

advising an remission of the punishment they had incurred. With regard to those three individuals, he could hold out no hope whatever that the Charter would be amended in their favor. His Hon. Friend who had brought forward the present motion had alluded to the Charter; but (Mr. Fox Maule) thought that his Hon. Friend had not been explicit enough. He had said that the House of Commons to pass it, he had given the opportunity of discussing it. There was a part of the Charter for which he (Mr. F. Maule) was not prepared to give up. He was not prepared to give up that part of it, however, to which he could not give support. At all events, the Charter embraced subjects not now to be discussed. As to the question of the present bill, he was not prepared to give up the feeling, that having awakened the attention of the Government to this matter, it was not necessary to press his motion to a division, which would not improve the subject of the Charter, the object of his Hon. Friend to benefit. There was a complaint that his Hon. Friend had made to which he must advert. It had been said that Mr. Fergus O'Connor had been told by the Government that he was sentenced to hard labor, and that he was not standing in the same position

[illegible]

ascertained that their duty of that evening was of a threefold character, yet it struck him that they had only one duty, and that was to be true to the cause. They met there to declare, in the face of Europe, that Britons must and shall be free. (Cheers.) They should not recede one step aside from their vantage ground, nor gain for the enemy by the tortures, the sufferings, and the death of many martyrs. It was a glorious spectacle to behold so large a meeting, composed of men of all religions, who came forward to declare that they were not for faction, but to charge the world with the guilt of slavery, and to demand a high and important principle. (Cheers.) There was no Irish rebellion in that meeting. (Hear, hear.) It was in their power to put down any party who would attempt to create division. (Hear, hear.) He came forward to declare that he was not a doctrinaire, but to do justice. If any one wished to address the meeting, he should be heard, whether he opposed or favored slavery. (Hear, hear.) All should be listened to with the same courtesy. He proposed that at all times had arguments with which to meet their opponents. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, he implored of all who addressed the meeting, to proceed with that moderation which the resolutions which they had to propose required. (Hear, hear.)

—that nothing but the People's Charter was calculated to benefit the working classes, as a means of giving them their just rights, and advised all the working men to be true to their principles, and to their stations and promises, but seek their own redemption, by making the Charter the law of the land. During this admirable lecture he explained the enormous amount of suffering and misery which the factory system in all its horrors; he exposed Whiggery in a ludicrous style, which made a deep and sensible impression on the working men present. He said that he was not at all got on to reforming, and said that he was for Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot; he was a friend of the working classes, and he did not see that a repeal of the Corn Laws would be of any benefit to the working men. He argued that England was calculated for a manufacturing country, and the workshop of the world; and if the monopoly in corn were abolished, and the working men were to be allowed to sell their produce to those who were not with us for the agitation of the Charter were against us; and, for his part, he thought the people of England had too much work to do as it was, and he did not think that the slaves of the world, by their working population being confined in those hell-created steam mills

LITTLE-HORTON.—A Chartist Temperance meeting will be held on Sunday next, at Little-Horton Green. To commence at two o'clock in the afternoon.

MANCHESTER.—Messrs. Charles Connor and Co. Doyle will lecture in Brown-street Chartist-room, Manchester, on Sunday evening, *(to-morrow)*, May 20th. Mr. James Cartledge will lecture at the Chartist Tailors' and Shoemakers' room, on Sunday *(to-morrow)*.

HALIFAX.—Mr. Harney will lecture at Halifax on the evenings of Wednesday and Thursday, the 2nd and 3rd of June, and at Queenshead, on Friday the 4th.

EPSOM RACES.

THE DEBBY STAKES of 50 *novas*, each, for three-year-old colts & 7lb, and fillies & 2lb; last mile and half. The second to receive £100 out of the stakes, and the winner to pay 100 *sov.* towards the stakes.

Mr. Rawlinson's b c Corporation (P. Connolly)
Lord Westminster's b c Van Amburgh (Holmes)
Twenty-nine started.

WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

the intimation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that Government meant to proceed with the public sale of the business, an intimation unaccompanied with one ex-press and plainatory declaration of the Government's intention to do so. The question whether they should be offered so to proceed. He had judged it better to take that as it was, by the present motion, than to obstruct the supplies, or to try the disposition of the House by any side-wind. He did not possess that confidence of the House which was necessary to carry their measures; and it was a prospect which would scarcely require any further reflection. If it were undenied, that the other proposition necessarily followed, that their continuance in office was at variance with the wishes of the constitution, he was at the same time ever since the accession of the House of Hanover. In affirmation of his view he could cite the authority of every important writer, and the practical course of every Administration. In every instance, the confidence of the House was the basis of its confidence was withdrawn from the Ministers, the Ministry had retired. So had acted Sir R. Walpole, the late Lord North, although with a majority less than a third of the House. So had acted Sir W. Pitt, and the majority of 37—so Lord Liverpool on Lord Wharfedale's motion—so the Duke of Wellington on King William's civil list—so the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry. He was therefore of opinion that the House should be bound to defer to the House of Commons upon the question of retaining or resigning office, was that

CHARTIST DEMONSTRATION AT THE CROWN AND ANCHOR.

and that their duty of that evening was of a character, yet it struck them that they had been deceived. They had been deceived, because they had to declare, in the face of Europe, that they were Communists and shall be free. (Cheers.) They had been deceived one step aside from their vantage point, gained for them by the tortures, the sufferings, and the death of so many martyrs. It was a glorious spectacle to behold so large a meeting composed of men of all religions, who came forward not for faction, but to discharge their important duty of that evening. It was a great probability in that meeting. (Hear, hear.) It was their power to put down any party who wanted to create dissension. (Hear, hear.) He came here to tell them that they were the best of people. If any one wished to address the meeting, he should be heard, whether he opposed or not. (Hear, hear.) All should be listened to. He had the same name as the man who had been here with arguments with which to meet those who said. (Hear, hear.) In conclusion, he implored them not to address the meeting, to proceed with that which they had decided upon, and to do so in the way which the resolutions which they had to vote required. (Hear, hear.)

—that nothing but the People's Charter was calculated to benefit the working classes, as a means of giving them their just rights, and advised all the working men to be true to their principles, and to their stations and promises, but seek their own redemption, by making the Charter the law of the land. During this admirable lecture he explained the enormous amount of suffering and misery which the factory system in all its horrors; he exposed Whiggery in a ludicrous style, which made a deep and sensible impression on the working men present. He said that he was not at all got on to reforming, and said that he was for Universal Suffrage and Vote by Ballot; he was a friend of the working classes, and he did not see that a repeal of the Corn Laws would be of any benefit to the working men. He argued that England was calculated for a manufacturing country, and the workshop of the world; and if the monopoly in corn were abolished, and the working men were to be allowed to sell their produce to those who were not with us for the agitation of the Charter were against us; and, for his part, he thought the people of England had too much work to do as it was, and he did not think that the slaves of the world, by their working population being confined in those hell-created steam mills

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EPSOM RACES.

THE DERRY STAKES of 50 *novas*, each, for three-year-old colts & 7lb, and fillies & 2lb; last mile and half. The second to receive £100 out of the stakes, and the winner to pay 100 *sov.* towards the stakes.

Mr. Rawlinson's b c Corporation (P. Connolly)
Lord Westminster's b c Van Amburgh (Holmes)
Twenty-nine started.

EPSOM RACES.
THE DERRY STAKES of 50 sovs. each, for three-year-old colts 8st 7lb, and fillies 8st 2lb; last mile and half. The second to receive £100 out of the stakes, and the winner to pay 100 sovs. towards the police, &c. 154 subs.
Mr. Rawlinson's b c Coronation ... (P. Connelly)
Lord Westminster's b c Van Amburgh (Holmes)
Twenty-nine started.

LEICESTER.—The deepest indignation is felt here at the conduct of the Whigs, as displayed in the murderous casting vote business. The unfeeling feeling is, that if any Whig should be a case and treacherous enough to support the Whig, the approaching election, hanging and gibb stings will be too good for him.

TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF BRADFORD.
 (ENTLEMEN.)—A Deputation, having waited upon CAPTAIN WOOD, of Bradford, to ascertain whether he would allow himself to be put in Nomination for the Representation of the Borough, in case of an Election, he has declared his willingness to stand on the following Principles:—
 A full and free Representation of every Male twenty-one Years of Age, of sound Mind and unconvicted of Crime; Annual Parliaments; Vote by Ballot; No Property Qualification for Members of Parliament; and equal Electoral Districts; Repeal of the New Poor Law; Abolition of all Monopolies; and a Redress of all practical Grievances.

ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF BRADFORD.
 Reform is now in its Eleventh Year, and you and the Masses have been in vain looking for its beneficial Results: your Prospects are becoming increasingly clouded, and the Condition of the Working Class more deplorable than ever; the Non-unionist, who have been degraded by their Political Disabilities, and that there is no hope for a substantial Social Improvement for them, but through a Radical Reform of the House of Commons. The Reform of the House of Commons, cannot be longer be delayed; it is for the Electors of England to render such a Reform peaceably practicable, by returning such Men as CAPTAIN WOOD: the alternative is *fatal* to the country.

Non-Electors!
 Give proof of the Truth of the above Remarks as to your Views and Expectations, by standing nobly by your Man: you have no Vote, but you have a certain influence which you can exercise. Do your duty like Men who respect their own manhood.

By Order of the Committee,
 THOMAS ROBINSON, Chairman.

Committee Room, North Terrace,
 North Street, May 25, 1841.



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 JULIEN'S FAMED NIGHTINGALE
 WALTZES!!

AND
 TAGLIONI'S NEW GALOP!!!

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Published Monthly, Price One Shilling.

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No. 4, for April, contains Jullien's Celebrated Quail Waltzes; Charles Horn's last beautiful Ballad, with words, symphonies, &c.; a new German Air; and Musard's favorite Galop.

"The Pianista is a charming work, and as cheap as it is charming."—The Times.

For contents of No. 5, for May, see above.

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No. 1. Rise, Gentle Moon, Meet me by Moonlight, and seven others.

No. 2. I'll Swallow the Mountain, and ten others.

No. 3. The Sea! the Sea! and ten others.

No. 4. The Deep, Deep Sea, and seven others.

No. 5. The Brave Old Oak, and eight other tunes.

No. 6. Pretty Star of the Evening, and ten others.

No. 7. Happy Land, Land of the West, four Quadrilles from Rory O'More, and two others.

No. 8. The hour before day, I leave you to guess, and nine others.

No. 9. My Beautiful Maid, Cherry Ripe, and seventeen others.

No. 10. In the days when we went Gipsying, Blue Bonnets, Crusaders Waltz, and ten other delightful airs.

No. 11. Bessie'd be the Home, Rory O'More, and nine others.

No. 12. The celebrated Echo Quadrille, Philomel Waltz, &c.

No. 13. Mr. Moore's popular song, The Language of Flowers, Lullie's Last Song, and seven others.

No. 14. Pretty Star of the Evening, and ten others.

No. 15. Where the Bessie Sings, Four Airs by Prince Albert, and twelve others.

No. 16. Eight Airs, by Prince Albert and Ernest, 'Tis the Shepherd's Evening Bell, and five others.

No. 17. Oh in the still night, Rory O'More's Jack Sheppard, Jack Redburn's Solos (from Master Humphrey's Clock), She Wore a Wreath of Roses, Mr. Loder's new song, Down in the Deep, and four others.

No. 18. The Dance Quadrilles, Taglioni's new dance in the Gipsy, three new airs, Mr. Balf's new melody, a new melody, The dawn is breaking o'er us, two new Solos by Jack Redburn, and five others.

No. 19. For July, contains Jack Redburn's Gallop and Race, in honour of the Derby, the five new melodies of the Fairstaff Quadrille, popular air from Weber's Eurydice, Spohr's Faust, and Beethoven's Fidelity.

No. 20. For August, contains Oh! God preserve the Queen; "The celebrated Tarenella" (the whole six movements); seven Airs from Cluck's Iphigenia; and three others.

No. 21. For September, contains My Dog and my Gun, We all love a pretty Girl, He that loves a rosy cheek, the whole new (ve) of the Nightingale Waltzes, and six Airs from Cluck's Iphigenia.

22. For October, contains—Two Nature's Gay Day, the popular Song; the whole five of the Tete de Bronze Quadrille; the celebrated Doncaster St. George Race, described in Music; and six others.

23. For November, contains Two Melodies from Aubert's new Opera, Zanetta, Lanner's Six Spring Waltzes, and three others.

24. For December, contains Six Melodies from Zanetta, I knew a Bank; and nine others.

25. For January, contains Six Melodies from Zanetta, I knew a Bank; and nine others.

26. Happy New Year: the whole set of L'Elizir d'Amore Quadrilles, by Musard; Lovely night; The Days that have Faded; Fairy, lead them up and down, and others.

27. The Ice Song, Love in Illness; The Weeper; We are Spirits; the two popular songs of Miss Hawes, I'll Speak of Thee, and Thou art Lovelier, and four others.

28. Ten of the Witch's Songs in Macbeth; Over Hill over Dale, in Midsummer Night's Dream; Russian Air by Thalberg; Lady mine, Lady mine; Merrily goes the Mill; and others.

29. Three Airs from Mr. Balf's new Opera, "Keelhaule," the whole of Jullien's Five Quail Waltzes; and Six more beautiful Airs from Macbeth.

30. For May, contains one of the greatest attractions ever offered in music, viz.:—A description of the Roster Hunt, in a set of Quadrilles! No. 1. Meeting; 2. Start, yelping of dogs, and gallop of horses; 3. The River, the Check; 4. Stag at bay; 5. Death of Stag. This extraordinary novelty (which is copyright) there will be added ten other beautiful melodies, amongst which will be the new comic song called "Jim along Josey," with the music, and whole eight verses of words; and this number will contain a catalogue of contents of the whole ninety numbers of "Fultonicon." Orders should be given early for this number, No. 30, No. 30 is for May, 1841, and is the last Number published. Every wind instrument, as well as the Violin, can play these tunes.

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Published in London by Sherwoods, 23, Paternoster Row; in Liverpool, by Stewart; in Birmingham, by Gurney; in York, by Shillito; in Manchester, by Heywood; and may be had of all the Agents of this Paper; in short, by order, of every Book and Music-seller in the Kingdom.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, MAY 29, 1841.

"IRELAND"

AND
"GREAT COMMERCIAL REFORMS."

As the co-operation of Ireland is most emphatically required and flatteringly courted by the "Liberator" on behalf of her Majesty's advisers, in what is called their attack upon "monopoly," we are bound to consider what the result of Ministerial success must inevitably produce, not for the majority of the nine millions, but for the very class who are, unfortunately, armed with the "life preserver," and which they are now requested to use for self-destruction—we mean the electors.

Ireland returns sixty-four County Members, two University Members, and thirty-nine City and Borough Members; and, without the shadow of a shade of difference, the interest of the whole of the constituencies, be they county, university, city, or borough, is identical, as one great whole, in the approaching contest. Nay, more, to such an extent would the proposed alteration in the Corn Laws alone affect the whole agricultural, commercial, trading, and labouring interests of Ireland, that the greatest good anticipated by English speculators, even if realised, would be more than over-balanced by the blighting effects which the victory must inevitably produce in that country, and which must extend to this side the Channel.

With Ireland, the Ministerial question is one of life and death. It is not based on mere theoretic or speculative dogmas of political economists. It is not to be followed by any adjustment which may be rendered requisite and necessary, according to the subsequent working of the experiment. It is not to be accompanied by any protective power, or retributive accompaniments, to be placed in the hands of those who are asked to embark their all in the Government hulk, without mast, pilot, or even rudder, for the poor satisfaction of giving faction a triumph over party.

Persistence in the path of error has reduced the old and respectable party of English Whigs to a mere faction, whilst their awkward management of their own measure, "Reform," has actually revived the embers of their factious rivals, and blown them into a powerful party. The same breath which was to have extinguished Toryism, has but reanimated the monster.

Is the party, then, which the Irish are now invited to take in the war of self-destruction, for the mere purpose of party extermination, worthy of a great nation?

But, after all, upon what will depend the success of the working of the measures in Ireland, should the Whigs succeed? Why, upon the law of *utiles*, not of testaments, but of landlord's wills; upon the will of the broken and driving landlords of Ireland. Upon the law of *ex viro*, "*ex viro* jubee." "Thus I will, thus I order." Upon the will of men in whom is now incorporated by the lauded Tithe Bill, all the power of landlord and parson, for the purpose of rent-screwing. Upon the will of magistrates, who can select whether they will restrain as landlords, or as persons, for the pound of rent, or the five shilling of tithe, and for whose purpose the Whigs have supplied a large distorting staff of "*civil power*" with muskets, bayonets, and cutlasses, and commanded, in most instances, by half-pay officers.

This, then, is to be the adjusting machinery placed in the hands of the "*measuring cast*" majority of Irish landlords.

But, being a great, a very great question—in fact, an entirely national question, a wholesale and real "*Irish manufacture*," question, we are bound to enter fully into a consideration of what its effects must produce in Ireland. In order, therefore, to relieve the subject of all those technicalities, mysteries, and absurdities, with which political economists free traders and trafficking politicians would enshroud it, we start upon a simple basis—upon their own foundation stone. Upon one point only do the several sections of "anti-monopolists," as the "monopolists" wimminically call themselves, agree. They all agree that the alteration in the Corn Laws will *make bread cheap*; that the alteration in the sugar duties will *make sugar cheap*; and that the altering of the timber duties will *make timber cheap*.

We here, then, admit the fact, as to corn; and join issue as to the result. We ask, then, does not the whole project fail of its anticipated benefit, if bread is not reduced in price? and, we ask, if bread is reduced in price, must not wheat, of which bread is made, be also reduced in price? and if wheat is reduced in price, must not land which produces wheat, as its most valuable crop, be reduced in value? and if land be reduced in value, must not rents be correspondingly reduced, as a fair compensation to the scheme? "O, yes; yes, of course, and so they would; everything finds its proper level," answer the monopolists. True; we admit it; but why not look for your level first—why select the most uneven and hilly line, when you can pass over a plain without injustice to any, or damage to the State? And what, we would ask, is to happen while the Government engineers are levelling? We will tell our friend, GEORGE HENRY WARD, who is so fond of precedent, just what happened in 1821, when every house was fortified, when the work-classes of Ireland were Whiteboys to man; when the whole strength of England's army, and Ireland's Orange yeomanry, could not resist the determination of a people roused to madness, by the very same causes which the success of the new Government

plan would once more create in Ireland, and for the adjustment of which, 1821 furnishes a precedent. And, let it be borne in mind, that had as it was, yet did Whiteboy Union and perseverance, compel the Tory GOUBURN (being the Chancellor of the Exchequer) to surrender to popular will, and oblige him to pass his Tithe Commutation Bill in time, was brought to bear its share of the Protestant Church impost.

Let us now see what led to the Whiteboy revolution in 1821. In 1815 we had peace proclaimed, and a partial return from high war prices for agricultural produce; speculation upon capital made in war time, and anticipation of more blood-letting, still kept the farmer shivering, and he paid the same rent without any abatement.

The harvest of 1816, however, gave high rents a "heavy blow," and two other bad harvests, between 1816 and 1821, caused a demand upon the Landlords for a reduction of rent, and upon the persons for a reduction of tithe, commensurate with the fall consequent upon agricultural produce and a return to "cheap bread." How was this demand answered? By calling out the yeomanry; by proclaiming martial law; by appointing special commissions; by shooting without colour of crime, and hanging without colour of law! "O! true, true," say the politicians; "but it was the Tories!" No, no; it was not; it was the landlords, the parsons, and the magistrates, in every country, when its interests are attacked, either compels the existing Government to assume the lead in despotism to preserve its order, or deposes the Government upon refusal, and establishes one of its own in its stead.

How did the landlords and parsons meet the emergency? There were two classes of landlords, without distinction of creed or politics: one class was very, very scanty indeed; the class who made tardy reductions; but even in the mode of making those reductions they completely paralyzed all industry among their tenantry. It was this. They held them to the old condition in their leases, and gave them receipts for the full amount, upon receiving the reduced rent, and held the old arrears over them as a drawn sword, ready upon a war, or any other godsend, to have the "full pound of flesh." Thus were the farmers out of all heart, while the Irish labourers were compelled to have recourse to opera benefits patronised by the Royal Family, needwork performed by Maids of Honour, proceeds of fancy balls, and subscriptions from the English humane and charitable, for support; and the plague partially terminated, by an influx of Irish agricultural labourers into the English manufacturing market; an influx greater in four years than the whole swarm of poor creatures who had been banished for the previous century.

The other class of landlords were those who held on by the terms of the lease as long as the last goose had a feather in her tail; middle men, in most instances, but well backed by fee-simple proprietors.

This system, coupled with Mr. GOUBURN'S Tithe Bill, of 1824, gave rise to the plan of knocking small heart-broken farms into pasture ground, which led to another irruption of displaced labourers.

In 1826, the Irish currency was assimilated; that is, land held by small farmers was again raised by 8-1 per cent.; the old Irish pound was compounded, being demanded in the new coin, £1 is 8d. This small cottier tenants, borne in, they would bear anything for a hiding hole and a "*spot to work on*." But it also dislodged many.

Then came the Catholic Relief Bill in 1829, and this measure relieved the political traffickers of 380,000 of their live stock, whose little holdings of an acre or two were knocked into large farms of fifty or a hundred acres; and then had we an immense exportation of the life's blood of the country—the real wealth of the nation.

These 380,000 heads of families constitute the whole mass of Irish pauperism, at present so humiliating to those who witness it without a struggle for its removal; and also have greatly augmented the reserve in the English market.

During these trying periods for the farmers, the parsons, as a body, tried shooting upon a large scale, rather than reduce one farthing of their accumulated demand, or abate it in future to peace prices; and although they justified their refusal by "*the trust imposed upon them for their successors*,"—the never failing plea of Churchmen, as expediency is of tyrants,—yet did they, in many, very many instances, refuse to take fifteen shillings in the pound of the arrears from the Catholic occupiers, while they leased them out to Protestant proctors for ten shillings in the pound, upon a strict promise not to abate one farthing of the legal demand.

Now such are the parties to whom the Irish farmers and the Irish labourers are to look with confidence, for the adjustment of any inequality which may create—to a party who have systematically plundered, in violation of all laws human and divine, and who, in compliance with a Government measure, will not, we imagine, surrender in *proper season*, the right of "*doing what they please with their own*." To such a tribunal are the plundered to appeal as a last resource.

If this calamity does not come, then does the project fail; for bread will not be cheaper; and if this calamity does come, then will it be met according to precedent, by shooting, hanging, and transporting, in the first instance, and then by the exportation of another million of Irish agriculturists as a further reserve for the masters; and then another million of a loan from England for Irish parsons. And then, perhaps, may be applied the lever which if used in time, would have spared the weeping the wailing and the gnashing of teeth. That lever is the Charter! which by depriving the landlords of the power of annexing destructive conditions, would oblige them to give leases for ever at a corn rent, and to bring their land into a valuable retail market to meet the wants of God's own flock.

This, and this only, can make a people independent of all foreign growers. This, and this only, can insure peace, plenty, and "*cheap bread*;" but this they will not do till forced to it, because upon the monopoly of the land depends the existence of a lucrative church establishment, a lucrative army and navy establishment, a lucrative place and pension establishment; one and all of which are so many hot beds—nurseries and provisions for the scions of the landed aristocracy.

"Well but," says an "anti-monopolist," "would you not crush that faction?" We answer, No; not if by crushing that we crush those who would be innocent sufferers, and create in its stead a more heartless set of "*quasi*" landlords, what the Irish call "*Sky farmers*"—domestic jobbers—who would purchase the produce of the land from Germans, Russians, Turks, Prussians, or Americans, as cheap as they could, and sell it as dear as they could to those whose own land they had rendered sterile in order to hold complete dominion over their working slaves.

We would crush them by making them rich, whether they would or no; by taking from them the power of making themselves paupers, by impoverishing their country and their fellow-men. That we call Christian justice, and we much prefer it to the justice of political economists.

The great anomaly of the corn branch of the new "*commercial exotic*" is this, that the Irish people are asked to join in reducing the price of the only thing they produce—for the purpose of cheapening the thing of which they never consume a particle! "O but that is a part of our complaint," say the humanity mongers, "we mean to make them consume more bread." To this general fallacy we shall reply under the head "*Timber Duties*." Cheap bread, then, must make cheap

land; but cheap land will not follow cheap bread, so long as one of the old tenants upon any estate has one fraction left, whereby he can be "*kept to his bargain*," while the desolation, expectation, and misery caused while the thing was *finding its level*, would be indescribable. So much for the "*fixed duty on corn*," and now for "*SUGAR DUTIES*."

Upon this subject, as regards Ireland, we require but a word. We would feel obliged by the "*cool Mr. BARNES*" furnishing us with a "*sliding scale*," by which a lot of jolly Irish boys in a frolic may estimate the reduction to be made upon each tumbler of punch, according to the "*GREAT COMMERCIAL REFORM*." We want that; because it is the only manner in which Irish labourers or Irish farmers use sugar, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. "O, but they must have sugar," say the monopolists. "They shall have the Whig 'Balm of Gilead,' the great sweetener of life! the joy of the poor man's heart! and the refiner of his morals!"

Fudge, blarney, bother, humbug! Give them enough of "*praties*," first, and they'll find the sugar and timber afterwards.

"TIMBER DUTIES."

An Irish farmer, holding fifty acres of land, and even more, does not use twenty pounds' worth of imported timber in the whole of his life, and what he does use is CANADIAN, upon which the *additional duty is to be laid on for his relief*.

An Irish labourer does not use one plank of foreign timber in the whole of his life. He is rocked in the arms of some native oak; he trips through manhood with a native shillelagh, leans in his old age upon a native staff, and is borne to the grave upon a native "*bier*." Every stick in his "*mud hovel*" comes from "*his honour's wood*," and thus begins and ends his use of timber!

"O, but," say the "*anti-monopolists*," "we mean to put an end to this. The farmers surely would use foreign timber if it was placed within their reach." Yes, they do use foreign timber, but not much, and as before stated, it is *Canadian*. The shafts of their carts are made of "*treble deals*," the bodies of their carts are made of "*treble deals*," and that is all they use; and that the great reform is to make dearer for them! "O but Memel or Norway red deal is much better, and our '*GREAT COMMERCIAL REFORM*' will bring the latter article within their reach. The Baltic trade, you know, the Baltic! No; it will not. As well may the economists tell us that a tax upon frizes would force the peasant to wear broad cloth, or that a tax upon "*jaunting cars*" would oblige the Irish tradesman to drive in his carriage."

The smallest tax, injudiciously laid on, may amount to a total prohibition of the use of the taxed article. The new school of calculators would impose upon us the belief that the true way to make Irish farmers purchase a better article is by raising its price, while at the same time they reduce their means, by diminishing the value of their exchange.

For what, then, are the Irish people to join in the "*new move*." Hear it, ye good men, struggling for freedom, and sorrow! Hear it, ye bad men, contending against justice, and blush! "*OUR RELIGION WILL BE ATTACKED BY THE TORIES*." Sacred liberty! what an insult! O, Mighty knowledge, what a folly! Merciful Creator! what a sin!

This, then, is the real *casus belli*; this is the mountain; this is the crutch of limping, truckling, blighting, blasting, hypocrisy! But, O knowledge! thou idol of the good man's worship! thanks be to God! thou art fast unbinding the tight bandage which has so long obscured man's vision! Thy magic influence comes like a mighty torrent in the midst of the calm, and will sweep away all the ignorance, superstition, and bigotry of darker ages. Yes, knowledge will expand the mind, mature the judgment, and unite the mighty masses in one overwhelming band of freedom.

Under such a combination of right and might, with the knowledge which the English and Scotch now possess to direct us, we will gain liberty without a blow. But should tyranny, strong in long possession, made courageous by unopposed away, and confident by passive obedience and non-resistance, still resist; we will then, with one mighty blow, strike the Hydra-headed monster to the earth to rise no more!

The tactics of Ireland as recommended by the "*Liberator*," are the most dishonest, base, and flagrantly mercantile and treacherous, of his many political speculations. Must not every man with half an eye at once see that the return of Whigs to the Irish people, is the cutting of so many sticks to beat themselves soundly, when they shall first have gently whipped the Tories from the Treasury benches for six or seven years longer? Then will Mr. O'CONNELL have entirely succeeded; his object being to throw another stumbling block in his own way, the removal of which will be a fair excuse for raising the supplies for years from a poor deluded starving people. Never was there so rascally a juggle, and well may the Irish patriots exclaim—

"Alas! I poor country, Almost afraid to know itself."

We beg, in conclusion, to give the following heart-rending scene, exactly paraded in Monday's "*Chronicle*," as the first Irish instalment of the very anticipation of the "*Great commercial Reforms*:"—

"EXTENSIVE EMIGRATION."

Up to the 15th of the present month, thirty vessels have sailed from the port of Cork alone, with 4,662 emigrants, for Canada, the United States, and New South Wales."

There "*anti-monopolists*," won't that rate of transportation satisfy your hellish lust for removing the pressure upon subsistence or what more do you require, you infernal fiends!

DANIEL O'CONNELL

AND
"THE MISCREANT CHARTISTS."

By our report of the Crown and Anchor Meeting, reported in our last, and conveyed by Mr. O'CONNELL and his friends under a sixpenny protection, and ostensibly for the purpose of blarneying about Repeal, but really with a view of feeling his way once more into popular society for the purpose of foisting the "*bloodies*" for another term upon us, it will be seen that the "*miscreants*" can find their way even to a ticket show in sufficient numbers to upset humbug. Never were insolence and folly more conspicuous than in the combination of both, which the learned gentleman exhibited upon the occasion. The blind followers hoped to give tone to the country by the trick; but MARTIN and others opened his eyes.

It appears, however, that a Mr. DUGGAN, rent collector in Manchester, has insured DAN a favourable reception

IN MANCHESTER;

and we learn that the walls of the town have been covered with bills, announcing DAN's intention to meet the factory operatives of Manchester in the Carpenter's Hall, on Tuesday next.

The indignant excitement which this threat has created in Manchester, Oldham, Ashton, Stockport, and the surrounding districts, is intense; and the Chartists are resolved to give DAN a benefit!

Now, be it remembered that the Leeds working people are the most Master-ridden in the North of England; and yet did they, in the depth of winter, with snow upon the ground, turn out well to meet the reviler of the "*miscreant Chartists*." Manchester, therefore, owes Leeds a return of the compliment; and Manchester, we have no doubt, will do its duty.

The "*Pilot*," DAN's tool, and the other tools of the Irish liberal press, have paraded DAN's thrashing at the Crown and Anchor as a complete triumph over Chartism. Now, we ask if this is fair to our Irish

brethren, who are just now struggling to throw the monster from their back? Is it justice to them, we ask, while they nobly struggle against corruption, and corruption in the very citadel, that we should allow them to suppose, for one moment, that we are about to receive the traitor whom they have expelled from their ranks?</

When the people were united they could get anything by moral means; but he would oppose a physical force. He (Renewed) hissed. He then attacked Ferguson O'Connor for proposing a day on which the Charter should become law.

Mr. WHITE interposed, and told him it was cowardly and base to attack a man who was in prison, and could not have an opportunity of defending himself.

Mr. EDMONDS endeavoured to gain a hearing, but it was no use, the meeting would not hear him. He looked the picture of despair, frothing and foaming at the mouth. He at length rose, and said, "I would take his leave of them, and hand them over to his friends on the left." He then sat down, and was hissed most cordially by the immense assembly.

The CHAIRMAN then arose, and stated that it now became his duty to take the sense of the meeting on the resolution which had been proposed, and as he was rather hoarse, he would request the movers of both resolutions to read them to the meeting, that they might clearly understand what they were voting for.

The Rev. T. M'DONNELL then read a string of propositions approving of the measure contemplated by her Majesty's Ministers, and read a petition embodying the same.

Mr. GEORGE WHITE read his amendment, after which

The MAYOR stood up and stated that, in order to come to a just decision, he hoped they would hold up both hands. He should put the resolutions in the following manner:—When he put the amendment he

would say—Mr. White's amendment; and when he put the original resolution he should say—Mr. Weston's resolution. Did they understand him? (Yes, yes.) The most profound silence was kept, and the Mayor called on all those who approved of Mr. White's amendment to hold up their hands; an immense forest, comprising at least nine-tenths of the meeting, held up their hands, and gave a cheer that fairly shook the building. The Chairman then put it to the contrary, when a very small portion of "Milk White" hands

THE CHAIRMAN then declared the amendment of Mr. White to be carried with a considerable majority. The cheering and applause were loud and enthusiastic cheers and waving of handkerchiefs from the ladies who crowded the side galleries.

The ministerial gentry then requested the Mayor to put the question again, to which he consented, and on the second show of hands being taken it seemed largely in favor of the Chartists than before.

THE MAYOR then said that he had no hesitation in declaring the amendment carried by a very considerable majority.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT gave rise to deafening and enthusiastic cheers.

The gentlemen on the right of the chair looked on each other with dismay, and shook their heads in solemn silence.

THE MAYOR then stepped forward, and declared to the meeting, that he acknowledged they had been fairly beaten. (Loud cheers.)

MR. ARTHUR O'NEIL then moved the following resolution, which had originally formed a part of Mr. White's amendment, and was carried on the second vote by the desire of the Chartists who were in the gallery.

Resolved—"That the same amount of public opinion exists in the minds of the Corn Laws, would assure for the people the whole of their rights; this meeting is therefore, determined not to rest satisfied until the Charter, the whole Charter, and nothing less, becomes the law of the realm, and the incarcerated and exiled Chartists be restored to their homes."

THE ANNOUNCEMENT was not lost.

MR. COLLINS seconded the resolution.

The parties on the right of the chair insisted that it had no reference to the present meeting, and requested the Mayor to put the question.

THE MAYOR hoped the Chartists would not insist,

The Chartists, feeling that they had already achieved a full and complete victory, and that no person could deny that their principles had been acknowledged to the fullest extent, and also on account of the impartial manner in which the Mayor had put the resolutions to a vote, and the great unanimity with which they were carried, were then given to the Mayor for his impartial conduct, to which he replied that he would always endeavour to act impartially, and give no party a fair play; he at the same time informed them that he did not approve of the decision they had come to that day.

Mr. WHITE then proposed three cheers for the Charter, which were given in the first style; three for Feargus O'Connor, which was also heartily responded to; and three for the Charter, which were given in the most terrific groans were then given for the Whigs, after which the numerous assembly departed.

No less than twenty thousand people attended from

the commencement to the conclusion.

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

WAKEFIELD ADJOURNED SESSIONS.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that the SPRING GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS of the PEACE, for the West Riding of the County of York, will be held at the Adjournment in the Committee Room, at the House of Correction, at Wakefield, on WEDNESDAY, the NINTH day of JUNE next, at Eleven o'Clock in the Forenoon, for the purpose of inspecting the Riding Prison, (the said House of Correction), and for examining the Accounts of the Keeper of the said House of Correction, making inquiry into the conduct of the Officers and Servants belonging the same; and also into the behaviour of the Prisoners, and the State of the Prison.

And Notice is also Hereby Given, that at the same time and place, the Resolution of the Visiting Justices of the House of Correction, passed at a Meeting held there on the 15th day of April last, on the subject of the estate of the late Sir George of Leeds, Doncaster, and Pontefract, towards enlarging, altering, or repairing the present House of Correction, or building a New Gaol or House of Correction, will be taken into consideration, and such orders made thereon as the Justices there assembled may think fit.

C. H. ELSLEY, Clerk of the Peace.
Clerk of the Peace's Office, Wakefield,
May 21st, 1841.

THE ILLUMINATOR.

NEW CHARTIST PERIODICAL.

THE MIDLAND COUNTIES' ILLUMINATOR, or Price Three-halpence, is published every Saturday Morning, by Mr. COOPER, of Leicester, and may be had of Mr. CLEAVE, Shoe-lane, London; of Messrs. Seal, Windley, and Shorham, (Leicester), Sweet, (Nottingham), Skivington (Leeds), and Houghton, (Newcastle); of Messrs. Vickers, (Belper), Limb, (Chesterfield), G. Robinson, (Hincley), and all Booksellers in the Kingdom, by application to Mr. Cleave, London.

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publication from Leicester, entitled the *Illuminator*. We are pleased to find it is a well conducted and talented paper, containing much useful matter, and many interesting extracts from the best social and political writers. In the number before us (No. 11,) is inserted an article on the 'Wicked Law of

No. 16, (published Saturday, May 29,) contains "Deliberate Suicide of the Whigs"; "necessity of adhering to old-fashioned argument"; "Lives of

Copies of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, may be had on application.

FROST AND THE CONVENTION OF 1839.
 Now Publishing, Price One Halfpenny,
THE ENGLISH CHARTIST CIRCULAR, No.

The above valuable document, the monument of our ancestral rights, was presented by its author

Our antislavery friend, was presented by his admirer, Julius L. Schroder, Esq., to the Council of the General Convention, on Friday, the 9th of August, 1839, to be by them approved and executed to the utmost of their ability, in furthering the great cause of national and rational freedom, and rescuing both from the accumulating wrongs of oligarchical, aristocratical, and clerical domination.

At a Meeting of the Members of the General Convention, held the 9th of September, 1839, John Frost, Esq in the Chair, the "Thirty-nine Articles" were

unanimously adopted, with an earnest call upon every constituency in the kingdom to reprint and circulate this important document among the people. This recommendation was signed by all the members of the Convention (twenty in number) who happened to be in London at the time.

THE CIRCULAR also contains a great variety of interesting Articles on Law Making and Law Breaking, Private-Property, Corn Laws, America, National Debt, &c. &c.

London: Cleave, (Proprietor and Publisher), Shoe-lane, Fleet-street; and all Newsmen and Booksellers.

Booksellers: *See* **Booksellers**

Original Correspondence.

TO THOSE WHO LOVE FREEDOM AND HATE SLAVERY.

MY FRIENDS.—Allow me to repeat a sentence from my speech upon opening my Radical commission at Glasgow, now nearly six years since. I then said:—

"My object is to make you all of one will, and out of that will to form the basis of your future constitution. The sanction day will arrive, when both parties will bid for you according to your value; to increase your value and to prepare you for the sanction, shall be my task."

Such were my words six years ago, and now behold the day of action is at hand, and who will bid the full value for public support is now the question. I will buy in the first lot for another season, if the highest bidder offers a single dot less than "the whole Charter."

I have never placed one single crutch before the public. I have not allowed the public mind to be distracted by sudden changes and convulsive throes. I have adhered, through years of stormy abuse and opposition to the one, single question, Universal Suffrage. I have told you that the figure which I was engaged, with others, in completing, could not be practically exhibited until the several parties were ready for being put together. They are now "tried up," and ready for being "put together."

Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen, the eyes of the world are now upon you. The French press, still now almost upon popular feeling in England, seems with remembrance against the popular will. This is a peril. The press of a nation, as the press of Britain, is the more organ of a nation, and the French journals for the infection of England's opinion.

The people of France, any more than the people of England, have no organ. The Ministry of France would join the British Ministry to suppress all popular feeling; but, thank God, the will of the people is now strong for all nations.

My friends, the crisis has arrived, and may God grant that we prove ourselves equal to the emergency! If we have and determined, we conquer. If we are cowardly and wavering, we fail.

Behold the stake—"LIBERTY!" The gift of God, the noblest possession which man can enjoy. Liberty is the people's death to the tyranny of nations. If, then, we resolve to be free who can impede us in our course? That we may be valued, let us be honest, consistent and brave.

When I reflect upon the stake now to be played for, I shudder lest one false step should lessen our chance of winning. It is a noble thing—a holy right, to be the "poor oppressed" fighting against the "rich oppressor." The balance of power is now in our hands—that is acknowledged. With us, then, the consideration should be, how to use it for OUR OWN BENEFIT, wholly regardless of both factions, and, above all, of the individual interest of camp followers, who will claim special title to public confidence, and ask us to make exceptions to our general rule of action in their particular case. I say no exception. If our rule be good, let it be critically followed; if bad, let it be altered.

Behold, then, our position. The Whigs, the "Moderate" faction that ever hell in its wrath sent upon earth, are on their knees licking our feet, while the denunciation which they have caused rings through every crevice of this sea-bound dungeon. They have become bankrupt, and would accept any amount of promise to be paid, after convenience, well knowing that they had no intention ever to meet their engagements.

Let us ask you one question. Can you trust them after nine years of sad and melancholy trial, when you reflect that their greatest assaults upon liberty were made in the days of their greatest strength?

But upon what question do they vainly hope to arouse public sympathy? Why, upon a set of problematical media, which, should they terminate to the full extent of their anticipation, would but injure every working man, while they would serve every man of fixed income—every pensioner, every pauper, and every soldier. There is the battle of the conference, the grocer, the Cuba and Brazilian slave-owner, the shipbuilder, the architect, the ship-builder, the cabinet-maker, the timber-merchant, and the corn-factor, against labour. No wonder that Joe Hume, a large landholder, should think "beyond broad enough for the Spitalfields weaver," while he would cheerfully purchase his own hot lot for *less money*, PRODUCE OF MORE LABOUR. What does he care where it comes from, provided he has it? Do not the "anti-monopolists," as they whimsically call themselves, know full well that all the articles of life are made cheaper, wages, placements, pensioners, and persons with fixed incomes, will be so much the richer; and do they sleep at night to reduce their salaries to the "sliding scale," or do they propose to lessen the general burdens of the country? No, in faith; but, curious enough, the locally wanted measures have sprung out of State necessity. It was not because the people wanted relief that their Majesty's popular champions proposed their "tariff," but because, without it, they could not get wages; and this is called patriotism, and the act "GREAT COMMERCIAL REFORM!" And they propose "free trade" with untaxed countries, that is, to make you run a race with fetters on your legs, while your competitors are unshackled!

But mark their real love of the principle. While the hindling press echoes "free trade," there is a Bill passing through Parliament to rob 160 of the poor oppressed, by depriving them of a common, to enrich twenty-five rich oppressors. Yes, "Whaddon Charter" is being stolen from 160 poor men, by twenty-five rich men. The 160 poor men have begged themselves to defend their right, but have failed; and this, Joe Hume would call "free trade."

Let me put a question to you. Would you have listened, for a moment, to a single speech made in the House of Commons upon the subject, at a parish meeting, without bestowing copious hisses upon the clasp-trap speakers? No, not to a single one. The question is, are we, who fight for principle, and who have suffered so much in our struggle for principle, to be caught in the new Whig ministerial trap?

They say, they would set the captive free. I answer, let me not in prison rather than my liberty, obtained by Whig clemency, should procure release for the ruffians who have trampled upon all liberty. I have not lived in solitary confinement for thirteen months, without learning how to estimate the value of liberty; neither have I spent my time to so bad a purpose as to make my liberty more precious than my character. If I can only obtain my freedom by an abandonment of my principles, while my loathsome dungeon be my dwelling-place, while life remains!

I was shocked, and horror-struck, to hear the very name of a compromise at the meeting held last week at the Crown and Anchor, and my principal reason for wishing now, to enter my protest, upon my own part, against such a course. And then, I am told that the Tories will set me free. Good Heaven! my limbs, strong, would refuse their office when told to deliver their liberty to my country's greatest oppressor. What? be allowed to walk abroad and say, "I have been free to the Tamworth Baronet?" and, in every instance where you have the power, resist Tories in preference to Whigs. Do so for this reason—Because you will thereby beat one of your enemies. By returning Whigs you cannot, in the slightest degree, weaken Toryism; inasmuch as Whigs in office are mere Tories.

What have we to expect from the Whigs in the way of reform? Have they not already ruined themselves in their endeavour to ruin us? In depriving you of your wages have they not left an empty Exchequer, and themselves without their salaries, to innure which they must now play a game at thimble-rig?

In God's name, what have you to do with Sugar Duties, Corn, or Timber? Will it be any consolation to you to know that you have cheapened bread, sugar, and timber, for traffickers and consumers with fixed incomes, while, to accomplish it, you have lessened the price of your own labour, and thereby deprived yourselves of the means of purchasing any portion of the cheap goods? This humbug! and they know it; and they can only hope to cram it down your throats by bribing your leaders; and just give me leave to ask, why these immense collections by the "Plague" just now? Agitation costs them nothing. Beware, beware, beware of Mr. Gold.

Ireland, even in the midst of the intolerance of her paid patriots?

Upon the whole, my friends, believe me, that neither Whig or Tory will allow me to roam at large one single hour before the 11th of November next; and then I will pay them twenty-five shillings in the pound!!!!!!

Now, my friends, let me explain what our course should be.

Six years ago, I said I would prepare you for sale. Two years ago, I published a plan for your local organization, and, three months ago I republished that plan. I was well aware that only in the excitement of a contested election would either band of robbers bid for the virtuous people; that hour has now come, yet are you not prepared with your committees, sub-committees, treasurers, and secretaries of electioneering clubs which I recommended: but as I never fight with my own party, but always try to make up for their laziness by my own extra diligence, I tell you now to get your machinery ready. Let every locality have its election club. For Charter members there is no hope this election; but this election is the foundation of all hope. Upon you, the people, will depend the result, whether you furnish to the House of Commons a sufficient number of tools to be used by an Administration for your ruin, or whether you furnish such a House as must be dissolved in less than six months from its formation.

Now, mark me well. If you return as many as 300 Whigs, you will prepare improved machinery for fraud, persecution and tyranny. As our only struggle must be for the Charter, a sufficient number of well-armed alone, or any thing rather than a Radical-Whig membership will be found to join the Whigs to carry on a Tory House without again tempting the storm of popular wrath, of which they will get a taste upon the ensuing contest. If you return but a few Whigs they cannot form any coalition with the Tories and must constitute ours and the Queen's minority.

The greatest blessing which could happen to us would be the return of 558 Tories; but that is impossible. If we had a House full of Tories their position would be very much like that of the Kerry man, who came all the way from Kerry to see London from the top of the monument; but when he got there he was so dazed that he got frightened and requested a friend to cover his eyes with his handkerchief, for God's sake, and lead him back again to Kerry. Now, if you had 558 rampant Tory devils they would be frightened at the sound of their own voice, and would imploringly cry "O! for an opposition!"

It is said that no wife could survive a year if not once contradicted; I tell you that no minister can survive the want of an opposition. The Tories being the Tories that the Whigs, actually led them to the altar, and then offered them up as a sacrifice to an opposed lust. It was by not opposing the Whigs, in their aggression against popular rights, that the Tories brought Whiggery into disrepute. Let us therefore benefit by example; and as the Whigs did of us, let us kill the Tories by repletion. Let us gorge the House with them, and, inasmuch as the struggle, at last, must be between the nominees of a faction and the whole people, it must come to this; and if we are not prepared, why then, let us at once give up.

I say, that with a compact minority, too large for a faction, and too small for a party, at work inside, and the whole people at work outside, nothing can withstand us.

As a matter of course, the "bloodies" will now "pat you on the back," and ask for your support; but for what? Would you, nine years ago, have entertained any one of the great "commercial reforms," as they are called, or would you have considered them as any part of the great measure? Assuredly not; and, after nine years' drilling and training; after nine years' disappointment; after nine years' sessions of unexampled tyranny, persecution, lewd law and distress, are you now to entertain them as a whole? Have nine years of teaching taught us no better than this?

My friends, nothing can be more laughable than the complaints and sore things of the Whigs, in their very, very incompetent journals. They really imagine that we are still in leading strings, and that we should be thankful for correction. They still call themselves our natural allies, and the Tories our natural enemies; and, forgetting that we dissolved partnership in September, 1838, and set up business on our own account, the ignorant creatures have the folly to find fault with our tactics! Well now, can anything be more absurd! and, when well weighed, can any praise be stronger than this intended censure?

What is our object? To destroy Whiggery, and establish Chartism. Well, then, are Whigs likely to be much in love with any course which tends towards the accomplishment of that desirable end? Do they ask us for advice, as to how their proceedings are to be conducted? No, in faith.

What would any one of you think, suppose you sat down to a game of cards, and that your adversary, after vain endeavours to win the game by fair play, said, "O, but you must show me your hand, and play your cards as I direct you?" What, I ask, would you think of such a proposal? and yet it would not be your thought of such a proposal, if you were directed by Whigs, to play our game as they direct us. My friends, so long as we do play this factious and loose game, so long as we are a laughing-stock, but the moment we played our hand in Birmingham, in 1839, according to our own judgment, that moment did our adversaries say, "O, these fellows play the game too well, and we must bludgeon them; pack the cards, and run off with the stake!!!!"

Well, up to that period, we were the ridicule of all parties, and despised by all; but since then we have played our own game, and now we have arrived to "the dignity of being hated." We are no longer despised; we are now hated, because we are dreaded; and no political party can be great till it is hated. Thank God, then, we are all hated, and I the most! O, how I enjoy Whig and Tory hatred! It is balm! cordial! I conjoin!!!!

But what has made you great? The things that have made you hated, of course. What are they? The pertinacious manner in which you have upset every clap-trap meeting; the noble consistency you have evinced in standing by your friends and your Charter, through unparalleled persecution, insult, and distress; your "USELESS DISPLAYS" and many expressions of "ANGRY FEELING" have done the job; and hence was it a principal object of Mr. Joseph Hume to lure you into quiet and calm; into "non-resistance and passive obedience" before the hour arrived for treating Whigs on the hustings as they treated us in the House. Is it not self-evident that conduct which would entitle you to Whig praise, would subject you to popular suspicion and censure, and having well earned a large stock of Whig hatred, we are justly entitled to a large share of popular approval.

For four months this dissolution has been in cogitation, and during that time the "leading Chartists" have been "saturated" with letters to subdue Chartism "angry feelings" at public meetings, and to set their faces against "useless displays." Our duty then is, for the present, to fill the House with Tory poison; yes, to load it to the very muzzle, so that it may explode and blow them all up, and then will come our turn!

Now, my friends, as I have never waited upon public opinion, but have always "come out" upon principle—once, and, in the outset, say, "down with the Whigs;" and, in every instance where you have the power, resist Tories in preference to Whigs. Do so for this reason—Because you will thereby beat one of your enemies. By returning Whigs you cannot, in the slightest degree, weaken Toryism; inasmuch as Whigs in office are mere Tories.

What have we to expect from the Whigs in the way of reform? Have they not already ruined themselves in their endeavour to ruin us? In depriving you of your wages have they not left an empty Exchequer, and themselves without their salaries, to innure which they must now play a game at thimble-rig?

In God's name, what have you to do with Sugar Duties, Corn, or Timber? Will it be any consolation to you to know that you have cheapened bread, sugar, and timber, for traffickers and consumers with fixed incomes, while, to accomplish it, you have lessened the price of your own labour, and thereby deprived yourselves of the means of purchasing any portion of the cheap goods? This humbug! and they know it; and they can only hope to cram it down your throats by bribing your leaders; and just give me leave to ask, why these immense collections by the "Plague" just now? Agitation costs them nothing. Beware, beware, beware of Mr. Gold.

Let us just see the principle upon which all the wealthier classes are now marshalled on the Government side, in support of the great "Commercial Reforms."

The foolish mill lords imagine that they can buy cheaper and sell dearer, and still preserve peace, regulate demand and supply, and stop gambling; therefore they are hostile holders to the Whigs.

The bankers know that their discounts will be increased by an increased demand for paper to gamble with—your labour and liberty being the stake.

The Insurance Offices know that their business will be increased at your expense.

The grocers and bakers, poor silly fools!—think that they will be enabled to buy very much cheaper, and perhaps sell more!

The judges, parsons, barristers, solicitors, placemen, pensioners, fund-holders; in short, all those with fixed incomes; the whole swarm of lice on the beetle, imagine that they will be enabled to do twice as much with their fixed salaries, and yet that order and peace will continue!

The poor fools of shopkeepers and tradesmen, imagine that they will be enabled to sell just as much and to live cheaper. Silly, silly men! They can only live cheaper by making labour cheaper, inasmuch as that ingredient forms nineteen-twentieths of every thing they consume; while their whole means of consumption is furnished by labour, and labour alone; and when labour is reduced, they must be reduced. In fact they are all mad. The Whigs have literally persuaded them that poor John has yet something in him, which the "Great Commercial Reforms" is to extract; but they will all find themselves mistaken, and that are long!

I have shown you how the Whigs have fought their battle, by constantly changing their position and tactics without reference to us.

I have shown you how the Tories have fought their battle with reference only to their own party purposes. And

Daniel O'Connell, being another corporation, though a corporation sole, let us see how he proposes to fight his battle (Ireland's battle), without reference to any earthly object but keeping himself in place and his hands in poor Paddy's pockets. I shall not lose much of my space in finishing this cautionary monition ("self tormenter.")

Pray! pray! mark, learn, and inwardly digest, the mode by which this charlatan proposes to redeem all his pledges to unhappy Ireland. Firstly, observe, Repeal is the watch-word of Ireland, as the Charter is that of Britain. Secondly, bear in mind, that a Parliament elected favourable to Whig principles would have, at least, a six years' lease of office, as friends of the Queen's youth.

Now, how think you, this beggarly rascal proposes to snatch Repeal out of the fire of party, or even to make the god-send a stepping-stone to Repeal? Why, he postpones it for the PRESENT! Let us introduce such injure "the base, brutal, and bloody Whigs"—the "West Britons," the coercers, the police enforcers, the arms-bill enactors, the appropriation concocters and abandoners, the rascally Whigs!

The World, upon the subject of Dan's last letter, has these few pithy lines:—

"With much contained in it we coincide; while from other parts we TOTALLY DISSENT. Mr. O'Connell we think perfectly right in not recommending that a Repeal candidate should be started, at this juncture, where his chance of success would be doubtful."

Aye, "where his chance of success would be doubtful!"—there's the rub; and that one scorpion sentence will render the return of a Repealer doubtful in every part of Ireland; and that is the sole, and only, object of the deceitful stall!

But, suppose he had said, "men of Ireland, now is your time. ONWARD TO REPEAL. Every Repealer may be relied upon as an opponent to Toryism; let us have men of double force—first, anti-Tory, and then pro-Repeal, thus we effect a double purpose at one and the same time. Kill the enemy and rescue our native land." Suppose he had said that, what would have been the effect? Why, just this; that in many cases, where the order would render the return of a Whig doubtful, the course which I recommend would have rendered the return of a Repealer certain. But what is the fact? Why that those very Whigs, now to be returned, will be Ireland's bitterest enemies, and the very staunchest anti-repealers, and that's the secret,—that's what O'Connell wants, a STUMBLING BLOCK IN THE WAY OF THE MONSTERS OF HIS OWN CREATION.

But then, a bit of religion,—the old seasoner of all diabolical,—is brought in. By heaven it is enough to make any man wild, and to set an Irishman mad to think of the barefaced villainy of this low-down fellow.

Well, my friends, thus they all set, as they profess to think, best for their interest, and without consulting us. Now, let us, without reference to any of them, do the best we can for our Charter. Let us, wherever we can give, give 20, 30, 40, 50, yes, a hundred of either devil for our Charter. O, how easily Glasgow could return my dear friend Moir, by giving them 20 Tories, or 20 Whigs, for Scotland for this one honest Charter. That is, suppose Dundee, Dunfermline, and several other places, were to make common cause with Glasgow, and that the Chartists of those places were to say "20 Whigs, or 20 Tories," "which you please, my dear; choose your devil, and your devil's colour, and have him in exchange for one Chartist agent." Leicester, Hull, and Nottingham could do this; Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, and York could do likewise. Rochdale has its out and out—honest Sharman—glorious Sharman—amiable Sharman—Manchester, Stockport, Bolton, and Cheshire could do likewise. "The dignity of being hated." We are no longer despised; we are now hated, because we are dreaded; and no political party can be great till it is hated. Thank God, then, we are all hated, and I the most! O, how I enjoy Whig and Tory hatred! It is balm! cordial! I conjoin!!!!

Now, my friends, to the point. "Cass's" policy should not only be virtuous, but should be above suspicion. No man shall ever suspect me, and, therefore, although solicited by many constituencies to offer myself, free of expense, where my return may be considered certain, as all and every sacrifice would be made in a whole country to insure it, I have come to the settled resolution not to accept a seat in the next Parliament, if offered to me—not to allow myself to be put in nomination anywhere, and for this simple reason, that my recommendation may stand discharged of all self-interest.

Our time for returning the whole House is at hand, believe me, or a bloody revolution; one or the other is inevitable. I must keep my conscience clear, and my friends clear. I WILL NOT OFFER MYSELF FOR ANY PLACE. I will support a Chartist everywhere, at all hazards, and will join in returning a Tory in preference to a Whig, where the contest lies between the Devils and the Devils in hell. I do this from my bitter and unconquerable hatred to the Tories, from the hope that they will kill themselves.

Now my friends, as to any compromise for my liberty, I will not owe it to Peel, even if offered; but believe me, that on to-morrow night on Duncombe's motion, he will indignantly reject the assertion made at the Crown and Anchor. No, no; Sir R. Peel is too cold-blooded a politician to bear with temper such a taunt, as being charged with an act of justice!

I will not come out of my cell at all upon a compromise.—I will break the contract—I have been no party to it.

As to my getting out just now, you shall judge from the following true "unvarnished tale," whether or not it would be justice to me to enlarge me at the present moment, when so much would be expected from me, and when I should not be able to take any part whatever in public affairs. When I came here first, I kept my voice by reading aloud about two hours every day. This I practised till the winter compelled me to have fire, and then my cell chimney smoked to such an extent, that, by degrees, I was obliged to give up not only reading aloud, but speaking above my lowest tone. I could not speak without pain. When spring returned, it brought no charms for me. It was when the smoke vanished to read again, but found that I always spit blood, when I made this attempt, before I got through many pages; so I gave it up.

Now, I ask you, would it not be certain death to place me upon a public hustings or in a public meeting? Never was man treated as I have been! not one single restriction has been taken off since June 1st, 1840, to the present moment, but several fresh ones

have been added. I pay for every thing I use, even my coals; and I pay £10 8s. a year's rent for one of the condemned cells! Every letter I receive is read; every letter I send, through the post is read; every visitor is accompanied, for five minutes, by a turnkey, and every word we say is reported. I am solitary confinement! and shall be in the fortnight next on Tuesday week, a punishment unknown to the rest of the world. In one of my recent letters, I stated that it was such a punishment as no man had ever endured for any crime since it had been discovered; but some one altered it to had ever endured for libel.

Now, again, I tell you that the law knows of no such punishment; and the Judges dare not, say could not, sentence to such a punishment for any crime; and having borne thirteen months of it, unjustly, shall I say, "thank you," to the scoundrels who made me unjustly suffer, and, if guilty, would now UNJUSTLY liberate me for their own base ends?

No,—damn them!—never! "No surrender." "The Charter," and "down with the bloodies!"

Ever yours,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

DEAR SIR.—I have to enclose the following resolution passed at our meeting of this day (Tuesday) the 11th inst. at Manchester, a letter to be sent to the Executive, and to the editor of the Northern Star, in relation to the proposed motion to Mr. John Cleave, Shoe-lane, London, our unanimously elected treasurer, all moneys which have been sent to them of the Convention or committee."

I am, &c.,

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