhead Mill, Saddleworth, next addressed the meeting, and, as a proof of the distress existing in Saddleworth, presented a statement, which exhibited a vast increase of the number of unoccupied houses in the middle and upper divisions of Quick, Saddleworth, in 1841, as compared with the prosperous year 1836, when food was plenty. Also

Evidence of the General Distress from Schoolmasters.

Sirs,—My opinion relative to the labouring class is, that their condition is indescribably worse than it was some years ago; in 1836..7 I had from seventy to eighty scholars, who were in general good payers, now I have only twenty-seven, except what are compelled to attend through working in factories and being under thirteen years. I know many that have left the school because their parents were too poor to pay school dues, and I think, that it operates in a similar manner with shopkeepers, mercers, publicans, butchers, &c., thus causing a stagnation in all branches of business, except pawnbrokers, auctioneers, and such as speak an alarming state of society.

JOHN DAWSON, *Schoolmaster.*

It is my opinion that the labouring-classes generally, are unable to pay for their childrens' education; as a consequence, they send them to some Sunday-school, one perhaps that is nearest; and others to places of the same persuasion, with respect to religious opinions that they have been brought up to, and from this, I

think they get little knowledge that is permanently useful. I have at present about a dozen scholars, and in 1836 I had from sixty to seventy, all of which proceeds from want of employment, dear bread, and a reduction of wages.

PAUL COWPER.

Our opinion on the subject of dear bread is, that it has a great influence on the morals and education of the working-classes, as it renders the parents incapable of paying for the education of their children; and therefore, the consequence is, that they run at liberty untaught until a certain age, when they can be admitted into the mills to work; were it not for Sunday-schools they would be in a worse condition than they are, and most of those are conducted in such a manner, that they instil ignorance and superstition more than any real knowledge.

J. KNIGHT, E. OGDEN.

Middle Division of Quick, Saddleworth.

1836, Houses Occupied	489
" " Unoccupied	11

Total

1841, Houses Occupied	413
" " Unoccupied	98

Total

Upper Division of Quick, Saddleworth.

1841, Houses Occupied	197
" " Unoccupied	53

Total

Mr. James Mills, Hatter, Oldham, then gave the following Report of the Oldham Deputation to the Anti-corn Law Conference of Working Men.

"Several of the newspapers and public men who undertake to defend the interests of the monopolists and, by anticipation, the conduct of the present government, assert that the distress in the country is neither so general nor so severe as it has been represented to be; but, on the contrary, not greater than on ordinary occasions; and that such representations have been made for the purpose of proving the necessity of a repeal of the corn and provision laws, and obtaining the support of all those who feel for the distresses of their fellow-creatures, and all those who are affected by reverses in trade in effecting that repeal, by ascribing the depressions in trade to proceed from the operation of those laws. Another portion of the press asserts that, though there are considerable numbers out of employment, yet trade is in a sound and healthy state, and the evidence adduced in support of that assertion is, that wages have *not* been reduced!

Believing that such statements proceed either from culpable ignorance, or a wicked desire to suppress the truth for the purpose of deceiving their readers and hearers into a belief, that the advocates of a repeal of the corn laws are actuated by some sinister motive and desire to obtain possession of other people's property, we must either pity or despise the assertions. If such assertions proceed from ignorance the attention of those who make them, is requested to the following facts: if they proceed from wickedness, then an appeal is made to the public who have discernment enough to perceive the truth and candour sufficient to acknowledge it.

The population of the town of Oldham, according to the last census, is 42,593, of which nine-tenths are dependent upon some manufacturing employment for the means of existence. The number of persons capable of working is 19,200, of whom one half are fully employed, one fourth partially employed, and the remaining fourth without employment, and, consequently, in a state of abject poverty and distress. The average wages of those persons who are fully employed is 8s. per week, and of those who are partially employed 4s. per week, a sum hardly half sufficient for *their* proper maintenance, to say nothing of those dependent upon them for their daily bread.

According to the census, the number of houses inhabited, is 7892, uninhabited 1106, and in course of building 27. The number of uninhabited houses was in 1801, 19; in 1811, 39; in 1821, 75; in 1831, 199; and in 1841, 1106; being an increase of more than 450 per cent. on the number in 1831.

In the year beginning March 1836 and ending March 1837, the amount of poor's rates was £2968, 10s. 5d.; in 1837-38 £2873, 1s.; in 1838-39 £3767, 8s. 1½d.; in 1839-40 £5024, 16d. 8d.; in 1840-41, £7682, 1s.; being an increase of £4809, on the year 1837-38; while those who have to pay it are in *less prosperous circumstances*, than they were at *that time*.

That an overwhelming majority of the people of Oldham, are in principle opposed to the corn laws, cannot be doubted by any one who has paid any attention to their expressions of opinion on the subject and though they generally consider the repeal of the monopoly of food as secondary to the repeal of the monopoly of the franchise, yet it is such an unjust and selfish enactment, that a very great portion of them will not fail to take advantage of every favourable opportunity to effect its erasure from the statute book.

That the price of food has very great influence upon the morals and education of the working classes, can hardly be denied; for when food is high in price and labour low (and they are generally concomitant) the bond of union and respect between employers and workmen is broken—the workman considers his employer to be his greatest enemy and oppressor, when in fact he is only the unwilling instrument in the hands of a more distant agent—monopoly. Unable to procure the necessary food and clothing, the labourer has no means with which he can purchase intellectual enjoyments, and if he could by assistance of others obtain them, such is his anxiety of mind and depression of spirits, that he would be unable to cultivate them to advantage: his intellectual faculties are depressed, his moral perceptions weakened, and the only feelings nurtured in his mind are envy and a thirst for revenge. That the high price of food prevents the proper education of the children of working people the following testimony of ten schoolmasters of this township goes far to prove:—"That dear bread has a great influence on the morals and education of the working classes, as it renders the parents incapable of paying for the education of their children; and consequently, they are suffered to run at liberty, and untaught, until a certain age, when they can be admitted

into the mill to work." Another schoolmaster says "that previous to the years 1838-9 his school was well attended, but since then there has been a gradual decline in the number of his scholars, caused, as their parents say by their inability to pay even the least sum for the education of their children, in consequence of the high price of food, and the low rate of their wages."

In this neighbourhood the reduction of wages has been gradual and alarming. The employers have had recourse to it in the vain hope that it would give them relief—would save them from ruin; and the employed have submitted in silence and peace, because they could not see the slightest probability that resistance would be attended with success.

"Though one portion of the supporters of monopoly may admit that the distress is extensive and alarming; though they may ascribe it to over production, and say that time must effect its removal; though this may be comfortable doctrine to those who are wallowing in every luxury, that the mind can invent or the senses desire,—yet the man with ragged raiment and an empty stomach, who hears the famishing cries of his children for bread, and sees their scanty covering from the inclemency of the weather, justly construes the preaching of patience into mockery and insult—feels it keenly, and, if persevered in, will most assuredly resent it on the first favourable opportunity."

Mr. Aston, from Bolton, expressed his willingness to co-operate with the meeting, in their efforts to effect the total repeal of the corn laws. Mr. Falvey, deputy from Macclesfield, was proceeding to address the meeting on the evil effects which the corn-laws had produced on the silk trade; but, it being then a quarter past eleven o'clock, the meeting adjourned, in order to attend the anti-bread-tax demonstration at the Town-Hall.

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

The public meeting of the operatives was held in the Town Hall, at twelve o'clock. JOHN BROOKS, Esq., was proposed as chairman, when Mr. Linney, who was at the head of a body of chartists, gave the signal for opposition, but they were out-numbered by an immense majority, and Linney having acknowledged that they were beaten, the uproar subsided.—Mr. J. BROOKS, as chairman, then addressed the meeting, the object of which, he said, was to petition for the total and immediate repeal of the corn-laws, and for the appointment of a committee on the subject of compensation. With regard to compensation he said he was quite satisfied that justice would not be accomplished until the subject had been considered, and therefore he thought it was quite right there should be a committee to look into it, for his notion was that when injury was done to any party it should be repaired. (Applause.) Mr. O'Connell had called the whigs "base, bloody, and brutal;" but he would say that the people who made the law of 1815 were base, brutal, and unrighteous law makers—for they devoured the widow and the orphan, and starved people to death. (Applause.)

WILLIAM RAWSON, Esq., next addressed the meeting, and moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. EDWARD WATKIN:—

"That this meeting, though indignant at the rejection of the prayer of a million and a half of adult male inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, by the houses of parliament, and convinced that in order to obtain any great act of justice to the people, some stronger expression of public opinion is necessary, does consider it expedient, in order that the new House of Commons especially should be convinced of the wide-spread hatred of breadtaxing oppression felt by the people of the United Kingdom, and the general desire not only for the removal of an act of injustice, but for retribution upon those who have perpetrated and profited by it—to petition both houses of parliament in favour of the total and immediate repeal of the bread and provision taxes, and to recommend in such petition the immediate appointment of a committee for the purpose of considering the best mode of making that due compensation which the suffering people have a right to demand from the aristocracy of the country."

Mr. TIMOTHY FALVEY next addressed the meeting in an admirable speech in support of the resolution, which was also supported by Mr. POUNTNEY.—Before the resolution was put, a chartist amendment was handed to the chairman, which he said did not come within the object of the meeting; but he would read it, and leave the meeting to decide whether it should be entertained. It was as follows:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that there will never be justice done to the people of England till they are admitted within the pale of the constitution by passing into a law the people's charter."

The meeting decided by about five to one that the amendment should not be put. The original motion was then carried by a large majority, amidst great cheering.

Mr. J. J. FINNIGAN then moved, and R. R. MOORE, Esq., seconded a petition to both houses of parliament, of which the following is a copy:—

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Manchester, in Public Meeting assembled.

Sheweth,—That your petitioners conceive that no class in the community ought to be protected by law in the perpetration of injustice,—that no individual or class has a right under the wing of law, which ought to be the personification of impartial justice, to live without labour out of the proceeds of the toil of any other individual or class;—and that as it has often been declared by parliament, that the wages of the working man cannot be raised, maintained or fixed by law, it is inconsistent and unjust by law to raise, maintain, or fix the price of the food of the working man;—and as they know that it has been proved before committees of your honourable house, that corn can be grown in Great Britain and sold by British farmers at 40s., a quarter, or 24s., a quarter less than the

price at which it is the intention of the corn law to fix it, and also that by the evidence of Mr. John Deacon Hume, given also before a committee of your honourable house; it has been proved that the corn and provision laws inflict an annual burden upon the people of at least £50,000,000, a sum three times as great as the entire annual wages of all the persons engaged in the cotton manufacture and more than twice as great as the whole amount of the annual wages paid to one million of the best paid agricultural labourers, they do most earnestly pray that your honourable house will immediately obey the voice of justice, by totally abolishing the unchristian and immoral corn and provision laws, and thus shew to those disposed otherwise to doubt it, that you are the supporters of right, even though it may be opposed by wealth and power, and not the upholders by the abuse of law, of the tyranny and injustice of a small but rich and powerful fraction of the community.

And your petitioners would further represent to your honourable house that the corn and provision laws in their present, or in a similar form, have taken at least £50,000,000 per annum out of the pockets of the industrious and useful portion of the community for twenty-six years, and thus have inflicted a total burden of £1,300,000,000, which vast sum has enriched and overfed the landowners of the country, at the expense of the misery and privations of the people, and the premature death by legal famine of vast numbers. Therefore your petitioners humbly suggest to your honourable house, the immediate appointment of a committee, whose task it shall be to ascertain in what manner the injured bread-eaters of Great Britain and Ireland may be best compensated for the great loss and damage they have for so long a period sustained—whether by a bounty upon the importation of foreign corn, or by any other plan which, shall in the superior wisdom of parliament appear to be most adapted to answer the object in view.

And your petitioners in conclusion would direct the attention of your honourable house to the present unjustly small amount of the burdens of the state defrayed by the land, and would humbly pray, that as the rental of land has risen enormously since the imposition of the present tax upon it,—the tax may be increased in proportion; and that thus about £20,000,000 per annum may be taken off the shoulders of labour and placed upon the rich proprietors of the soil.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

This petition was received with loud cheering, and agreed to without a single murmur.—Mr. DUGGAN moved that it be presented by the members of the borough to the Commons, and to the Lords by the Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor.—Mr. WATTS seconded the motion, and it was carried.—Mr. FLEMING, of London, next addressed the meeting, which then, after a vote of thanks to the chairman, separated.

SATURDAY AFTERNOON SITTING.

At a quarter past three o'clock, the deputations re-assembled, and Mr. John Adams, of Forfar, having been called to the chair, the business of the conference was resumed.—Mr. William Parker, shoemaker, of Leicester, having been introduced to the meeting, stated, that he had not been able to provide himself with any statistical information which could be of any service to the conference, because a full report from Leicester, drawn up and presented at the Midland Counties Conference, was already before the public. The aspect of affairs at his locality was not very favourable to the cause of mere corn-law repeal. They had agitated in vain for that object for a long time; and the opinion was gaining ground in Leicester, that a certain influential portion of the public should be aided in agitating for the extension of the suffrage. Mr. Biggs, the late mayor of Leicester, had drawn up an amended charter, which he (Mr. Parker) should have great pleasure in laying before the meeting any time the chairman might think proper.—[The Chairman said the proper time would be at the conclusion of the business then before the meeting.]—Having made some appropriate observations on the evils resulting from the corn-law monopoly, Mr. Parker concluded by expressing his conviction that the anti-corn-law agitation should not be merged in any other, but that a separate agitation should be commenced for any other measure which the people consider it desirable to obtain.—(Cheers.)

Mr. Dronsfield, yarn dresser, Ashton-under-Lyne, presented the following report from that town:—

"In presenting before you a statement of the condition of the working classes of Ashton-under-Lyne, we have endeavoured to ascertain as far as possible the correctness of the following facts, to which we now call your attention: The monthly amount of poor-rate collected in 1836 was £475; in 1841, £968: thus the rates collected in 1841 were double those collected in 1835. In 1835, the bank owed to the parish £2,500; in 1841, the parish owed to the bank and other creditors, £3,600. There are about 500 uninhabited houses in the borough. Cottage property has, since 1835, been reduced in value about 25 per cent; public-house property about 30 per cent. There are upwards of 2,000 persons destitute of employment; and this destitution has not been merely confined to those employed in manufactures. Joiners, cabinet makers, bricklayers, masons, machine makers, &c., are among the number. Mechanics now employed in Ashton and its neighbourhood, are five-sixths fewer than in 1835. One machine shop has for some time entirely closed for want of work, and the rest have had little more than half employment; and that employment has been in a great measure owing to temporary circumstances, such as the construction of railroads, &c. The reduction in the wages of the operatives since 1835 has been about 17 per cent. There are eight mills entirely closed, and the rest have not had full employment: indeed, during the years of 1839 and 1841, the principal mills did not average more than 10½ hours per day, instead of 12 hours. The cost of living has been nearly doubled in those articles which form the chief consumption of the working classes; and such is the distress, that shopkeepers complain bitterly of their customers being unable to pay them, which, in many instances, leads them to abandon their regular shops, and drives them to submit to coarser food, and also to buy in less quantities. The increasing amount of distress may be learned from the following facts taken from the parish

books. The applications for out-door relief, in 1835, for two weeks, were on an average, 50: in 1841, they have been, for the same period, 170. The number of inmates in the Workhouse, in 1835, averaged about 140; in 1841 they have averaged about 220. The increase in the price of provisions has also been felt in the Workhouse. In 1835 the average cost of provisions was 3s. per head per week; in 1841 they have averaged 4s. per head per week. The support of public institutions has also very materially decreased. A medical dispensary was established in the neighbourhood of Ashton in 1838, consisting of 4,000 members: they have now fallen off to 1,000; 3,000 having left, assigning, as one of the reasons for so doing, their inability to continue payment. These facts, startling as they are, present but a faint picture of the appalling amount of misery and wretchedness existing around us. It may in truth be said of many, that they do not live,—they merely exist. The condition of the people promises any thing but peace and security to those who have so long systematically robbed them. There is a point beyond which human endurance cannot go; and there is a very strong impression amongst our fellow-workmen, that we are rapidly approaching that point. Not only the evil, but the cause, is felt and appreciated. Class legislation is acknowledged to be the origin of all the evils which we suffer; and first and foremost stand the corn-laws, pressing as they do so peculiarly upon ourselves as *working men*. Whatever difference of opinion there may be among us, as to the mode of getting rid of these evils, there is none as to the fact of these laws operating injuriously upon us in shutting us out from the markets of the world, and in compelling us to pay for our corn more than its legitimate price. The iniquity of the system is beginning to be seen in its true light, and we trust that ere long the demand for compensation for past robbery will be made through the length and breadth of the land, by the working men of England, in such a manner that it will be at the peril of the landowners to disregard it."

Mr. Tetlow, letter-press printer, Halifax, after a brief address on the importance of obtaining the immediate abolition of the corn-laws, presented the following report of the condition of the Working Classes in Halifax—

"In order to ascertain the extent of commercial distress in this town, it was agreed by the operative anti-corn law association, to divide the town into ten sections, and appoint two persons to make the necessary enquiries in each district.

Before this survey was gone into, we fancied we could form a pretty correct estimate from observation and experience, of the amount of suffering endured by our class; but since the enquiry was made, we have found that our conceptions have fallen very much short of the reality: nay, we scarcely could have believed a report of what we have witnessed. The scenes of wretchedness, privation and suffering, which was found in some parts of this town, was appalling. Sixty-two families have been forced from their homes into lodgings, where there are two and three, and even four families in one small house of two rooms, with scarcely a vestige of furniture. Some are lying upon straw on the cold ground; others had been without fire in their houses for two or three days, and not a morsel of flour, meal, or other food in the house. One poor woman declared, she had not eaten a morsel for two days. In one house, containing two families, was a female in a corner of the room clothed in rags, near her confinement, and actually famishing for bread. This is but a small number of cases; we could mention many others of that class who are without work, which numbers 768, whilst the number of those who are about half employed, exceeds 700 persons, many of whom do not know where the next meal is to come from. One family of two persons,

had fourpence halfpenny per week per head, to live on; three persons, four and sixpence, and three at three shillings per week: five in one family who had eight shillings per week; one of eight persons at ten shillings, and one of four persons at eight shillings; one of eight persons six shillings per week; one family of three persons have only had three shillings per week for the last seventeen weeks; one family of seven, who are hurrying on a miserable existence upon seven shillings per week; nine in a family, eleven shillings; five in one family who have only had one meal a day for the last six weeks, and had not a morsel to eat on Christmas day; one family of twelve persons at ten shillings per week. We could enumerate a many more cases: the above are sufficient, as a sample of those who are but partially employed, and those who are fully employed are in a many cases, in a most hopeless condition, not being able to earn more than seven or eight shillings per week, and some not so much. Furniture in some cottages, moderate; others, in a miserable plight. This account as far as it goes, is a plain unvarnished tale, and we are of opinion, that if relief does not come, and come soon, the bonds of society will be burst asunder, and anarchy and confusion prevail—endangering the very existence of our once far-famed and beloved country. Let every well wisher of his country try to prevent so fearful a result, by calling the attention of our legislators, to our deplorable condition at this momentous crisis."

Mr. Williamson, watchmaker, of Warrington, expressed his fears, that unless the corn and provision-laws were soon repealed, a starving people might be goaded into acts of desperation by the pressure of want.—(Cheers.) The report which he presented, stated, that, as corn became dear, trade generally declined, and that employment for the operative classes became more precarious and worse remunerated. It also furnished a statement of the number of hands employed in the various factories in Warrington, distinguishing those who are fully from those who are partially employed; and the result appeared to be, that a large proportion of the operative class are nearly one half the year idle.

Mr. Rothwell, weaver, from Bolton, having condemned the corn and provision-laws as the fruitful source of injury to the labouring classes, and as the great impediment to the onward march of popular freedom, stated, amongst other things, that there were in Bolton at this time—inclement though the season had been, and might be expected still to be—1,500 blankets in pawn, pledged by the poor, in order to obtain a little food for their starving families. The quantity of all sorts of bedding, and articles of clothing in pawn, was equally great. Mr. Rothwell then read the following report—

"There are at present, in Bolton, fifty mills, which formerly employed 8,124 workpeople. Of these there are thirty mills, and 6,061 workpeople, either standing idle, or working only four days a week.

"*Spinners' Wages.*—In 1815, the time of passing the corn-laws, the price paid for No. 60 twist was 5½d. per lb. Since that period, the price has gradually declined—except in 1836, when an advance of 7½ per cent was obtained,—and now is 3½ per lb.

"*Hand-loom Weaving.*—In 1815, the price paid for weaving a 6-4 60 cambric was 14s. Since that time,—with the exception of the years 1835-6, when the wages were advanced about 20 per cent,—the price has gradually fallen, and is now 4s. 6d.

"*Iron Founders, Engineers, Millwrights, and Machine Makers.*—In 1836, the number of hands employed were about 2,230. There are at present

employed about 1,375. Many of the best of those artisans have left the country, and are gone to Hamburg, Belgium, Russia, France, America, &c. In 1836, many of these hands were working overtime, and making from nine to twelve days a week at present, many of those employed are only working from two to four days a week.

"Carpenters, Stonemasons, Bricklayers, Sawyers, Shoemakers, &c. are in no better condition than the above, but some of them are much worse"

Mr. B. S. TREANOR, of Stalybridge, made some excellent observations upon the tendency and operations of the corn and provision monopolies. He stated that the poor were compelled to pawn even the most necessary articles of clothing, in order to obtain food. He knew of one case in particular, where a poor woman, with a large family, actually pawned the shoes from her feet in order to obtain a morsel of bread for her starving children. Mr. Treanor then read the following statements from parties who had visited the poor, and reported upon their condition:—

"In the district we have visited, we have found 44 families, containing 184 persons, living upon 1s. 1½d. per head per week, having clothing and fuel to provide, and rent to pay, in addition to food; also 23 families, containing 122 persons, living upon 2s. 4d. per head per week, having clothing, &c. to find; and also thirteen families, containing 86 persons, living upon 2s. 11½d. per head per week, having clothing, &c. to find. Out of the above-mentioned list, there are 36 persons who have nothing whatever coming in. There are several who have had their bedding in pawn, and many others whose bedding is in a wretched state, having scarcely any thing to cover them. There are 76 out of employment in the district."

"G. HOYLE, Independent Minister."

"In 35 families are eight whose weekly earnings do not average 1s. per head; no other whose earnings do not average 2s. per head; two whose earnings are about 2s.; and five families who are earning nothing. Seven of the above-mentioned families are entirely destitute of bedding, and thirteen whose bedding is extremely miserable."

He (Mr. Treanor) remembered, that Sir Robert Peel had referred to the savings' banks as a proof of the prosperity of the country; but a better test of the state of the people, of the working classes at least, was to be found in the pawnbrokers' shops. Let the hon. baronet look there, and he would find argument enough to prove, that dear food and declining trade were grinding the poor to the earth. He knew of a case where a real beautiful girl, of the lower classes, as they were termed, had lost one finger and was losing another from scrofula, brought on, as the doctor positively declared, by the want of a proper quantity of clothing, and a sufficient supply of food. He (Mr. Treanor) thought that compensation ought to be demanded from the bread-taxers for the sufferings inflicted on the people by their acts of injustice. When the slaveholders were compelled to give up their traffic in the blood, bones, and lives of their fellow-men, they demanded and obtained compensation. When the boroughmongers were driven out of Gatton and Old Sarum, they too demanded compensation—even every corporation officer who was deprived of his situation, demanded and received compensation. Why, then, should not a suffering people, plundered of their property, robbed, and robbed for years, of their happiness, demand compensation for their sufferings and loss? The people demanded it—it was just that they should ask it, and by union and determination they would assuredly get it. (Applause.)

Mr. D. R. RAMSDEN, from Mossley, said—

He could not present a complete report as to the state of the districts which he had the honour to represent. Though they had not felt the depression of trade as severely as some towns, whose condition had been described by other delegates, yet many families in Mossley, and the neighbourhood, were in very great distress, and some were in absolute misery. He had heard of one family who had not an inch of blanket to cover them from the winter's blast, and of some totally unemployed, and who exist on eleemosynary or parish aid. Nearly all the mills were working on short time, viz. four days a week, and some were wholly stopped. The restrictions on trade, and more especially the corn and provision laws, seemed to threaten both employers and employed with ruin and therefore it was the interest of all to unite for their abolition. They had established an anti-monopoly society, which, though its members aimed more immediately to assist in the destruction of the monopolies in food, created by the corn and provision laws, desired also the abolition of the church and suffrage monopolies. Let the delegates there assembled, conclude upon some practicable plan, so that when they return home, they may unite the energies of their fellow-men in the struggle, for the removal of those accursed laws, which spread poverty, desolation, and death throughout the land.

Mr. Taylor, of Royton, then presented a report for that township. The report stated, that the circumstances of the manufacturers and workmen in that township, had, during several years, gradually deteriorated. In order to ascertain the degree of distress existing in the township, it was divided into districts, and suitable persons appointed to collect the necessary information, with instructions to notice no family except where the members had less than 2s. 6d. per head per week for their subsistence. It was ascertained that 627 persons in this township had only £47.10s.1d. or 1s. 6½d. per head per week to live upon. The most striking deficiency was observed in the bedding. The state of education was not considered prosperous, and the teachers complained of being badly paid.—Mr. Thomas M'Kay, of Birmingham, addressed the meeting at some length, on the evils of the corn-laws, and the necessity for agitating for their repeal.—Mr. Raine, from Bury, having briefly addressed the meeting, handed in the following report:—

"Although the want of employment, and the prevalence of distress, is not so general in Bury as in some other manufacturing towns, yet distress, deep and increasing, is in the midst of our people, such as was heretofore unknown. The following is the result of visiting the houses of our operatives, and of the most minute inquiries into their circumstances:—Families visited, 776, comprising 3,982 persons; of these, only 1,107 are employed, whose weekly earnings amount to £316. 0s. 8d., or about 19d. per head per week, for food, fuel, rent, &c. &c. The decrease in the amount of wages paid will be seen from the statement of Messrs. Walkers, founders and machine makers; and I fear other establishments are similarly situated:—

Wages paid by Messrs. Walker in	1836	..	45,458
"	"	1837	.. 36,687
"	"	1838	.. 47,565
"	"	1839	.. 40,003
"	"	1840	.. 28,833
"	"	1841	.. 23,804

with a prospect of a still greater falling-off.—Un-

occupied houses, upwards of 400; no rents to be obtained for many which are occupied; shopkeepers selling in smaller quantities, and books full of old debts, which they are unable to collect; poor-rates increasing at a fearful rate. The most destitute class of operatives are calico printers. The operatives generally wish a repeal of the corn and provision laws; though many think it cannot be obtained without an extension of the suffrage, and therefore keep back from our association."

Mr. William Aston, weaver, Bolton, said, his brother delegates had spoken of the distress of those men who were partially or totally unemployed; but there was a vast amount of keen distress amongst those who were in full work. Numbers of men were working 14, 15, and even 16 hours per day, for 8s. per week; and hundreds of men, young, strong, and healthy, were undergoing similar toil for 4s. 6d. a week. When the high price of food was considered, it was easy to imagine the miserable condition of those men.—(Hear.) Mr. Thomas Davenport, spinner, Bolton, stated, that spinners' wages were reduced 20 or 30 per cent. since 1835. He had that morning requested the manager of the mill where he worked to look at the wages, book, and state how much his (Mr. Davenport's) wages had been reduced since 1835; and, taking into account the increased quantity of work he turned off, the reduction was found to be no less than twelve shillings a week, while the cost of his food had nearly doubled.—(Hear.)

Mr. ALEXANDER HUTCHINSON, delegate from the workmen employed in the extensive machine manufactory of Messrs. Sharp, Roberts, and Co. read an address, agreed to at their works, to the deputies, and the working classes generally. The address attributed the prevalent distress to the "restrictions upon commerce and industry—the decrees which prohibit us from exchanging our labour whenever and wherever we can obtain the greatest equivalent in return." Having entered at considerable length into a consideration of the evils arising from such restrictions, and the advantages that would flow from their removal, the address concluded as follows:—

"Whilst, then, we contribute our small aid to our suffering brethren, we call for, we claim, we demand the entire and immediate abolition of these barbarous prohibitions; and deprived, as the majority of us are, by the limitation of the elective franchise, from expressing our opinion through representatives in the national legislative assembly, we pledge ourselves to take every justifiable means, by our individual and united exertions, for bringing to an end these unjust, cruel, and monstrous restrictions, and in obtaining for every honest working man a voice in the making of those laws by which he is to be governed."

Mr. Hutchinson then remarked, that they were unanimous in their desire to obtain the abolition of the corn-laws, and of all taxes upon the people's food, and restrictions on commerce. Although many were sincere advocates for the charter, they did not see why they should stay their hands from aiding in the endeavours being made to unfetter commerce. Two trade societies, with which he was connected, were likewise unanimous in their desire for repeal; and several others, he believed, if judicious means were taken, would join the movement, and make a public demonstration in favour of it. Indeed, it was contemplated to call a meeting of trades upon the subject. The organization of the trades was perfect; and if they could graft the agitation upon that organiza-

tion, the most happy results might be expected to follow. He must observe, that one reason for the want of due co-operation on the part of the most educated and intellectual portion of the trades (who, he contended, were the natural leaders of the working classes) was the strife and ill feeling caused by the opposition of the chartists. He blamed the chartists for their conduct, and he also blamed the corn-law repealers for retaliating upon them,—as he thought it would be better even to have no meetings than to waste energy and time in contentions with them. Another reason for this want of due support was, that the trades and other intelligent working men were waiting to see some specific plan propounded, by which the corn-laws would be at once abolished. He considered the plan proposed by the Daily Bread Society well worthy of consideration; and he hoped that, before the conference finally broke up, some effective plan would be agreed upon.

Mr. FALVEY, of Macclesfield, then moved, and Mr. THOMAS M'KAY, of Birmingham, seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting is of opinion, that the corn and provision laws are unchristian in their intention, tyrannical and injurious (to the working classes especially) in their operation, and ought, therefore, to be totally and immediately repealed."

On the motion of Mr. MILLS, of Oldham, the conference adjourned to Monday morning, at nine o'clock.

MONDAY.

The conference resumed business at ten o'clock this morning. Mr. CORBETT, of Birmingham, in the chair. Mr. ADAM, of Forfar, drew the attention of the meeting to the question of compensation. He did not think the landlords should be called upon to refund the millions which they had taken from the people—it would be impossible for the landlords to do so; but there ought to be such a revision of the taxation as would make the landlords bear their due share of the public burdens. He then moved—

"That this meeting considering that the corn and provision laws have for a long period robbed the people of a large portion of their property, viz. of the fruits of their labour, the proceeds of which spoliation have found their way in, to the pockets of the rich landowners, do consider that the people have a just right to be compensated by such receivers for the injury they have sustained. And that this meeting, aware that many difficulties are in the way of due compensation, and that much difference of opinion as to the mode of making it exists, considers that, in the event of the new parliament refusing totally to abolish the corn and provision laws, the people should decide upon the best and safest mode of making compensation, and then agitate public opinion in order to obtain it."

Mr. Edward Watkin, in seconding the resolution, said, he considered himself in some measure bound to take that course which it recommended. The public meeting, at which he was appointed to represent a certain portion of the working classes at the conference, agreed to a resolution pledging themselves to agitate until the aristocracy made compensation to the people; and at different meetings, subsequently held, this course of conduct was considered to be the best adapted for the attainment of the object in view. If the large assembly which he had the honour to represent were polled through, scarcely an individual would be found who would not assert the principle that the people were entitled to receive compensation from the aristocracy who had fattened themselves from their sufferings. The propriety of making this claim was not first suggested by young and inexperienced men, who did not understand the matter—it was first proposed by the father of the anti-corn-law agitation—the author of the Anti-corn-law Catechism—Colonel Thompson; and the claim was considered just and legitimate by the Rev. Patrick Brewster, who, in a letter addressed to him (Mr. Watkin) a few weeks ago, used these words:—"I cannot help expressing my satisfaction, that the working men getting up the meeting have the sense and spirit to demand compensation. Would

that the league had the courage to join them in that claim!—it would sooner bring our unfeeling oppressors to their senses."—(Cheers.) Though that claim had been put forward by a few, yet backed as it was by two men whom all parties respected, it was surely entitled to the consideration of the meeting. The resolution contained the declaration of a principle which would lead to inquiry elsewhere. And although a bounty on the importation of foreign corn, or a revision of the taxation, was not specifically demanded, still the claim of compensation would hang over the aristocracy, like the sword suspended by a single hair over the head of Damocles, and keep them in constant terror until something was done for the people.—(Cheers.) He considered a repeal of the corn-law would be a great gain in the first instance: when that was obtained, and public opinion strengthened, something more might be accomplished. He seconded the resolution for the purpose of obtaining from the conference an expression of opinion on this important subject.—Mr. Murray, of Nottingham, was of opinion that compensation, in some shape or other, should be had. The aristocracy had proclaimed to the world, through their organs, that they were worth £3,000,000,000 of money; and he thought, that, as they had saddled the country with £1,000,000,000 of a national debt, they should be called on to liquidate it by paying 6s. 8d. to the pound for one year. He would forgive them all their bygone robbery, if they paid that debt. They might discharge it in ten years by paying 8d., to the pound on their boasted capital. That was all the compensation he would demand from them; and surely, after charging the people 30 per cent on their food beyond its real value, they (the aristocracy) have no reason to grumble at the proposition.—Mr. Mills, of Oldham, suggested that the resolution should merely declare the principle, that compensation should be given, without any reference to ulterior measures if compensation were refused. After some observations from Mr. Taylor, Mr. Lees, and Mr. Greaves, the latter part of the resolution, which had reference to ulterior measures, was cancelled.—Mr. Watts approved of the demanding of compensation, and wished the declaration of the people's right to it to go forth. After some further conversation, the resolution, in its amended form, was put from the chair and carried unanimously.—Mr. Mills, of Oldham, then proposed an address for the adoption of the meeting. (See first page.)

Mr. Greaves seconded the motion.—Messrs. Murray, Dronsfeld, Adam, Finnigan, and Watkin supported the address.—Mr. Taylor, of Royton, wished the insertion of a clause in it, recommending sobriety among working men.—Mr. Mills thought it rather paradoxical to warn men against drinking in an address which supposed they had not the means of procuring subsistence. He liked to have a good glass of ale himself, and he would not therefore recommend his countrymen to live on cold water and potatoes.—(Laughter.)—Mr. Taylor considered his recommendation quite consistent with the spirit of the address; as it was a well-known fact, that those drank the most who could the least afford to do so. He was of opinion, that some such recommendation should be embodied in the address.—Mr. Watkin said, a few individuals had recently agreed to adopt teetotalism as a means of abolishing the corn-laws. Believing the corn-laws to be unjust to the whole of the community they agreed not to tax themselves for the benefit of a bread-taxing government, and therefore pledged themselves to abstain, on and after the 1st of January, 1842, from all such taxed articles as ale, whiskey, &c., until the corn-laws were repealed.

Mr. Fleming, of London, expressed his approval of the address, but did not think the corn-laws the entire cause of the evil. However, as it was unjust in principle, and pernicious in practice, it was their duty to effect its removal.—A desultory conversation ensued, after which the address was

put from the chair, and unanimously adopted.—Mr. Watkin inquired of Mr. Fleming if he had voted for the address, and he replied in the affirmative.—It was then a quarter to one o'clock, and the meeting adjourned.

At half-past two o'clock, the deputies re-assembled; and Mr. Watts proposed, that the plan recommended by the Daily Bread Society for the repeal of the corn-laws should be adopted by the conference. That plan was, that a sum of money be raised by penny-a-week subscriptions, bonded corn purchased, and the subscribers called upon to go *en masse* to the bonded warehouses, and demand it free of duty. He did not wish to encourage any thing like intimidation; but he thought such a movement would bring the injustice of the corn-laws palpably before the public. He proposed this plan for the sake of bringing the meeting to consider the necessity of adopting some plan, and he was ready to give his attention and approval to any other plan that might appear superior.—Mr. Watkin, said the plan was worthy of consideration; and stated that it had met with the approbation of several public journals, and among others of the *Nonconformist*, who considered that, if the scheme could be put into practice, it would immediately result in the repeal of the corn-law. Mr. Murray disapproved of any movement calculated to intimidate; and proposed that simultaneous meetings for the repeal of the corn-law should be held throughout the united kingdom, and that petitions for the same purpose should be presented weekly to both houses of parliament.—Mr. Mills seconded the resolution, with the understanding that the word "simultaneous" should be struck out. He did not like to see the people of England dictated to as to what time they should meet. The recommendation was attended to, and the resolution passed unanimously.—Mr. Adam then moved—

"That this conference, feeling the necessity of giving all due publicity to the reports and documents laid before it, do resolve to appoint a committee to prepare a memorial for presentation to the government, in which shall be embodied the substance of these reports; also petitions to both houses of parliament containing the same. The one to the lords to be entrusted to the Earl of Radnor, that to the commons to Richard Cobden, Esq. And that the Manchester friends be requested to form such Committee, and to make arrangements for the presentation of the memorial, &c."

Mr. Howarth, from Bolton, seconded the resolution and it was agreed to.—Mr. Watkin moved, and Mr. Mills seconded, the following resolution, which was adopted:—

"That the deputations attending this conference resolve themselves into a standing committee for the purpose of carrying out the objects of the conference; and that the deputations pledge themselves to use every effort to strengthen public opinion on this all-important question, by means of lecturing, meetings, and, above all, by the organization of the unorganized portion of the working classes; and that Mr. Watkin be appointed honorary secretary to the conference, to whom all the delegates may write, at least once a fortnight."

On the motion of Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Lees, the following resolution was agreed to—

"That Mr. Alexander Hutchinson and Mr. Isaac Higginbotham be requested to organize the trades of Manchester on the question upon which the conference has met: and that the former be requested to convey to Messrs. Sharp, Roberts, and Co.'s workmen the thanks of the meeting for their valuable address."

The thanks of the meeting were then given to Mr. Corbett, for his conduct in the chair, and the conference separated.

MANCHESTER:

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