

16, Great Windmill Street, Haymarket

TO THE CHARTISTS.

Dundee, Wednesday.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,
You will not expect a long letter from me this week—next week you shall have a full report of my tour. I arrived at Montrose on Saturday, and had to look out for some of the Old Guards. I fished out a veteran, Mr. Bate, and soon had a good staff. They would have a meeting, and called upon the Provost to allow the drummer and bellman to go round and announce it; but the old woman—AN OLD CLOTHES MAN—told them that the HABEAS CORPUS ACT was suspended, and that no meeting could be held, and that he had received positive orders from the Lord Advocate of Scotland, to PREVENT ALL CHARTIST MEETINGS—and that, if the meeting was held, he would SEND THE POLICE. I sent my compliments to know if the HABEAS DRUMMUS and HABEAS BELLIUS Act was suspended?—that I would hold the meeting—and if he sent the police, I would instantly have them taken into custody as disturbers of the public peace—and at six o'clock the OLD GUARDS went about their CLAPPERS, and at eight we had a Hall full of as good men as ever lived. A half-mad man, of the name of Monro, a friend of the Provost, got up to defend him, and was laughed at. A good Chartist—a Mr. Robert Peters—was in the chair, and, after a long lecture, a vote of thanks and confidence was proposed, when Mr. Monro proposed, as an amendment, "That they had no confidence in me." After ten minutes' delay, he got a second, and, when put, two hands—those of the proposer and seconder—only were held up against the vote. I then spent till past twelve in conversation with a number of the OLD GUARDS.

On Sunday I went to Aberdeen, and there we had a bumper. Old veteran Archy McDonald was in the chair. I made proclamation for the delegates to the National Assembly, who had abused me in my absence, to come forth and charge me with any crime committed by me during the awful time, or the whole of my life. When I had spoken for nearly two hours, Mr. Shirron, delegate, came forward, and you shall have an account of the drubbing I gave him next week. A very complimentary address was then presented from the members of the Land Company, and another from the Chartists. A vote of confidence was proposed. Mr. Shirron moved no amendment, but, belonging to the Upper House, he PROTESTED, and I insisted upon the protest being put, when about a dozen middle class hands were held up. We then had three rousing cheers for the Charter, and at a quarter to twelve a number of the good and true sat down to supper. There I remained till two, delighted.

On Tuesday I started for Dundee, and the mail being full, I was obliged to go outside for forty miles, pelting rain the whole way. At Dundee, we had a splendid meeting; I gave them nearly two hours, when Mr. Graham, Delegate to the Convention, made his appearance, but after a very excited tirade, I answered every one of his charges—on either the other—amid cheers; and when a vote of thanks was proposed, not one single hand was held up against it. I spent till past one with the OLD GUARDS from all parts—some from forty miles; and, as I always told you that there was luck in leisure, and pleasure in waiting for it, next week I will give you a narrative of the conspiracy got up against me and the cause, and the mode of Mr. Shirron's election, and the character of Mr. Henry, and others of my revilers; and I will give you good and unequivocal authority for all, and you will say that Powell and Davis were angels to some. When you read, you will say that I have a charmed life. I have had an hour to spare in Dundee, which I devoted to a visit to John McCree's school, an account of which I will give you next week, and my visit to which pleased me beyond expression. It is a new and fascinating mode of education, but I will give you a full account.

As far as I have gone, I am bound to say that the old ship is about to float once more, and the crew are determined to have the OLD PILOT at the helm, and the Old Pilot is determined to hold it. Next week I shall be in the Conference all day, but shall devote my nights to my Scotch narrative. All is not yet over, as Mr. Shirron told me, vindictively, that I was to be met in Edinburgh. Well, be it so. And now, Chartists of England, you will wonder why I made Scotland the first battle field, and I will tell you. From the Scotch Delegates of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, I received the most abuse; and you will bear in mind, that I have appointed the whole people as a tribunal to try me; and I have come to the places where I was most vilified, and have carried the war into the enemy's camp, never having written one word, or attempted to make any party, or to create any feeling in my favour; but if I cannot stand the treason of professing Chartists, as well as the treason of powerful Governments, then I am of no use to you. For some years I have not had such labour, and for years I have not felt so hearty, so well, and so confident. I have rallied Chartism OVER THE BORDERS, as I promised to do; and I have driven THE VERMIN from the ranks. This is my twenty-sixth year of agitation, and I conclude it as I commenced—

"Come one, come all, this rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I."

The establishment of a NEW NEWS-PAPER at the bottom of the Scotch conspiracy, just as of old; but the RED CAT, which will commence its twelfth year on the 11th of next month, has broken all their CROCKERY WARE, and still lives. I am off to Edinburgh, to meet the foe.

Your faithful Friend and Representative,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE LAND! THE LAND!

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

BROTHER MEMBERS,—As the Land, and a proper application of it, is the only thing by which the working classes can be raised to happiness and comfort, it is of the utmost importance that they should know what the Land is capable of producing, and of which they must be ignorant in consequence of a large majority being brought up either in the factory, the mine, or to some handicraft or trade. I know by experience that thousands of agriculturists know nothing about what the Land will produce when cultivated by the spade, and which, no doubt, is the main cause of the falling off of the weekly receipts of the National Land Company. But as I know some little of what the Land will do, I will draw your attention to two or three facts which I am prepared to prove.

My father occupied a cottage and one acre of Land, one third of which was built, for which he paid eleven guineas rent per year, situated three miles from Selby and twenty-three from Leeds. And my father left it and went to America, but after some time we returned, and knowing the value of Land, would have been glad to take the same place at the same rent. I should have said that we paid all taxes as well as the rent.

I have an uncle in the same village, who has a cottage and one acre of good Land—his own property—but he entered it without money or any other property. He has lived well, and never worked for any one but himself, on his own Land, for at least thirty years.

My wife's father has occupied a cottage for forty-two years with two acres of Land, but the landlord would only allow him to cultivate one acre, the other remaining grass for which he has paid £12 per acre and taxes. He has brought up a large family, and has been so far independent as never to be compelled to work for any one, but when it suited his own convenience.

I intended saying more, but being one of the slave class I have no more time at present, but I think I have said sufficient to show that our interest is to carry out the scheme as fast as possible.

ROBERT PIERCE.

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FREE TRADE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

MY FRIENDS,
Editors, tract-writers, authors, statesmen, and politicians, invariably call attention to predictions which they never made, and would establish their title to knowledge upon those predictions. Hence, we find that every foreign correspondent of every newspaper in the kingdom, reminds his readers that he foretold such and such events—the fact being that those correspondents had predicted, not the events that did occur, but the events best suited to the papers for which they wrote. Hence we find, that, during the Quixotic war of Charles Albert, the correspondent of the "Times," who appeared to be camp-follower to the Sardinian monarch, eulogised every step taken by the Sardinian King—represented him as a Roman hero, and his arrangements as masterly and complete; but when the tables were turned, the same correspondent depicted his former royal hero, as an imbecile, an idiot, and a Quixote.

With these numerous instances of editorial latitude before you, you must naturally be sceptical as to any reference made by a public man to his past predictions and anticipations; and yet I am bold enough, and confident enough, to invite your attention to every one of my prophecies concerning FREE TRADE.

In 1834, when Mr. O'Connell all but dared the Irish Liberal members to oppose the measure then brought forward, I did, nevertheless, oppose it, and thirty-seven Liberal Irish members were compelled to vote with me; and from that period to the present moment, I have never relaxed my opposition to this greatest breach of national faith. I represented it as the keystone of the social arch, which, if once struck without securely propping the centre, must result in the ruin of the whole social fabric. I showed you plainly that the National Debt and national confidence were based upon Protection. I showed you that the poor rates were based upon Protection—that rents were measured by the standard of Protection—that mortgages, incumbrances, marriage settlements, personal liabilities, house rent, and taxes of every description, were regulated by Protection—and I showed you that the Labourer would be the first to suffer from the shaking of the foundation of this social fabric. I showed you that three years, at least, of casualty, uncertainty, and despair, must take place, and that those who had capital to live upon during this period of fluctuation, and who made the laws, would be able to dictate their own terms to those who live from hand to mouth, and had no share in the representation of the country; and I predicted—

Firstly,—The disappointment.
Secondly,—The distress and suffering; and
Thirdly,—The impossibility of averting a revolution, unless the change was accompanied, not by the unexplained "timely and prudent concessions" so mysteriously hinted at in the celebrated Russell Edinburgh missive—but such timely and prudent concessions as would preserve the social distinction of classes according to the new standard of policy—that is, that presuming 15,000l. a year to represent the head class, and 30l. a year to represent the last class; that the first-class man's property reduced to 10,000l. a year, and the last class man's property to 20l. a year, should be made as available to the wants and requirements of each under the new system, as the former amounts were under the old system. And this, I showed you, could be only accomplished by a complete revision, not only of our system of taxation and expenditure, but of our Labour system; and this done, I proved to you, that all classes would still maintain their relative position in society.

However, the Free Trade question was made a political "CRY," and, as I predicted, its most injurious result has been the election of several of its advocates to represent the system in Parliament; and every one of whom live, thrive, and prosper, not upon legitimate profits made by trade, but upon their ability to cow Labour, to crush Labour, and reduce the wages of the Labourer.

It is very true that all my writings and my speeches have been confined to one organ, and read only by one class; but then I wish the friends of the system to understand, that what has created revolution in every country, has been either the misrepresentation or the non-representation of the wants and will of the industrious classes; and, curious to say, the farmers of England look upon me as a violent Free Trader, though I have always opposed the measure, while the Press and the middle classes of England have represented me as a destructive physical-force monster, although I have invariably denounced the system, and have shown to you most unequivocally how every physical revolution has ended in a middle class ascendancy, and Labour's prostration.

Let me now recall to your recollection the effect of the first Free Trade measure—namely, Sir Robert Peel's Cattle Tariff. When that measure was being debated in the House of Commons, before the Easter recess in 1842, and when a little breathing time was demanded to take the opinion of the country during the recess, Mr. Wakley read a letter of mine from the "Northern Star," predicting what the effect of the measure would be, and honourable members responded by a laugh. I predicted that the effect would be a glut of meat through panic—that the farmers, apprehensive of the arrival of foreign stock that did not exist, would overstock the meat market; and that I was right, was at once established by the fact of meat almost instantaneously falling to little more than one-half of its previous price, and much that would not keep being thrown into the Thames. Now that was panic. There was no surplus of cattle in England, but the farmers feared there would be, and they all rushed to market.

Well, while the measure was under discussion, all the London journals sent their Commissioners abroad to take stock of Continental countries that could trade with England in that commodity, and one and all assured us that the fears of the English farmer were ridiculous and foolish.

Firstly, Because there was no surplus of live stock in any of those countries; and,
Secondly, Because the expense of transit would swamp the speculator.

I answered those two absurd propositions by reminding you—
Firstly, That a surplus of cattle did not exist in any country, because cattle, like wheat, could not be stored, and that the feeding of a surplus stock entailed expense.

Secondly, That although an Act of Parliament might establish a tariff, it could not compel foreign cows "to go to bull," and that, consequently it would require full five years before the effect of the measure could be felt in England; and,
Thirdly, I explained upon the Free Trade principles—"Where there's a demand there's a supply"—that the shipping interest would very speedily furnish a competitive cheap transit for an increasing trade.

I use these arguments for the purpose of apprizing you of the effect of the system of commerce.

plete Free Trade, which it is said comes into operation in February next; while I contend, and upon the same basis, that it is at this moment in full operation. Nay, more, that from the present time till February the price of wheat will not be measured by any possible Free Trade standard, but by English panic. Corn is a thing which can be brought cheaply from other countries; and all other countries—and especially America and Canada—have been preparing for the advent of Free Trade. And the farmers of England, with a perfect knowledge of the large supplies abroad, will dread the competition from this anticipated glut, and will consequently overstock the market from that period to the dreaded time. But there is another and perhaps a more cogent reason for presuming such a result—it is said that the harvest of this year was gathered in such a damp state as will not allow of its being long kept on hand.

I think I hear the Free Trader exclaim, "Why this is the very result that we anticipated from the measure, THIS IS CHEAP BREAD." True, but it is only one of the trinity, for what becomes of "high wages" and "plenty to do?" And how often have I told you, that cheap and dear bread are relative terms, and that the man without a penny to buy the cheap loaf, is in a worse condition than the man who can pay a shilling for the dear loaf.

Let me now come to the question of RECIPROCITY—the basis, the only basis, upon which "timely and prudent concessions" could be established. We hear much about England's glory, and her national faith, but let me now show you that her National Debt, her taxes, and her rents, and every engagement that I have before mentioned, is based upon what is called Protection, and, therefore, I call it the keystone of the arch.

The rents of this country are mortgaged to the fundholder, the tithes are estimated by Protection, and the taxes are measured by the same standard; and as the rents of the empire amount to more than the national expenditure I will deal with that item first.

Rents are measured according to the price of wheat, presumed to be insured by a tax upon foreign corn, and the rate by which rent is established we will call 60s. a quarter, or 7s. 6d. a bushel—that is, that it would not pay the foreigner to grow it, pay the duty, risk freight and insurance, at a less amount. If we then average the yield of England lowly at twenty-four bushels, or three quarters to the acre, and if the competition of foreign corn reduces English produce to 5s. 6d. per bushel, and it will reduce it much below that mark, this will be the result—every English farmer will lose 2s. per bushel upon the produce of his acre, or 48s. upon each acre. If, then, we estimate English rents at 1l. per acre, we find that this loss increases the rent to 3l. 8s. per acre, or more than trebles it. But, says the Economist, "wheat is not the only thing produced in England." True, but the price of wheat establishes the standard value of gold, and of everything else; and the rent of grass land, upon which a blade of wheat may never be grown, is regulated by the presumed price of wheat.

This you may say is the landlord's view of the question, ultimately. Not so, however, it is firstly the labourer's view, because the farmer will not employ him, it is secondly the farmer's view, who will become very fractious and disloyal, before he allows his all to go; and it will, thirdly, become the landlord's view, when he is called upon to pay tithes, taxes, poor rates, mortgages, provisions for younger children, personal and judgment debts, out of uncultivated land. Well, but again, the Free Trade manufacturer exclaims, "What's that to us, they are the very class whose rights and privileges we sought to destroy." Perhaps so; but what becomes of their trade when the staple trade of the country, employing more hands than all others put together, is paralysed and in a state of perfect stagnation? Will the landlord employ as many servants? Will he be as good a customer to the several trading classes? Will he be as good a mark to the creditor, whether national or personal? Will the farmer be as good a customer, or will the pauper in the workhouse be as good a customer to some other traders?

That is only one view of the Landlord, Tenant, and Labour side of the question. And next comes the most gloomy. It is this—So far from these reduced rents and reduced prices ending with the injury they inflict upon the landlord and the tenant the poor rates will increase in the exact ratio in which the landlords' and tenants' poverty increases; and according to their inability to spend in the manufacturing market, will the profits of that class be measured; and according to the ability of all, will the national exchequer be measured; and according to its stability, will the measure be the loyalty of bishop, parson, soldier, sailor, landlord, tenant, manufacturer, operative, labourer, banker, merchant, shopkeeper, and policeman.

Now, depend upon it that it must, and will come to this; because ascendancy, equality, comfort, and contentment, and not preference for any system, constitute the bonds of allegiance, and the ties of affection.

But I shall proceed to show you the folly of placing any reliance upon the meaning attached to the words of a man looking for office. When Lord John Russell wrote his letter from Edinburgh, he knew no more about the question of Free Trade than he does now. You have been governed by an entangled system of policy, which has been tortured into intricate political phraseology; a minister is not expected to talk sense; he submits a riddle to the country, and asks the country to solve it; but will he solve this riddle? If the national faith was pledged to the fund-lord upon the understanding that protection for domestic produce should be the basis of that faith, can that faith be kept if the basis is taken away? In other words, does any man in his senses, or does any man, except an official receiving his quarterly salary for juggling, believe that a pound can be paid out of ten shillings? And, if he does not believe that, or if the conjurers cannot accomplish that, must it not be plain to every man with a grain of common sense in his head, that the fund-lord must go without his dividend—that the mortgagee must go without his interest—the parson without his tithes—the landlord must go without his dinner?

Now, observe that the landlord is still the man possessing political power; and rest assured that a few rebellious landlords, surrounded by the sturdy yeomanry of England, would become a much more dangerous army than the whole corps of shivering Free Traders. The landlords had no concert—the landlords could only act together in the House of Commons; but the bluster, the noise, and the promises of the Free Traders, had its effect out of the House of Commons, and in the House of Commons as well. Many landlords went with Sir Robert Peel, never understanding the consequences that would result from Free Trade; others were chicken-hearted, and dreaded the threatened revolution in case of resistance; while those whose estates were mortgaged, or whose properties were small, measured their allegiance to the Free Trade minister by the political, rather than the agricultural, standard. One said, "I have not £4,000 a year, nor £400 a year, if my debts were paid, there-

fore I will sacrifice the scanty agricultural revenue to the political salary received on quarter day." Besides, I have poor relations for whom I must provide, living, commissions, places of some kind, or pensions. Others have said, "My father lives, and is healthy; I have been brought up in expensive habits; my politics differ from his, but they are the only bait for the Downing-street trap, so here goes."

You will understand, then, that Free Trade was carried by a Ministerial juggle, by delusive promises and bluster, and by timidity; the Leaguers promised and blustered, the landlords got frightened, and surrendered. But you have not seen the veritable commencement of Free Trade yet. It was made a political question, as all questions are—and fellows who had jumped from their clogs into Spanish leather boots—from dung carts into carriages—and from the sanded floor to the Turkey carpet—had the insolence to designate every man as a Tory who opposed their Free Trade agitation.

The question of Cotton, from its importation to its exportation, is perfectly understood by all financiers. We have tables without number, showing us profit and loss—what can be safely given for the raw material—what can be paid for labour to manufacture it, expense of machinery, fire, oil, candles, casualties, and all the rest of it; but we have no table submitted to us of the farmer's liabilities—in a great measure depending upon natural causes, over which he has no control. Let me give you one. Suppose we take McCulloch's estimate of land under cultivation at twelve million acres; in that case, what I contend is this: that the difference to the farmers between a fine weather harvest, and such as we have just had, amounts to over six millions of money—that is, if a farmer has a hundred acres of grain—the difference between saving that grain in fine weather and catching weather, will be over 10s. per acre. I estimate it very lowly, as you would find if you understood the expense of bad harvest weather to the farmer. I make no estimate for several items, but I merely take the difference of saving, leaving the difference of price, consequent upon damage, wholly out of the question, and those six millions confer no benefit upon any one.

A Lincolnshire farmer, a Norfolk farmer, or a Suffolk farmer, or, indeed, any farmer, has a quantity of corn ready for cutting—he knows that there will be a scramble for men; he sends his bailiff on Sunday to employ the required number, whose wages are measured by the requirements of the farmers. Those men are employed by the week; they set to work on Monday morning, at nine o'clock; it begins to rain; they are obliged to be set at some fiddling work for the remainder of the day, or, perhaps, for the week—and thus the farmers, in the aggregate, lose six millions, while the labourers are only benefited by receiving their wages for being idle, or uselessly employed, instead of working. No doubt the Economist will tell us that this is all right, as the six millions circulate more extensively, and are merely taken out of the pockets of the farmers; but that is the very question I am on, because I am showing the effect that Free Trade is likely to have upon that important body, and, through them, upon every other class of society. I am showing, that it is easy to measure national faith by Protection, but hard to uphold it when that Protection is taken away. And I am also calling your attention to what I have told you a thousand times; that, Free Trade once established, and then an abundant harvest in those countries that supply us with food, and a good season in those countries for gathering the harvest, and a deficient harvest in England, got up in bad condition, and expensive in consequence of catching weather, and the English farmer is a bankrupt; and when the English farmer is a bankrupt, I should be glad to know what will become of the English labourer, the British manufacturer, British faith, and the British Constitution?

I tell you now, that Free Trade is all moonshine. I tell you that Free Trade should have been the end, and "timely and prudent concessions" should have been the means of making it harmless. Not such paltry concessions as altering the mode of collecting a few local rates, and reducing the price of a few articles of luxury and necessities of life. As long as you pay interest upon seven hundred millions of debt, and as long as you pay twenty-four or twenty-five millions for Governmental expenses, and as long as you pay fixed salaries to officials, the farmer must get 20s. for his pound's worth of wheat, fixed at that price by Protection; and if he only gets ten shillings instead of the pound, he cannot possibly meet his national faith engagements.

My friends, this is no political question. The Reform Bill was no political question—it was a party question; Free Trade is a class question—and yet those spouting beggars who spoke about "High Wages, Cheap Bread, and Plenty to do," and were so loud in their protestations of philanthropy, called themselves Liberals—and now that the thing has wholly and entirely failed, they invite those who were to have "High Wages, Cheap Bread, and Plenty to do," to become emigrants, and leave their native land. Why, we were to want population to keep pace with the briskness created by Free Trade. The emigrants that were banished by idleness, were all to return. So what has become of the benefits of this measure, and where is the working man in England who can say he has been benefited by it?

I foretold the condition to which it would reduce the Irish people, and my prediction has been too faithfully verified. I foretold its effect upon the English people while they were most enthusiastic in anticipation. I foretold that you would have crowded workhouses, crowded prisons, sedition, and revolution. I did not wait for those occurrences to guess at the result, as other writers do, nor could it be considered a prediction, as it was the natural consequence of the measure. And now I predict, that before twelve months from this day you will have a national bankruptcy—that the landlords, as I told them in the House of Commons, will all have become Chartists—that they will have begun to see the expense of a State Church—the burden of feeding unwilling idlers, and the folly of feeding idle, pampered, bloated, useless officials.

Working men, Free Trade was a "CRY"—its motto was "HIGH WAGES, CHEAP BREAD, AND PLENTY TO DO." Reform was a "CRY"—its motto was "PEACE, RETIREMENT, AND REFORM." You have seen how the national faith has been kept. The French Republic was a "CRY"—its motto was "LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY," sealed with the "KISS OF LIFE," and you have seen how that has ended. Prussia had its "CRY," but it was such a long lamentation and hallooing that I cannot recapitulate its motto. Vienna has now had its revolution, and the enthusiasm of fools, who believe that with the last shot popular triumph is proclaimed, are loud in their expression of hope. But I tell you that that also will end in moonshine, or, what is worse, in the establishment of the reign of capital; and yet Free Trade will go farther to disturb and destroy all the rules and order of British Society and of the Constitu-

tion itself, than the great Continental war, which ended with the Battle of Waterloo.

Free Trade was Labour's ruin. It was intended to constitute the political power of the master class—it will end in their annihilation. And the value of the Land at home, and the value of Protection for native industry will be discovered. When the jugglers have tried all other means to preserve national faith, but more especially to preserve their own ascendancy, they will be obliged to fall back upon the Cottage, the Labour Field, and the Charter to defend them, and then, like Quintus Cincinnatus, I will cheerfully return to my plough.

Your faithful friend and representative,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

TO THE QUEEN OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

LETTER III.

RESPECTED SOVEREIGN,

Europe is in a state of high irrationality, and in many places so excited as to be bordering upon insanity and madness.

The contests in which some of them are engaged, and which threaten to extend to others, are far worse than useless.

They inflame the passions, and destroy life and property for no rational object; on the contrary, they make matters much worse, and, if allowed to proceed, will yet more involve and confuse all parties, and render a speedy adjustment of their differences impracticable.

Where there is power, the times and circumstances require strong and prompt measures of coercive, friendly interference—and Great Britain, Russia, and France, as their interests are deeply involved with those of all other countries, should say to the contending parties, "We must have peace established throughout Europe, in order to calm the minds of all, and prepare them for a common-sense adjustment of the aristocratic and democratic opposing feelings"—feelings which blindly and most unwisely exist between parties not now knowing what they are contending for. There is but one real interest throughout Europe; in fact, throughout the world. That interest has now to be adjusted, rationally, for the benefit of all people.

The three days' revolution of February, in Paris, has rendered it necessary that real liberty, equality, and fraternity should become a universal fact; for it cannot be a fact in France without becoming a fact throughout the world, and the sooner this change shall be effected the better it will be for all in every country.

The only question now deserving the consideration of rational beings is—by what means, and in what manner, can this most desirable change from falsehood to truth, from evil to good, be effected with the least injury and most benefit to all parties?

Existing contending interests, which have arisen from the injurious, artificial, or false state of society, as it has been formed throughout all nations, will answer this question, each according to the confined locality of ideas prevalent within the narrow circle of class, sect, and party, in whatever division of Europe their characters have been misformed.

Having been early in life permitted to overcome and see beyond these artificial and degrading local influences, and having no private interests attached to the general interests of all humanity, it appears to me, under these circumstances, to be true wisdom to terminate the disorders of Europe, by a congress, to be held in some place near its centre, or in London, as it would be there better protected in its deliberations than in most other places.

This Congress to be composed of Delegates from every Power in Europe—two from the large powers, and one from each of the other independent States.

These Delegates to be elected in each State by Universal Suffrage; their business should be to form a general Constitution and Code of Laws for Europe.

It is presumed that these Delegates would be the most practical men for the business to be transacted in this Congress, that the different countries possessed, although probably many mistakes would be made, to remedy which evil, the Congress should have the power to elect, by a majority of votes, twenty-five of the most experienced men in Europe, according to the best knowledge they could acquire of each person's qualifications.

These twenty-five to form a Council of investigation and revision of the acts of Congress, and no Constitution or Code of Laws to be adopted, except sanctioned and agreed to by a majority of the Congress and of the Council.

The questions first submitted to the Congress for decision should be the following:—
1st.—Whether the Constitution and Laws for the government of the population of Europe be based on the fact that the character of each individual is formed for him; or on the old belief, that each one forms his own character.

2nd.—Whether the responsibility of forming the character of each should be on society; or on the individual.

3rd.—Whether there should be one Constitution and Code of Laws for Europe; or more than one—and, if the latter, how many.

4th.—Whether there should be one or more languages in Europe—and, if only one, how that one should be decided upon.

5th.—Whether Europe, in future, shall be composed of separate independent scientific societies, federatively united under one government, with one interest; or kept divided, as at present, by different languages, and opposing governments and interests.

6th.—Whether the present contending classification of the three divisions of society into upper, middle, and lower, shall be maintained; or a new classification adopted, in which the most useful and best qualities of each of these divisions shall be combined in the character of every individual, so as to form a real and superior equality among the entire population of Europe, and, ultimately, of the world.

7th.—Whether the population shall be divided in interest, every man for himself and each opposed to all; or whether individualism shall be superseded by an unity of interests in which all shall be instructed and provided for in the best manner that existing means and knowledge will admit.

8th.—Whether the present most inferior and dishonest mode of producing and distributing wealth shall be maintained by the authorities of Europe; or whether the superior and scientific mode of producing the best qualities of wealth in superfluity, and of distributing it justly and beneficially, shall be adopted.

9th.—Whether the people shall be left to have their characters formed from birth by accident and under such vicious and inferior circumstances as to render, in after life, falsehood and deception unavoidable; or whether each one shall be well cared for by the State and scientifically trained within good circumstances from birth, so as to insure the most valuable and best character to promote the prosperity and happiness of society that the natural organisation of each will admit.

10th.—Whether the people of Europe shall be governed as heretofore, in the most ignorant manner by the few, for the unnatural and

injurious supposed advantages of those few, keeping the mass in slavery and starvation; or whether they shall be trained to govern themselves like rational and intelligent beings, beneficially for themselves and their posterity, including also the few who have hitherto governed Europe on the fundamental principle of falsehood and deception, requiring for its support a continued increase of force and fraud.

11th.—Whether the people of Europe shall live in large towns and cities filled with all manner of vicious, injurious, and inferior circumstances, and in isolated situations, with few social advantages; or whether they shall be now placed within superior circumstances, scientifically arranged to secure to all the real advantages of cities and isolated residences, without the vicious, injurious, or inferior circumstances now common to both.

12th.—Whether the Government or Governments of Europe shall continue to employ the wealth produced by the present overstrained working of the industrious classes, to create the most vicious, injurious, and inferior circumstances; to waste the human faculties, physical and mental; misapply capital; produce vice, crime, ignorance, gross oppression, and universal misery; or whether it shall be applied to create good and superior circumstances everywhere, to the exclusion of the vicious, injurious and inferior and thus ensure goodness, knowledge, and happiness to all, without evil to any.

And, lastly, whether the change from falsehood to truth, from all that is evil to all that is good, shall be commenced throughout Europe immediately; or that the change shall be indefinitely postponed.

These being the questions of the deepest and most permanent interest to the human race, will naturally occupy the first attention of Congress, as the foundation on which to construct a rational Constitution and Code of Laws for Europe.

These subjects now opened to your Majesty are new to the higher classes of society, and, with few exceptions, will at first alarm many; it has now, however, become most necessary for their safety that all should fully understand them.

In two memorials presented from me, by the late Lord Castlereagh, to the Congress of Sovereigns held in Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, the circumstances, as they appeared to continue, must of necessity lead to the present disorganised state of society over Europe, were distinctly stated, and the remedy, or mode of prevention pointed out. The advice then given was disregarded, and the natural consequences have followed.

It is not too late for the Aristocracy of Europe, if its order possess mind and decision equal to the crisis which has arisen, yet to save itself and the people from great suffering and destruction of life and property.

Believe me, it is practicable by open and straightforward measures for your Majesty's Government to stay this volcano of revolutions over Europe, establish peace, and secure permanent progressive prosperity for all parties;—truth, honesty, and decision are alone wanting. It is indeed grievous to see such enormous means to produce permanent universal prosperity and happiness so misapplied, as to inflict misery—more or less—upon all, and to throw the civilised world into complete confusion and disorder.

If the British Government does not interfere between the contending and opposing principles of individual and united interests, or in other words, between Aristocracy and properly understood—Democracy, one or other of the parties must be destroyed, and that party in the nature of progress will be the Aristocracy.

It is my duty to state these matters plainly to your Majesty, that, if possible now, at the eleventh hour, a right direction may be given to the enormous powers of society for the permanent good of all.

Most respectfully,
Your Majesty's faithful Subject,
ROBERT OWEN.

London, 24th October, 1848.

THE LAND AND ITS CAPABILITIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.
DEAR SIR,—I shall take it as a favour if you can find room for the following testimony of my practical experience, as I consider it the duty of every man to give his information upon a subject of such importance as the capability of the soil; and as the cultivation of wheat should be one of the first considerations of my brother agriculturist, it would be the best mode of procuring that useful plant.

I have tried the experiment of producing wheat in six different forms in one field. One plot was sown in the common way—the next on the top and ploughed in; the next drilled with the Norfolk drill—another was done with the press—one was drilled with the plough drill. The last was drilled in rows seven inches apart, and the other four in four, four, and six inches in each hole, or about two bushels per acre. The drill and the presser sowed about five strokes, and the other sowed one load per acre; but the dibbling far exceeded any of them; and I feel convinced that if the dibbling is properly managed there is no other mode that will produce as much.

But I advise all who dibble wheat on dry land to have the rows about seven inches apart from each other, and the holes five inches from each other in the rows, dropping about four corns into each hole; by allowing seven inches between the rows it not only gives the plant more air, but I also give an opportunity of hoeing between the rows, and clearing away the weeds, which ought never to be neglected in the culture of the plants. Further, I advise my brother agriculturists never to sow bad seed, for I never saw a farmer who sowed bad seed that was a good manager. But it is no use my saying much upon that subject as they will have Mr. O'Connor's very valuable work on Small Farms, which I hope my brother agriculturists will pay strict attention to. Now, as there are some who think that four acres of land will not grow sufficient to support a family of five persons, I will only say that those persons, so into my well-managed garden and measure the ground so managed, and value the crop, and you will be astonished at your ignorance. But some will say that a field cannot be made to grow so much as a garden. What can be produced from one acre can be produced from four, if the same means are used. Now last year, as well as this year was not a good season for gardening, and I sold off crops at the market price, which produced me 2

Poetry.

The following selections are extracted from
SHELLEY'S *Queen Mab*—

COURTIER.

Those gliding flies
That bask in the sunshine of a court
Patten on its corruption—what are they?
—The dross of the community; they feed
On the mechanic's labour; the starved hind
For them compels the stubborn glebe to yield
His unshared harvest; and you squall from
Lesser than a drowsy misery, like wastes
A useless life in the unwholesome mine,
Drugs out in labour a protracted death,
To glut their grandeur; many faint with toil,
That few may know the cares and woes of cloth.

WARRIORS AND LAWYERS.

War is the statesman's game, the priest's delight
The lawyer's just, the hired assassin's trade,
And, to those royal murderers, whose mean throats
Are bought by crimes of treachery and gore,
The bread they eat, the staff on which they lean,
Guards, barbed in blood-red liveries, surround
Their palaces, participate the crimes
That force defends, and from a nation's rage
Secure the crown, while the cunning reach
To those families, feigning, and penny breathes,
These are the hired bravo who defend
The tyrant's throne—the bullies of his fear:
There are the sinks and channels of worst vice,
The refuse of society, the drugs
Of all that is most vile; their cold hearts bleed
Droic with sterminess, ignorance with pride,
All that is mean and villainous with rage
Which hopelessness of good, and self-contempt,
Alone might kindly; they are decked in wealth,
Honour and power, then are sent abroad
To do their work. The pestilence that stalks
In gloomy triumph through some eastern land
Is less destroying. They enjoy with gold,
And promises of fame, the thoughtless youth
Already crushed with servitude: he knows
His wretchedness too late, and cherishes
Repentance for his ruin, when his doom
Is sealed in gold and blood.
To those the traitor's sword, who, skilled to snare
The foe to justice in the tolls of law,
Stand ready to oppress the weaker still;
And, right or wrong, will vindicate for gold,
Sneering at public virtue, which breathes
Their plighted trust lies torn and trampled, where
Honour sits smiling at the sale of truth.

KINGS AND SUBJECTS.

Nature rejects the monarch, not the man;
The subject, not the citizen: for kings
And subjects, mutual foes, for ever play
A losing game into each other's hands,
Whose stakes are vice and misery.

THE DOOM OF FALSEHOOD AND TYRANNY.

Whence, thinkest thou, kings and parasites reap
Whence that unceasing din of drones, who heap
Toll and unvanquishable poverty
On those who build their palaces, and bring
Their daily bread?—From vice, black loathsome
vice;
From rapine, madness, treachery, and wrong;
From all that renders misery, and makes
Of earth this thorny wilderness; from lust,
Revenge and murder—And when reason's voice,
Loud as the voice of nature, shall have waked
The nations; and mankind perceive that vice
Is discord, and that wisdom and harmony
Is peace, and that happiness and harmony
Is man's mature nature shall gladden
The playing of its childhood—kings shall
Willfully pass by; the gorgeous throne
Shall stand unnoticed in the regal hall,
Fast falling to decay; whilst falsehood's trade
Shall be as hateful and unprofitable
As that of truth is now.

Reviews.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND, from the earliest
period of the Irish Anals, to the Rebellion of
1848. By T. WAGNER, M.A., F.R.S., &c. Parts
I.—II. London: J. & F. Tait, 100, St John
Street.

An impartial and trustworthy History of Ireland
would be one of the most valuable and interesting
works that author and publisher combined could
present to the public. In the 'address' which ac-
companies the first part of this publication, it is
truly said, that 'There exists at present no History
of Ireland of a character to be placed in the hands
of the general reader. Works of this kind, hitherto
published, are either imperfect in plan, defective in
research, or disfigured by the political or religious
prejudices of the writers.' The 'address' adds—
'It will be the special aim of the author of the pre-
sent work to avoid this dangerous error; he will en-
deavour to give, as far as the materials will permit,
a true picture of Irish history; and he will study,
above all, to relate the stirring events which come
beneath his pen, as well as the causes which have
led to them, and the effects which have followed,
with the strictest impartiality.'

This promised impartiality is not so easy a matter,
for whether an author be 'Saxon' or 'Celt,' Catho-
lic or Protestant, Conservative or Progressionist, it is
a difficult task to rigidly abstain from giving a favourable
colouring to one set of principles and partisans at
the expense of their opposites and rivals. Nor is this
all; even though able to divest himself of pre-
judice in dealing with the events of his own time and
reviewing the events of the past—the historian has
the still more difficult task of penetrating the pre-
judices and partialities of his predecessors, on whom
he must mainly depend for the reported facts of pre-
ceding centuries. To get at the truth of events
which have been disfigured by the misstatements of
'History,' is at the best a laborious, and often a
hopeless undertaking. Of Mr Wright's ability there
can be no question. We trust that when this publica-
tion is brought to a close, the same may be as
truly asserted of his allegiance to truth, in spite of
set or party. If the author of this *History of Ire-*
land produces a work such as the 'address' we
have quoted from promises, he will confer a lasting
benefit upon society.

It affords us pleasure to speak favourably of the
work thus far. Part I. opens with an account of
Ireland as known to the Greeks and Romans, com-
mencing with the celebrated voyage of the Argon-
auts. The ancient legends and masters of the world
lead to have been very little acquainted with 'Ierne'
and its inhabitants. It was not till the year 120
that the geographer Ptolemy wrote an account of
the country, describing its coasts, harbours, rivers,
and seaport towns; of the interior of the country he
seems to have known but little. Notwithstanding
his imperfections, his account of 'Hibernia' possesses
considerable interest, even after the lapse of more
than seventeen centuries. The remainder of Part I.
is occupied with the legendary history of Ireland;
and although Mr Wright evidently has but little
faith in the annals of the mythic period of our
Irish history, he appears to have given a faithful
abridgement of those annals, from the time of the
landing of Noah's niece (1), to the holy and happy
time when, as some nameless bard of the streets de-
clares, St Patrick—

'Gave the snakes and toads a twist,
And bant'nd them from ever.'

The adventures of the Milesians; the institutes of
Ullam Fodhla; the building of the Palace of
Emania; the wars of Ossian's heroes; the conquests
achieved by Nial and Dathi; the preachings and
miracles of St Patrick; with many other stories,
equally wonderful, find place in this portion of the
history.

Part II. opens with an account of Ireland during
the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, and some forty
pages follow which are almost entirely filled with
accounts of civil contentions, the sanguinary con-
flicts of rival chieftains, and the Danish invasions.
Almost the only bright pages in this dark record are
those which tell of the events of those heroic
times.

'When Malachy was the collar of gold,
Which he won from the proud invader.'

And when Malachy's still more famous rival ruled
Ireland, from north to south, from sea to sea, and
Danes and all other enemies—foreign and domestic—
acknowledged the sovereignty of Brian Boru. 'It
was in the reign of the great Brian that a young
damsel of surpassing beauty, robed in a costly dress
covered with jewels, carrying in her hand a wand,
with a gold ring of great value fixed at the end,
wandered, without attendants, from the northernmost
part of the island to the south; and no one attempted
either in face of day, or under cover of the shades of
night, to rob her of her honour, to strip her of her
rich apparel, or even to steal her ring of gold.' This
pretty little romance at least indicates a high de-
gree of prosperity and public order during the more
fortunate years of Brian's reign. Unfortunately, these
days did not long continue. The treason of an in-
famous chief was the fatal cause of that famous battle
of Clontarf; in which, although the Danes were
heavily defeated and terribly destroyed, the great
king Brian was himself slain, together with the flower
of Irish chivalry. The story of this battle is told
with great power, and Mr Wright does justice, both
to the matter and manner of this portion of his work,

to the splendid heroism of the Irish victors in that
memorable battle. The 'glories of Brian the brave'
will never fade from the page of history.

But the victory of Clontarf—though glorious—
was a fatal event for Ireland; her 'bravest, wisest,
best' fell on that battle-field; and the country
immediately relapsed into that state of anarchy
which rendered the subsequent invasion of the Nor-
man brigands a matter so comparatively easy. It is
a fact which should not be lost sight of, that in
the very first quarrel between England and Ireland,
the former was the aggressor. Nearly 500 years
before Strongbow's invasion, Egfrid, King of Nor-
thumbria, sent an army into Ireland, com-
manded by a Saxon earl, named Beret, 'who,'
says Bede (the old English historian), 'mis-
erably wasted that harmless people, which had
always been most friendly to the English.' It is
true that about two hundred and fifty years subse-
quently, a combined Danish and Irish army entered
the Humber, and invaded England, and were de-
feated with great slaughter by the English king,
Athelstan; that, however, appears to have been the
only occasion on which the Irish acted the part of
aggressors, and got what all aggressors deserve,
well trounced for their pains. Unfortunately, the
good cause is not always victorious, otherwise,
the fate of the Irish at Brunaburgh, and the
Danes at Clontarf, would have been shared by the
male-ruffians who laid the foundation of that
rule of wrong which for seven centuries has in-
flicted misery upon Ireland, and dishonour upon this
country.

The dissensions of the Irish chiefs, and their
treachery to each other—which too often took the
shape of positive treason to their common country—
appear to have been the main causes of Ireland's
ruin. The crimes of Dermot MacMurrough, and the
infamy of his paramour Derorgilla—the Helen of
Ireland—paved the way for Irish slavery. The
history of the flight of Dermot to England, and his
subsequent return, together with the capture of Wex-
ford, the invasion of Ossory, the arrival of Strong-
bow, and the capture of Dublin, takes up the con-
cluding portion of Part II. 'When' says Mr Wright,
speaking of the first campaign of the English
adventurers in Ireland; 'when we consider the small
number of invaders, their success appears wonderful;
but it was the victory of trained soldiers over un-
disciplined valour, and the Irish were defeated less
by deficiency of courage in those who fought, than
by the want of unity among the different petty
states, and the consequent absence of the vigorous
councils necessary on an occasion when the inde-
pendence of the whole island was threatened.' To
this should be added the fact so humiliating to Ire-
land, that numbers of her own sons, influenced by
ambition, personal hatred, or a thirst for rapine,
were but too ready to league with the invaders
against their own country. Under such circum-
stances the loss of national independence was the
least of inevitable calamities.

Mr Wright strongly and properly condemns the
wholesale slaughter committed by the invaders,
and the cruelties they inflicted on the prisoners who
fell into their hands—the beginning of that wicked
policy of 'striking terror into the Irish,' which has
been continued to the present time.

This work is printed with large clear type on
good paper, and the embellishments are of the first
class, although, we think, with the exception of the
map of Ireland, out of place. Part I. contains, in
addition to the map, an engraving representing the
arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and an illustrated
title page, portraying the entry of George the Fourth
into Dublin. Part II. contains an engraving of the
trial of Daniel O'Connell, in 1844. We submit that
these illustrations should have been reserved for
future parts. Engravings of the Battle of Clontarf,
and some other subject from the ancient history of
Ireland, would have been more appropriate at the
present stage of publication. Thus far we may con-
scientiously recommend this 'History of Ireland' to
our readers.

Royal Correspondence. *The Private Letters of
Queen Victoria and Louis Philippe, on Political
and Domestic Subjects.* London: W. Strange,
21, Paternoster Row.

The originals of these letters were discovered at
the Tuileries, in the secret portfolio of the ex-King
of the French, after his flight from Paris on the 24th
of February. This collection is edited by the author
of 'Sketches of her Majesty's Household,' several of
whose works have been favourably noticed in this
journal. Copies in French of the original letters are
given, together with translations into every copious
note, explaining political facts and allusions which
others might not be comprehended by the gen-
eral reader. A good deal of royal humbug is laid
bare in this little book; and, truth to say, the hum-
bug, at least so far as the Spanish marriages were
concerned, does not appear to have been exclusively
on the side of the Pagan of France; the Coburgs and
Palmerstons appear to have been as deep in the mud
as his ex-Kingdom was in the mire. In fact, both
parties played a deep game, in which, of course, the
veteran gamester triumphed. Palmerston, with all
his trickery, and the hungry Coburgs, with all their
disinterested zeal, were—both combined—no match
for the great Jew-trader of the Tuileries. For a
rich exposure of royal morality and royal decency,
we commend the reader to 'Our very dear Brother'
Philippe's letter to his *chère bonne Louise*, the
Queen of the Belgians, in which the 'nobility' of
the Queen of Spain, and the 'virility' of the prince,
who is now her husband, are discussed with a free-
dom which might not seem out of place in the cor-
respondence of a horse-dealer reviewing the quali-
ties of the animals he might be disposed to purchase,
or wished to dispose of, but which reads queer
enough when human beings—we will not say 'royal
personages'—are the subjects of such brutal com-
ments.

In this work the reader will be reminded of the
fraternal hug given by Louis Philippe to Prince
Albert, when the latter went on board the *Gomer* to
welcome the monarch to England. He will be in-
formed, too, how 'my poor Montpensier' rivalled
Prince Albert in suffering 'from that odious sea-
sickness'; how the Princess-Royal wrote to the
lady at the Tuileries, and how, in return, the little
lady received 'a duck of a doll' as a present from her
'Old Cousin (old cozener)'; Louis Philippe. These
and many other tit-bits, independent of the politi-
cal portion of the correspondence make this book
worth perusal. That the old trickster was often
troubled with prophetic fore-shadowings of the
future, is manifested in several parts of this corre-
spondence. We quote an example of this in a letter
addressed to Queen Victoria, in December, 1844—

FOREBODINGS OF THE FUTURE.
I perfectly comprehend, as your M-Jesty reminds me,
how rash it would be to give one's self up too long before
bad projects and hopes which so many citizens are
might frustrate and render chimerical; and, above all,
with respect to your Majesty's exhortation, as to the pe-
riod when you might have the happiness of seeing upon
St Cloud, and to go to the boulevards of Paris on as grand
or as small a scale as might suit you or Prince Albert.
Above all things, I beg both of you to be assured that,
whatever my desires may be that this journey should
take place, I would never consent to permit you to under-
take it if I had not previously required an entire and ab-
solute conviction that you would be there received as
under your auspices, I was no need in England. That
conviction I now entertain; but I know too well the
man, and the times in which it has been given me to
live, ever to engage to reply for the future; and my ad-
vice is never to engage one's self too long before the near
approach of the future, so that we might be enabled to
form some judgment as to what is permitted to us to ac-
complish, and what is forbidden.

In another letter dated January 29th, 1846, ad-
dressing to the potato disease, Philippe wrote, 'It is
not the first time I have seen, in my long career,
that trifling causes have produced great events.' The
reader will connect with this the great event which
two years afterwards levelled Philippe's throne, and
sent him, like Cain, a fugitive from his country. A
haquet was forbidden, and—Louis Philippe lost his
crown!

Queen Mab. A Philosophical Poem. By Percy
Bysshe Shelley. London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's
Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

To criticise Shelley's immortal poem is not our
present purpose. Had we sufficient space at com-
mand, it would be a labour of love to point out the
most beautiful portions of this magnificent work,
but we must forego that pleasure, and be content
with selecting here and there an extract for the grati-
fication of those who have yet before them the rich
enjoyment of reading *Queen Mab* for the first time.
Our principal reason for calling attention to this
work, is to intimate to the lovers of genuine poetry
who may not possess this poem, that the copy pub-
lished by Mr Watson is a neat, cheap, and unimpaired
edition, which they would do well to obtain. This
edition is enriched with the celebrated 'notes,' and
has prefixed a sketch of the life and writings of the
poet.

We do not agree with all the ideas and sentiments
expressed in *Queen Mab*; but regarding the poem as
a whole, we have no hesitation in asserting that no

work can rise from its perusal without feeling more
than ever wedded to virtue, and bound by that tie to
struggle for the happiness of mankind, and the
triumph of Truth and Justice.

Under our usual head of 'Poetry' will be found
some extracts from this poem; we here give the fol-
lowing additional selections:—

COMMERCE.

Commerce has set the mark of selfishness,
The signet of its all-enveloping power
Upon a shining orb, and called it gold:
Before whose image bow the vulgar great,
The vainly rich, the unscrupulous proud,
The mob of peasants, nobles, priests and kings,
And with blind feelings reverence the power,
That grinds them to the dust of misery!
But in the temple of their hirling hearts
Gold is a living god, and rules in scorn
All earthly things but virtue.

THE BURY OF THE PROPHET.

All things are sold; the very light of heaven
Is real; earth's inspiring gifts of love,
The smallest and most despicable things
That lurk in the abysses of the deep,
All objects of our life, even life itself,
And the poor pittance which the law allows
Of liberty, the fellowship of man,
Those duties which his heart of human love
Should urge him to perform instinctively,
Are bought and sold as in a public mart
Of unscrupulous selfishness, that eke
The lusts in the abysses of the deep.
Even love is sold; the solace of all woes
Is turned to deadliest agony, old age
Stivers in selfish beauty's loathing arms,
And youth's corrupted impulses prepare
A life of horror from the blighting base
Of commerce!

THE POOR AND THEIR OPPRESSORS.

Whose life is misery, and fear, and care—
Whom the worn wretch and toiling slave
Who ever hears his famish'd offspring scream,
Whom their pale mother's uncomplaining gaze
For ever meets, and the proud rich man's eye
Flashing command, and the heart-breaking scene
Of thousands of his fellow-creatures,
The victims of his rapine, his lawless reign.
In quenchless his wrongs; he laughs to scorn
The vain and bitter mockery of words;
Feeling the horror of the tyrant's deeds,
And unreluctant but by the arm of power
That knows, and dares to drive his enemy.

Such is a true picture of the present; but we
believe with Shelley that—

'A brighter morn awaits the human day.'
For—

'Haggard selfishness has felt,
Its death-bell, and is tottering to the grave.'

The Tax-Payer's Catechism. By Edm. Liver-
pool: J. Shepherd, Scotland Road. London:
J. Cleave, Shoe Lane.

This catechism is put in the form of 'Dialogues
between Mentor and Telemachus on the Causes of
Charism, and why little robberies are punishable
by law, and not great ones; addressed to Special
Constables, Flag-bearers, and all who through
ignorance give countenance to oppression.' The
exposure of the existing system—political and so-
cial—is well performed, in language the raciness of
which will be relished by most readers. It is about
the best forerunner of 'Useful Knowledge' we
have seen for many a day. It quite takes the shine
out of Lord Brougham's *Political Philosophy*. We
feel it a duty to recommend this little book to 'his
lordship' and to all his friends; not forgetting our
own.

The People's Charter. A verbatim Report of a
Lecture. By Samuel Kydd. London: E. Dipple,
42, Holywell Street, Strand.

A defence of Chartist principles, a sketch of the
history of Chartist, a vindication of the points of
the Charter, and sundry comments on the villainous
efforts of the Press to mix up Chartist, Commu-
nism, and Republicanism, with the view of damag-
ing all three, form the subject-matter of this Lecture.
When we say that Mr Kydd reasons well, and often
eloquently, we only tell our readers what is well
known to most of them. We warmly recommend
this pamphlet, and suggest to local councils the
propriety for the sake of the cause—of pushing its
circulation amongst those hostile to, or ignorant of,
our principles.

An Appeal to Trades Societies. By Alfred A.
Walton. London: Walton.

This is a well-written appeal in support of the
principles set forth in the Plan of Trades Organi-
sation commented on in our editorial columns in last
Saturday's *Star*. This tract deserves a large sale,
and its circulation amongst the Trades could not
fail to be productive of great good.

An Act of the People's Parliament for the reduc-
tion of Her Majesty's Civil List, &c., &c. Lon-
don: Strange, Paternoster Row.

A vast improvement on the general run of Acts of
Parliament. We hereby authorise this 'Bill' to be
'laid on the table' of every tax-payer in the United
Kingdom.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.—A Treatise on Female
Complaints. By Mrs Martin. London: 70,
Chandos Street, Charing Cross. The *Spy* of 1848.
By 'Stickfast.' Albany, 121, Shoreditch. The
Illustrated Penny Almanack. Watson.

THE LABOUR QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.
SIR,—It would have been strange indeed, if the
commotions and insurrections of Europe had been
lost upon the Malthusian economists of England.
These men of cool calculation were, quiet during
the turmoil and blood of actual fighting, but as soon
as revolt subsided, they have branched out with all
their powerful and craftily hoarded influences for
the spread of their doctrines. Let us understand
each other—the political economists of England are
powerful in talent and influence, and judicious in
the exercise of the means at their command—they can-
not be buried by any fine saying or significant sneer;
no, they must be battled with by an appeal to facts
and the use of reason. No swelling aphorism avails
much in a state composed of workers and arithmeticians.

A writer in the WESTMINSTER REVIEW for
October, quotes the following extract from a speech
of M. Thiers:—'We must have a solemn, profound,
and frank discussion in the National Assembly, with
all the leaders of parties, paying every due respect
to men and to opinions, for we must needs know if
any one possesses the secret of suppressing at will
all the miseries of the people. If any one does pos-
sess it he must divulge it; and if nobody possesses it,
let no one promise it, for to promise in such a case,
is to pave the way for the effusion of human blood.'
Then follows a smart criticism on the words 'sup-
pression at will,' succeeded by the statement, 'That
the removable cause of misery then may be stated to
be twofold—ignorance and bad habits.'

The meaning of the author is clear, from the fol-
lowing extracts:—'It is no less true that when
man's productive labour has been added to the
utmost by knowledge, such is the prolific power
that forms part of his organisation, no efforts of in-
dustry and economy on his part, can enable him to
provide supplies continually increasing, so as to
keep pace with the demands of the continual in-
crease, consequent upon an uncontrolled use of those
proudest powers.'

'There must be no opening for misconception by
parental forethought; we specially point to a due
limitation of the number of births, the neglect of
which can never be effectually compensated by any
amount of industry and economy; and again
(quoted from Mill): 'One cannot wonder that
silence on this great department of human duty
should produce unconsciousness of moral obligation,
when it produces oblivion of physical facts. That
it is possible to delay marriage, and to live in abstin-
ence while people are unmarried, most people are
willing to allow; but when persons are once married,
the idea in this country never seems to enter any
one's mind, that having or not having a family, or
the number of which it shall consist, is not at all
amenable to their own control.'

The writer mourns over the fact, that Christian
ministers have encouraged matrimony, and the
consequent increase of children born in wedlock—
and declares that this doctrine of Malthus and Mill
should be taught in every school and university,
and from the cushion of every pulpit in the land.

The extracts I have quoted are the gist of the
article in question, separated from the web of words
and phrases that surround them, which can only
serve to blind those readers who cannot comprehend
the true meanings of the doctrines inculcated.

Before the doctrines can be listened to, I call on
their supporters to prove the following propositions:
—That the law of England is inadequate to the
maintenance of the whole population.
—That increase of population does not tend to an
increase of national wealth.
—That nature, which regulates all other animals in

number, suits means to ends, will not, when re-
lated to just laws and wise institutions, regulate the
number of men born in a state, to the means of sub-
sistence.

It will be an easy task for me to prove that
the negatives of these propositions are correct.
The land in cultivation in Great Britain is estimated
at 33,792,460 acres; the whole extent of surface at
51,000,000. Of the 17,000,000 not in cultivation,
one half at least may be put under the head of pro-
fitable, if cultivated. Mr Porter calculates that, in
the present state of British agriculture, it requires
the labour of nineteen families to produce 1,160
quarters of all kinds of grain; that is to say, each
family would produce about sixty-one quarters,
which would provide for the maintenance of fifteen
families. Thus one family of agriculturists would
support fifteen families of manufacturers, and the
power of steam machinery, as applicable to manu-
factures in this country, has been computed to be
equal to 600,000,000 men; one man, by the aid of
steam, being able to do the work that it required
250 men to accomplish fifty years ago.

Mr Alison, in his work on Population, says,
'There is no instance in the history of the world of
a country being peopled to its utmost limits, or of
the multiplication of the species being checked by
the impossibility of extracting an increased produce
from the soil; and that the main point in civilised
society is not; what are the productive powers of
nature in the soil, but what are the means that the
human race has for getting at these powers, and
rendering them available for general happiness.'

Mr Alison is right against all of you, refined gen-
tlemen though you are. The problem to be solved
is not, 'Is man's labour applied to the earth capable
of providing for man's wants?' that point is settled—
although you seem conveniently to forget it. The
question is, 'By what means can the wealth already
created, and capable of being created, be rendered
available for man's use?' The question is not to dis-
place wealth, but to distribute it, and render it
fertile.

Mr Mill, in his Elements of Political Economy, says,
'If that condition is easy and comfortable' writing
(of the people), all that is necessary to keep it so, is
to make capital increase as fast as population, or, on
the other hand, to prevent population from increas-
ing faster than capital.' That population has a
tendency to increase faster than, in most places,
capital has actually increased, is proved inconstan-
tly by the condition of the people in most parts of
the globe. In almost all countries the condition of
the great body of the people is poor and miserable.
This would have been impossible if capital had in-
creased faster than population. In that case wages
must have risen, and high wages would have placed
the labourers above the miseries of want.

So far from the increase of capital being under
the increase of population, the fact is notorious, that
so great is the accumulated capital of this country,
that British capitalists have launched millions of
their surplus riches in speculations of foreign en-
terprise, to I believe, an incalculable extent. You
may every day hear our city merchants complain
that they have no outlet for their capital. Men, too,
who have made their fortunes within these last
thirty or forty years. Nor is it true that the com-
forts of the people are to be measured by the wealth
of the state; for in no district in England has the
increase of wealth been so rapid as in the counties
of Yorkshire and Lancashire, and nowhere is misery
among the workers more general or more excessive.
A reference to the increase of trade since the year
1832, or an appeal to the returns of the property and
income tax of 1815, as compared with the Income
tax of Sir Robert Peel in 1841, will at once settle
the question in dispute, and convince the most
sceptical that the evil of England, at least, is not
the want of property, but the want of the power to
possess property on the part of the producers.

If, however, the argument of the economists were
correct—viz., that population increases more rapidly
than property—the increase of the power of produc-
tion would be as applicable to the end as a reduction
of the numbers of the people. In which case an
employment of the people on the now uncultivated
lands, and a general increase also of our scientific,
chemical, and mechanical powers, would be the more
humane course, and equally as sure as regards re-
sults. But what are the facts of the case? Our
workers get four or six pence out of every twelve
they are allowed and willing to work. The econo-
mists say they are too numerous for the increase
of property. Find them employment, then, and
they will find themselves the means of subsistence.
On the one side you see idle men—on the other waste
lands. Here you have bare fields—there you have
unsold shirts. The ruin and misery knows no limit;
and there these idle men, who are the cause of the
realities of the circumstances, as far as the inter-
ests of the labourer are worthy of attention, to the
extent of either a button-hole or button-hole. Oh, but
you repeat—months increase, but land does not increase.
True enough. Land does not expand in area.
An acre does not grow into an acre and a half in mea-
surement. But land expands in the powers of pro-
duction, depending upon the knowledge and applica-
tion of it, and upon the power of labour and produc-
tion—subject, of course, to all natural casualties.
You cannot spin a pound of cotton into two pounds
of cotton twist—but you can by labour produce twice
the quantity of food, for either man or beast, from an
acre of land, highly cultivated, as compared with an
acre of land, of similar quality, idly and rently cul-
tivated. The argument does not rest, as commonly
set forth—upon the increase of land, but upon the
increase of production. Mr Mill, and others of the
over-population theorists, are thoroughly aware of
this important distinction, but their disciples are
in no way scrupulous, and often contrive either to
confound the reader by the use of a variety of phrases,
or the more bold and easier process of omitting to
state the fundamental facts fairly.

I now ask attention to the sentence beginning—
'We have no less to do, than to secure the pro-
vision of food for the mouths of the people, by the
hour has been added to the utmost by knowledge,'
&c. The writer omits to affirm that we have yet
arrived at that state. I venture to assert that we
never shall. Where is the limit of man's knowledge,
and who sets limits to his powers? Every year
brings us important discoveries hitherto unknown.
The peaceful, and silent students in science, are
opening before our wondering senses, new fields for
the exercise of human industry, and the develop-
ment of human action. Man's powers are not, and
never can be, stereotyped, and his sources of grati-
fication and wealth are as endless as his thirst for
knowledge. The earth lays before him a waste, but
he breathes into its nostrils the breath of life, and it
becomes subservient to his will. Fear not that
the elements will outrun the means of subsistence.
What new teaching, then, is it that we are to have
taught in our schools, and from our pulpits? Is it
the doctrine of forthrightness—such has ever been
enjoined alike in the Mosaic and Christian era? I
call on the Malthusians to formulate their creed; if it
be fit to be taught and preached, it must be plain,
and brought within the reach of the meanest com-
prehension. We know the ten commandments; what
is the commandment of Malthus? It
must be addressed to the poor, and read thus—
'Thou shalt not be married, nor given in marriage,
except by order of thy masters, the rich of the land
in which thou livest; thou shalt not beget children
except thou canst be sure that the rich require to
hire them as labourers; or thou must administer
gauges or poisons to thy children, so as to cause in-
stant death and untimely burial. Thou shalt not
God gave unto Moses—'Thou shalt not kill'—and
unmindful of the injunctions of the Old and New
Testaments, to multiply and replenish the earth.'

Such, sir, seems to me to be the real meaning of
the Manchester and Malthusian philosophers. I
hope that if this new commandment be added to the
laws of Moses—that the new worship will be taught
in high places, among the mighty of the earth.
I am, your obedient servant,
SAMUEL KYDD.

CO-OPERATIVE LAND AND BUILDING LEAGUE.—At
a meeting of the Co-operative Land and Building
League held at Whitaker's Temperance Hotel, 93,
Great Ancoats Street, Mr W. Kinsman in the chair.
It was unanimously carried:—That the rules, as
now read, be confirmed; and that the following pro-
visions be authorised to receive names of new mem-
bers on behalf of this society, viz.—Mr Thomas
Whittaker, Temperance Hotel, 93, Great Ancoats
Street; Mr James Leach, 73, Rochdale Road; Mr
Thomas Roberts, hair-dresser, 25, Mount Street;
Ensign; Mr W. Willis, printer, Old Church Yard;
Francis Stanley, 5, Grimes Square, Bradford;
Mr W. Kinsman, 21, Smith Street, Gay-
thorn; Mr James Hoyle, Hope Street, next door to
the Blue Bell, Salford. Some of the next door to
will also be in attendance at the People's Institute
every Sunday evening to receive names, and furnish
parties with rules and cards. Resolved:—That
this meeting adjourn to Sunday morning, the 29th
instant, at ten o'clock, when business of importance
will be brought before the meeting

Correspondence.

THE CHOLERA.

Mr Marchant, the registrar of St Paul's, Deptford, states that:—

This person resided in a very healthy, airy situation and was of steady habits; by trade a carpenter, but working at his trade occasionally, having other resources. He ate a hearty dinner of kolloid mutton, hach, and potatoes, on the day previous to that on which he died.

Mr Butterfield, the registrar, states that:—
Those two were brothers, and died in Ward's P
close, confused, badly-ventilated place, off the Lo
Road.

POLICE SANITARY PRECAUTIONS.—METROPOLITAN
October 22. —The several police divisions
within ten miles of London, sent round to the
several surgeons within the prescribed limit, ex
perienced officers to ascertain if any and how many
of cholera occurred during the week. This was done
by the commissioners, for the purpose of
testing the correctness of the register, and the
report, and for the adoption of precautionary
measures against the spread of this frightful disease.
In consequence of this order, the assistants of Mr G.
Walker, of Drury Lane and St James's Place, was
all yesterday busily engaged in inquiries respect
ing the cases of cholera in their charge. They have
several cases of fever, and one of cholera, but have
not discovered one positively decided case of Asi
cholera. The reports of the surgeons throughout
other metropolitan districts were, we are happy
state, equally satisfactory to a late hour. The com
missioners of police will adopt similar precautionary
measures until each division has been visited.
We regret to add that the above inquiries disclosed
an awful amount of the most heart-rending and

DEATH FROM ASIATIC CHOLERA.—On Saturday afternoon an inquest was proceeded with before the coroner at the Queen's Landing, Wapping Wall, in view of the body of a young woman, aged thirty-four, who died of Asiatic cholera. Mr. Henry H. Hester, of the deceased, living at No. 6, Wapping W. said that her brother resided in the same house which was in good health till Wednesday morning last, when he complained of slight pains in his bowels. He left his home that morning about nine o'clock to attend to his business, and returned at a vessel in the river. He noticed him shortly afterwards, and found the same day that he was extremely ill, and had violent cramps in his bowels and cramps in his limbs. He called on Henry, surgeon, Wapping Wall, who gave him some medicine, and he went to bed. His feet were put in warm water, and mustard poultices were applied to his extremities. As he was getting worse witness sent for Mr. Henry, who promptly attended, and administered to his relief, but without effect, and he died about five o'clock. The deceased's sister, Sarah Hester, stated that for two days previous to the Wednesday deceased had been drinking freely, and answer to a juror, witness stated that both the sears and the drains are in a shocking condition. When there are heavy rains the ground floor of the house is lived in overflows with filthy sewage, which comes out of the common sewers and drains. The smell is so awful that it is obliged to shut the doors and windows. The foreman asked the witnesses if the jurors stated, that between seven and nine o'clock an evening the effluvia in the neighbourhood was most dreadful. After other witnesses had been examined

announced, the jury returned the following verdict: "That the deceased died a natural death from Asiatic cholera, and that the jury request the Coroner to write to the Commissioners of Sewers on the defective state of the sewers and drainage of the neighbourhood which was highly injurious to the health of the locality."—The Coroner said he should attend to the request of the jury.

TWO REQUESTS AT MILLBANK PENITENTIARY.—On Wednesday last Bedford, the coroner, held two sittings at the Millbank Penitentiary, and in each case it was found that the immediate cause of death was Asiatic cholera, the symptoms being distinctly marked by the disease being most rapid in its progress. The first case was on the body of Duncan

Turner aged 50, who was received into the prison on the 20th of March, and who died yesterday morning in the infirmary.—Athinson Wooley, warder, stated that at half-past seven o'clock on Tuesday evening he perceived that deceased had exhibited a signal for assistance. Witness went to him, and asked him what he wanted. He replied that he wanted to see the doctor. Witness then went to see the doctor. The doctor saw him in about five minutes, and he was then removed to the infirmary. Thomas Dillon, the infirmary warder, stated, that when he received the deceased he said that his bowels had not relieved three times since supper time, at six o'clock. About an hour after his admission, cramp in the legs came on. He was sick and purged, but there was nothing in his appearance before that resembled a severe attack of cholera. He died at seven o'clock in the morning. De Baly, saw the deceased shortly before he died, and he stated that he was not when he was attacked. He did not think at all that it was an attack of cholera, but the reason that it was prescribed had reference to the possibility of the disease being cholera. At two o'clock in the morning the deceased having gradually got worse, was reduced to a state of complete collapse, it was then evident that he was suffering fitly of Asiatic cholera. Witness remained with deceased two hours, and the assistant surgeon was with him till eight. At seven o'clock from Asiatic cholera the doctor: Do you die?—Witness: I would have been of any avail.—Witness: I prescribed a warm cordial mixture, opium, brandy, with applications of hot bottles and mustard poultices to the stomach. In consequence of these cases of cholera, another surgeon has been added to the establishment, an additional quantity of opice has been mixed with the gruel, half a

port prior entry is allowed to each prisoner, and I have recommended the substitution of solid food for grass and other fortifying articles, and the use of the disease means have been adopted also for keeping the prisoners well warmed, and other measures of a preventive nature have been taken. The coroner having briefly summed up, the jury returned a verdict, that the deceased died from Asiatic Cholera.

The second case was that of George May aged 71 years, who was sent five o'clock in the morning, and who died at about the same hour, a few o'clock in the afternoon. In this case the symptoms were purging and vomiting. Brandy and water were the usual remedies were applied, the body was rubbed with warm cloths, and he was constantly rubbed until the time of his death. The Coroner inquired of the jury, what was the account for the fatal attacks?—Dr Baly replied, that he was not competent to the jury might have something to do with it. The first case which had occurred in the metropolitan place near the river, exactly opposite to the prison. The jury found, as in the previous case, that the deceased had died from Asiatic Cholera.

On the 21st of August, a finger in Woolwich Dock, named Mesle, was caught by the cholera, and the foreman labouring under a severe attack of the cholera; he had been at work on the shore opposite the station now occupied by the Sulphur and Hebe, where the convicts who were removed from the Justitia board. Almost every person now admits the contagious nature of the disease, but many have attributed the disease to the drinking of mis-mixtures, conveyed to others, according to the directions of the wind over the place where it emanates. The number of cases were certainly far less on board the Justitia when the wind was north-east or easterly than when it was from the south-west, the latter wind carrying the vapour of the sewer in the Royal Arsenal on board the ship.

Two or three cases of cholera, said by the surgeon who attended them to be Asiatic, have occurred in the town of Woolwich. In one case, a lad was brought from on board a collier lying off Woolwich, to Mr Fraser, surgeon, of Thomas Street, who, after administering the usual remedies, he was taken to his friends in London; as it was too late to obtain admission into the Dreadnought Hospital.

The *Ighiteina* frigate, formerly appropriated to the Marine Society boys, has been ordered to be taken for her former station near the Dreadnought, at Greenwich, to be used exclusively as a hospital for persons attacked with the cholera, that they may not be the same vessel as other patients.

Woolwich, Oct. 22.—The cases reported as admitted up to twelve o'clock yesterday were thirty-seven, and one new case today, which the doctor reports will be a fatal one, makes a total up to twelve o'clock today of thirty-six and a half, twelve deaths, twelve discharged, and thirteen convicts. There is only one case now having a tendency to be a fatal character. The rigger, named Mealey, who was attacked yesterday forenoon in the dockyard, died this morning, shortly after six o'clock, after about eighteen hours illness. He was one of the riggers who had assisted in navigating the *Union* and *Wye* hospital ships, and was taken on board yesterday morning on the *Dockyard*, and in taking the convicts from the board the *Justitia* into the *Hebe* and *Salut* vessels, and removing the men to their present station, between Charlton pier and the east end of the dockyard. At the same evening he went to enjoy himself at Charlton fair, which, owing to the great quantity of rain was very deep with mud, and getting wet, with the assistance of the convicts, was enough to bring on an attack of cholera, although he had not been employed on board the convict ships during the day. An experienced naval officer remarked yesterday, that although he did not believe the disease was contagious he had noticed in many instances that persons using the same water-closet as cholera patients were vulnerable to be attacked, owing to the foul poisoners in them.

MONDAY, OCT. 23.—There have been no fresh deaths on board the convict hulks, but several new cases, three or four of which are stated to be very dangerous. The system of haling, even in the *Justitia*, is so bad as hardly to admit of proper ventilation, and on board the *Justitia* there are many of the berths into which the sunlight never could enter, whilst in others the only aperture for admission of air was a few square inches in area. The mortality is not nearly so great now as it was in April, 1841, when bronchitis and pneumonia prevailed in the hulks, and when at one time nine quests were held on convicts in one week. At the

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