

A FOUR-ROOMED COTTAGE.
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHARTIST
CO-OPERATIVE LAND ASSOCIATION.

MY VERY DEAR FRIENDS,
I am now entitled to the honourable name of
LABOURER. I am living in a four-roomed house,
I slept here on Saturday night and never felt more
happy in all my life. The chimney, and not an unim-
portant consideration, draw beautifully, and every
thing bespeaks a cheerful comfort and independence.
I will now tell you precisely how I feel, and how I
am convinced every occupant of an allotment will
feel. I feel that, once in possession of this cottage
and the land belonging to it, that I would risk my
life, and that to a great extent, rather than surren-
der it. I feel convinced of every man's ability to
live and support his family comfortably, and to pur-
chase it out of his savings for ever in less than five
years. I feel assured that nothing but wilful ill-
ness, dissipation, or neglect, can ever drive an occu-
pant from his holding, and I feel convinced that the
man who disinherits himself from any of these
causes will carry upon him into society a more dis-
graceful brand than that stamped upon the criminal
after he has suffered an ignominious punishment for
the violation of laws which nature forbade him to
obey.

I have told you a thousand times that every diffi-
culty against which labour had to contend was the
monopoly of the land by the usurping class and the
consequent political privileges that followed its
ownership. The question of the improved value of
the land by the increasing population has never yet
been discussed; it is, your side of the question has
never yet been fairly argued. The Times news-
paper, in a recent article, endeavouring to show the
improved condition of Ireland, instances the in-
creased value of land in that country, wholly for-
getting that 15,000,000 acres of land would be
more valuable to 8,000,000, the present population
of Ireland, than to less than four millions, the
population at the time of the union. The improved
value of land brought about by the increase of po-
pulation is an absolute hardship upon the new-
comers, and proves more forcibly than the most
eloquent argument, the injustice of land monopoly.

The increased price of the land by no means
argues its improved value arising from a better
system of culture, but it does prove that the mo-
nopolizers of the soil have an unfair and an unjust
advantage from the increase of population, and the
consequently increasing necessities of that increased
population. If, for instance, the land of England
with its present population is worth an ascertainable
average value—if that population was increased
to-morrow to more than double its present amount,
the land of England, as if by magic, and without any
act of its owners, would be worth more than treble
its present value, so that the value of land increases
in a far greater ratio than population. Now is it
too much to require of you to keep those simple
statements always before you. Believe me, my
friends, that they are the very essence and founda-
tion of that knowledge which you must possess
before you can achieve either physical comfort, in-
tellectual improvement, or political rights.

When the landlords monopolised the land, the land
by degrees became the repository for all political
power. The landlords have not yet lost that power
—not a particle of it. Skirmishes may take place,
in which they may be worsted, but those who dream
of holding political power permanently, without en-
franchising that population which gives additional
value to the land, instead of the land itself, will find
themselves very much mistaken. I will now prove
to you, by the simplest course of reasoning, that
there never was a more enormous or palpable piece
of injustice committed, than that of enfranchising
land, and disfranchising, or rather leaving unenfranch-
ised, those who give the franchised value to the
land. Now, suppose a large tract of a county sub-
divided into farms, now worth, or let for, £30 or
£40 a year at will. These tenements would not
constitute a vote upon the occupants, while, if raised
to the value of £50 each, they would be enfranchised,
while the population which conferred the increased
value would be unenfranchised. Thus I prove to
demonstration the fact, that the thing, LABOUR,
which confers the value to the land is unenfranch-
ised, while the land that receives its value from
increased population is enfranchised.

These are the means, the unjust means, by which
the owners of land have been enabled to usurp
political power; and the only means by which we
can destroy the injustice is, by one or other, or both,
of the following plans. We must break up every go-
vernment that bases its pretensions to office upon
the mere pledge of liberalism, and compel them to
have recourse to a different standard of franchise as
the means of preserving their party ascendancy. Or
else we must prove the value of the land, and so
attach the labour-mind of the country to its posses-
sion, as the means of giving the only real value to in-
dustry; and thereby create such a unanimous, uni-
versal demand for the restoration of the land to its
legitimate purposes—namely, to the exigencies of an
increasing population; as neither government, class,
party, or faction, can prudently or safely resist.

Now, as far as I am concerned, I am realising true
notions of a country's wealth, and the people's in-
dependence. THERE IS NOTHING THAT THE
LAND WILL NOT DO, in the way of support and com-
fort. I am only now beginning myself to understand
the full value and all the blessings of the institution. I
now assert this, that if the 35 allotments carved out
of the estate were offered by tender to-morrow, that the
four acre allotments, without the £30, would fetch
£20 a year; the three acre allotments would fetch
£16 a year; and the two acre allotments would fetch
£12 a year; without the capital to be given with any,
and they would all let to good and solvent tenants,
who would pay a premium in 48 hours. See then
the advantages that CO-OPERATION offers.

I shall now confer familiarly with you upon those
every day and every thing matters, that I wish to
make the subject of your fire-side conversation, when
tyranny allows you a moment's repose from slavery.
Firstly—Then, by my corrected balance sheet you
will learn that the society is £500 richer than I
thought on Thursday last, and
Secondly—It is a £1,000 richer than you had ima-
gined on Saturday last.

I have corrected the one error. I will now put
you in possession of the other fact. We paid nearly
£500 for the timber, crops, dung, and fixtures upon
the estate. We paid £181 for the crops, and I
have already sold hay, tares and wheat to the
amount of £236. 15s; we have saved about £15
worth of hay. I expect £17 10s. for the oats,
that will make £271. 5s. for the crops, or a
profit of £90 5s. I have sold 110 stacks of
potatoes for £16 10s. I have sold over 5,000 faggots,
at £1 a thousand. I expect we have 10,000 more.
I am selling all the old useless timbers of the house
and outbuildings for firewood, or such purposes as suit
the neighbours, so that I expect to realise much more
than all the labour in clearing and laying out the
estate, out of what others would have allowed to go
to waste, and as we have paid for the timber and
crops, all that money will come back besides what I
am able to make of the things to be sold. Up to
this time, Rebecca, the Chartist Cow, has made about
£8 in less than eight weeks, so that she now stands
you in only eight pounds. Not a tile nor a lath is
allowed to go to waste.

I have engaged ten carts and horses and forty
labourers to work from five o'clock in the morning
till eight in the evening, during the week after next,
in order to be prepared for the exhibition. By that
time all the houses will be up, and, as if Providence
was aiding in our undertaking, we have discovered

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that, after the thirteen four acre allotments, the
five three acre allotments, and the seventeen two
acre allotments, that we have yet remaining two
acres and something more, upon which we propose
erecting a school, with half an acre for play ground,
and an acre-and-a-half for a model farm and garden,
to be cultivated by the children, and I undertake to
pledge myself, that it will be the nearest and most
productive part of the estate. If anybody had seen
this farm two months ago, and had been told of the
state that it would be brought to by this time, they
would have laughed; and all laugh now, when I
point out the improved state in which it will be on
the 17th August: all I say is, THAT I WILL DO
IT, and it is now coming near the time that pro-
phets dread—THE HOUR OF FULFILLMENT—but I will
renew my prediction, that I will exhibit such a
sight upon that day as England or the world
never saw before. Before I conclude I beg to
remind the growers that when this estate is com-
pleted my next undertaking shall be for 100 cottages,
and I can manage them as easily as thirty-five, and
now that my hand is in, I can complete them in half
the time. I wish all to bear in mind that the first
attempt at an undertaking of this kind is very
hazardous, while I am proud to say, that not one
single unpleasantness has happened from the com-
mencement, nothing has gone to waste, and nothing
has been done that I would recall; and so harmoni-
ously has all gone on, that bricklayers, carpenters,
and labourers are preparing to emigrate with me to
the next location which fully proves that English-
men can find a home where they are justly dealt
with.

Now, one word for the Demonstration. This
estate belongs to the occupants, and they are justly
entitled to the benefit of exhibiting their property to
the public. If damage is done, the repairs will be
made out of increased rent upon them. Certainly it
will be trifling, as from our arrangements I don't
anticipate a particle of damage; but I had fondly
hoped, and hope still, to realise a large amount of
starting money out of the profits. I hoped to pre-
sent each with a purse containing his own share,
and I hope to do the same with every location. An
active and laborious committee of London working
men have cordially co-operated with us to aid in
carrying out this object, and I now learn that other
parties have started associations for the purpose of
rivalry or competing with us in bringing down
visitors. Now there is but one way of meeting this
rank injustice—THIS PLUNDER OF THE
OCCUPANTS—and that mode we have adopted—
it is, that we will have our own police at every en-
trance to the estate, and that all who have not the
committee's tickets from London, or rather all who
come by the opposition vans, must pay one shilling
entrance, while those who come under the com-
mittee's arrangements will come free of all other
charges. This is a rule which shall be strictly ad-
hered to, and one which we call upon all honest
Chartists to assist us in carrying out. In the eve-
ning every house will be illuminated—minute guns
will be fired from each end of the estate—there
will be a profusion of fire-works—a splendid
dancing booth got up by the tradespeople and
labourers at Herringgate—booths for refresh-
ment and amusements—and upon the first act
of drunkenness or disorder every tent will
be struck, and the Estate will be cleared. A
cricket match will take place. There will be a short
public meeting—flags upon seventy feet poles will
wave over the hills. This shall be one happy day
in England, and I am determined that more than
one county shall understand what I mean by LA-
BOUR'S FAIR—FREE-MEN'S HOUSES, and
WORKING MEN'S SPORTS; and I feel assured
that no working man will mar the day's rejoicing
by drunkenness or bad conduct; for, as far as I am
alive, if one tent-ke per passes the bounds of pro-
priety, I will vent every cash in his booth and
knock it down about his head.

There will be trusty care-takers placed in every
house, after they are exhibited and during the illu-
minations; and it is earnestly requested that no
person will damage the property of working men.
The artist was here yesterday (Tuesday), prepar-
ing his sketch for the engraving which will be given
in the Star of the 22nd, and then those who have
seen the estate will be able to judge of its merits.
I cannot engage myself anywhere after Wednesday
next, for I hope that the labours of the Con-
vention will be concluded by that time, and that I
shall be able to have my working jacket on again
on Thursday morning next.

I am,
Your faithful friend and ballif,
FEAROUS O'CONNOR.

P.S.—I have lost so much money and labour by
former publications, that I will not undertake the
arduous labour of compiling my Nottingham speech
until I am able to ascertain from the orders the exact
amount THAT I AM LIKELY TO LOSE.

LOSS OF THE EMIGRANT SHIP MANDARIN
AND THE SIR WALTER SCOTT.

FIFTEEN PERSONS FROZEN TO DEATH.

Information announcing the total loss of the above
vessels, and the melancholy fate of the crew of the
Sir Walter Scott, by being frozen to death, has been
received at Lloyd's. The particulars are of the most
painful description. The Mandarin was a vessel,
of a superior class, and 500 tons burden, com-
manded by Captain John Cleland. She belonged to
Glasgow, and sailed from Calcutta in the latter
part of February last, with 216 emigrants, for
Jamaica, on board. Having landed them at that
port, she sailed for Liverpool, and on the morning
of the 24th of April, and unhappily struck
on a sunken rock, known as the Alligator Rock, at
Key West. Every effort was made by the master
and crew to get the ship off, but in consequence of
the heavy sea it was impossible to accomplish it, and
in a few hours she was full of water. Forty-two
all on board were saved by the boats, and landed at
Key West. The following day she fell over on the
rock and became a total wreck. It is a providential
circumstance that the emigrants had disembarked;
had they been on board when the disaster took place,
a serious loss of life would have probably been
the result. The loss will prove very heavy, but insur-
ances to the amount of £20,000 are reported to have
been effected on the vessel and cargo.

The circumstances attending the loss of the Sir
Walter Scott, Captain Byas, master, are of a most
lamentable character. It appears that for several
months he had been suffering from a severe illness,
and on the 10th of April, he was taken ill, and
on the 12th he died. His death was a great loss to
the service, and the vessel was left in the hands of
his second officer, Mr. James Smith. The vessel was
foundered on the 24th of April, and the crew were
saved by the boats, and landed at Key West. The
loss of the vessel was a great disaster, and the
circumstances attending it are of a most lamentable
character.

THE DEATH OF THE EUSTON-SQUARE STATION.
—Upon the arrival on Tuesday afternoon of the 45
min. past 3 P.M. train at the Euston-square sta-
tion of the London and Birmingham Railway, a
gentleman, one of the passengers, was observed to
be exceedingly ill. This being intimated to Mr. Brooks,
the chief clerk, he had the gentleman immediately
conveyed into the office, and sent for a medical man,
but before the arrival of the surgeon he had breathed
his last. The body was conveyed to the George Ter-
nary adjacent, there a coroner's inquest.

MANCHESTER. PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE, Monday Morning.

BALLOT FOR LOCATION ON THE PEOPLE'S SECOND ESTATE.

At an early hour this morning, the neighbourhood of
this splendid building, the property of the Manchester
Chartists, assumed a bustling appearance; delegates
and persons interested were continually arriving
from the adjacent towns, and at the hour appointed
the Institute presented a goodly show of the sons
and daughters of toil, who are looking to the Char-
tist Co-operative Land Society as a means of rescu-
ing them from manufacturing bondage. At
eleven o'clock Mr. Donovan was called to the chair,
and addressed the meeting with great effect in that
quiet humorous style which renders him such a uni-
versal popular favorite. Mr. McGraith explained to
the meeting the relative proportion of the prizes in the
130 acres ballotted for, falling respectively to the
two, three, and four acre allotments, viz. 892
two-acre shares giving eighteen prizes; 259 three-acre
shares giving five prizes, and 970 four-acre shares
giving twenty prizes. The committee having made
the necessary arrangements, and Messrs. Mitchell,
of Rochdale, and Bennett, of Stockport, having been
appointed to draw the tickets from the ballot boxes,
the drawing commenced, of which the following is
the result:—

Two-Acre Prizes.	
No. of Certificate.	
1 H. William Bernard	Northampton
2 George Worrall	Dunley
3 Henry Tanner	Greenwich
4 George Coupe	Keighley
5 ——— Franklin	Bristol
6 William Piggs	Lambeth
7 Edward Gray	Leicester
8 James Baker	Devizes
9 James Goodward	Calais
10 David Webster	Salford
11 A. William Howe	Sunderland
12 Robert Butterworth	Rochdale
13 John Linney	Carrington
14 Henry Lee	Exeter
15 Samuel Atherton	Wigan
16 Robert Massey	South Shields
17 John Holmes	Idle, Yorkshire
18 Charles Payne	London

Three Acres.	
1 James South	Blackburn
2 Cornelius Ashton	Manchester
3 John Dennis	New Radford
4 Alexander Robertson	Aberdeen
5 James Driver	Northampton

Four Acres.	
1 Wm. Young Souter	Westminster
2 Saville Crowther	Mottram
3 Thomas Rawson	Manchester
4 Edmund Kershaw	Rochdale
5 William Charlesworth	Stratfield
6 James Bearman	Bocking
7 William Addison	Manchester
8 Thomas Richardson	Lambeth
9 Henry Porter	London
10 George Webb	Reading
11 Thomas Acklam	Barnesley
12 James Hellivell	Heddenbridge
13 James Wharton	Lambeth
14 Christopher Doyle	O'Connorville
15 Isaac Weir	Manchester
16 John Renham	Westminster
17 James Ferguson	Burnley
18 William Rogerson	Somers-town
19 John Lee	Manchester
20 George Redfern	London

Five Acres.	
1 John Hartley	Heddenbridge
2 William Darley	Stockport
3 Richard Robinson	Clythorpe
4 George Smith	Halifax
5 William Johnston	Hindley
6 Thomas Wm. Dale	Macclesfield
7 John Cloud	Monmouth
8 George Forster	Manchester
9 William Sadler	Manchester
10 James Stott	Bradford

The Ballot for the second Location having con-
cluded, a second ballot was taken for situation of
allotment in the O'Connorville Estate, the houses in
the location are numbered respectively, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,
&c., and the winners will occupy the same numbers
as they have drawn in the ballot, the result is as
follows:—

Two Acres.	
1 John Westmoreland	London
2 John Lambourne	Reading
3 Michael Fitzsimon	Manchester
4 William Mann	Northampton
5 Philip Ford	Wootton-under-Edge
6 Charles Smith	Halifax
7 George Mansfield	Bradford (Wilts)
8 Richard Eveson	Stockport
9 Charles Brown	Brown
10 John Wallwork	Ashton
11 John Nell	Heywood
12 William House	Pershore
13 Henry Smith	Keighley
14 George Ramsbottom	Ashton
15 William Mitchell	Huntington and Cat
16 John Lee	Widford
17 Ralph Kerfoot	Rouen

Three Acres.	
1 James Short	Bilston
2 William Oddy	Bradford
3 George Richardson	Westminster
4 Benjamin Knott	Halifax
5 Isaac Jovett	Bradford

Four Acres.	
1 Thomas Meyrick	Worcester
2 Joseph Mills	Ashton
3 David Watson	Edinburgh
4 Martin Griffiths	Worcester
5 James Cole	Bradford
6 Barbara Vaughan	Sunderland
7 Alfred Hague-Crowther	Ashton
8 Thomas Smith	Wigan
9 James Greenwood	Hedden Bridge
10 Thomas Smith	Greenford (near London)
11 Thomas Bond	Devizes
12 James Taylor	Manchester
13 Joseph Openshaw	Manchester

FEAROUS O'CONNOR.
THOMAS CLARK
CHRISTOPHER DOYLE
PHILIP MCGRAITH
THOMAS MARTIN WHEELER
Secretary.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—FRIDAY, JULY 24.

The St. Asaph, Bangor and Manchester Dioceses
Bill, passed; the Marquis of Londonderry having
announced that he had no command from her Ma-
jesty to stop its progress.

The Coalwhippers' Bill was read a third time and
passed.

Their Lordships adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FRIDAY, JULY 24.

SUGAR DUTIES.

Lord GEORGE BURNES moved to Monday his
resolution respecting the new sugar duties, which
will then move as an amendment to Lord J. Russell's
motion.

The House having gone into committee on the
Sugar Duties Continuance Bill.
On the motion, that the blank in clause 1 be filled
up with the words "September next."

Lord G. Burnes moved as an amendment, that the
words, "July, 1847," be inserted. He said that
he had no desire to obstruct the Government, but he
thought that a Bill to continue the existing duties for
eleven months would be just to the merchants
engaged in the sugar trade, in order to enable them
to prepare for a new campaign to escape from the
rip in which the scheme proposed by the Govern-
ment would involve them.

The Government of the Exchequer contended
that it was absolutely necessary the sugar question
should be now permanently settled.

Sir ROBERT ADAMS supported, and Mr. LABOU-
REUR opposed the amendment.

The House divided.
For the amendment..... 131
Against it..... 82

Majority against the amendment — 83
The clause was filled up with the words "Sep-
tember next," and the Bill passed through commit-
tee.

On the order of the day to go into committee of
ways and means.

Mr. C. BURNES moved an address to the Queen
praying her Majesty to withdraw her consent to the
placing of the statue of the Duke of Wellington upon
the archway at the top of Constitution-hill. The
hon. member having quoted several opinions against
the placing of the statue upon the archway, he moved
that the statue be placed upon a pedestal of stone
on the top of a triumphal arch, called on the House
to interfere.

Mr. H. BAILEY seconded the motion.
Lord MORPETH confessed that he entertained con-
siderable misgivings as to the propriety of the site
chosen by the committee of the Wellington testi-
ment, but that he had accepted the offer made by
the late Government, and giving an unobjection-
able site elsewhere. That offer the present Gov-
ernment would abide by.

Ultimately Mr. C. BURNES withdrew his motion,
on the understanding, suggested by Lord Morpeth,
that the committee should reconsider the proposal of
Government, and that in the meantime the works
should be all suspended.

WAYS AND MEANS.

The House went into committee of ways and
means, and a vote of £4,000,000 out of the consoli-
dated fund was taken.

MILLBANK PRISON.

On going into committee of supply.
Mr. DUNCOMBE rose to direct the attention of the
House to the petition which on a former occasion he
had presented from Edward Baker, preferring seri-
ous complaints against the governor of Millbank Pri-
son, and representing great abuses in that establish-
ment both in the management of its affairs, and as
regarded cruelty to the prisoners. He said that three
years ago this prison was, under the charge of a
committee, in the form of a penitentiary, but was
then placed under the superintendence of the Sec-
retary of State for the Home Department, a governor,
and three inspectors. He would not give all the
allegations contained in the petition, but would bring
before the House some of the principal ones. The
petitioner was a viceroy in the prison from Sep-
tember, 1842, till April, 1846; had an unexcep-
tionable character, there being no complaint
whatever against him; but he stated that, in
consequence of the oppressive and tyrannical
conduct of the governor, he was obliged to re-
sign his situation. He stated, and he (Mr. Dun-
combe) was prepared to prove it, that the treatment
pursued towards prisoners had led to suicides in the
prison to a considerable extent. As to the cruelty
exercised towards the prisoners, he said that the
petitioner mentioned the case of George Chinnery,
who had a fit in the airing-yard, when the governor
enquired, what was the matter? The petitioner
replied "a prisoner in a fit;" when the gov-
ernor said, he was not in a fit, and ordered him to
be reported if he had recourse to "any more of these
tricks." Afterwards, contrary to the opinion of the
person having charge of the prisoners, and without
the opinion of any medical man being taken, the
governor sent the poor prisoner to three days'
bread and water allowance. The answer to that
charge he believed was—that the prisoner had, on a
former occasion, been in a bad way, and was then
punished for feigning fits; whereas, it could be
shown that when the prisoner was formerly in
the prison, he was placed in a cell next to the war-
den's room, because he was subject to fits and re-
quired to be looked after. Now, here was a case of
a man unjustly punished, because he had the mis-
fortune to be seized with a fit. It was also alleged
by the petitioner that prisoners were punished by
the governor for reading their bibles during the ser-
mon in chapel; that they were punished by being
sentenced to a bread and water allowance for seven
days, though, by the rules of the prison, the gov-
ernors had the power of imposing only three
days' bread and water, and indeed, he said, that
now, if it could be proved that this man had
sentenced any party to seven days' bread
and water diet, he held that an illegal and oppres-
sive act had been committed. It appeared, also, that
in certain cases he ordered one day's full rations at
the end of three days' bread and water, and was
ordered to order the bread and water to be resumed.
He knew that this would be denied, but he was pre-
pared to prove it. Another charge was the following:—
On the 10th of February, 1846, Frederick Bunyon
was sentenced to receive 100 lashes with the cat.
He was taken down after receiving 70 lashes, and
it was then ordered that he should receive no in-
struction, neither religious nor moral, after that date.
(Hear, hear.) Now, why the unfortunate man, after
suffering severe punishment, should be sentenced to
receive neither moral nor religious instruction, he
(Mr. Duncombe) was totally unable to comprehend.
Then as to the infliction of corporal punishment, he
contended that it was wrong to do so within the walls
of a prison, and that it should be done away with.
The regulation of the prison with respect to flogging
was that the instrument for flogging should be ap-
proved of by the inspector, and that the number of
lashes should in all cases be stated in the order for
punishment, and that a rule that the seal of one
of the inspectors should be on the handle of the cat;
but in this case, as also in that of another prisoner,
the governor, the night before the punishment was
about to be inflicted, desired one of the officers of
the prison to get much heavier lashes for the cat—lashes
double the size of those that were put on the handle,
and not satisfied with this double weight he ordered
the ends of these lashes to be lapped with wax cord.
(Hear, hear.) This, he contended, made the punish-
ment not less illegal than cruel; and if a man had
been tried for murder, there was also a gross
case of neglect and cruelty towards a convict of the
name of Nash, who was degraded from the Penitenti-
ary, on the 10th of October, 1844, and was
removed to the infirmary on the 1st of January, 1845,
where he died on the 7th of the same month. This
individual, during the short time he was in the pri-
son, was kept on bread and water during 23 days,
and at the time he was removed to the infirmary
was under the influence of being ill. On the 28th
of November, a boy, named James Richmond, 10
years old, was received from Edinburgh, and on the
5th of May was removed to the infirmary, where he
died on the 22nd of the same month. While in the
prison, this boy was, for a certain number of days,
confined in a dungeon on one pound of bread and two
pints of water per day, having only one blanket to
cover him. Such was the punishment imposed upon
a boy 10 years of age, who, he believed, died
solely from the cruelty of the treatment which he had
received. The deaths of three individuals were given
by him as instances of the cruelty of the treatment
which they had received, and he contended that the
treatment which they had received was more cruel
than that which four who had destroyed themselves in
their cells since the present governor had gone there.
But that was not all. He was prepared to prove that
twelve others had made the attempt to commit
suicide, and were only saved by the vigilance of the
officer. Another complaint was, that several times
the prisoners had been raised by the governor at night,
when he turned out of the 100 prisoners for what he
called "a fire practice." This was a most absurd
and highly injurious for the poor men in the

depths of winter were often taken out of their beds
from a temperature of sixty-four, and for no other
purpose than to exhibit this fire practice for the pur-
pose of entertaining the dinner friends of the gov-
ernor. He hoped the right hon. baronet opposite
would grant an inquiry into this subject; and he, as
a member of that house, would undertake to prove,
from persons who had witnessed atrocities, that
every charge he had made was true. He did hope
that the right hon. gentleman would see the im-
portance of granting this committee. He moved that
the petition of Edward Baker be referred to a select
committee.

On the motion, that the petition of Edward Baker be
referred to the Select Committee of Prisons, which had
already examined into all the charges set forth in it, and
had made their report. He held that report in his
hand, and was prepared to present it to the House,
where they would see whether the charges were or
were not well founded. To appoint a committee be-
fore the House has passed the report would be con-
demnation without inquiry. The right hon. gen-
tlemen laid the report on the table.

After some remarks from Mr. Hume, Mr. Spooner,
Captain Feild, Mr. Ewart, Sir R. Inglis, Mr. Es-
cott, and Mr. Henley, the House divided—
For Mr. Duncombe's motion..... 56
Against it..... 69

Majority against the motion — 46
Mr. T. DUNCOMBE complained of the manner in
which the charges contained in the petition to which
he had called their attention had been met by the
House.

Sir G. GREY stated that he should that night
move the report to which he had referred be
printed; and, though he had no control over the
printing department, he had no doubt it would be
printed without delay.

The House went into a committee of supply, and
a vote for £40,000, to defray the expenses of the Bri-
tish Museum, was agreed to.

Mr. WARD brought forward the navy estimates and
obtained several votes.

The other orders were disposed of, and the House
adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 27.

The House met at three o'clock, when the Royal
Assent was given by commission to eighty-three
Bills.

The Lords' Commissioners were the Lord Chan-
cellor, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and the Earl of
Minto.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

Lord BROUGHAM presented a petition against the
Slave Trade Bill, signed by Thomas Clarkson, on
behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society. The noble and
learned Lord, in supporting the prayer of the peti-
tion, spoke at great length in opposition to the
Ministerial measures, and read a letter from Lord
Denham, in which that learned Judge denounced, in
the most forcible language, any parliamentary mea-
sure which would give an impetus to the slave trade.
His Lordship said a line at his feet, and he read
the Whigs. He said—All the other questions which
during the last six months Parliament had been de-
bating, sank into complete insignificance, when such
a one as that which he had just stated was propoun-
ded on the 27th of July, being later than the ordi-
nary period of the termination of the parliamentary
session. He said that he had never seen a more
year, and at a time when parliament was in session,
long attendance, and its patience exhausted by one
of the most exciting debates which ever occupied the
attention of either House of Parliament. Why was
it brought forward now? Its passage through Par-
liament might now perhaps be more glib, as parties
were in rather an odd state, and they might not

Now ready,
THE SECOND EDITION OF
MY LIFE, OR OUR SOCIAL STATE, PART I.
A Poem,
By ERNEST JONES,
Barrister at Law.

It contains more pregnant thoughts, more bursts of lyrical power, more in fact, of the truly grand and beautiful, than any poetical work which has made its appearance in the English language. It is a poem of the most dramatic intensity, from the scenes between Philip, Warren and Clara, to the scenes between Philip, Warren and Clara, to the scenes between Philip, Warren and Clara.

By the same author,
THE WOOD SPIRIT;
A Historical Romance, in Two Vols.
One of the most poetical and soul-stirring romances with which it has ever been our good fortune to meet. The scene in the Abbey of St. Emmer is at once grand and terrible. — *New Quarterly Review.*

Published by Mr. Newby, 72, Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square.

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Published by Mr. Newby, 72, Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square.

POLAND'S REGENERATION.
Just Published. Price One Penny.
The Monthly Report for July of
OCCURRENCES IN POLAND,
And facts connected with the cause of Poland's
Regeneration.

To which is added an Address
TO THE ELECTORS OF FRANCE,
By the Democratic Committee for Poland's Regeneration.
London: J. G. W. and Co., 15, Great Windmill-street,
Clement's, Little Pultney-street; Hetherington, Holy-
well-street, Strand; Cousins, 18, Duke-street, Lincoln's
Inn Fields; and all booksellers and news-agents in town
and country.

* Any person forwarding two postage stamps, ad-
dressed to G. Julian Harvey, 16, Great Windmill-street,
can have a copy transmitted through the Post Office,
pre-paid.

The *Star* of Saturday next will contain a full re-
port of the proceedings of the Convention. Immedi-
ately after the demonstration to Herringbone, Mr.
O'Connor will visit Leicester, Nottingham, Der-
by, Northampton and Birmingham.

THE DEMONSTRATION.
The *Star* of the 22nd inst. will contain a full and
entire account of the proceedings and amusements of
the 17th inst., and also a splendid engraving of the
Chartist First Estate, by a first-rate artist.

THE NORTHERN STAR.
SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1846.

I R E L A N D.

If ever a people were presented to the nations of
the world in a humiliating and degrading position,
the Irish people are now entitling themselves to
that distinction. If ever artist succeeded in caricatur-
ing human nature, and exposing the weakness and
feebleness of the human mind, Mr. O'Connor may
lay claim to the complete accomplishment of the
task. Who can look upon the present struggle of
Irish patriots, in the contest for that dishonourable
distinction which can alone render them fit associ-
ates for their own and their country's enemies and
oppressors, without blushing that he should belong
to such a land of beggarly name and surrendered
pride. It is but a short period since the Irish
passions, Irish vengeance, and Irish hate, were
marshalled in battle array, not against Whig domina-
tion or Tory misrule, but against Saxon authority.

Ireland resounded from one end to the other,
until the sea-breeze dune-echoed back her
wails, and proclaimed her fierce resolution to rid her
island, not of any peculiar system of English govern-
ment, but of all Saxon authority. If any, the boldest
man, even the Liberator himself, had announced
Whig patronage in 1846 as the triumph of the VUL-
GAR GATHERINGS of 1843, what punishment
would the national jury then summoned have con-
sidered severe enough for the traitor?

Who feared to talk of '98
then? Who feared to read the *Nation*, and *Erin's*
National Ballads, proclaiming the new resolve of
Irishmen, whose triumph was to be their country
for themselves? Who would have dared to have
repudiated physical force, as a means of securing
that freedom and independence, that nationality
and domestic comfort, which could alone spring
from the Repeal of a Union which the Whigs, in
1834, had pledged themselves to resist to the
death?

When the hundreds of thousands of able-bodied
Irishmen stood upon the honoured graves of the
IRISH CROPPIES, on Tara of the Kings, whose
valued Irish blood was cheerfully shed for the res-
toration of their rights; when England's weakness
presented Ireland with her opportunity for redress;
would the young Hamulnol, now the old Hamulnol's
sucking dove, have dared to cast reproach upon their
sacred memory; or, if pictorial illustrations are
intended to convey notions which the coward lip dare
not utter, was there no silent invitation conveyed to
an enthusiastic people in the selection of those very
spots, distinguished by Ireland's previous struggles?
Why select Tara of the Kings, if it was not intended
as approval of those scenes formerly enacted there?
Why select the Rath of Mullagast, or why direct
attention to the cold-blooded murders of Irish Cath-
olics at Scullabogue? Why select Clontarf as
the crowning triumph of 1843, if the names of those
who fell upon its coast in defence of Irish liberty
were to be held up to national desecration in 1846,
and the lineal descendants of the hero of the fight,
to be catechised by a BRATLING, and threatened
with expulsion for not accepting the humiliating
qualification of passive obedience and non-resistance
as the test of Irish patriotism.

Have the Irish people yet maturely thought of
the insult offered to free thought, and free expression
of thought by the present race of Irish patriots?
Have they reflected that the new policy is to pan-
der to the fears of old women, and to join in the
protection of the accumulated wealth of the already
over wealthy? The *World* newspaper takes us to
task for abusing Mr. O'Connor and the Whigs, and
by a strange process of reasoning, would compare
our purchase of the Land with Mr. O'Connor's
sale of Ireland. We have no disposition
to quarrel with our very able contemporary,
with whom, although we widely differ, we
can condescend to argue. In the present
state of the Metropolitan Irish press, the world must
receive it as a compliment at our hands, when we
acknowledge the weekly perusal of its every article;
when we are ready to confess the great superiority of
its original matter over all its contemporaries; when
we admit they are written with great ability, a pleas-
ing fluency, and unencumbered by the usual rhetoric
of political writers. But, while we confess all this,
our contemporary must bear in mind that he seeks to
make his triumph our condemnation; that we upheld
Mr. O'Connor when he struggled in a cause, the ac-
complishment of which would sweep Ireland, while at
the same period the *World* denounced him. It is
not wonderful that the *World* should rejoice in such
an ally as Mr. Daniel O'Connor, but it would be
strange if the *World* and the *Star*, advocating two
opposite policies, should find cause for rejoicing in
the same event.

We have no inclination to rob our contemporary of
any portion of his triumphs, while we can see no
affinity between the surrender of a principle for pa-
tronage, and the application of detail to test the
value of a principle. It is not long since we derived
much pleasure from the perusal of an article in the
World, upon the recent strike in the building Trades,
and in applying the Land plan to the Chartist prin-
ciple, in our judgment we have given a practical il-
lustration of what the *World* so graphically delineated
in its denunciation of capitalists, and sympathy with
labour. If we are to look for comfort in negative
praise, we may console ourselves with reflecting that
our project is good and wholesome, when de-
nounced by a Journal that is opposed to our prin-
ciples. But the one question which we would ask of
our contemporary, and to which we shall expect an
answer is this—Were the *World* and O'Connor right
in 1843, when they differed "to totoclo" and are
they right now when they agree to a miracle? Of
course, the answer will be that the blusterer of 1843
has become a penitent and deserves absolution.
Hence, the *World* may establish its own triumph by
O'Connor's conversion to its principles, but cannot
fairly accuse us of inconsistency, who have not yet
nailled our colours to our contemporary's mast.

It is rather strange, by the way, that our censor
should have selected what he esteems a surrender of
principle in us, as a parallel whereby to establish the
virtue of Mr. O'Connor, nor do we wonder at the
discrepancies thrown in the way of the Champion of so
much apostasy. Indeed, the Liberator stands in the

enviable position of furnishing the historian with such
a pleasing variety of character, as to enable the critic
to damn or praise, not according to his conscience,
but according to his taste and humour; and we enter-
tain but little doubt that ere long, when by the aid of
another general election we hurl the Coalition of force,
fraud, and venality, from its temporary throne, our
contemporary, now the loud defender of the penitent
Liberator, will once more return to its acrimonious
abuse of its new protégé; when a fresh experiment
is required to be made upon the gullibility of his
dupes to insure another flow of pence as a substitute
for Whig patronage—then, and not till then, we shall
expect that moderate revenge, which is ever best con-
veyed in a becoming apology for past transgressions.

THE CHARTIST CONVENTION.

However lightly the movement party may be in-
duced to consider their own tactics, and however
appalling the centralized opposition marshalled
against the progress of their principles may appear,
we never can reflect upon a gathering of the repre-
sentatives of labour without being irresistibly led to
the conclusion, that the blows already struck by
this rude system of representation have told heavily
upon faction, and have at length compelled every
fragment of what is termed legitimacy to unite in
stern opposition to progression. If a striking illus-
tration of this notable fact was not visible on former
occasions, the sly but perceptible reasons assigned
by Sir Robert Peel for supporting Lord John Russell
upon the sugar question, can leave not a shadow of
doubt that that statesman, not a bad judge of the
human heart, and not an insignificant diviner of
future events, has seen the policy by which alone
class legislation can uphold its ascendancy.

On Thursday last we announced the fact that the
present coalition government would attempt to hold
power by arousing the fears and awaking the sus-
pensions of the lovers of order. We judged from
O'Connor's timely resuscitation of the physical
force bugaboo; from the cautious finality policy
propounded by the prime minister, and from the
mysterious hints of his new accomplice—the *Times*
newspaper—from the moment that the principle of
centralization was substituted for the warfare of
faction and the bye-battle of parties, we predicted
and announced that the day would come when the
political squabbles of the rich and satisfied would
be merged in the necessity of preserving their as-
cendancy, their power, and their privileges; may we
vent farther, we predicted that the day would come
when monarchs and their ministers would be com-
pelled to surrender policy to centralization and to
wage an aggressive battle against the world's moving
mind.

Every measure of Sir Robert Peel was suggested
as resuscitative of democratic principles—they were not
the genial offspring of his mind, neither were they
calculated upon as the just concessions to a nation's
wants, but, on the contrary, they were adopted as
prudent and timely concessions to what might ther-
eafter become an irresistible demand. On the 25th
of November, 1837, in the second number of the
Northern Star newspaper, we declared that the
existence of three political parties in a state was in-
compatible with the preservation of peace, law, and
order, and we reduced contention to its proper ele-
ments by dividing society into RICH OPPRESSORS
and the POOR OPPRESSED. From that hour it
has been our incessant study to keep the "Great
Fact" prominently in view, that at no distant period
this division of society would take place.

Lord John Russell, not possessing the confidence
of a majority of the constituency, and despised, dis-
trusted, and suspected by 99 in every 100 of the
unrepresented classes, now finds himself as the
minister of the party that we then shadowed forth,
as the ostensible, the recognized, leader of the RICH
OPPRESSOR. Propped as he is on either side by
Irish place-hunters and a corrupt newspaper, we have
the almost simultaneous announcement of his
backers that future policy upon which govern-
ments must be supported. The denunciation of
the physical force Chartists by Mr. O'Connor is a
part of his old but exploded policy; while, at the
moment that our first edition was being printed last
week, we find the *Times* newspaper proclaiming the
following astounding fact—

"A man who may be a minister is almost as careful as
a man who is of course, there are parties in this
nation as reckless and hopeless as anything Paris could
show. We have had Jacobins. WE HAVE CHARTISTS."
However there may be something in this reluctant
admission, that Chartism still lives, something
cheering in the announcement that Chartism is the
great difficulty standing in the way of party warfare,
there is, nevertheless, something ominous in the
CRY by which the "RICH OPPRESSORS" are
once more sought to be marshalled against the
"POOR OPPRESSED." Neither, we trust, will the
warning be lost upon those who have once more
undertaken to magnify this stumbling-block which
is now admitted to stand in the way of the Coalition
ministry. On Monday next the leaders of the
dreaded body of Chartists will be called upon, not
only to develop the probable strength of their party,
but they will be required to point out the weak-
nesses, the assailable points, in their enemies' ranks.

Perhaps no more timely assistance could have
come to hand to aid in this necessary work than the
calm and well reasoned letter of Mr. O'Connell
upon the one hand—the confessed fears of the
Times on the other, and though last not least, the
mysterious but unmistakable adhesion of Sir Robert
Peel to a measure which he denounces but yet sup-
ports. The failure of all former conventions has
arisen from the incongruous elements of which they
were composed. In 1839 the people, unaccustomed
to do their work for themselves, gladly accepted the
proffered service of the Fletchers, the Cobbeys, the
Malhusians, and those of their own order who were
too idle to work and too poor to live without labour.
Their grand experiment was to make themselves re-
spectable by giving an impossible character to Char-
tism—the character of that respectability which
would render its advocates acceptable to the middle
classes.

We have ever announced that Chartism, under
whatever phase it was presented, in whatever terms,
however liping, it was advocated, would carry more
terror to the titled and the privileged than all the
horrible bugaboos of physical force. We have
asserted that if fasting and praying were means by
which the Charter could be carried, fasting and
praying would be punished as the highest political
offence. It is a fact clear as the sun at noon day,
that every deserter from our ranks has prepared his
retreat by denouncing the very policy which he
himself has been the loudest in advocating. That
Chartism which has fustian jackets, blistered hands
and unshorn chins as its emblems, has been de-
nounced by those who would make it a thing of re-
finement and respectability, while we repeat the fact
to our readers that Chartism means poverty—and
poverty is a consequence of class legislation; the
legitimate deduction from which is, that before po-
verty ceases class legislation must be destroyed.

PHYSICAL FORCE.

"It is as much the DUTY of the people to REBEL
against a CORRUPT HOUSE OF COMMONS as against
a tyrannical Prince." LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Without crowding the mind of the reader with
too many authorities upon a mere speculative theory,
and without attempting to establish any defined
limits, or any assumed data, for the settlement of a
principle which, after all, must be mainly governed
by the circumstances that provoke resistance or ag-

gression, as well as by the impulse, mental con-
struction, physical organization, disposition, temper,
humour, and even whim of the active parties, we
shall, nevertheless, once more place our opinions
upon record, and then argue the application of our
principle more in detail than we have hitherto done.
Our stereotyped principle is, that "moral power is
that deliberative quality within each man's mind
that teaches him how to reason, how to endure, and
when forbearance becomes a crime, and if it should
fail to secure for man those rights and privileges to
which he is entitled, and should physical force be-
come necessary to aid him in the struggle, (which
God forbid,) it will come to his aid like an
electric shock, but the man who marshals it
destroys it and will be the first to turn traitor."

There is something so truly novel and romantic in
being called upon once more to meet the physical
force doctrine in a season of uninterrupted and un-
broken tranquillity, while army estimates, navy esti-
mates, and the bloody cat, still reeking with the
blood of a murdered soldier, stare the peaceable and pay-
ing millions in the face, that we should abstain from
further notice of the disgusting trumpery, had it not
become our imperative duty to meet this resuscitated
mischief-maker upon its resurrection. Why, we ask
again, talk of physical force while universal tran-
quillity is the universal boast? However, as we
have never shrunk from the performance of any the
most difficult duty, we shall endeavour to define
what may constitute the corruption of a House of
Commons, or the tyranny of a Prince. If the
majority of the House of Commons, which con-
stitutes the House, should have succeeded in
achieving its own political ascendancy, by encourag-
ing and fostering principles, the practical carrying
out of which threatened danger to the rule of that
majority, and if that majority, having so gained
power, should use that power for the persecution of
its allies, that House of Commons becomes corrupt,
and it becomes the duty of the whole people to rebel
and proclaim war against it.

Should a House of Commons, in the midst of great
national wealth, and without the appearance of other
necessity than that of augmenting the wealth of the
already too wealthy, pass any law abridging the com-
fort, or trenching upon the rights of the people,
whereby they are compelled to sell their labour ac-
cording to that standard which the House of Com-
mons allows capitalists to affix, it becomes the duty
of the whole people to REBEL against that House of
Commons. If the House of Commons shall subor-
nate witnesses, hire spies, pack juries, select corrupt
judges, to prosecute the people for morally advocat-
ing those very principles taught by the ruling power,
it becomes the duty of the whole people to rebel.
If the House of Commons shall have taught the
people that taxation without representation is ty-
ranny, and should be resisted, it becomes the duty
of the whole people to rebel against that House of
Commons, which imposes and levies taxes upon the
unrepresented.

If the Constitution shall be violated by the sus-
pension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and if the ordi-
nary laws of the country are placed in abeyance,
either to save a faction, or to secure the retreat of a
minister, it becomes the duty of the whole people to rebel.
We feel some slight hesitation in selecting an un-
mistakeable brand by which corruption may be
traced, and, therefore, we have not exactly made up
our mind as to the constitutionality of a secret ser-
vice fund, upheld for the almost acknowledged pur-
pose of bribing the wealthy and persecuting the
poor; for the present, therefore, we shall reserve
our opinion upon this head until opportunity pre-
sents itself of revising the catalogue of ministerial
delinquency. If a strong country shall, by force of
arms or other means, have possessed itself of a nei-
ghbouring country, whether the two nations speak
the same or a different language; whether they are go-
vernored by the same or different laws; whether they
profess the same or different religions, it is at all times
the right, and prudence will tell when it is the duty,
for the conquered to rebel against the conqueror:
while we hold the maudlin cynophant, the time-
serving juggler, who would preach non-resistance,
under all circumstances, to be a thing upon which
every honest man, and every decent woman, should
spit with contempt.

We have no doubt that the trafficking politicians,
the Irish place-hunters, are luxuriating in the pro-
bable success of this cowardly cry. But we tell them
that the safety of tyranny, and the tranquillity of
faction, is more the result of circumstance, than of
national satisfaction. The hand loom weaver,
and the manual labourer, now find it impossible
to compete against machinery; and, therefore, we have
new laws, new apothegms, new maxims, new cries,
new fallacies, and new follies, introduced into the
new catalogue of the new science of political economy,
and therefore it would be idle to use the words of
philanthropists of old, to measure the pauper's new
rights. And so with the progress of chemical and
mechanical force, it would be equally absurd to
measure the philosophy or the judgment of Tyler,
Masaniello, or Tell, by the new science of improved
butchery.

Perhaps, indeed, that no stronger indictment can
be framed against a government than the charge
that the sanatory, moral, and intellectual, state of the
poor is a conundrum, yet unsolved in the midst of
so much plenty; while we read of the mighty re-
joicings for the success of our arms, the increased
sums required for the improvement of the science of
war, and while the government should be the great
monitor of the nation, we are told that it is treason
in the ruled to talk of, or even to think of, improve-
ments in that science, progress in which is the
ruler's greatest boast. Let us for once and for ever
satisfy the chattering old beldames of Conciliation
Hall, who are satisfied to deny their manhood while
they contend for nationhood, who how to the tyranny
of the Saxon rule if the suffering is sweetened with
Saxon patronage. Let us tell these degenerate driv-
elling anti-Irish Whig tools, that their safety depends
not upon the people's belief that passive obedience
and non-resistance is a virtue, or even a duty, but
upon the fact that the oppressor commands an
amount of scientific physical force, against which the
manual exertion of the oppressed cannot successfully
contend.

Is the use of physical force to be denied under all
and every circumstance, or, if not, why are the
mysterious hints at it in Ireland to be denounced
as anti-Irish, while the Liberator has over and over
again quoted the base and tolerated submission of
the Irish people, recorded in the Report of Lord
Devon's Commission, and represented as being worse,
more unbearable, and destitute, than the condition
of any other people upon earth? We ask then,
who can justify Poland's attempt at regeneration,
and revile the Irishman's aspirations for justice
through the same agency? For forty long years
Ireland has never heard of might but trick and
juggle, promise and transfer, tranquillity and justice,
peace and Repeal, patronage and the Whigs. Would
to God that every Irishman and every Englishman,
from eighteen to fifty, was a drilled and armed soldier,
and we pledge ourselves that tyranny and corruption
would be banished for ever from the land; and if
arms gave patronage, the present leaders, who can
now best secure it by submission, would then
justify themselves by their physical force skill.

TO THE IRISH RESIDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Fellow-Countrymen.—Strange things have come to
pass since I last had the pleasure of addressing you,
and stranger and more startling things are likely
to come to pass before the lapse of two years.
The real character of those who led you, and in
whom you confided, and for whom you would have
sacrificed the last drop of your blood, is now begin-
ning to develop itself. It is neither my wish, nor
my intention, to say one word calculated to hurt
your feelings, or to wound your pride, or even to
lessen you in your own estimation. But, my coun-
trymen, it is our bounden duty to reflect upon the
past, in the hope that it may serve as a guide for
our future conduct. And I am sure that you have
enough of good sense, and moral courage, to ac-
knowledge past errors, and make atonement for
them by your future conduct.

This is what gives the stamp of dignity to human
nature. He who cannot manfully acknowledge his
own errors, as well as the virtues of others, is but a
miserable slave; no matter how high or how low
his position in the scale of society.

Now, my countrymen, permit me to ask you, and
I hope you will answer me in bodies, in thousands,
wherever you are located in Great Britain—what
would you have gained individually, or collectively,
as a class, supposing that every object was obtained
which your leaders led you to expect in six months
from the 12th of October, 1843, and for which you
were struggling heart and soul, body and mind, and
sometimes pinching yourselves by subscribing your
money?

What will you gain by the repeal of the Corn
Laws? Not so much as one shilling per annum;
although I admit that these laws were unjust, and
should have been repealed; but their repeal will do
you no good. And I wish to make you understand
that clearly, in the hope that when you so under-
stand it, you will embark in no political scheme or
agitation hereafter, unless you see clearly that it
must end in a direct benefit to yourselves. Any
political scheme, or agitation, which falls short of
this, is sheer delusion. Pay no attention to the
mock, the sham disputes at elections, or otherwise,
between the two great plundering factions—the
Whigs and *Tories*. Ask yourselves, coolly and quietly,
—"What good will either faction do us? As neither
will confer any benefit upon us, as neither will give
us any political right, as both treat us worse than
they do their horses or dogs, except when they want
our assistance to promote their own immediate in-
terests, in the name of God let us have nothing to do
with either. Let them fight their own battles."

—Act thus, reason thus, and you will soon be re-
spected; what you are not now, nor have you ever
been since you were sold for what is called Catholic
Emancipation; which time has proved to be nothing
but the emancipation of the rich and idle, and the
degradation of the poor and the industrious. It was
emancipation that drove you from home to seek a
precarious subsistence where you are. It was the
disfranchisement of the noble minded, high spirited,
patriotic Forty-Shilling Freeholders, that filled the
towns and villages of England with Irish Labourers.
You achieved emancipation and your own ruin
at the same time; but you knew nothing of the base
bargain which your profligate Leaders made for your
destruction, and their own aggrandizement, at the
time. The fact is, they sold you for silk gowns,
seats in parliament, and on the Irish bench. These
Leaders, not content with the utter annihilation of
the bone, sinew, patriotism and real wealth of Ire-
land, got up a new agitation; and, in a series of
letters, addressed to the passions of my warm-
hearted countrymen, roused the nation from centre
to surface, for the Repeal of the Union.

The first of these letters is dated
"Derrynane Abbey, 6th Sept., 1830."

and commences thus:—
"Is there no native arm
Whose veins the Irish blood doth warm?
Is there no heart in the trampled land
To turn the usurper's vile command?
Can the wronged realm be thus supplied
But the abject tenant and the slavish sigh?"
"I will not weep any more for Ireland. I will not
tremble any more for her future destiny. The ex-
periment has been made, and the result is eminently
triumphant. The late elections tried the metal of
which the soul of the people of Ireland is composed,
and it has been found to be brighter, and though
I have, Keener, than the burnished steel—purer
than the virgin gold!"

In another paragraph the same great patriot
says:—
"The change which is now necessary, and which
we are now prepared for, is the Repeal of the Union."
And again in another paragraph:—
"In my next letter I will discuss the evils of the
Union, and the probability of its speedy repeal."

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Now, fellow countrymen, bear in mind the date of
this letter; the direct allusion to fighting con-
tained in the poetic quotation which precedes the
letter; and the probability of a speedy "Repeal of
the Union." Just read that over again, and think
of a speedy Repeal of the Union on the 6th day
of September, 1830.

Well, then, those exciting letters were written for
the double purpose of screening the author of them
from the odium which should otherwise be attached
to the man upon whose sworn testimony those very
persons whom he describes as "purer than
virgin gold," the forty shilling freeholders, were
disfranchised. How many thousands of you have
become men since the 6th of September, 1830? and
who know nothing of the motives which influenced
the promoter and leader of the Repeal agitation
and its direful consequences from that period up to
his abandonment in 1836?

The other object of this agitation was to force the
government to give good fat places to the Irish Re-
peal patriots. The screen for abandoning the move-
ment and gliding into the places, was the Coercion
Act of 1835, for every clause of which the Libera-
tor voted, and complained that it did not go far
enough to put down his own followers, you and I,
my friends, and the rest of us, dupes and fools as
we are. Up to that period, 1835, I thought he was
sincere, and that the agitation for Repeal was a
sincere and an honest agitation. But when I saw
the Liberator voting for the atrocious Coercion Act;
when I saw Raphael, the Jew, a non-Repealer, re-
commended for the bribe of £2,000, to the electors
of Carlow; when I saw Baron Maule recommended
for another bribe to the Repealers of the same
county; when I saw Mr. Ashton Yates, another
non-Repealer, returned by the Repealers of the same
county; when I saw the corruption of the English
rotten boroughs, Gatton and Old Saum, trans-
ferred to Dungarvan, Cashel, Carlow, Clonmel, Kil-
keney, Drogheda, Dundalk, Wexford, New Ross,
Waterford, Youghal, and Tralee; and when I saw
that best of Irish landlords, Mr. W. S. Crawford,
turned out by the Repealers of Dundalk, for voting
against the Coercion Act of 1835; and also against
the Continuance of Tithes in Ireland; my eyes were
opened—the cloud was dispelled. I then saw the
whole end and object of the Repeal agitation; even
before Mr. Christopher Fitzsimon sold to the Whigs
(the sworn enemies of Repeal) the Repealers of the
County of Dublin for £1,000 a year; before Mr.
Morgan O'Connell sold the Repealers of the County
of Meath for £800; before Mr. Charles O'Connell
sold the Repealers of the County Kerry for £600 a
year. Having seen all this, and having taken an
active part in the agitation for Repeal from Septem-
ber, 1830, till June, 1836; and having seen the Re-
peal formally abandoned by the adoption of the fol-
lowing resolution, which was moved by Mr. O'Con-
nell, seconded by Mr. O'Brien, (not W. S.)—

"That, impressed with the most lively gratitude
to the Earl of Mulgrave, for his firm, manly, hu-
mane, and perfectly impartial administration of
the Government in Ireland, and reposing unlim-
ited confidence in the sincere and unequivocal dispo-
sition of her Majesty's present Ministers to do justice to
Ireland by placing her on a footing of equality with
England and Scotland; and before all, filled
with most respectful and grateful gratitude to her
most worthy Ministers for the enlightened and pa-
triotic policy which has distinguished the commence-
ment of her auspicious reign; we do, under these
circumstances, deem it a proof of our confidence in
the existing Administration to declare, that this As-
sociation is dissolved, devolving the carrying out of its
purposes into full effect on the Irish popular mem-
bers, in aid and support of the Queen's Government."

Now, then, let me ask you, having seen all these
doings—these tricks upon my confiding and warm-
hearted countrymen, would I not be one of the
greatest blockheads that ever existed, if I did not
see the object of the present Repeal agitation? You,
my countrymen, shall soon see it also; but you
were duped and cheated; and so was I the first time,
but I was not since 1835.

In my next letter I shall direct your attention to
the extraordinary changes which are going on at
present, and shall also submit to your consideration
a short and easy rule by which you can distinguish
between a political knave and an honest man.

PATRICK O'HIGGINS.

Dublin, 25th July, 1846.

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PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

The star of Free Trade is still in the ascendant.
After a short flight of two nights the allied forces,
under Russell and Peel, carried the second reading
of the Tariff Duties Bill by the sweeping majority
of 130, in a house of 400 members. This is nearly
two to one, and virtually settles the question; for it
is ridiculous to suppose that at this late period of the
session, and in the face of such a majority, the Lords
will give any strenuous opposition to it. It was evi-
dently concerted between the late Premier and the
present, that the fight should be a short and decisive
one. Peel spoke on the first night of the debate, in
order, no doubt, to remove all uncertainty as to the
course he intended to pursue; and also to influence
votes upon the division. But though Sir Robert gave
Lord John the aid of his vote and influence, his
speech did not support Lord John's measure. Indeed
he hinted, very plainly, that it was a measure he
would not have brought forward; but the practical
question he put to himself was, "If I join its op-
ponents and beat Russell, who is to succeed him? I
am not prepared, at present, to re-enter office. The
Protectionists, if they were in power, would speedily
be out of it again. It is not convenient that we
should have these changes just now, and, therefore
on these grounds, wholly irrespective of the measure,
and simply on account of the present state of parties
I will support it." Such was the pith of Sir Robert's
speech; and so long

