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4th. To consider the practicability of locating members of the same family upon the same estate, without detriment to those who shall be entitled to ballot at the same time.

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6th. To decide upon the means by which the salaries of officers shall be levied.

7th. To decide under what circumstances the Directors shall be empowered to erect School-houses.

8th. To decide upon the mode by which School-masters and schoolmistresses shall be appointed.

9th. To decide as to how far the Directors shall be empowered to expend monies in the improvement of land from purchase to the location of occupants.

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11th. To elect Trustees.

12th. To elect Treasurer.

13th. To elect Deputy Treasurer.

14th. To receive the Report of the Finance Committee.

15th. To elect Auditors.

16th. To consider the propriety of investing the district officers, with the consent of the Directors, with the power of rejecting Persons of bad character as Members.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1846.

THE CONFUSION.

IN these days of HONOURABLE SPECULATION, when crowns play at hazard for nations, the mind becomes so expanded by the immensity of the stakes, that we are inclined to look upon our largest domestic ventures as "little goes"—a mere round of "chicken hazard." One would naturally suppose that the annexation of Texas to the United States, of Cracow to the Austrian crown, and the no distant prospect of the addition of Spain to the family dower of the Bourbon family, should absorb all considerations of railway fluctuations, short time, manufacturing anticipations, and even the price of bread itself. However small in importance as the latter item may appear, we have a misgiving that this consideration will create louder thunder in our domestic arsenal than the distant guns of foreign artillery.

In truth, we have always looked with great respect upon those opinions that are formed, and actions that are guided, by self-interest. There is an instinct in human nature, as well as habits, manners, customs, and propensities, which is implanted in the human mind, and with whose ascendancy even Socialism itself has not dared to grapple.

It is true that infant training may lead the growing mind to revolt against acts and institutions tolerated by the unlettered and uninformed. It is true that a new system of education may lead to new habits, manners, customs, and even propensities; but it is equally true, that no system of training in which the infant or adult mind can be schooled will destroy those natural instincts which are implanted in the mind, and cannot be eradicated by education.

We fear, moreover, that not only the natural instinct, but the cherished habits, manners, customs, and propensities of those who are destined to be the gunners in the next great domestic struggle, will have a powerful influence upon the settlement of those questions which have yet to be adjusted for the completion and realization of Mr. Cobden's notion of Free Trade principles. We allude to those timely and prudent concessions made part and parcel of the whole measure by Sir Robert Peel, but barred by the influence of the capitalist, as well as to the Edinburgh letter of the present Prime Minister, so full of promise to those who dreaded damage from the inconsiderate settlement of the question.

Mr. Cobden has been recently making a Free Trade tour in the territory of Don Quixote, with a Mr. Salis Schwabe as his Sancho Panza, and so far from the danger of an encounter with windmills, so damaging to the chivalry of his illustrious master, we learn that many landlords grasp his triumph at Seville, while the *Commercio* of Cadiz designs the attendance of 44 speculators as a GRAND BANQUET to our modern knight. It is not long since we reminded the Free Traders that all classes living, foreign landed proprietors have the greatest interest in a Free Trade in Corn with the richest country in the world; and hence, we were fully prepared for the acceptance of the principle by them. But there is a comogue class of theirs, who, although attempted to be silenced by the pigmy thunder of the *Times* are, nevertheless, preparing for that confusion for which we are now preparing our readers.

In England, as long as life can be preserved and taxes paid, there appears to be the most perfect security for property in the midst of the most appalling want an anomaly created by the judicious manner in which the several classes, through possession, speculation, and patronage, have been heretofore allowed to manage the EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION of the nation's industry. Past history, however, tells us that there is danger to the state when change of laws or other circumstances threaten danger to any one of those orders. Hence, in 1842, the bankrupt cotton lords would have forced the country to a revolution in defence of their privileges, and in a struggle for increased plunder.

We believe that the instinct which prompted those men to the daring outrage, will also influence the landlords of this country when danger threatens their order; and especially if, upon the next representation of their body after a General Election, they shall find themselves strong enough to enter the field as an aggressive force. Perhaps few have turned their attention to the probable constitution of the next House of Commons—a House of Commons destined to be more vigorously assailed from at home by the Whigs and Tories have been changed into a perfect Babel of class confusion. Thus, seeing

how, under all circumstances, the House is driven to a graduated scale of representation, from the newest platform for change to the highest veneration for antiquated institutions, we venture to predict the practical effect of this change from without, upon the deliberations of the "COLLECTIVE WISDOM," and with that view we venture upon a synopsis of the next Parliament, by presenting the reader with what appears to us likely to be the relative strength of parties.

Pure Whigs and Free Traders ... 260
Pure Protectionists ... 280
Peel and the Janissaries ... 70
Llamlar, Young Hannibals, and their Tail ... 17
Smith O'Brien and the Young Irelanders ... 9
Duncombe and his party ... 20
Sudbury, disfranchised ... 2

Total ... 658

Now such, we predict, will be the strength of parties after the next General Election. Peel and the Janissaries constituting the balance of power between Free Traders and Protectionists, aiding Russell in his further threats upon the landed interest, until the Protectionists, like the Protestants after Emancipation and the Tories after Reform, discover the value of the right honourable Gentleman as an adjuster of their social grievances,—the only man in whom the monied interests can have confidence, the only man, in the present state of representation, in whom Ireland appears to have confidence; and the man who, next to Duncombe, possesses more of the confidence of the English working classes than any other individual who could aspire to the rank of parliamentary leader. As a matter of course the old aristocracy will strain every nerve to marshal their forces under Stanley in the Lords, and, mayhap, Gladstone in the Commons, if the pupil can be seduced from his master, but come what will, Peel must either form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russell and the free-traders, or he once more accepted as the untrammelled chief of the LAND NOODLES. In the former event we should not be astonished to find Russell accepting Lords Aberdeen, Lincoln, and Dalhousie, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert, in exchange for Lords Palmerston and Grey, Sir George Grey, Labouchere and Charles Wood; Peel going to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, with Lincoln or Gladstone as his Secretary.

As one of these results must take place, we show the Chartists the advantage, nay, the absolute necessity, of being prepared with a sufficient amount of parliamentary strength to take part in the struggle, and to be prepared for events, and, therefore, once more we call upon them to use every influence to strengthen the hands of Duncombe inside, and to prepare for the national representation of the unprotected mind, by enabling us, once more to parade the will of millions through the streets of the metropolis, through the smashed doors of the State House, and to its very table; a remonstrance which tyranny for a little longer may resist, but to which in the end authority must bend its proud neck. From all we learn we confidently anticipate that our next National Petition will outnumber the former by at least ONE MILLION, and we cannot withhold our thanks and praise from those who are working so energetically in the good cause.

A YEOMANRY FOR THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

"IN the merry old times of our ancestors," before Adam Smith and Arthur Young had inoculated the nation with a love of political economy and large farms, the value and importance of attaching a large proportion of the population to the soil by the ties of proprietorship, was pretty generally understood. But increase of wealth unfortunately became confounded, under the new teaching, with increase of well-being. In studying the science of growing rapidly rich, the more important branch of knowledge, that of promoting domestic happiness, and a spirit of pecuniary as well as patriotic independence, was forgotten. Small properties were absorbed into large ones, and their former owners degraded from the substantial position of proprietary occupiers into the serfs of wages. The independent weaver or clothier of the old "domestic system," alternately employed in manufactures and agriculture, was, in the hopeless contest with machinery and steam, driven from his comfortable homestead into the large towns, and transformed into the wage-paid slave of the factory. A social revolution of an important character was effected by the new agencies, both in the town and country population.

That the change has added to our productive powers is undoubted. The old Arabian tales, whose marvels fired our imaginations during boyhood, fade into insignificance beside the wonders of the mill, the machine-shop, the laboratory, the railway, and the electric telegraph. We have multiplied material wealth; but has the morality, the contentment, and the independence of the great bulk of the people kept pace with it?

The hundreds of pounds now weekly pouring into the exchequer of the Chartist Land Company is the best, because the most practical, answer to the question. Men are heart-weary of the system of splendid slavery under which modern Political Economy and misdirected machinery has placed them. From its feverish excitements, unwholesome excesses, and wide-spread misery, they look fondly backwards to the time when a less rich, but more virtuous, independent, and happy people, by honest labour on their own little plot of ground, earned a living, amid purer and better influences than those which now poison the moral atmosphere. Their hearts yearn within them to get back to kind mother Nature again. The manufacturing and commercial system is discovered to be rotten and unsustained, though brilliant and exciting, and after a brief divorcement from a natural and a healthy system, the people are evidently returning to the point from which they set out: BACK TO THE LAND AGAIN.

The excellent articles in the *Morning Chronicle*, in which the reclamation and settling of the waste lands of Ireland by a proprietary peasantry, have been so powerfully and so practically urged, do not stop short with the specific improvement of the pauperised people of the sister country. The facts and reasonings adduced by our contemporary inevitably lead to wider inferences and a broader field of action. In a recent article upon this subject, the recommendations of a Commission of Enquiry into the condition of the Irish poor in 1836, presided over by Archbishop Whately, are made the basis of some admirable observations. That report recommends an interference withlanded property in Ireland for the purpose of improvement, quite as large in principle as any that the *Northern Star* or the *Chronicle* has suggested. It was proposed that a Board should be appointed, with compulsory powers of drainage and other improvements, upon the principle that they should be made at the expense of the property improved. The Commission advised, that the proposed "Board of Improvement" should be authorized from time to time, "to make a survey, valuation and partition, of any waste lands in Ireland," though the idea does not seem to have occurred to them of making these lands instrumental to effecting a beneficial change in the present pernicious system of Irish tenancy. But while not going this length, the evidence they adduce as to the great benefit which would arise from the extension of industry to this hitherto neglected source of employment, affords, indirectly, the strongest encouragement to reclaim these wastes by the labours of those who are to become their proprietors.

"Upon these lands (Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG observed nearly sixty years ago) is to be practised the most profitable husbandry in the King's dominions. The Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the bogs of Ireland, in 1809, reported to the like effect; and committee after committee of the House of Commons have done the same thing." From the report of one of these committees, published in 1830, the Commissioners make extracts, which, when put together are a part—"There are three millions of Irish acres of waste land, equal to five millions of English acres, which are considered to be almost all reclaimable. It is in evidence that, by an expense of somewhat about £7 an acre, land in the county of Sligo has been reclaimed, and rendered worth a rent of 30s.; or, if preserved in the hands of the proprietor, that it is made capable of repaying all expenses by three years' produce, leaving all subsequent returns clear gain."

The report last cited contains a passage from which it might almost be inferred, that a glimmering of the desirableness of giving to the occupiers of the soil some greater hold upon it than that of cottiers or conacre-men, had dawned upon a committee of the House of Commons as early as 1830.

"If this work, said the committee, 'can be accomplished not only would it afford a transitory but a permanent demand for productive labour, accompanied by a corresponding rise of wages and improvement in the condition of the poor; opportunities would also be afforded for the settlement of the peasantry, now superabundant in particular districts, on waste lands which at present scarcely produce the means of subsistence, or are suited for human habitation.' This change would, the committee, 'enable the occupiers of the lands from whence the settlers are taken, and to the extent on which they may hereafter be fixed, and may facilitate the means of introducing a comfortable yeomanry and an improved agriculture in the more fertile districts. The severe pressure of the system of clearing farms, and ejecting sub-tenants may thus be mitigated, and the general state of the peasantry improved.'

A Yeomanry! that was the old English appellation for a peasant proprietary, or, at least, for farmers who held their land on fixed conditions, and who could not be dispossessed, (by custom if not by law,) as long as these conditions were fulfilled. The yeomanry of England were, however, as a general feature of English life, blotted out of the country at an early period, and an agricultural system, very different and by no means so favourable either to the physical comfort or the independence and dignity of the cultivators of the soil, succeeded it.

In one corner of England, however, there still exists a yeomanry in the antique sense; a race of peasant farmers who own the land they till, paying nothing for it, except some customary dues to the lord of the manor. They occupy a considerable portion of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and are known by the local name of Estatesmen or Statesmen. It was amongst this class; not the care-worn, down-trampled agricultural serfs of England, that Wordsworth found the originals of the peasantry delineated in his poems. In his description of the scenery of the lakes, that poet describes the state of society which existed for centuries in the upper part of the dales as

"a perfect republic of shepherds and agriculturists

