

O'HIGGINS' PORTRAIT.

In reply to numerous applications from our agents, we have no objection to extend the time for subscription to the 31st January, while we must decidedly refuse allowing any but subscribers having the portrait, as we had £2000 worth of portraits over after our last experiment.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1846.

THE STRUGGLE.

It is fortunate for those who have rights to contend for, that their rulers should sometimes be summoned to the defence of their own principles, and awakened to a consideration of the title upon which they hold them. It would be a pity if the rulers of the Northern Star, who would not permit themselves to be called in question by the poor, should be called in question by the poor. It is only when usurpers are sued upon their own titles that they vacillate a passing glance at the respective claims of those who contest the property, and those who are entitled to the property, and it is not infrequently happens that a defendant, supporting his claim against an ill-favoured plaintiff, is compelled to admit the superior title of a third party, upon accident alone has called into court. Hence we find the landlords, in their several pleadings against the claim of the freeholders, reluctantly constrained to admit the title of the labourer to a share of the soil.

There is nothing more dangerous to litigants than the unseasonable necessity imposed upon them of now and then producing their title deeds for professional revision. It is not infrequently happens that the disapproval of the plaintiff's title may lead to proof of the existence of a better title than that set up by the defendant. If we apply this common place rule to the case of the landlords of England, we must, in justice, conclude that nothing could have been more impolitic than the admission and confession that the labouring classes were in any way interested in the struggle between landlords and cotton lords; because, as a matter of course, the newly-discovered claimants will very naturally ask whether their share consists in oratorical laudation, the honour of their forbearance being boasted and cheered by their gorged tyrants, the credit of bearing but twenty per cent. of the honour conferred upon a breeding sow, and to acquire even that distinction that they must have brought up their families without trouble to their employers, and without having treasured upon the paper fund.

They will ask if their title, as copartners with the steward-in-chief, consists in being allowed to work as a charity, while the partner revels in unnatural luxury, without ever having toiled. They will ask why the idle partner lives in a princely mansion, made prematurely old by habitual lethargy and gourmandizing, while the active copartner cannot break his fast unless he has toiled from sunrise. Man is born with propensities which may be nourished into virtues or thwarted into vices, according to his training. Mildness, forbearance, and honesty will, we believe, correct, or altogether subdue, evil propensities, had customs, and had habits, and law is only necessary to curb or restrain the instincts of nature; those instincts which are more or less implanted in every thing created, from the maggot to man himself. Under the head "ascendancy" may be found the greatest evils arising from the unchecked exercise of natural instinct. Not only man, but animals, compete for ascendancy, and it requires the most rigorous laws of society to subdue its malignity, and to avert the dangers consequent upon its capricious exercise.

The landlords of England, long in possession of territorial dominion, have, as a class, so cherished the propensities, habits, manners, and customs in which they were born, nursed, reared and educated, that they now find it impossible, by any amalgamation of those evil attributes, to agree upon laws absolutely necessary to keep natural instincts within the limits of social convenience.

If the Whigs could have succeeded in holding possession of political power, without admitting the rightful claim of an unfranchised class as joint tenants in legislation, they would have gladly done so. If capitalists could hold silent dominion over passive and non-resisting labour, they would dole out a pitiful existence as wages as the ostentatious offerings of charity; and if the landlords could defend their estates against the clamour of the League, without calling a superior title to their aid, they would cheerfully fight the battle without mentioning the claim of their serfs. Nay, so thoroughly acquainted are those in whose judgment they confide of those facts, that the savage proposition has been mooted of transferring the claim of the petulant pauper to the consolidated fund. It is not the first time that we have had occasion to comment upon this system of feasting the strong upon the weak. A system which, however, it may serve to prop an administration for a season, is sure, in the long run, to create a war of strife between the despoiler and the spoiled.

Some men affect a coquetish ignorance as to the real cause of that strife which has no long raging between the rich oppressor and the poor oppressed. The fanatically-satisfied would ascribe it to the evil genius of artful and designing men. The propounders of a crocheted policy would foist their own nostrums as its correction, whilst the powerful vainly hope to crush it by the exercise of tyrannical laws; but when the wise man reflects upon the awful amount of sorrow, vexation, degradation, and plunder to which the poor have been subjected, his astonishment and only wonder will be, that vengeance has not long since had its revenge, and that the war has not terminated in the extermination of the wrong-doers. Pandered of their common land, stripped of their poor rights, their wages measured by the whim of grasping capitalists, and by the capricious exercise of justice-mockers, their homes made desolate, their wants mocked, their subservience reviled, their submission laughed at, their tranquillity ridiculed, and their faces covered by the law's oppression, it is no wonder that they should amalgamate as outlaws, and fight their battle single-handed against their manifold oppressors, suspicious of all save themselves, and resolved to rely upon that only power which can right them.

Such is the cause of war; such are the elements that have created it; and such are the implements with which the battle must now be fought. This new suggestion of quartering the poor upon their own taxes is strictly in conformity with the precedent established by the Whigs with regard to Ireland. The Catholic people of that country complained of the Tithe imposition, and the government, to whom the afflicted looked for redress, said, "We acknowledge your grievances and will redress them; but it shall be by a mere change of masters. You shall no longer pay a hundred shillings upon your land, but you shall pay £5 to the State, whose voice in your behalf will be thereby smothered, and no longer heard; and we will give unto Jacob twenty-five of the one hundred shillings that more rightfully belonged to Esau, because then Jacob would cease to contend against his brother." Now, as the Church and the State have recently done in the same relation as Esau and Jacob—Esau representing the Church, and Jacob the landlords, who are the State? The poor are to be sacrificed, lest Jacob should make an assault upon the dominion of Esau, who is still strong in the State. We trust, however, that when the voice of Jacob reaches the ear of the blind, that they will recognize it only as the precursor of the hairy hand of Esau which is to follow.

In this struggle it is impossible for the most assiduous to give judgment until the several titles of the respective claimants are clearly, distinctly, and unequivocally before the tribunal of judgment. We have canvassed them all minutely, and we distinctly aver that the ten millions per annum of property usurped by the Church must revert to the whole people, whose patrimony it is, before their poor pitance can be diminished by the fraction of an atom for the satisfaction of landlords or cotton lords; and if that is not sufficient, the lands which belong to the poor must be restored to their kindly use, so that in due time they may enjoy the fruits of their own industry, but the poor must not, cannot, ought not to startle. Nay, ought not to be satisfied with a mere lingering existence, while those who traffic in their toil live sumptuously in protected idleness; however unheeded our voice and our warnings may have been, we once more caution the government, the landlords, the parsons, and the League against a repetition of this practice of feeding the DISSENTIFIED POWERFUL upon the paltry pittance of the unprotected powerless.

Had it not been for the acquiescence of the landlords in the plunder of the poor by the Poor Law Amendment Act, and had the spirit of the 43rd of Elizabeth been practically carried out, they would require neither eloquence nor newspaper support to protect the joint property of themselves and their labourers from the assaults of free trade. But with what colour of right, and under what feasible pretext, can those who have been foremost in the ranks of plunder, now invite the plundered to join in defence of the stolen property? Were we not fearful of the interregnum between the first rumble and the final settlement of the question, and were we not apprehensive that during that doubtful interval the most unprotected would be the greatest sufferers, we would cheerfully aid in the overthrow of a proud and pompous faction, whose justice is fear, whose mercy is caprice, and whose charity but springs from ostentation or a dread of the results of famine.

PATRICK O'HIGGINS, ESQ.

It is our duty to leave nothing to doubt or surmise, and to establish the fact unequivocally, we think it a duty that we owe to ourselves, to our readers, to our Irish brethren, and to Mr. O'Higgins' to keep the whole case clearly and distinctly before the public. Nothing can be more manly, independent, and forbearing than the letter of Mr. O'Higgins to the *Champion*, and from its perusal the feeling centered in the English mind will be that of astonishment that a people so brave, so justice-loving, so patriotic, and shrewd as the Irish, should have been made so long subservient instruments in the hands of a mere juggler, to be used for the destruction of every honest, upright, and independent patriot who would not "Jump Jim Crow" at the bidding of the great showman. Mr. O'Higgins' besetting sin has been consistency: not that dogged consistency which rejects truth and adheres to old and exploded error, but that consistency which holds fast to principles which gain strength by repetition, and become powerful by controversy. The appeal which Mr. O'Higgins makes to the justice of the English people will not fail of a response, while we are sorry to announce that he sternly refuses all pecuniary aid from the English Chartists, who, he says, will require all their own funds to maintain their glorious position in the approaching struggle. Let our friends take heed, however, when we announce to them the glad tidings, that Mr. O'Higgins is not deserted even in Ireland, and that a number of patriots of all classes of society have boldly come forward as Irishmen to claim the honour of sustaining him in his struggle against THE PRESS, THE INFORMER, AND THEIR SPIES. Is it not refreshing to every Irishman exasperated by treachery from his own country to learn that the nation has not lost its character, and that patriotism has not yet been banished from the land of the brave by the treachery of approvers. Elsewhere we publish a letter to Mr. O'Higgins, which will show that from the persecution of the martyr will spring ten thousand patriots to avenge the martyr's suffering. It is ever so. Tyranny ever falls in the exercise of its lord power, and the torture that it provides for others invariably recoils upon itself. Last night, at a powerful committee meeting—at a respectable committee meeting of the United Trades and Chartists of London—an address, to be presented to Mr. DUNCAN on Wednesday next, was highly approved of, with the exception of one passage, in which the name of O'CONNELL was mentioned,—not even with respect, but merely in connexion with Mr. DUNCAN's sympathy for all who are oppressed by the law. There was a universal burst of manly indignation at the bare mention of the INFORMER'S name, immediately followed by a proposal that the health of PATRICK O'HIGGINS, and thanks to him for his manly resistance to tyranny, should be placed upon the list of toasts. We wish the Liberator could have been present to have heard the judgment of the English people. But enough. When the time comes we will publish every sentence and every word of O'Higgins' trial, if it take three Stars; and we will try, as far as our poor abilities serve, to make amends for the treachery of the Irish press; while the Liberator may rest assured that during his sojourn in England he will be made more familiar than ever with the honoured name of PATRICK O'HIGGINS.

Here follows the memorandum of the Liberator's speech. Let it be preserved as a record of his treachery:—

(From the Freeman's Journal, Nov. 18.)

THE LIBERATOR.—I next wish to call the attention of the meeting to a document transmitted to me by post this morning. It is headed, "Tyrants turning tenants out." It is a document exceedingly well printed. In it, the strongest possible argument is used to induce the tenants to evict their landlords from their lands. This document has been some time in Ireland. Some persons have seen it distributed in the northern parts of this country at Belfast, especially to the labourers employed on the railway. A copy of it came into the hands of Mr. Atkins, who was able to trace it to the person that circulated it, that person being a stranger. The moment I saw it, I handed a copy of it to the committee of the meeting, and he left it with them accordingly, and accordingly, they took not a single step with respect to it from that day to this (cries of shame). Nothing can be worse. I will deposit this with Mr. Ray, and move, "THAT IT BE REFERRED TO THE STANDING COMMITTEE, TO SEE IF WE CAN TRACE THE AUTHOR OUT, AS THE POLICE AND THE GOVERNMENT SEEM TO BE BATHED IN THE SUBJECT." I will not give it to the Liberator, but I will give it to the committee. The resolution was passed and carried.

Again, on the 25th of Nov., the Liberator, that is to say, Daniel O'Connell, "wished to call the attention of the meeting to the fact, that, on that day fortnight, he had felt it to be his duty to denounce certain persons, who he had named, as tyrants turning tenants out. If proper inquiries had been instituted, more could not be the slightest difficulty in finding out the guilty authors of this atrocious paper. He hoped that some true-hearted and intelligent man would lay hold of the miscreants, and so become an honest and upright detective, which would be a great desideratum. Last week, he handed a copy of it to the government repeaters, and the copy which remained, any one connected with the police might have."

Mr. Quigley, one of the clerks of the Repeal Association, called on the Liberator, and said, "The document which I hold was taken down from the door of the Liberator's office this morning, by Mr. Thomas Hanlon, who is with me. Mr. Ray, chief secretary, took it to Mr. O'Connell, and he commanded me to bring it to this office to see what the magistrates would take."

Mr. Tyndall read the document. It was headed, "Landlords and Tenants. Tyrants turning tenants out."

Mr. Tyndall: "I wish we could discover the author of it. You have a wish to find out the author, it is the next way to send it to the superintendent of police. Take it to him to the Castle-yard, and say Mr. O'Connell sent it to him."

Mr. Quigley said, "Mr. O'Connell had a great wish to find out the author, and then withdrew.—*Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 25.

After having read the foregoing, it is not evident that DANIEL O'CONNELL is the informer? And this is the hypocrite who affects great sympathy for his poor suffering countrymen, while, at the same time, he bounds on the bloodhounds of the law against any one who attempts to render the poor fellows assistance. How long, O Lord! will poor Ireland be doomed to plunder and delusion?

O'CONNELL, O'HIGGINS, AND REPEAL.

The following letter was published in the *Champion* of September 2nd, 1837. It is now re-published in the *Northern Star*, for the especial consideration of all my countrymen resident or sojourning in Great Britain. In this letter they will see the ground-work—the cause of Mr. O'CONNELL's hatred and persecution of a man who never in his life did one act or deed inimical to the interests of his poor but honest countrymen, the working classes. He now begs of them, in the name of God, to reflect—to use that knowledge and judgment with which the great Author of their being has so amply and so bountifully endowed them—to lay their hands upon their hearts, and, in the spirit of true Christians, ask themselves if they knew of any one act, or deed, either done or proposed to be done, for their benefit, as a class, by Mr. O'CONNELL. And ask again, in the same solemn and candid manner, do they know, or did they ever hear of his voice in their behalf that Mr. O'CONNELL did not strive to crush? If they know of any, I do not; and I shall, therefore, feel it as an act of Christian charity should they, or any of them, give me some information upon this important subject. Mr. O'CONNELL has not crushed me yet, and with the blessing of God he never shall.

PATRICK O'HIGGINS.

Dublin, January 10, 1846.

MR. O'CONNELL AND FREEDOM OF ELECTION.

To the Editor of the *Champion*.

SIR,—You have laid a heavy lash on my countrymen for their continued support of O'Connell. Will you lend your columns to the defence of a man who is persecuted for refusing to support him?

I am an elector of Dublin, and I told those who asked me for my vote for O'Connell that I could not vote for a Coroner Bill for Ireland, merely because it was proposed by the Whigs; that I could not pretend to be the enemy of tithes, and vote for a law adding to their weight, and fixing the charge more firmly on the backs of the people; that I could not vote for an English Poor Law Amendment Bill for withholding the substantial Poor Law from Ireland; that I could not vote for turning a deaf ear to the cries of 2,300,000 starving Irishmen, and giving them bayonets for an answer, instead of bread; and that I could not vote for O'Connell now, to vote for all these things. Adhering to these reasons, I refused to vote for O'Connell and against the small remains of Irish liberty; and I would have refused to vote if I had been the casting vote. In England it will be with difficulty believed, that for his exercise of my elective privilege—for refusing to vote for a candidate who represents none of my sentiments, I have been posted in the City, by the place-hunters, who insist on being known as Mr. O'Connell's friends, and now exist in the thought that they have a country to sell; that by these I have been posted as an enemy to Mr. O'Connell and to Ireland; and this mode of proceeding has been the foundation of election law, in behalf of the Liberator, under his eyes, and, indeed, plainly with his sanction. To understand the meaning of this charge of enmity to O'Connell, you must know that some years ago Mr. O'Connell got up a society under the name of "Irish Volunteers," of which body I was then a member. I objected to some of the proceedings of Mr. O'Connell's conscientious proceedings in that body, which were the freedom of election, and the right of two persons, including many members of his own family, without any trial, or notice of accusation, pronounced a sentence of malice against me for having called in question the probity of one of O'Connell's friends; and to this sentence, which had falsehood written on the face of it, he prostituted the names of his three sons and his son-in-law. He then, in the same manner, proceeded to the freedom of election, and the right of two persons, including many members of his own family, without any trial, or notice of accusation, pronounced a sentence of malice against me for having called in question the probity of one of O'Connell's friends; and to this sentence, which had falsehood written on the face of it, he prostituted the names of his three sons and his son-in-law. 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prisoner to take his trial at the March assizes, the judge would decide on the charge, when the jury would decide on the guilt of the prisoner. The prisoner was then committed for trial.

MEETINGS IN BEHALF OF THE CHARTIST
EXILES.

Charles Cope and Christopher Eales, of 21, Cork-street,
Bond-street, architects — Thomas Cross and Thomas
William Powell, stock brokers.

