

that the existence of Church questions prevents the possibility of out-joining the Protectionists, or trusting them with power, though on all other subjects they might come to be a better representation of public opinion than the Whigs. The discussion of the great and vital question of labour will thus have no chance of fair play, and the greatest distress and misery will be the inevitable consequence, if we could suppose it possible that the working classes would remain quiet, and permit the throat of their peculiar interest, the Question of Labour, thus to be cut. As reasonably might we expect the public to tolerate the culpable leaving of impediments in the way of an express Railway train, to scatter certain death and destruction all around. So certainly, therefore, would I calculate on the Church question being speedily dispatched, or the Whigs blamed for retaining it as a source of PARTY POLITICAL CAPITAL, that I earnestly desire the present Ministry to secure their tenure of office, by strengthening themselves on the question of labour, instead of leaning on the political weakness of their opponents, arising from most of the Protectionists being Church-Tories. In this dreadful condition the working-classes will blame, and justly so, the Government. The Government will plead its good intentions, but this will not feed the starving masses, who will, in reply, charge the Government with at least not having ability to prevent, even if it did not cause their disasters. No change to people in these circumstances can be for the worse, and a Revolution may come upon England, if Retrenchment and the most sweeping reform of the Currency are not made, without a moment's delay, simultaneously with such political alterations in Ireland, and otherwise, as will throw the now gloomy minds of the population forward to a happier future. The Peel Conservatives, in order to popularise themselves as a party to conserve the Church, sacrificed what they had told their constituents they in their hearts believed to be the interest of the British labourer; and they are now a moral nullity, incapable of serving the Crown, while the retention of peculiar privileges by their class, and its Church, after the interests of industry have been betrayed by them in the legislature, positively endangers the existing order of things, and that we have no hope from Sir R. Peel and his "loose fish." (Unless we should stoop to use bad instruments, arguing, that having sacrificed British Industry to the Church, they are the very men to sacrifice the Church to British Industry.) And neither will the people accept assistance from the Protectionists (although this is admitted to be the only party which has taken a popular or patriotic view of the rights of native labour) because by doing so, they would sacrifice their rights of conscience and hand themselves over, bound hand and foot, to a miserably selfish church oligarchy, which they hate. The Crown cannot be saved by the Whigs, even if they could do so on principle, for they cannot save themselves as a party, which is always their first look-out. As for the irreproachable free-traders, or free-thinkers in commerce they can do no more for the working-people (through whose contentment and happiness alone the Crown can be sustained) than the free-thinkers in religion can. The one would land their bodies in death, the other their souls. The total want of all patriotic principle, or tangible principle of any kind, in irreproachable free traders, may appear temporarily to be blessed, just as the total absence of respect for religious principle may be; but either *peradventure* is a very miserable calculation, and I cannot understand how any man, or set of men, feeling fully the responsibility of a government, would dare to rely on such delusions. I therefore think that there exists at present no party in England with sufficient power or influence to save the working classes from starvation; and that if the Crown cannot organise an EXECUTIVE CAPABLE OF THIS FIRST DUTY OF A GOVERNMENT, IT MUST OF NECESSITY BE OVERTHROWN. THUS IT APPEARS TO MY MIND, THAT IF THE MONARCHY IS TO BE SAVED, IT MUST BE BY A MORE PATRIOTIC (LESS COMMODITISED) COMBINATION, IN THE SHAPE OF A NEW PARTY REPRESENTATIVE OF LABOUR. Were I a public man in England, at this critical moment I would not hesitate to meet the Chartists more than half way. I would call the new party the SOCIAL ECONOMISTS (as opposed to political economists), whose objects as a party I would state to be—1st. The Social Economists will hold it to be the first duty of a government, at whatever sacrifice, to make all sure, who are willing to work, of the actual necessities of life. 2dly. They will hold that every means should be adopted to raise the outward comfort of the working classes, as well as to elevate them morally and religiously—a church establishment not being one of these means. Other things I view as only subsidiary, or means to these ends."

After perusing the matter under the heading "Alteration of the Money Law," the reader will, I doubt not, agree that a UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE PARTY is imperatively called for, if for no other purpose than to make sure of Gold being, without loss of time, reduced to the rank of an ordinary commodity the same as the POOR MAN'S LABOUR WHICH NO LAW CAN FIX THE PRICE OF.

THE MOST FEARFUL SOCIAL CONVULSIONS COULD NOT FAIL TO ARISE OUT OF ANY SUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT IN PARLIAMENT TO PERPETUATE THE PRINCIPLE OF SIR R. PEELE'S MONEY LAW OF 1810, OR TO LOWER OUR FIXED PRICE OF GOLD DOWN TO THE VALUE TO WHICH GOLD MAY FALL ABROAD.

We deceive ourselves if we suppose that the people remain so ignorant as not to know that the lowering of the price of Gold is an equivalent term for raising the purchasing power of money—or, in other words, for lowering the exchangeable value of property, commodities, and labour. The Working-Classes have been taught by long and most cruel experience, that the principle of the Money Law of 1810 practically denies to British labour the reward which the Law of Supply and Demand would naturally award to it, by lending to the export of gold (which upsets the country's Banking facilities), and thus contracting the currency whenever the Foreigner prefers taking Gold, which he of course does unless the price of British Manufactures approximate in cheapness to that of Gold—even although the same Foreigner did not import into this country Gold, or other commodity sold at the cheap rate, but had availed of a Paper or prosperity price for the Foreign Commodities in payment of which the imbecility of our Law puts it in his power to take Gold at the cheap price.—They now see clearly, that the fact of Gold being absurdly fixed at the same low rate when it is in the greatest demand as when it is in the smallest demand for exportation as a commodity necessarily fixes down, as the general rule, to the same low, untaxed, and profitless standard the remuneration to the producers of British Commodities, which have to be sold against Gold as a Commodity to Foreigners, as well as into Gold as a Money to our own people in the same market! Our Official and Annuitant Classes thus participate in the monstrously undue advantage which the bill of 1810 gives to the Foreigner over the British Artizan, and this sacrifice of our Working-Classes operates a permanent reduction in the price of British products, by so prostrating the British producer himself that he comes to be a consumer of other than the merest necessities, a large proportion of which, being outables, now are (under our irreproachable Free-Trade system) the product of foreign labour, in payment of which the Foreigner will never take anything but Gold till compelled to do so by the price of Gold in this country being at an advance over its price abroad, equal at least to the amount of the taxation paid by our Artizan, and the fair profit which the free and unrestricted operation of the natural regulator of prices (the influence of the Law of Supply and Demand in his particular trade) would award him. And, as in this state of degradation in the circumstances of our Working-Men which cannot fail to secure them the active position as to be able to attend to Politics or Public Questions without fatally injuring their families, it has necessarily followed, that the Working-Men have been able to get few leaders among themselves except bad men and bad subjects, who, by their conduct, have deferred the triumph of the great Chartist Principle—UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE. Now, however, a total change in their views of what is their true interest is coming over the convictions of our Working-Men which cannot fail to secure them the active sympathy and co-operation of the Propertied Classes. The Working-Classes, in their sinking condition, have eagerly caught at such absurdities as Organizations of Labour, Communisms, and Associationisms, from which the Capitalist Classes were excluded, just as sinking men catch at straws; but strange they have found these delusions to be (however well intended), and our Labouring Masses are no longer open to be humbugged by the silly doctrine that labour is a separate interest. The Working-Men now see that the only possible cause of increased wages is increased employment, which can only arise from improving the condition of the employers of labour, as contradistinguished from the mere moneyed man or Sir J. Graham's *droves of the hive*; and the Working-Men's distresses having led them into a much better knowledge of the Money Question, which is in reality the question of labour, than is possessed by the Middle Classes, they see that to increase the number of bidders for their labour, (the only means of raising their wages permanently), such an alteration of our Money Laws must be made as will permanently reduce the EXCHANGEABLE VALUE OF MONEY, as when less property and a smaller quantity of commodities come to stand for the same amount of Money, it is evident that less of the Working Man's time and labour will do the same thing. Thus the interests of all classes except the Officials, Annuitants, and Money-monsters, are seen to be the same, and inseparable; and, as thousands of the Upper and Middle Classes have no objection to Democratic Legislation, a new party of Social Economists will soon be in a position to demand and to carry UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE AS THE ONLY MEANS TO THE GREAT COMMON VIEW, the Money power being found to be so strong in Parliament, as at present constituted, as to prevent justice being done to the labour of the country by the repudiation of the Monetary Schemes of Sir Robert Peel and the usurers. If, however, the middle classes were to continue to allow themselves to be used as barricades against the non-electors, our future would be dark indeed. This would sour and exasperate our working classes:—

"So the struck Eagle, stretched upon the plain,
No more through rolling clouds of soot again,
Viewed his own feather on the fatal wing,
Winging the shaft that quivered in his heart.
Keen were his pangs; but keener far to feel,
He nursed the pinion that impelled the steel;
While the same plunage that had warmed his nest,
Drank the last life-drop of his bleeding breast."