

DOWN! DOWN!! DOWN!!!  
DOWN WITH THE WHIGS.

TO THE IMPERIAL CHARTISTS.

FRIENDS AND BROTHER CHARTISTS,

Not afraid to adopt the policy of an enemy  
when that policy is good, I adopt the good  
motto of the bad Corn-Law League,  
"ONE THING AT A TIME."

In the above motto I have set you a task,  
one of easy accomplishment, and one most ne-  
cessary to be performed; it is, to hurl from office  
and from power the "base, bloody, and brutal  
Whigs;" not upon the same principle upon  
which I have previously urged the necessity of  
placing them in opposition, because, utterly dis-  
graced as they now are, they would be useless  
even in that state for which nature designed them.

Last week it was our painful duty to record  
the expatriation of Caffey and four others, for  
acts originated, fostered, encouraged, and ma-  
nured by the Secretary of State for the Home  
Department. Yes, he cannot be absolved of  
the crime of felony, unless he pleads guilty to  
the charge of delegation of his duty to detec-  
tives, police, spies, and informers. You will  
bear in mind that whenever a charge was made  
against the police in the House of Commons,  
the flippant official was instantly prepared with  
evidence to establish the virtue, the courage,  
the forbearance and loyalty of his brother con-  
spirators. You must further understand that  
Mallalieu is a superintendent of police, and that  
Mark is an inspector of police, and that it is  
the duty of those subordinate spies to make a  
report of every thing that comes within their  
knowledge, connected with the duties of their  
department, to the Spy General once a day, or  
often, if need be; that is, if a policeman has  
information to communicate, he communicates it  
to the inspector of his body, the inspector  
communicates it to the superintendent of his  
department, the superintendent communicates it  
to the commissioners, and the commissioners  
communicate it to the Secretary of State for  
the Home Department. Hence you find that  
every link in the chain is complete; and you can  
come to no other possible conclusion than that  
Powell and Davis acted immediately under the  
directions of Sir George Grey, or that the in-  
spectors, superintendents, and commissioners  
of police withheld from the Secretary of State  
evidence—the want of a knowledge of which  
might have jeopardised the peace of the  
country. And hence we can arrive at no other  
conclusion than that the Whigs—who fomented  
treason and rebellion in 1832 for the purpose  
of achieving power—organised treason and rebel-  
lion in 1849 for the purpose of preserving  
power; as every man who has watched their  
proceedings from the French Revolution down  
to the close of the Session of Parliament, must  
admit that their tenure of office depended not  
upon the confidence placed in them, but upon  
the amount of fear which they could in-  
spire their opponents.

Whenever a question was debated upon  
which the Whigs were likely to be defeated,  
the all-absorbing consideration was not, "Is the  
measure a good one?" but, "Is it safe in these  
perilous times to run the hazard of a defeat, and  
thus create that confusion consequent upon the  
formation of a new administration?" Now such  
was precisely the genius that preserved the  
Whigs. By them the distracted state of the  
country was constantly urged upon their middle  
class supporters as the cause of the depression  
of trade, and so vital a question was it made  
with them, that they granted an additional two  
millions of your money to effect this necessary  
object, while their friends cannot reflect without  
disgust upon their performances during the past  
session. So much for their English treason,  
which fortunately for the country terminated in  
Whig felony; and now for their Irish doings.

"Trial by Jury" is said to be the bulwark of  
the British Constitution—and when a thief or  
murderer is tried and acquitted, the Press is  
loud in its commendation of Trial by Jury, as it  
is better that ninety and nine guilty persons  
should escape, than that one innocent person  
should suffer. O'Brien was tried for sedition,  
and was acquitted, and then Trial by Jury was  
to be annihilated, and the Habeas Corpus Act  
was suspended—and, be it remembered, that,  
from the trial and acquittal of O'Brien, down  
to the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,  
he is not charged, on his recent trial, with one  
single illegal act—but when he discovered that  
the Suspension of the Constitution in Ireland  
was intended, not as an amended indictment,  
but as an irrefutable conviction, he had re-  
course to such means as he presumed would  
protect him against arrest without conviction  
or even trial. And here, as in England, we  
discover the abominable tricks to which the  
Papist Attorney General is compelled to resort  
to establish the guilt of his victim. The prac-  
tice in Ireland is, when the evidence for the  
Crown breaks down, two, three, or so many  
policemen as may be necessary, are placed in  
the witness-box, who are prepared to swear  
anything, and are always at command; and I  
recollect, upon one occasion, Baron Foster was  
most indignant with me for exposing the per-  
jury of one of those witnesses. It is difficult  
to break them down, for two reasons—firstly,  
they profess to give their evidence from notes  
taken at the time, but fresh written; and, se-  
condly, they feel conscious that the stronger  
their evidence—whether true or not—the  
greater their recommendation for promotion.

In O'Brien's case, the Attorney's Clerk,  
Dobbin, not only broke down, but every word  
of his evidence was rendered inadmissible by  
the evidence of Mr Dalton—and then, as is the  
custom, the Crown has recourse to the police  
stationed in Mrs McCormick's house. And  
here we find that the most distant heard words  
which those nearest to Mr O'Brien did not  
hear—while we have the damning fact, that  
the Crown Solicitor, and the chief official to  
the Lord Lieutenant, withheld a number of  
those police whose evidence would not suit  
them. And after such an exhibition as this,  
the Press, and especially the "Times," exults  
in the impartiality of the trial; while the im-  
partial reader will find that, in every case  
where Counsel for the prisoner appealed to the  
Court upon the most simple points of law, the  
answer of the Court, was not, "more water,"  
"water again," "another drink," but "WHAT  
DOES THE ATTORNEY GENERAL SAY?" thus  
abandoning their own functions to the  
caprice of the official. However, Smith O'Brien  
is convicted—his property is confiscated—his  
wife is widowed—his children are orphans—  
and his country weeps over the fate of the de-  
scendant of one of her Kings; while the  
English people—although by no means as sen-  
sitive or patriotic as the Irish people—mourn  
over the fate of Caffey and his associates. But  
why whimper like children? Why sob like  
women? when the combined action of men,  
who profess to feel, all-powerful, and capable  
of avenging the violation of right, the destruc-  
tion of Trial by Jury, and the annihilation of  
the British Constitution?

By action I mean bringing the combined will  
of the country to bear upon the oppressors;  
to hurl them from office, regardless as to who  
shall fill their places, resting satisfied that the  
change must be for the better. It is impos-  
sible, wholly and utterly impossible, that even  
the middle-classes of this country, who were to  
constitute the National Guard of the "Times,"  
can longer tolerate Whig rule, after the recent  
exposures at the Old Bailey and Chancery; but  
what will operate still more forcibly upon their  
order is the heavy expense necessary to support  
Whig treason.

Now, I do not set you a hard task when I  
ask you to rest until you commence the  
work of Whig expulsion; no matter who is to  
succeed, any change must be for the better, as  
it would be impossible to select a more dan-  
gerous, vindictive, or incompetent govern-  
ment. And I think, after the evidence of  
Davis and Powell, that many of their associ-  
ates went armed to Kennington-common,  
and that the co-operation of 50,000 thieves

was relied upon, you can come to no other con-  
clusion than that the anniversary of Kenning-  
ton-common, the 10th of April—will be cele-  
brated with as much pomp and solemnity, by  
the people, as the anniversary of Waterloo is  
by the survivors of that battle. You are per-  
fectly aware, that men, when they grow old,  
will act upon their previous training, instruc-  
tion, and education; and you must be aware  
that the present mind of Ireland owes its train-  
ing to the Whigs under the tutelage of Daniel  
O'Connell, who was made their instrument to  
urge an excited people to the very verge of  
treason, halting them at that point which se-  
cured patronage for himself and power for his  
guilty confederates; and it is, therefore, to  
Whig training that the present disaffection of  
Ireland must be ascribed; and after the recent  
exhibition in that country and England, no  
doubt can exist in any man's mind that the  
united people of both countries will solemnly  
and imperatively demand the expulsion of the  
fomenters of sedition, felony, and treason.

Look over the history of Ireland since 1836,  
when O'Connell made his compact with Lord  
Duncannon, then Lord Lieutenant; reflect  
upon his triumphant tour through Scotland and  
the north of England, when he organised the  
enthusiasm of the whole country for no other  
purpose than to measure Whig patronage by  
the value of the barter. Then mark his career  
from that hour to the day of his death. In  
1837, when the Queen came to the throne, the  
question of Repeal was merged in "Loyalty to  
our lovely young Queen." His huzza was the  
loudest of the crowd, his cap was the highest  
in the flight, and his tongue was the largest  
in the left side of his cheek as he bamboozled  
his gaping gulls. From that election to 1841,  
he warmed his poor relations in Government  
situations, and again the question of Repeal  
was abandoned, and whoever "divides the  
liberal party is an enemy to his country" was  
Ireland's accepted motto. During that period,  
from 1837 to 1841, there was little agitation  
in Ireland, none beyond what was necessary  
to preserve appearances and secure patronage;  
the pot was kept simmering until the Tories  
came into office—when the Whig hellows again  
set it bubbling—patronage became slack—doubt  
succeeded zeal—many deserted the ranks who  
were disappointed of patronage—the monster  
meetings took place—Clontarf was suppressed  
by proclamation, but the threatened opposition  
was not a tenth part as great as that by which  
the Kennington-common meeting was to be  
suppressed; while Dublin, unlike London,  
represented the national mind and the national  
strength, and yet, unlike the reviled Chartists  
of London, the bold dealer of Toryism surren-  
dered at discretion, and abandoned the project.

Did the Whigs, then, on the bleak side of  
the Treasury bench, denounce Daniel O'Con-  
nell as a traitor? on the contrary; after con-  
viction, they hailed his appearance in the  
House of Commons with a round of hearty  
cheers, and filled Covent Garden Theatre with  
enthusiastic guests to receive him, and the  
drama finished by three Whig judges declar-  
ing his conviction illegal. But what would be  
the decision of those judges now, if an appeal  
were made on behalf of those who have followed  
his teaching, but not his practice of halting at  
Whig patronage?

The "Times," with characteristic modesty,  
comments upon O'Brien's trial and convic-  
tion, and tells its readers that it is not in the  
habit of discussing those trials during their  
progress. But will this pure and immaculate  
organ point out one single trial that has taken  
place in England or Ireland, that it has not  
commented upon and prejudged before trial,  
during the trial, and after conviction, and in  
every case the trial has been fair and impar-  
tial, and the sentence has been most merciful  
and mild? But we shall be glad to see how  
this apostate journal will now defend the im-  
maculate Whigs against the evidence of Gene-  
ral Napier—against the evidence furnished by  
Lord John Russell's letter to the Birmingham  
sympathisers—and against the evidence of  
Powell and Davis, their suborned and paid  
coadjutors.

When Parliament meets again, that cle-  
mency extended to Whig rule through the fears  
of the country party, will no longer be ex-  
tended towards them, the one universal shout  
throughout the land will be—England wants  
not, and will not tolerate, the rule of a faction  
that bases its power upon incipient revolution  
and treason, only capable of being checked by  
conferring patronage upon its Confederates;  
and never again will the restoration of the  
Whigs to power be tolerated by any influen-  
tial class in this country.

Brother Chartists, the reign of terror has  
ended in the unequivocal conviction of its  
creators, as the reign of middle class policy  
has been wrecked upon the accomplishment of  
free trade. And I think I may appeal to  
every man who has heard my speeches, and  
read my writings upon the subject of free  
trade, from the year 1834 to the present  
moment, that I have not made one false  
prediction with regard to the effect of that  
measure; nor do I think that the manufac-  
turers of England will deny that they have  
"CAUGHT A TARTAR."

The means relied upon for the suppression  
of Chartism have ended in the destruction of  
Whiggery. They could not, as of old, support  
the "FAT YOUNG GENTLEMAN," as their  
caterer for support, through incipient revolu-  
tion, while that power which was O'Connell's  
staff is now to be bribed by State endowment.  
The Catholic priesthood, it seems, are to be  
paid by the State, but I will tell you wherein  
this last crutch of Whiggery will fail. The  
priests at present have influence with the Irish  
people; but once pension them, or in any way  
link them to the State; and not only will their  
influence perish, but they will become the  
chief objects of jealousy, suspicion, contempt,  
and vengeance. They are only influential be-  
cause they are considered powerful in agita-  
tion, and infallible in religion; but the mo-  
ment that the charm of religious infallibility  
vanishes, that moment will political power  
disappear, and the Irish priesthood, once pen-  
sioned by the Protestant State, will become not  
only inoperative, but despised.

The Irish Catholics, like all other sects,  
look not for toleration or equality, but for as-  
cendancy; and as they constitute the blood,  
the race, the numerical strength, and the great  
power of the nation, as long as the principle  
of ascendancy is recognised and tolerated,  
they are entitled to their legitimate position.

In 1785, the Irish Parliament was bought;  
in 1782, the Volunteers were bought by the  
distribution of patronage, and the bestowal of  
power upon the leaders; in 1800, the Irish  
Parliament was bought; in 1836, the Irish re-  
presentatives were sold to the English Minis-  
ter, and from that period down to the present,  
the whole international policy has been one  
of barter and patronage; and the reader of  
English and Irish history must acknowledge  
the fact, that those several changes of ad-  
ministration have been preceded by a reign of  
terror, until, at length, the policy has militated  
against its propounders, and now the Whigs  
have been wrecked by those very means upon  
which they formerly relied for power. And  
why? because, as of old, they could not barter  
reason for patronage with the leaders of the  
Irish people.

When discontent is natural, and not the  
mere creation of political jugglers, that dis-

content becomes irresistible, it cannot be  
coursed and suppressed at the bidding of a  
showman—the mind cannot be presented in  
various forms like the sheet of paper in the  
showman's hand; it assumes a distinct posi-  
tion, and defies terror, however successful it  
may be for the moment. The exhibitions of  
Castles and Oliver were forcibly urged against  
the administration, then in power; but do  
they not fade into utter insignificance when  
compared with the deep laid schemes of our  
present rulers? What was the threatened  
danger in August last to that produced by the  
Corn Law League in 1842, when trade was  
stopped, the hands turned out, and the people  
were told to quarter themselves upon the  
enemy—the landlords—not like beggling men,  
but like men MARCHING TO BATTLE? And yet,  
notwithstanding the threatened danger,  
Sir Robert Peel, then in power, gave us a  
fair trial, a "JUST JUDGE," and an impar-  
tial prosecutor, and, throughout, notwith-  
standing the wide-spread disaffection, and the  
thorough organisation of the Chartist body,  
not a particle of evidence—nay, not a particle  
of suspicion, that Sir Robert Peel's Govern-  
ment had in anywise fomented disorder, or had  
had recourse to the subornation of spies and in-  
formers to establish our guilt. We had a fair  
trial, and an honourable acquittal. So with  
Daniel O'Connell in 1843; whatever technical  
illegalities might have appeared, there was no  
Government intrigue. And now observe, and  
mark the fact well, and it will prove to you the  
unpopularity of the Whigs.

During their reign, from 1833 to 1841, was  
a continuous period of disturbance, political  
trials, and transportation. They commenced  
with the Dorchester Labourers, and finished  
with the transportation of Frost, and goals  
crowded with political victims. They came  
into power again in 1846, and their recent  
career has ended in the most bloody persecu-  
tion ever known in this country. Now contrast  
those two periods of Whig tyranny with that  
period when Sir Robert Peel was in power from  
1841 to 1846. We had within that time a  
Special Commission, under Abinger—of whom,  
being no more, and leaving his acts to be  
judged by posterity, we shall remain silent—and  
the great State Trial at Lancaster; and from  
1842 to 1846 there has not been one  
single political offence charged against the De-  
mocratic party in this country. And we must  
attribute the quietness from 1846 to 1847, to  
the simple fact, that the Whigs desired a re-  
turn to their old policy as the prelude to a  
General Election, but once in power the cloven  
foot soon showed itself.

Now, brother Chartists, I have to inform  
you, that no power on earth shall induce me  
to say a word, or write a word, that will place  
me in the power of those devils; and if any man  
writes me a seditious or treasonable letter I  
will immediately publish it; and if any man  
during my tour comes into my presence and  
talks sedition or treason to me, in the hope of  
entrapping me, I will leave my mark on his  
face, that will enable me to identify him in the  
witness box. My family have had a pretty  
good taste of gratitude. A fellow of the name  
of Callanan, who had received numerous acts  
of kindness from my father, and a Frenchman  
whom he had sheltered, were the principal  
witnesses against him in 1798; and a fellow of  
the name of Jack, whom my uncle, Arthur  
O'Connor, appointed as his sub-sheriff in 1793,  
and whom he had raised from destitution to  
affluence, was the man—the only man—who  
proved his handwriting upon his trial for High  
Treason; while my reporter—Griffin—in  
whom I kept the life for years, would have  
convicted me, nay, hung me if he could, at  
Lancaster. "A live dog is better than a  
dead lion," and Daniel O'Connell paid me the  
high compliment to say, that it was I who  
drove the Whigs from office in 1841, though I  
was then in my dungeon. Lord Montagu  
admitted the justice of the compliment; and  
here's a sum in the Rule of Three for you—If  
an imprisoned Chartist beat the enemy in  
1841, what may a Chartist Representative at  
Lancaster in 1849? Answer—ENTIRELY  
ANNIHILATE THE FACTION.

Although I had too much tact to disgust the  
House of Commons by constant reference to  
the injustice I suffered at the hands of the  
present Government, yet you cannot suppose  
me so devoid of manly pride and feeling, as to  
imagine for a moment that I have forgotten it.  
I now stand alone of my order, opposed by  
every newspaper in the empire, I have arrived  
at the dignity of being hated, but I am the  
heart of Nottingham, and surrounded by the  
confidence and affection of the working  
classes.

I am now about to open a new campaign of  
legitimate agitation, an agitation which shall  
not jeopardise the life or liberty of a single  
man, woman, or child; an agitation which will  
make neither widows, orphans, nor victims; but  
an agitation which shall only end in the anni-  
hilation of a party that has disgraced itself,  
suppressed the free expression of public  
opinion, and destroyed the British Constitu-  
tion. I conclude with my old pledge, that I  
will maintain inviolate every point of the  
People's Charter; and that if I stood alone, or  
even if reduced to beggary, that I never will  
accept of place, pension, or emolument for my  
services in or out of parliament. Now, then,  
Chartists, you have the watchword, it is—  
"Down with the Whigs." If there is  
treason in that, I glory in being a  
traitor. Raise the standard of legitimate agita-  
tion; abandon the system of class leaders,  
serjeants, and general; never attend a secret  
meeting; never affix your name to a seditious  
letter; fall back upon the old organisation;  
raise the unsullied flag of Chartism once more;  
let your meetings be open, your speech be ac-  
cording to Whig law, until we drive the Whigs  
from office. Read General Napier's letter; re-  
view Lord John Russell's letter; read the con-  
viction of O'Brien, and then say, whether as En-  
glishmen you will longer tolerate the rule—the  
fierce dominion—of such a faction.

I remain,  
Your faithful Friend and Representative,  
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

CHARTERVILLE.—A meeting of occupants and  
Land members was held in the School House, on  
Tuesday evening, October 10th, Mr Stallwood  
in the chair; when it was unanimously resolved—  
"That we take part in the election of a delegate to  
the ensuing Conference." Mr T. M. Whelan, of  
O'Connorville, and Mr T. Gilbert, of O'Connorville,  
were put in nomination, when the latter was carried  
by a majority of six—Mr G. Bobb, then brought  
forward a question on "the propriety of establishing  
a market at Charterville," which resulted in the  
election of Messrs Bobb, Cork, Pickergill, Gilbert  
Smith, Gibbels, and Grimshaw, as a committee to  
organise and report on the market project. The  
meeting was adjourned until Monday evening, Oct.  
16th, at six o'clock.

HULL.—At a general meeting of Land members  
Mr Barnett was nominated as delegate to the Con-  
ference. The branch secretaries in this district, and  
those near Hull, are requested to send their nomi-  
nations immediately.

LITZKOW, NEAR LEEDS.—At a special meeting  
of this branch on the 8th inst., Mr John Whitley  
was nominated to the forthcoming Conference.

TO THE QUEEN OF THE BRITISH  
EMPIRE.

LETTER II.

RESPECTED SOVEREIGN,  
My first public letter to your Majesty, pub-  
lished last week, concluded with the following  
paragraph:—

"These profound, yet all important subjects,  
have been hitherto tabooed by the ignorance  
and prejudices of the human race. Their value  
for the creation of universal goodness, intelli-  
gence, and happiness, shall be explained in the  
succeeding communication."

To this task I now proceed—a task which no  
other will perform, although so essential to the  
future security, permanent prosperity, and  
happiness of all countries.

The world, through inexperience, has been  
hitherto taught to call falsehood truth, and  
truth falsehood, and to imagine, and to call,  
evil good, and good evil. Hence, the world  
has, so far, been a world of disunion and  
crime—of war, and its miseries.

Until men can be united in real fraternity,  
there can be no justice or virtue—the names  
of both are familiar, but the practice has not  
yet been attained, at any time, among any  
people.

But to unite mankind, the CAUSE of union  
and disunion must be known, and the latter  
withdrawn.

The cause of all disunion among men is the  
universal error forced, from birth, into the  
minds of all, that each individual forms him-  
self to be what he is; while those who can ac-  
curately observe human nature, through every  
stage of its growth, from infancy to maturity,  
and from maturity to old age—know, that the  
great creating power of the universe first cre-  
ates the natural qualities of each individual,  
and that society afterwards, wisely or foolishly,  
directs the growth of those natural quali-  
ties; and thus, at every moment of the exist-  
ence of every individual, the character in  
mind and conduct is unavoidably formed for  
them.

When this error respecting the formation of  
the character of all individuals shall be over-  
come, evil will be overcome, and falsehood and  
disunion throughout society will be destroyed.

Then will truth, unchangeable in its nature,  
become obvious to every one, and charity, pure  
and undefiled, will, of necessity, pervade all  
minds, and be universal in practice.

Anger and all the evil passions will cease  
and die their natural death; the propensities  
of humanity will be understood, have a right  
direction only given to them, and then, as in-  
tended by [their Creator, contribute through  
life to increase the health and happiness of all.  
The acquisition of this invaluable knowledge  
will open the eyes of those who have been thus  
far mentally blind; they will then, for the  
first time, see human nature as it is, and be  
enabled to perceive the causes of good and  
evil, and to understand how to obtain the one  
and avoid the other.

The plain and simple practice will be obvious  
to all; by which the causes of evil in human  
society may be easily superseded by those only  
which shall produce good continually.

By the discovery of this knowledge men will  
be made familiar with a new world of causes  
which, hitherto, have, without ceasing, repro-  
duced the evils which have afflicted the world  
from the beginning.

They will know that these evil effects must  
continue as long as those causes shall be blindly  
allowed to torment the human race.

By the same means they will also learn with  
how much ease those causes of evil may be  
removed for ever and their effects made to  
cease.

Men who have, therefore, had their attention  
directed to, and who have been absorbed in,  
a knowledge of effects, but who have been  
carefully guarded from investigating the causes  
which produce those effects, will become dis-  
lighted with the new world of causes which  
will be thus opened to them.

By this mental change they will become a  
race of superior beings, and will be conscious  
of the blind, savage, and irrational state of  
past existence—an existence in which all were  
disunited, opposed to each other's prosperity,  
and essentially, thereby, opposed to their own  
happiness.

From the universal falsehood respecting the  
formation of the human character, have neces-  
sarily emanated the religions, private property,  
isolated family arrangements, and varied arti-  
ficial classifications of society, with all the  
vicious, injurious, and inferior circumstances  
proceeding from them, as they have existed  
through past times in all countries.

As soon as this universal falsehood shall be  
removed, the evils which these effects have  
produced, and are now hourly producing, will  
become obvious to every one, all will be  
anxious to have them quietly and rationally  
superseded, and causes introduced to create  
effects which shall be productive to all of real  
knowledge, goodness, superior circumstances,  
and happiness.

But why, it may be asked, have these most  
desirable effects not been produced long ago?

The only reply which can be made in ac-  
cordance with truth is, that the false funda-  
mental principle on which society has been  
based, has required for its unnatural support  
institutions which have misdirected the reason-  
ing faculties of humanity, and thus made all to  
become irrational in mind and conduct.

The institutions directly emanating from  
this fundamental error necessary to maintain it  
in opposition to innumerable millions of facts  
are, the religions of the world, private property,  
and isolated and opposing family arrangements,  
with an individualism which deducts from the  
happiness of all. These, again, require for  
their support a most injurious classification of  
society, to enforce upon all mental blindness  
from birth, to induce them to maintain these  
religions, private property, isolated family ar-  
rangements, and opposing individualism.

While these arrangements, opposed to the  
laws of nature, shall be upheld by the authori-  
ties of the world, it must continue, as hitherto,  
in a state of contention, crime, and misery.

Your Majesty, in the position of Royalty,  
surrounded by excess of splendour, and of all  
the advantages which an irrational system can  
give to its most favoured subject, can form no  
adequate conception of the extent and severity  
of the sufferings which this system of falsehood,  
deception, and force inflicts upon a very large  
majority of the human race.

The religions of the world have created  
more hatred, uncharitable feelings, crimes, and  
wars of extermination of nations and people,  
than any other single cause; it is to-day the  
chief demon of discord and evil over the world,  
and charity, real knowledge, goodness or real  
virtue, will be unknown as long as any one of  
these deranging systems of the human intellect  
shall be forced into the young mind before it  
has attained mature powers of judgment.

By this practice, hitherto so general over the  
world, the judgment and rational faculties are,  
with very few exceptions, entirely destroyed or  
rendered useless.

Thus have measures for the destruction of  
wealth, for preventing its creation, for keeping  
the human race in ignorance, or in giving the  
worst or most artificial and false character to  
all, been the common practice of all govern-  
ments and people, while they have been taught

that they were well governed; and well in-  
structed.

To comprehend the crimes created by the  
superstitions under the names of the religions  
of the world, and the evils which they have in-  
flicted through so many generations upon the  
human race, every page of the history of man  
must be studied, and then some small amount  
of the causes of human misery may be imagined,  
but to enumerate them, so incessant and nu-  
merous have they been throughout all ages,  
would be impossible.

Again, the infliction of private property  
upon mankind has created a cause of disunion,  
separation, injustice, oppression, crime, and  
misery, far beyond all possible estimate. It  
has also given rise to endless institutions for  
its protection; to laws, also, which continually  
render it insecure, and create great injurious  
anxieties to its temporary possessor. Like the  
superstitions of the world, it divides man  
from man, and nation from nation, is the  
source of continual hatreds, crimes, and dis-  
orders, in every society in which it exists, and  
can be defended on no principle of nature,  
justice, or common sense. It is the cause of  
continued poverty to the mass, retards the  
creation of wealth, wastes it to an immense ex-  
tent, and applies much of it to most vicious  
purposes. It is so injurious in almost all its  
ramifications throughout society, that it can be  
retained only while all shall be educated and  
trained to become irrational.

There would be a much higher enjoyment of  
wealth under properly constituted arrange-  
ments for a system of general public property  
than the most wealthy can attain under the  
existing system of private property, or under  
any other system which can be devised into  
which private property shall be introduced.  
Combined with isolated family arrangements, it  
creates the very essence of selfishness, and is  
more calculated to sever every family attach-  
ments and friendships than any other single  
cause. It is productive of so many injurious  
feelings, so much injustice, cruelty, and op-  
pression, that no parties will have the least  
desire to retain it longer than to that period  
when they can be instructed to become rational  
in mind and conduct, and then they will think  
and act in accordance with their own perma-  
nent interest and happiness.

Strong as the educated prejudices have been  
made in favour of private property, it is the  
permanent cause of immense evil to all,  
and with the superstitions of the world, and  
isolated family arrangements, the chief cause  
of disunion and separation of feelings among  
the human race, without any adequate advan-  
tages to compensate for these worst of evils.

To these causes of innumerable miseries to  
mankind have been added the isolated family  
arrangements, which are a link of the chain of  
errors emanating from the same lamentable  
basis, on which the entire of the existing irra-  
tional system has been constructed.

Family arrangements presuppose that hu-  
manity possesses the power to like and dislike,  
to love and hate, according to a supposed  
will inflexible individual, and yet no such power  
has ever existed in man.

The unchanging law of humanity is, that man  
must like and love that which is the most  
agreeable to his individual nature or feelings  
and dislike, and if forced upon him, must hate  
that which is disagreeable to the feelings or  
instincts which he is compelled to have.

By mistaking this law of humanity, law-  
givers, and the priesthood of the world, have  
made various ignorant and most absurd laws  
and ceremonies, differing in different countries,  
and in the same countries at different periods,  
to permanently unite in bondage persons of  
both sexes, in opposition to the laws of Nature  
or of God. By thus disobeying these laws  
most obvious laws, have men sinned  
against those laws which Nature declares shall  
be obeyed, or man shall grievously suffer until  
he shall learn, through increasing pain, to  
know and obey her just and most beneficent  
laws.

Have the lawgivers and priesthood of the  
world considered the extent of disease, dis-  
union, madness, crime, and misery, which their  
unhallowed unnatural laws of diseased imagi-  
nations have, through past ages, inflicted upon  
the human race?

Have any of those misguided authorities the  
slightest correct conception of the magnitude  
of the disease, crime, disunion, and misery,  
which their unnatural laws are this day inflict-  
ing upon poor deluded and grievously oppressed  
humanity?

No! They cannot have any conception of  
the murders and misery thus created; but their  
educated ignorance and prejudice must plead  
their excuse, because it was not in their power  
to avoid receiving them.

From this cause has arisen the senseless cry  
among those called the re-activists in Paris,  
for the security of private property and family  
arrangements, as now existing.

These poor deluded persons know not what  
they are asking, or are contending for. Many  
of them are great sufferers through the very  
principles which they desire to have held  
sacred. They are suffering from poverty, or  
the fear of it, and from family separation of  
feelings, which they know not how to prevent,  
being totally ignorant of the cause of both, and  
know not the only natural remedy for these  
evils.

The greatest of all errors forced upon human-  
ity, is the belief that superstition, private  
property, and isolated family arrangements,  
based on the laws of man in opposition to the  
laws of Nature or of God, can ever produce  
charity, unity, goodness, or happiness, among  
any people, or even admit them to become ra-  
tional beings.

Among no people, at this day, can these vir-  
tues be discovered; nor can any nation be found  
whose government, population, and laws, have  
any pretensions to be considered rational.

In conclusion, may it be permitted to be  
deeply impressed upon the mind of your Ma-  
jesty and your Ministers—as a means of diffu-  
sing the most valuable knowledge throughout  
the world—that the true business of all gov-  
ernments—when they shall be established for  
the benefit of the whole population, as every gov-  
ernment should be—will consist—1stly, in the  
creation of efficient practical measures to pro-  
duce the greatest amount of wealth with plea-  
sure and advantage to its producers, and to  
have it honestly distributed; 2ndly, to have a  
good, or rational character formed for all;  
and, 3rdly, to have the entire population well  
placed, and, locally and generally, justly gov-  
erned. These results may be now attained  
by simple and beautiful arrangements, which  
may be made to exclude every vicious, inju-  
rious, and inferior circumstance of man's  
creation—while those only which are superior  
for each of these departments, separately and  
united, may be combined to perform, in a  
very superior manner, all the business of life.

New and impracticable as this last state-  
ment will appear to ordinary minds, the well-  
informed and far-seeing know that the agita-  
tion and excitement now prevalent throughout  
the civilised world, cannot again cease until  
this change shall be fully effected.

It will be utterly impossible to tranquillise  
France, Germany, Italy, Ireland, and the re-  
mainder of Europe, upon the old worn-out sys-  
tem of falsehood, deception, injustice, and op-  
pression.

It will be true wisdom now in all govern-

ments to lead the new revolution in progress  
to correct principles and beneficial practices,  
such as have been now described by  
Your Majesty's faithful subject,  
ROBERT OWEN.

October 9, 1848.



















[illegible]







Saturday, October 14th, 1845