

MY FRIENDS,
To me nothing is more disgusting than to be continually reminded of your duty to your country. Many of you declared your willingness to fight for your liberties, while some were ready to sell your liberties for a few pence. And now that some of the staunchest Chartists—the veritable OLD GUARDS—are about to meet the enemy on their own battle-field, committed to the tender mercies of their own appointed Judge and selected Jurors, you allow them to go to battle unarmed.

Have I not, from the commencement of this persecution, been compelled to goad you into a performance of your duty? You profess yourselves ready to fight for your liberties, while you allow the most faithful, consistent, and able of your leaders to be sacrificed without a struggle. With few exceptions, we have not yet had a Chartist trial during the new campaign. Now, the veritable Chartists are shortly to be put upon their trial, and you withhold the means of defence. Are such men as James Leach, Daniel Donovan, William Grocott, James Taylor, John West, George White, Whittaker, Rankin, and others—acknowledged Chartists—Chartists who only crime consists in having saved thousands from the treachery of spies and informers—are they, I ask you, to be sacrificed to your indifference?

You scoff at the poor Irish, but will the poorest Irishman be allowed to go to trial without the assistance of the ablest counsel? What has before given the greatest spring to the Chartist cause? Has it not been the determined stand-up fight made in the Court-house, where every trial was a Chartist meeting, with a Judge in the chair, and the ablest counsel selected as the expounders of Chartism? And if these men are well defended, as they ought to be, it will be another revival of Chartism—whereas, if they are sacrificed by your indifference, they will be CHARTIST VICTIMS, and not WHIG VICTIMS.

It is my intention to be present at those trials, and if I should see innocent men sacrificed to popular indifference, it will not increase my confidence in professing Chartists. But, after all, I believe you only require to be reminded of your duty, to insure its performance—and let not the poverty of some be the excuse of all, while it should be the inducement to the more prosperous to increase their subscriptions. I promise you that William Prentiss Roberts will do his duty, if you perform yours—but if you cripple his means, you paralyse his energies, and thus unjustly injure his reputation. There is no professional man in Europe so capable of conducting such a case as he is, my belief of which was sufficiently tested in confiding my liberty to his keeping in 1843; and, but for his master mind, his energy, acuteness, and legal knowledge, every man of us tried at Lancaster, would have been sentenced to a long and degrading imprisonment.

"WHAT'S EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS, IS NOBODY'S BUSINESS," may be a very fascinating motto to the indifferent and apathetic, but let me impress upon you the fact, that the defence of our friends is every Chartist's business, and, still further, that no ONE MAN can do every man's business, while a belief in that maxim has, I believe, led to general indifference.

Now, then, the time is short—not more than two short weeks from the time you read this appeal. Get up cheap tea parties—employ good lecturers to attend public meetings—select such men as John West, who is an ornament to his class, to his order, and to nature. Let them describe the horrors of incarceration, and the sufferings of the wives and little children of the victims; and let them—not with enthusiasm or excitement, but with truth, with force, and eloquence—drive the bitter sting of reprobation into the breasts of those who withhold the means of saving their friends, and their families from persecution. Let this not be a Manchester question, nor a Lancashire question: let it be a National question, and let us measure real, not false Chartism, by the proceeds.

Now, then, Chartists, you have a duty to perform—a sacred, but not an arduous or expensive one. Remember the preacher's definition of union. He said to his congregation—"If I gave you a shilling amongst you, you would not know how to divide it; if you gave me a shilling a piece, it would make a man of me." In the words of the preacher, then, "I say, give your friends a shilling a piece all who can—a penny a piece all who can—and who cannot, beg from those who can; and always bear in mind, that the men who are now to be tried belong to the

VERITABLE OLD GUARDS.

Your faithful friend,

FEARUG O'CONNOR.

P.S.—Let us paralyse the enemy on Saturday next with a long muster-roll of Chartist revival. Let us show them a subscription list which they will read more than the Chartist army that haunted their brains on the 10th of April.

TO MR THOMAS HUNT OF SPRING LAKE, MUKWONAGO, WISCONSIN, AMERICA.

SIR,—I read your letter published in last week's "Northern Star" with much pleasure. It is a very able production, and if such writers had access to the English Press, you would be an able auxiliary to the cause of Democracy, upon the success of which alone wealth, peace, happiness, and contentment can be insured.

There is one fact, however, of which you must not lose sight—it is that you write in a free country, where opinions are calmly discussed, and have their due weight according to their legitimate influence upon the public mind; while I write in a country possessing but two ideas—MIGHT sustained by brute force, and RIGHT advocated with a halberd round a man's neck. However, to prove to you the extent to which the advocacy of right may be carried, in defiance of might, I will proceed to analyse the following portion of your letter, with a view of proving to you that in this THOUGHT-SLAINING land, where IMAGINATION is High Treason, I have pushed the Land Question to a greater practical extent than it has been carried in free America; just as I have practically pushed the Labour Question in England, while its mere theory has been the basis of a revolution in France.

You say—
"If the Chartists and Repealers will turn their attention to the vital question of Land, they will find that they can do otherwise than adopt the principles of the National Reformers of this country, so fully set forth in the address of the Committee of the Industrial Congress, in that case their system will assume something like the following form:—
1.—The Charter for England.
2.—Repeal of the Union, with an Irish parliament called together upon the principles of the English Charter; and simultaneously with these political reforms they will demand—
3.—National Education, as the best means of securing to the people their political and social rights.
4.—The freedom of the public lands to actual settlers.
5.—An exemption of the homestead from forced sale.
6.—Land limitation, by which no individual would possess more than a certain amount of land, to be ascertained by a comparison of the area of a country with its population."

Firstly.—We have adopted the principles of Land possession as the great social benefit which is to result from political freedom.
Secondly.—We have adopted the Charter for England and Ireland, and a Repeal of the Union for Ireland; and I have declared many a time and oft, that I would rather not see the Union repealed unless the Charter was the basis of representation. And you will bear in mind, that to the last moment the leaders of

the Irish people were the loudest denouncers of what they ignorantly designated physical force Chartism, while their real hostility to the principle arose from the fact, that if Ireland had a national parliament, with its representation based upon the Charter, those monstrous hypocrites and servile hacks could no longer trade in national disunion, based upon class inequality.

Thirdly.—The best proof that I can give of my devotion for National Education, will be found in the fact that I have attached a most splendid school-house to every one of the People's Estates; and that I have contended that every barrack and workhouse should be turned into a national school or a national college. I have always contended that the people of a country can accomplish everything for themselves, better than any system of government can; and that was my reason for attaching schools to those several estates, in order that the education of children should be left to parents, and that their ignorance—if arising from want of education—should be chargeable as a crime upon those parents. And when I speak of national schools and colleges, I do not refer to the system of endowment by the State, I mean that they should be free and open, and that the scholars of different classes should elect their own heads, their own professors, their own masters, ushers, and monitors.

Fourthly.—I do not exactly comprehend the meaning of the term actual settlers, and therefore I shall not attempt to comment upon it. If you mean those who are in actual possession of tracts of land by grant or conquest, the term must embrace all the landlords of all countries, however much or little they may possess, as they are the actual settlers, and equally applies to America as to England.

Fifthly.—The exemption of the homestead from forced sale, is a thing that I have frequently contended against, and I have placed several motions upon the Journals of the House of Commons to deprive the landlord of the power of distraining for rent, and to deprive him, of the power of ejectment, until the tenant shall have a lease for ever at a corn rent; and when I come to the consideration of rent, I shall show its insignificance, where perpetuity constitutes the tenure.

Sixthly.—My notion is, that no man, depending upon his labour, should hold more land than he could cultivate by that labour; but then, if we measure agriculture by the population of any country in the world, you will at once discover, either that large farms must continue to exist, or a large portion of the soil must be thrown out of cultivation. I have not the slightest objection to large farms, provided they are diminished according to the wants and requirements of an increasing population. If the rule laid down by you was carried out, just in proportion as the population of a country increased, would the contraction of farms increase—and this would be very just, while I would attach the rational stipulation, that no working man should hold more than he could cultivate by his own labour. For instance, we will take ten thousand acres as the area of a parish, with a population of one hundred. By your standard, each parishioner should occupy a hundred acres, nearly the whole of which should either remain in an unproductive state, or cultivated in a slovenly way by slave labour—while I would allow the hundred parishioners to hold just as much as they could cultivate, and farmers to hold the remainder. The wages of their labourers being measured by the value of the free labour of their neighbours—and then, as the population increased, I would diminish the size of those large farms proportionately. By this system, the remainder above what the hundred husbandmen required, would be much better cultivated than the ten thousand acres were divided between the hundred; and the wealth of a country is the superior cultivation of the soil.

I think I hear you exclaim "But who is to be the landlord? The State or the usurper? The descendant of a soldier in the conquering army, or the grantee of a foreign King, whose title was established by force, and maintained by fraud?" That question I shall also answer presently.
I now select the following portion of your letter for comment:—
"These are the questions of all others the most important to the governing powers all over the world, and I hope they will be prosecuted with vigour to their full and permanent recognition. Feargus O'Connor has said that he has done enough to draw from their kennels all the rabid animals who fatten on the labour of others, and he has been making good the thrust, which I find in a leading article of the "Northern Star" for the 15th July last, and which is conveyed to the public in these forcible words: 'Landlords, monopolists, and profit-mongers would do well to consider whether the recent trials may not have done much to enlarge the objects of popular agitation. The Charter and No Rents' was the motto of the men just sentenced to the gallows, and another motto, more terrible to the usurpers of political power and the monopolists of the wealth produced by other men's labour, may be found in the rallying cry of the outraged millions. If Feargus O'Connor will incorporate the freedom of the public lands with his agitation for the Charter, his agitation will assume a character that must force itself upon the notice of the enslaved millions. His Land Scheme is very good so far as it goes, but its range is too limited—in consequence of the extreme poverty of the people, it is a relief to the masses, which is best of all, but whose pressing necessities demand a more easily attainable measure of relief. Besides, why should the people pay for that which of right belongs to them? They have a right to a fair share of the soil, and no man is better qualified than Feargus O'Connor, either by talent or moral courage, to put them in the right way to obtain it; and I sincerely hope that he will head the energies of his superior mind in that direction, regardless of the scoffs of those who would fain drive him from the path which most sooner or later led to the people's redemption. The false or truth-speaking press has been put down in Ireland, and the day may soon come when it shall be put down in England also; the land-labouring press will have it all its own way, and the minds of the people will continue to be abused as heretofore. It has given me great pleasure to find that Feargus O'Connor has taken part in the late discussion in Ireland, and the government would have been glad to find him in arms against it; but his life and services are reserved for better use. He knew the people of England and Ireland were unprepared to resist the tyrannical power of the government, backed as it was by the upper and middle classes. He therefore relies on the potency of moral force, and as a moral force man I hope the Chartists will give him their entire confidence; if they do, he will bring them triumphantly through their difficulties."

My good Sir, it is true that I have touched the sore; but it is equally true that in no other country in Europe—not even in free America—has the sore been touched. Those who have been contending for the people's right to the land, have represented a consultation of physicians, while I have been the surgeon selected to perform the operation. Here, in less than two years and a half, I have erected 300 homesteads, from which the occupants cannot, and shall not, be forcibly ejected—while, in free America, where you have the Charter, I have not heard of one being erected for the wanderer. True, there has been some Communist speculation in large tracts of land, but there has been no attempt at individualising man, basing his hope upon self-reliance and self-interest, and out of a community of such individuality establishing a great oneness of sentiment, opinion, and interest, by national representation.

In America no laws stand in your way, while in England it is a stumbling block at every cottage path. In America you have meadows and valleys, hills and dales, not fenced in by landlords' statutes, and yet my poor countrymen, and your poor countrymen, find it as difficult to possess themselves of Land in America as in England or Ireland.
You must bear one great fact in mind, and that is; not only the prejudice and hostility,

but the persecution and oppression with which the advocates of the Rights of Labour are invariably met in this country. And you must understand, that if one thing more than another could damage the cause of Labour, it is the imprudence of its advocates. As to the Land, when I commenced my rambling tour in England, in 1835, I told the working classes that if the Land was locked up to-day I would not give them a farthing for the suffrage to-morrow. I told them so because the Land alone can individualise man. I told them so because machinery and capital would ever be able to measure wages by the standard of destitution, the competitive reserve of unwilling idlers constituting the slave market for capitalists to fall back upon, as a means of reducing wages; and thus their profits from this source, and not their fair speculation in trade constituting their wealth, and, as if by magic, wedding them to that system of Communism which must ever prove the ruin of the masses.

The present Labour system of England is one huge system of Communism; the wealthy idle director living upon the ignorance and dependence of aggregate thousands. The first repulse that Chartism met in this country was that odium excited against it in consequence of the false, the treacherous, and deceitful, nicely calculating and enthusiastically proclaiming what the Charter would effect. Its several hypocritical propounders who received their salaries from the pence of the poor, racked invention to tell them what the Charter would do, as if by magic, even to the reasoning of their soup. I was asked a thousand times what the Charter would do? and my answer was, "I'll NOT TELL YE. It would be presumptuous, it would be dictatorship on my part to tell you, that it would do more than to base the laws of the land upon the will of the majority of the people, and if they are not good laws the whole people will be willing slaves, and I shall not murmur."

Such was my definition of Chartism; while to such extravagant lengths had its paid advocates gone, that Mr Justice Littledale, at Warwick, upon the trial of Lovett and Collins, told a jury of farmers that the object of Chartism was to appropriate their Land to their own purposes; and to such a height had prejudice against Chartism been raised, that even Sir Frederick Pollock, in defending Frost, at Monmouth, told the jury that he believed it was the intention of the Chartists to possess themselves of the Land of the country, when Mr Frost interrupted him and said, "Sir Frederick, I beg to assure you that that is a mistake, the Chartists never entertained such an intention."

I am now showing you how strong a prejudice may be raised against a movement in consequence of the folly, the ignorance, or hypocrisy of its advocates, or rather of its paid supporters. Another prejudice has now been created against Chartism, in consequence of a few misstatements relying upon the confidence of people to realise a Liberty Fund of 10,000,000, and the hope of clutching the lion's share of which urged bad men to madness which had method in it, and good men to rashness which had sincerity in it.

Well, then, suppose I was to advocate the right of the people to the possession of the Land, where would the right commence, and where would the prejudice and persecution end? The very fact of our going into the market as open bidders proves our integrity, while the fact of the funds being supplied, which have enabled me to outbid the wholesale purchasers at every auction, proves its retail value.

My good Sir, believe me that it promised to be a life's work, not a short one, to reclaim an artificial race of exotics, reared in the hot-house, and trained to drunkenness and dissipation, and to implant in their minds not only a love, but a preference, for the more natural state. It was a work that I set my heart upon, and one that you will yet see realised. I never encouraged the hope that I could make my scheme national, except by example. I have told the people that my best exertions could only make it SECTIONAL, and that their attachment to the miniature would compel their rulers to make it national. And I now unhesitatingly declare, that had it not been for the partial potato rot last year, and the all but general disease this year, the whole of England would by this time have been united as a great Land community; and even this disaster has not in the slightest degree discouraged me, or weakened me from the project, as, in my conscience, I believe, that no power on earth but the location of the surplus population upon the Land can save England from bankruptcy, and such a revolution as neither rogues, pensioners, specials, policemen, nor detectives can suppress.

It is fortunate for me that I have stereotyped my opinions both socially and politically, and that I can refer to my maxims. I have told the people that all I could do was to make their teeth water by showing them the ripe plum over the garden wall; and I now tell you that every single suffering of the working classes of England is consequent upon their own dissipation, their own jealousy of each other, and their own want of union; because the amount spent upon dissipation, or the amount subscribed to clubs, Sick and Benefit Societies, and Burial Societies, if expended for one year upon the Land, would render all these private subscriptions unnecessary, by relieving the artificial market of the surplus population. But the satisfied employed are the tools of the cunning employer, and the paid directors and managers of those clubs and societies constitute a nucleus of disaffection, and forbid the union of the dissatisfied.

The money in the Savings Banks would locate two hundred thousand people each in a splendid cottage, with four acres of ground, and that number of heads of families would represent one million, or a thirteenth of the population of England. Thus, the artificial market would not only be relieved of that amount of competition, but the very location of that number upon the Land would create a larger colony of domestic consumers, and cheap domestic producers, than any of those colonies which we maintain at such a frightful expenditure. If those million of persons located upon the Land only consumed an additional pound's worth each, per year, of our manufactured articles, there would be customers at our door to the amount of a million a year; while the trades not engaged in manufacture would be recipients to the amount of two millions, three millions, or four millions a year above what those million of persons are now able to expend with them.

The agitation for Catholic Emancipation first opened my mind to the blindfold manner in which a people could be led in quest of moonshine; and then, Reform—the social benefit anticipated from which was, as a Welsh carter told me in answer to a question upon an Election Committee—"Roast beef and plum pudding, to be sure!" Now, such was the poor man's anticipation from Reform, and for that millions contended, and scores were hung, while all were deceived.

It may appear egotistical to remind my readers of so many prophecies; but there is one other in connexion with Reform to which I must call attention. In December, 1831, there

was a wonderfully aristocratic meeting, held in the Court House at Cork—the High Sheriff, I think, was in the chair—for the purpose of assisting the English Reformers. The speakers actually drove their audience mad; and when all the marshalled speakers had concluded, I rose in the gallery, and demanded a hearing. And mark the conclusion of my speech: you will find it reported in the "Southern Reporter" of the 6th of December, 1831. I said:—

"I advocate Reform for England upon the principles of Justice; but I tell you that if not followed by a Repeal of the Union, it will be the worst measure that ever English Reformers could have adopted. The Bill to smother the expression of public opinion in this country."

Now, the above is printed in the "Southern Reporter" of 1831, and the first act of the first Reform Parliament in 1833, was the Coercion Bill, the suppression of public meetings, and the substitution of Trial by Court-Martial—for Trial by Jury.

Well, my predictions, with regard to Free Trade, have been most unhappily realised, and seeing that all these agitations were intended to effect, and did, in mere political triumphs, I resolved upon attacking the social principle of the Land to the political principle of the Charter; and I now repeat my opinion in 1835, that if the Land was locked up to-morrow I would not give you a single straw for the Charter, and for the most simple of all reasons—because it is the only mint in which man can coin his individual labour into the exchangeable medium for all the necessities and luxuries of life, and the value of which, no whimsical financier can depreciate to his injury.

My good Sir, of all the absurd and whimsical nonsense that ever was uttered, those several projects for altering the currency of the country, and thereby creating abundance, are the most rabid. An alteration in currency, if it is substantial, can only mean an altered symbol, or token, to represent fictitious value, while the only real wealth that can be produced, and that can give the standard value to diamonds, precious stones, and gold itself, is the PRODUCE OF THE LAND, and the most valuable labour is the labour that is applied to that purpose.

Let me instance this simply and familiarly for you: Pitch five millions worth of wheat, the produce of this country, into the sea to-morrow, and what becomes of your Exchequer, your boasted Constitution, and your peace? Upon the other hand, sink five millions worth of manufactured goods in the deep, and it would be a positive blessing. This shows you the difference between the necessities and comparative luxuries of life. Believe me, Sir, that if I were to incorporate the freedom of the public Lands with the agitation for the Charter, that I should place the Land Scheme in the very same position that the lives upon Chartism placed that principle, when the poor man's exchequer, and not their feelings, constituted the basis of their advocacy.

No, no; my object is to show the value of Land retail at the wholesale price, leaving to the unbeliever the solution of the question of Land value, and leaving to Providence and the people, and to the fears of the great, the national solution of the question.

Rent should be paid to the State, or to the landlord; and divesting the Land Scheme of all consideration of a house which man must live in, let me test for you what the value of Land really is. The average price at which I have purchased an estate for the Land Company is £38 3s. 6d. per acre—that is, at a rate of £152 14s. for four acres—that is, at a rate of four per cent., little more than 26 per year, not counting the house in which man must live, and upon which his rent is measured at the wholesale price.

Now, if no man or three men can cultivate four acres of ground, the man who buys a pig for a pound in March will sell it for six pounds at Christmas, so that he makes a profit of five pounds upon one pig or within a pound of his year's rent, and his manure and the remainder of the produce of the four acres for his labour; and, cultivate it as he will, is there a family in Europe that can consume the produce of four acres, three acres, two acres, or one acre, cultivated to its highest state of capability? Hence I show you that rent is comparatively nothing, but certainly not of sufficient importance to make it the basis of a general onslaught upon the Land Company, by prejudice—at once denominating us a GREAT LAND PLUNDER COMPANY.

Sir, mark the prejudices against which we have to contend. Landlords fear lest the location of great numbers should raise the price of agricultural labour upon their tenants; manufacturers fear lest it may become an open market for free labour, and thus deprive them of the idle competitive reserve, by whose destitution they are enabled to measure wages; brewers and distillers fear lest milk should become a substitute for porter and gin; publicans fear lest the happy homes may have greater charms than the gin palace or the beer shop.

Parsons fear lest the truth, "that man could live in the sweat of his own brow," being developed, should lead to a more simple and less mysterious system of religion and Christianity.

Lawyers fear that in the happy family there will be neither discontent nor litigation. Pawnbrokers think that though a weaver or mechanic may be compelled, through idleness, to pawn their tools, that no husbandman would ever pawn his spade, his hoe, or his wheelbarrow.

The propounders of bubble schemes and societies, invented for the benefit of the poor, fear lest their trade may depart.

The shopkeeper, who would be the greatest gainer, fears lest his acquaintance in the plan should disturb his social connexion with the leading members of his class.

The doctor fears lest the open air should become a medicine chest, and nature his rival.

The poor gentleman, who is too proud to work and too poor to live without labour, fears lest his theoretical enthusiasm should be deprived of its remuneration; and

The Press, the organ and the mouthpiece of those several classes, is compelled to chronicle their hostility in order to secure their support.

While the greatest enemies are the working classes themselves, who will not see the increased impetus it must give to their trade, whilst they allow, or pretend to allow, the influence of the hostile factions and their Press to measure their confidence.

Yes, Sir, if those who are able to assist themselves and their brethren chose to put their shoulders to the wheel, the Land Plan would be very speedily made sufficiently extensive to locate the poorest of the poor, whose location, although they did not pay a fraction towards it, would immediately benefit the more fortunate contributors. But the ruling maxim is different from that of their oppressors: the partisans of Whigs and Tories MAGNIFY the virtues and SUPPRESS the vices of their adherents; while the partisans of labour MAGNIFY the vices and SUPPRESS the virtues of their advocates.

My dear Sir, I am now the only member of the most persecuted family in Europe who has

been able to maintain his principles, and to remain in his country; and the experience gained from the false anticipations of triumph entertained by members of my family, as well as the dangers with which a Government—sustained by secret service money, fraud, hypocrisy and lying—can beset the path of a political opponent, has read me a great lesson. For years I have been the subject of abuse of Irish leaders, to whose trade the realisation of my principles threatened not only danger, but destruction; and notwithstanding my sentiments have found a hearty response in the land of the stranger, there, also, I have had to contend against the selfishness, the jealousy, and the dogmas of traffickers, who would adopt any paying theory as their stock in trade; and thus, from the time I severed myself from Daniel O'Connell and the Irish party in 1833, when I discovered that the question of Repeal was mere "BIRD LIME" to catch the singing birds, as a means of securing patronage, I have suffered an amount of national, imperial, governmental, legal, party, class, Press, and individual persecution which, in my soul, I believe would have killed a thousand stout-hearted men; while my whole armour has been the conviction that my policy was right, that my principles were just, and that their realisation alone could insure man's happiness; and I have often thought that I would cut rather a contemptible and ridiculous figure if I hazarded the success of those principles upon the whim or caprice of the cunning, the idle, the artful, or the treacherous. I have often laughed at the exuberant folly of sane men pinning their faith to the high-sounding and enthusiastic rubbish of volunteers, cramped into our service by the desire to live idly upon enthusiasm, or luxuriating upon blood-money. However, you find the truth of the old motto in my position, that "THE PEOPLE ARE SELDOM WRONG AND NEVER LONG WRONG." When they are wrong, I invariably become the target of their abuse. Like others, I do not justify desertion upon the grounds of ingratitude. I reason with them till reason resumes her empire, and I invariably receive their contrition and apology as my reward; and by them I will stand; and, without bluster, I shall be always ready to go farther with them in the legitimate demand for liberty than any other man of my class, but I will not be led by the necessities of "poor gentlemen," or by the rashness of enthusiasts.

My dear Sir,—You may rely upon it, that neither the scoffs of the oppressor nor the slanders of the ungrateful can ever drive me from the course which my mind tells me is right; my mind does tell me, and my conscience approves the dictate, that the Land should not remain uncultivated while a hand remains unemployed or a mouth wants food; my mind does tell me that the open air and the land, and not the rattle-box and the life-destroying gas, are the proper elements for man to work on and breathe in; my mind does tell me that no man has a right to represent another unless that power is voluntarily delegated to him, and, therefore, the world's Exchequer shall never seduce me from the advocacy of

THE LAND AND THE CHARTER.

I have the honour to remain,
Your faithful friend,
FEARUG O'CONNOR.

TO HER MAJESTY VICTORIA,
QUEEN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

LETTER IV.

RESPECTED SOVEREIGN,

I address Your Majesty as Queen of the most powerful Empire the world has yet known, an Empire now wielding new scientific power for producing wealth and happiness among its subjects, exceeding the manual power of nine hundred millions of slaves in full manhood; slaves most easily governed, living without food or raiment, daily increasing, and capable of being, at the pleasure of the state, increased indefinitely in numbers, beyond any assignable limits.

This is an overwhelming power for good or for evil.

Through the false principle on which—from the beginning—society over the world has been based, this power has been, so far, directed to produce increasing evils and misery to the human race.

It had been blindly applied throughout the British Empire, to produce inferior, instead of superior circumstances, while the superior might have been more easily and economically created; and man ever has been, is, and ever must be, the creature of the inferior or superior circumstances by which society shall surround him.

It is, then, the highest interest of the human race, that all, from and before birth, should be surrounded by the most superior circumstances only, that the means and wisdom of society can create.

Your Majesty's Government is now so placed, in the midst of a world of error and anarchy, that, by wise counsel, it may terminate this confusion, and, in a comparatively short period, accomplish the greatest and most important good, for all nations.

It has now the most desirable opportunity ever offered to the world, to attain this glorious result; and, at once, to stay the mangling of man by man; the destruction of valuable property, and the misdirection of all human faculties and powers.

If the British Government, with the power, dignity, and benevolence, which its present position should create, were to say to contending nations—"Peace, and you shall be all highly benefited. Behold the new power which, in modern times, the industry of British subjects has discovered or invented! It is, when understood and rightly directed, an hundred-fold beyond the wants of our population for the creation of wealth. It may now be made to become equally superabundant for the creation of wealth for the world. Why, then, have human living slaves of any colour? or why should white men—calling themselves rational beings—butter one another for no one good object? You want wealth—you want a good and superior character for yourselves and your fellow-men—and you want to be surrounded by superior and happy circumstances."

"These results may now be easily attained. With the enormous new scientific powers for producing wealth and increasing happiness; with the late discovery by which any human character may be created, or well or ill-manufactured, according to the natural qualities, at birth, of the organisation or material; we can now assist to enable you to acquire the power and means to secure ample wealth, and a good superior character for all, and by the creation of new practical arrangements, by means of which both of these important objects will be permanently attained and made universal. Why, then, like Don Quixote, fighting with the windmill, should you now waste your invaluable powers so irrationally as to contend thus furiously against each other, when, by so doing, you only destroy those powers which, rightly directed, might be made to be most useful in preparing happiness for all?"

Such is the language which your Majesty's Government, by its present enviable position, is

called upon by the voice of nature, to use to the nations now blindly contending for they know not what; insane contests, which they have no conception how to terminate to the advantage of any party or district. It has been said, that the natural and scientific powers of Europe for the creation of wealth—of a good character, and of superior surrounding circumstances for all its present, and for a greatly increased population, are, or may be speedily made to be, superabundant, and all facts prove the truth of this statement.

It may be then asked of the powers of Europe, why these means should not now be so applied that all its inhabitants may enjoy this superior state of existence, and become an example to be followed by the population of every part of the globe?

Truth and right in the government of the world, will be found to be, in practice, plain, simple, and straightforward; falsehood and wrong require to be mysterious and infinitely involved—whatever form of government they may assume—in order to cover their injustice and cruelty.

Were a European Congress decided upon, the existing governments, by new arrangements, might be maintained, and themselves enabled to effect the changes which are now required, through the progress of scientific knowledge to create at all times a superfluity of wealth, and in consequence of the discovery of the sure means by which to well form the character of all.

The Constitution and Code of Laws for Europe, by which this change might be peacefully effected, and all nations and people permanently benefitted, are preparing for publication, and will be soon submitted to the public. A new government for the population of Europe is rendered unavoidable by the progress of events, and the acquisition of new facts, disclosing the causes of good and evil, and thus opening superior elevated views to the human race. A government may now be formed which shall secure peaceably, and without disorder or confusion, a permanent progress in prosperity, and the well-doing and happiness of all the nations and people of Europe. The signs of the times indicate that the British Government should take the initiative in this glorious change—that they should propose the Congress, and cordially offer their best assistance to calm the minds of all parties, and explain to them the measures by which the whole population may be so essentially benefitted. All are now suffering; many so severely, and all are in danger of doing so through a state of ignorant anarchy and of excitement, created by misery, the causes of which are misunderstood, or they would have been removed.

The intentions of all these contending parties are good—they all think themselves right, and their opponents wrong. In consequence of the false principle on which they have been educated, they have no charity for the difference of character created for their opponents—a difference created without the consent or knowledge of their opponents. Thus all, through errors early forced into their minds, are acting blindly or without real knowledge; all, therefore, are objects for sympathy, and not for blame. But the means to open their minds to see the truth, and to overcome their errors are now required, for of themselves they cannot perceive or conquer these errors.

It is vain to expect that hatred, anger, and violence can ever convince error. The means required to effect this object are patience, perseverance, kindness, and charity, directed by firmness, proceeding from a sound and correct judgment, aided by extensive practical experience.

These, however, are qualifications which can alone emanate from a knowledge of human nature and of society, unalloyed with any of the local or general influences and prejudices which are created by the false fundamental principle on which alone society has hitherto been based, or by confined fanciful notions of practice.

And this knowledge is only to be attained by the abandonment of that false principle, and all the innumerable evil consequences which—when made the base of national institutions—it produces.

To the present period, this false principle and its endless evil consequences, have been made to pervade all minds—and the difficulty now to be overcome is to cut the Gordian knot of this universal false association of ideas, and of the position thus created of man to man.

The only weapon equal to this mighty task, is plain direct truth, firmly but benevolently expressed in simple terms, and made so obvious that the mind will be compelled to receive it.

This weapon the writer, regardless of all opposition, has used without ceasing for many years. Its effects are now experienced, and are rapidly progressing throughout the civilised world.

All who reflect, or suffer, are dissatisfied with the present system of falsehood, ignorance, injustice, and cruelty. They see or feel the wrong—but they yet do not see the right, or know how it is to be attained in practice.

Yet that which appears to the falsely educated and erroneously placed, to be infinitely difficult, involved, and impracticable, will, when guided by the principles of truth, become plain to all and easy of execution.

All now required, is to form new scientific practical arrangements, to well place, employ, educate, and govern all from birth, according to age; combining, in these arrangements, the greatest amount of mechanical and chemical power, to gradually elevate mind, and reduce slavery and servitude to their minimum.

By this change, gradually effected, none would be injured. All would be permanently benefited. The earth, instead of being overrun with falsehood, fraud, disunion, poverty, and crime, making a near approach toward a pandemonium, would gradually become the abode of virtues; trained in truth and honesty; united; surrounded with all that can contribute to health and true enjoyment, and in a fair way to progress toward an earthly paradise.

This is the "Good time coming." Error and prejudice may yet retard its progress; but no human power can prevent its ultimate, and not very distant, accomplishment.

May your Majesty's Government aid effectually in this great and glorious cause; and may your Majesty and your royal Consort live,

if you don't put them down, by — they will put them down. They had no wish to violate the laws

only spoke what those who founded the liberties of Britain spoke frequently before. After stating the sentiments of Fox and Earl Grey on this point in 1795, he quoted from a speech made at the great meeting in the Queen's Park of Edinburgh during the

tion for the R-form Bill, in which the speaker said that if the Duke of Wellington was to establish a military government—a government of the sword—he would not follow the speaker and Mr. Aytoun, when fighting for his rights, could advance with arms backed up as fearlessly as the hired soldier named with a cuirass.

THE LORD JUSTICE CLERK: Who was the speaker? **Mr. MONCRIEFF:** **Mr. Aytoun.** He (**Mr. Moncrieff**) held that this sentiment was one which the speaker would not utter, and he (**Mr. Moncrieff**) held that it was more than a mere hypocritical protestation; and so in the case of Rankin. This ought, therefore, not to scan a man's words too nicely. While he at once admitted Rankin's rhetoric to be extravagant, he stated that he was convinced that he

Mr. Logan then addressed the jury on the part of Grant and Hamilton. He analyzed the evidence with great minuteness, humorously depicted the part taken by Brigadier-General M. Kay in the formation of the National Guard for the protection of the masses.

made when they dropped their batons and up the pencil. He adverted to former political actions, and in connection with this matter said, he would refer to a meeting now matter of history—the meeting held in May, 1832 in the King's Park, of Edinburgh. The jury would remember the circumstances of that meeting was held. A crisis had occurred in the political world, and a certain party or faction, call it which they would—a crisis not more important in their eyes than was the crisis which occurred in the party or faction of the Chartists, when Lord John Russell, who introduced and carried the Reform Bill, declared in 1834 against a further extension of the franchise. The crisis which took place in 1832. Nay, there were men eminent in authority and in station, respected and

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himself, and allowance make for ~~the~~ ^{his} opinions under which he was placed, and that it did not even nearly follow that because a man worked hard at addition, he was thereby incapacitated ever after for discharging the duties of an active and loyal citizen of the kingdom? He prayed that there might not be two measures for judging of men's actions; that they might not be judged by the standard of their own actions, and that they might not be judged by the standard of the actions of others, when they had a titled estate, than to the journeyman printer with 25s. a week, and that his only support. (Applause, which was instantly checked by the court.) The learned counsel concluded by imploring the jury to pause before returning an adverse verdict, lest they should be guilty of the same error, and that it was dangerous to excite such a feeling, elevate man at the bar to the rank of political martyrs, whom they

The Lord Justice Clerk then proceeded to charge the Jury. In commenting upon the indictment, he said: "The evidence which you are called upon to consider leads to the opinion that the charge of conspiracy against the defendants is well founded. It is held by the National Guard as early as 1867, at the meeting of Adam Square Hall for the formation of the National Guard; and said that if the conspiracy had not been proved up to that date, the subsequent acts, unsubstantiated by evidence, could not be taken as proof of the crime." After going over the evidence concerning the alleged conspiracy, he said: "It is clear from the evidence that the conspiracy could scarcely be proved against the Earl of Granville or Rankin; and that even in regard to Hamilton, he thought that there was no proof, unless the support which he gave to the proposition to form the National Guard at the meeting of Adam Square Hall

and said that evidence to March 33. In preference to the charge of intimidation, as part of the evidence for consideration, as against Hamilton and Rankin, was unquestionably the speeches made at the meeting in Brunsfield Links on the 12th June; but in regard to Grant he did not think that the mere non-interruption of the speakers was evidence of intimidation. He thought that Grant came home to him. He concluded by calling upon the jury to return a verdict in accordance with the evidence, and not to allow their minds to be influenced by any considerations of expediency. Whatever the verdict, he was convinced that it would be perfectly safe to acquit the defendants. He then said a few words in regard to; for although there were people who chose to disparage the independence and good sense indirectly of such a jury as he had the honour of address-

ture, yet he was afraid that they would look in vain for any better tribulation in any of the changes they contemplated. His own speech extended to about three hours, and a bare

The jury then retired about twenty minutes past nine o'clock to consider their verdict, and returned into court in about three quarters of an hour.

The Foreman intimated the verdict as follows:—

"The Jury unanimously find the charge of conspiracy against the defendants as libelled not proved."

"The jury also unanimously find John Grant not guilty of sedition as libelled."

"The jury further unanimously find Robert Hamilton guilty of using language calculated to excite popular disaffection and resistance to lawful authority."

And by a majority of one find Henry Rankin

THE LORD JUSTICE CLERK said: 'Be good enough to observe, in regard to that part of the verdict that contains the speciality, and which finds Hlamiltons and Rankin guilty of using language calculated to excite sedition, to your own and to the court's authority, that this is the destruction of sedition labelled. To make your verdict correct you should determine whether they are guilty or not guilty off sedition to any extent that you may please. You say, for example, say, they are guilty of sedition in that they used language calculated to excite the people to dissension and resistance to lawful authority.'

The LORD JUSTICE CLERK: In the choice of the word 'calculated,' do you mean to leave out the word 'intended,' or is your verdict meant to embrace both?

THE FOREMAN OF THE JURY: We purposely left out the word 'intended.'

The verdict was then altered as suggested by the Lord Justice Clerk, and was agreed to stand as follows:—That the jury unanimously find Robert Rankin guilty of the offence of wilfully and maliciously using language calculated to excite public dissension and resistance to lawful authority; and by a majority of one find Henry Rankin guilty of sedition in the same terms.

After some consultation with the other judges, his lordship said that the dict would be adjourned till the following day, as the court would have to deal with

Mr Grant was then dismissed from the bar, and the other panels were conveyed to prison. The Court then adjourned.

We understand that it is at present the intention of the counsel for the prisoners to object to the sufficiency of the above verdict.

The trial of Cumming, for contravention of the Government Securities Act, edition, and conspiracy, was fixed for Wednesday, at ten o'clock.

SHIPWRECK AND LOSS OF TEN LIVES.—The barkentine Carmella, of Bangor, Capt. Cole, from Payakala Sept. 6, for Boston, with a cargo of sperm oil, 4000 barrels, and thirteen passengers, was abandoned

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Both mates were totally disabled, the crew wholly exhausted, and one passenger had a broken leg. The crew succeeded in clearing the wreck of brockets, spars, and saving a small quantity of beef and wine, on which they subsisted until the 29th, when the boats were taken off by the British barque Castles, the *Castles* Hinds, from St Lucia, bound to Dublin.

SHIPWRECK.—On Friday week the schooner *Jar Jar* of Belfast, went ashore on Stroms, becoming a total wreck. Captain Mackenzie and an Irish boy were unfortunately drowned, the former being in his bed at the time. He has left a large family of orphans, their mother being dead.

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ommanders of the Crown, with the view of making application to the Lord-Lieutenant to issue a warrant for the purpose of having a special court of revision held, all the requirements of the law should be complied with. It is believed, but we know not whether the ground

such belief be well founded, that the discovery of error will have a retrospective effect. Some think it likely that the same error has been at the bottom

revisions of jury lists made in the city and county length of time, and that the men who 'tried' the prisoners, were not jurors at all in point of law.

NEW APPOINTMENTS.

Mr Thomas Rilly, a solicitor at the bar of the Exchequer, has been appointed to the lucrative office of Chief Officer of the Court of Chancery. This man is the father of no less a distinguished son than Thomas Rilly, one of the chief chiefs of the federation, and at present the fugitive from the gaol justice. The appointment does not rest in the hands of the Government, but is a matter of course, being in the gift of the Chancellor, who we debated to Mr Rilly for the first brief he held in his bar.

THE FUGITIVE LEADERS.

It is now tolerably certain that the redoubtable Richard O'Gorman, whose perilous adventures

keep the most prolific novel writer in full work for the past months to come, effected his escape from the prison of Dublin, whither he was tracked by the police, who were thrown off the scent by the doubles and turns of his hunted game. He got on board a vessel lying at Custom-house Docks, bound for Smyrna, which was rejected to a rigid search no less than three times when she entered the bay of Dublin on her outward voyage, while in dock; a second time, at Balph's-point, the end of the North Wall; and a third time at a pigeon-house Fort; but so well was the fugitive disguised as a seaman, that his appearance never excited the slightest suspicion. From Smyrna he is supposed to have gone to Constantinople, and thence to wherever he remains at present. No less narrow was the escape of Mr John Dillon, upon whose head there yet rest a reward of £280, and whose active participation in the late rebellion, more especially in the affair of Lonsdale, rendered his capture a matter of grave importance to the Government. Previous to his flight

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was felled when "his speed towards the steamer
while ascending to directions the logger, with all her
and, with the most favorable gale put out to
as flying before the steamer, which immediately
chase, never for once heading the boat with its pas-
sengers which passed close to her bows, and which
the port of Galvesto without causing any observation
two days afterwards he was on the Atlantic.

THE LATE INSURRECTION, AND THE COMING WINT
LIBERATION OF J. F. LALOR—TRIAL OF G. G. D.
—THE PROTESTANT JUBILEE MEETING—EMIGR
AND ORANGISM.

(From our Correspondent.)

ANOTHER INSURRECTION is Tippecary! Yet, w
again getting to be the most chivalrous and w
the suc Nothing will satisfy us, it would seem,
a recurrence to the old Galvesto system, under wh

When the native princes had no sooner withdrawn than battered and half-murdered clans from the territories of one enemy, than they prepared to enter those of the other.

There was something in the wind on the night of the 9th last, and there was a 'hosting' of malcontents in that wild neighbourhood—"The Wilderners," the Glommal. The papers will give you the particulars, though, by the way, there are as many confusions about respecting it, as there are about the 'Sea Serpent,' or the exploits of the celebrated rascal, Daniel O'Connell. But, however, the fact is there, and was a considerable gathering of armed persons in that place called "The Wilderners" last Friday night. It can be scarcely a reasonable doubt but that the object was to stir up the people to rise for the sake of the state convicts. The authorities, however, were not taken by surprise, and were adequately prepared.

meet such a foray, and to overwhelm the insurgents with ill-judged desultory frosts as these can bring forth shame on Ireland, and ruin to her still remaining liberties.

O'Brien and Mosher have now a good chance of liberty through the very probable success of the War of Error which has been moved in their favour, and should they win the would win the completion of the deeds which have been a perijudicial offence to the nation, but men by whom that War of Error will be tried. But the 'Wilderness' affair is only a preliminary of many of the same character which we shall during the coming months of winter. Ireland will become one vast theatre of insubordination, or murders, robbery, and resistance to the laws, unfortunate people cannot avoid these things. Situation is already commencing its work of destruction as the peasantry have now no hope from the present O'Connell, the Whigs, or the war, they will stop

ever monstrous or revolting. Ireland will be a bargain for the English during many a coming year. If, like the proprietors of Cuba, they could manage to get off their hands on any sort of fair terms, certainly would be the best thing they could do—unless, indeed, they could dispose of the MILL stock, and still keep possession of the MILLIAN. This, certainly, would be a far more advantageous speculation.

There is not much important news in Dublin, except the persons arrested here during the reign of excitement, 'have been liberated on bail within the few days; and I am told that Mr James F. Lalor—the best writer of the FRYLON—is to be liberated this day. However, he owes this favour more to the humanity of his medical attendants than to the grace of the government. Mr Lalor was dying, and his physical

could motivate more than a very few days.

It is said that C. G. Duffy will be sent for trial to Clonmel, where the ATTORNEY GENERAL will be sure to convict. I have no doubt of this, for I always have said, that of all the men in Ireland, Mr. Duffy was the most hated and dreaded by the English government; and that they would put the quietus upon him by hanging him, and then will be, if possible, for they know that wherever Mr. Duffy might appear, free man would be a powerful foe to the Saxon till the day of death.

You have read of the proceedings at the Protestant Jubilee meeting in the Rotundo, a few days ago. There was amongst the most disgraceful matters which occurred in Dublin for many a day. It will be remembered by the readers of the NORTHERN STAR, that a year ago, I communicated the details which took

wretched fanatic, Thrasher Gregg, whose side-
windedness has long made him the butt and laughing-
stock of every decent man in Ireland. On that occasion
Archbishop of Dublin defeated Gregg, and he
oust him from an usurped Chaplaincy in
this city, Gregg "flaw his kite" to London, where
lives at present, though nobody can exactly tell
where his body and soul together. But
since the low Orange
the Coombe, and the pious old lady, the
parish—have sworn eternal enmity to Dr. St. Paul,
never lost an opportunity of pouring forth
abuse on his Most Reverend head. On the day in
the—2nd inst.—there was a meeting of all great
Protestants held in the Rotundo, to celebrate the
anniversary of the Church Missionary Society in Ire-
land. The Archbishop was voted to the chair by the entire

appearance was the signal for one of the most vigorous displays of bigotry and rudeness that ever was witnessed in Dublin. The Greiggites—who mastered no strong for such a 'miserable minority' of Dublin testaments—looked fire, y burst forth in a veritable holy enthusiasm. Headed by a low priest, a butler from Leeson Street, they assailed the Archbishop as he was a mad dog, and continued their ragabob to the altar to occupy the chair, and finally retired the assembly. Subsequently, this same creature descended the platform, was commencing a farce against Maynooth, the National Board, Archbishop Wateley, when, perhaps, seized his cane, and dragged him off to Saville's street, where he, for a few hours confinement left him to reflect on his ruinously conduct.

The tide of emigration still rolls onward with

standing the dreary, wintry weather, the cold sleet, the wild snow, Paddy, leaving the "cold sod," his friends, his "father's" grave, the "overrated, and poor-rate collectors behind him. On the way he is down by the North-wall, and, verily, I was shocked the spectacle I saw. Old and young, gray-haired and helpless infirmity, the stalwart farmer from Tarry's "Golden Vale" and the tiny peasant of Maygalway—all going to the *for veest!* The steam-pipe took one half of those pressing forward, and the other half, and more and more are still coming thousands, and more and more are still coming thousands, and some ferocious invading army, despoiling thousands, and some unheard-of plague has down the handloom. A necessity of Letcher in its thousands! On, on the way to the northward, and on, we shall have plenty of houses and food for thousands! Orangelim is springing up rapidly in Ireland.

and your spirit of religious bigotry is shaking its
again, and essaying another fight over our un-
country. Nobody, however, but the rabble and
disappointed clergymen are joining the Quixotic
sade, and it is said that government is taking them
into consideration, and framing measures for the
suppression of the Orange—what?—Idiotcy, all over
British empire.

Metropolitan Intelligence.

PROPOSED NEW COUNTY PRISON. — At
Saturday Mr. Hailor has

and disbursements for the week having been

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