

My very dear friends,—You will recollect that when explaining the meaning of several words to you while I was in York Castle—words which had a very doubtful signification—that I explained the word patriot to mean one who lives usefully for man, and dies a pauper. In fact, I cannot believe in the possibility of a feeling man becoming a rich man. I only know that, as far as I am concerned, that the more means I have had, the greater have been my liabilities. In my time there have been six persons only in the British empire who could lay claim to the term DEMAGOGUE. They were, Henry Hunt, William Cobbett, Richard Cobden, Englishmen; Daniel O'Connell, John Lawless and Feargus O'Connor, Irishmen. Those six have been respectively the acknowledged leaders of a great national party. Hunt lived usefully, and died a pauper; so with Cobbett, and so with poor John Lawless. Cobden lives; and as I am not now canvassing the merits of his principles, I may say for his party he has lived usefully; and, if report speaks true, he has at all events testified his sincerity by being one of a favoured class who has become poor in the midst of great opportunities and a roaring trade. O'Connell, if he died to-morrow, would have left the world much better than he found it, while I believe his residuary legatees would derive but little benefit from his position.

I wish you to keep these facts in view, that the man who once enters the field of agitation extensively, loses all relish for agricultural business, professional business, and all speculation, save that of aggrandising his party. Every one of those, with the exception of myself, have received compensation—some to an enormous amount; and the League are now about to offer to Richard Cobden about a shilling in the pound of what he might have had if he had devoted to his own business the time and energy that he has devoted to theirs. There is no truer adage than "that the master's eye makes the horse fat." I have always had great delicacy in the care and administration of the funds of the working classes. Neglect of their proper use by those entrusted with their management has done your cause more injury than all other circumstances put together.

Having said so much upon a subject that you never thought of, I now turn to another branch. There are men who consider themselves entitled to return to labour, they are equally dissatisfied with the slow process of improvement, otherwise than by one jump into idleness and dignity. There is not one of this class who has not vainly hoped to lay a train in the first instance for destroying my character, and then stepping into the leadership of my cause. The last of this class who has made the vain attempt, is Mr. Thomas Cooper. Not only while he was in prison, but before he went to prison, and since he came from prison, he has been doing his utmost to injure me and your cause; but in his attempt to defend himself in his letter published in Lloyd's Newspaper of last week, he has shown himself to be the most unblushing and unscrupulous creature upon the face of the earth. He has, however, foolishly grappled with an instrument which he did not know the value; he has run against a rock which he did not know the strength; and his pigny influence, daring aspirations, and fervent hope, have all crumbled beneath the weight of an impregnable character.

This would-be leader, after having indulged in continuous and now admitted slander, appears to have forgotten that I gave him not the slightest provocation, and that every one of his guesses have been based upon what his own situation would have been had he been placed in my position. I am not astonished that dishonest men should consider the possession of a large amount of national funds a *prima facie* case, a certain ground of accusation. So it was with Mr. Cooper: he made unlucky guesses, and without a line from me he has sealed his own condemnation. I shall now take up the thread of my narrative, where I left off last week. The moment that Mr. Clark had communicated Mr. Cooper's charge to me, I instantly requested that Messrs. Cuffey and Knight, attended by Mr. Wheeler and Clark, should attend at my house at six o'clock on the following evening, to examine my accounts and the banker's book, not to take anything upon my showing, but, as public servants themselves, that they should see in detail the whole property of the Association entrusted to my care, with vouchers or money for every farthing, but no column for any very expensive sundries, and it was only because it was indispensable that Mr. Wheeler should accompany me to OUR NEW ESTATE by the six o'clock train in order to be back in time to announce the fact in last week's Star, that the project was given up till the present week; and, indeed, it was fortunate that some circumstance should have arisen to postpone it, as last week I could only have guessed at the amount of money paid on account of buildings and other things at Herringgates; whereas this week I have brought it to the farthing from the foreman's books and attested by him, by Mr. Grath and Doyle.

On Monday Messrs. M'Grath and Doyle returned to Herringgates, at half-past ten o'clock, and found me, as is my custom, attending to my work. The moment that they told me of Mr. Cooper's epistle and his challenges to meet me in public, I despatched Mr. M'Grath for a gig to Rickmansworth, and precisely in one hour from that time I had transferred myself from balliff into a fine gentleman, and in company with Doyle had proceeded two miles on my way under a broiling sun to meet the conveyance, but, to my great disappointment, we met M'Grath on foot, with the intelligence that the train I proposed going by did not stop at Watford, and that I could not reach the Leicester meeting until past ten o'clock. Hence, upon the spur of the moment, I showed no disinclination to meet this foolish man upon the very first opportunity. I was very much disappointed at first, but a very little reflection convinced me that I should have committed a sad error, however I might have triumphed over him. I should have committed the error of meeting assertion by assertion, as it would have been impossible to have proved the accounts upon which alone any tribunal should judge.

It is much easier to accuse than to defend, and no man should undertake to meet an accusation until he is perfectly prepared to do so, and in the fullest, most simple and most satisfactory manner. A little reflection taught me that the auditors appointed by the representatives of the Shareholders was the tribunal through which I should reply. Many people are angry with me for giving Mr. Cooper so much satisfaction. I beg to tell them that they are mistaken—that no man ever stands in so high and elevated a position as when he can show that in the midst of most tempting and trying circumstances he has surrendered convenience and comfort, not only to character and honour, but even to scrupulous nicety about the People's peace. What do I care if the world knows that I am poor, while I am enriching others? Why conceal it, when I know that if I had a million of money to-day, or ten millions, that I should die a pauper if I didn't die soon, as it would every farthing go after the rest, as another COURSE IN LABOUR'S HOUSE.

The Star of this week will convey to Mr. Cooper the national opinion. To those who have confidence in me I shall only say that I never will betray it, while to those who express such a warmth of affectionate feeling my answer is, that I would not diminish it by a particle for untold gold. But yet, I have not done with Mr. Cooper. If he attacked my consistency, challenged my discretion, or doubted my judgment, I could laugh at the critic's self-conceit; but he dared to assail the fortress, he has rashly ventured to grapple with my honour—I have defended it, and now I'll carry the war into my enemy's camp. I charge him, not upon my mere assertion, but upon his own foolish avowal, with treachery, hypocrisy and deceit; with fraud, false-

hood and villainy. I will convict him from his own lips. He says that I was afraid to give him the privilege of replying to my letter in the Star. Surely he has not taken less latitude in his friend Carpenter's columns, and that I give at full length. Here it is—

TO THE LONDON CHARTISTS.

My BROTHERS,—I have merely time, in reply to Feargus O'Connor's mad letter in the Northern Star, to make the following brief observations:—

1. It is now established, on his own confession, that O'Connor has purchased the Herringgates estate, in his own name, with the people's money.

2. He is not a legal officer (no deputy-treasurer being named in the rules); and where, then, is his responsibility? The Land Society is not enrolled; the trustees are a mockery—having never entered on office.

3. I neither believe his assertion that he has used, and still uses, the money paid by the shareholders in the Land Fund, to keep up the Star. I dare him to the proof; and he will have to meet me for examination of this and other questions, sooner or later.

4. O'Connor utters a complete falsehood when he says he has been the cause of publishing my poem, "The Land Society." Mr. M'Grath has his liability in writing. I have a copy of it, and will show it, with Mr. M'Grath's handwriting contained in it, to all who wish to see it.

5. Not one farthing is owing to O'Connor on account of my "Purgatory." The bill which he lingers states to be for £200, and still owing, not £200 for paper, and about £20 for advertisements. It has been paid.

6. Without spending time to contradict his ravings that will only be laughed at, I will just state what was the real amount of O'Connor's patronage. He promised to become liable for the publication of my book, but never did; and directed Mr. M'Grath, the printer of the book, to ask me for my written liability. He promised to take 200 copies of my "Purgatory," and then, according to his old fashion, said "he never said so—he only said 100." When I pressed him to give the order, he said, "No—send 40." The forty were sent, were kept several weeks, and then sent back to my publisher, with a request that Mr. O'Connor would have them bound another way, and would send the order another time. My publisher waited for the order, and declared his anxiety to receive it, that he might deduct the value of the books from the bill for paper, &c., and settle the bill. It was still delayed. Mr. M'Grath's last answer from O'Connor, when asking him to renew the order for the books, was, "No; I shall not take one. What the devil am I to do with them? You may take 'em if you like!" So much for O'Connor's patronage! so much for his truth! I never asked him to become liable for my book; it was his own offer. I never asked him to purchase one copy. He bought one hundred, one hundred, and forty, were the fruits of his deceit: he never intended to purchase one copy. But he demanded a present of a copy, in addition to the one sent to the Star, and had it.

7. I now warn London Chartists to put no more trust in this trickster; to do all they can to get the title-deeds of the Herringgates estate out of his hands; and to take care that he does not purchase the next estate in his own name with the people's money. I warn them to act with out fear of his dictation, and in defiance of his filthy Star. I shall do so in spite of his threats—shall remain in the association, and meet him wherever he dares to meet me.

8. I proceed on a tour to collect funds for poor Frost on Monday. In the country I shall speak my mind to working men, and dare O'Connor to meet me anywhere—even in the Carpenter's Hall, at Manchester, if he likes—since he esteems that his stronghold, and I am almost a stranger there. Or, if he prefers it, I will meet him publicly in London when I return.

9. Why does he not call the Leeds Convention together? He knows he has broken the rules by delaying it beyond the 20th of April. I dare him to call it.

10. O'Connor's justice impels me to address you by this mode. You will observe that he expressly refuses to admit any refutation from me, in the Star. Why? Because he knows he is guilty.

Yours faithfully,
THOMAS COOPER, THE CHARTIST.

131, Blackfriars-road, June 13, 1846.

P.S.—Let me direct the attention of the Land Shareholders to the 7th rule, whereby the trustees are responsible yearly, and then ask them whether they can for a moment suppose that O'Connor ever intended the trustees to hold the Herringgates estate for him? He knew that the society would never think of renewing trust deeds yearly; and, therefore, must have supposed that the land should be purchased in his name, only from the first. I have caught him in his slyness at the outset, and hence his alarm at the discovery, and rage under exposure! T. C.

1. "It is now established on his own confession that O'Connor has purchased the Herringgates Estate in his own name with the people's money." Foolish man! Must it not be purchased in some one's name? You are really as wise as the man of "the Sheffield Times." You marvel that any one should do any thing. Was it ever denied? And there is a name in England that has a greater charm for labour's ear? And there is an estate in the whole world better secured for the right owners?

2. Booby.—He was appointed deputy treasurer by the unanimous vote of the Conference. He was also appointed Treasurer of the expense fund, which he has invariably placed to the general account of the society instead of keeping it as a separate item. Must not some one be deputy treasurer, and who more fit? The society could not be enrolled. Every thing that could be done has been done under the old law, and the directors are NOW ENGAGED IN HAVING IT ENROLLED under the new law. The trustees could not act until the society was enrolled, unless appointed by the shareholders by deed like a joint stock company, which every shareholder should sign, and which should be in all parts of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland at one and the same time, and which would cost more than the society is worth.

3. Blackguard.—Who cares what you believe? You'll see the proof at foot of this letter. Prove that your malice cannot shake, proof that your malice cannot weaken.

The remaining portion of your letter refers to personal transactions, and if ever convicted culprit blushed when his guilt was made manifest beyond a shadow of doubt, and if you have a blush left, blush when you read Mr. M'Grath's version of your poor, your mean, your pitiful, attempt to increase my liabilities. Ay, you nasty dirty fellow. Why not at least preserve the show, if you had not the semblance of truth. Now what will your new disciples say when they find that I was LIABLE for the printing of your poem and that if I had not made myself liable, it would never have been printed; and how could you be so very foolish while you were denying my liability, as to assert that you had discharged your account? But now to the damning point. Now to that which brands you for ever as an irreclaimable liar. You say "no" one single farthing is owing to O'Connor on account of my Purgatory. The bill, which he lingers states to be £300, and still owing, was £215 for paper and about £20 for advertisements. IT HAS ALL BEEN PAID."

Now, mark the simple reasoning upon this pitiful evasion. On Wednesday night and Thursday morning, I wrote a letter in which I state that you owe me the money. At four o'clock on Friday morning the Star is printed in London; before three o'clock upon the same day, nearly 1500 copies are delivered to the London Agents. At six o'clock on the same evening, you come to the printing office, you ask Mr. M'Grath THEN to take a bill upon his own responsibility for what you owe me; Mr. M'Grath takes the bill upon condition that I shall approve of it, you assert to Mr. M'Grath that you had not then seen the Star, while you had got it at Mr. Cleave's, Shoe-lane, TWO HOURS BEFORE YOU CAME DOWN WITH THE BILL, and thus, by an EX POST FACTO ACT, you seek to make me guilty of falsehood, by telling not only a lie, but a mean dastardly lie. Now, you moral man, you stickler for leader's uprightness and purity, is not this a legal and a moral fraud? And now will you say that you don't owe me a farthing? when I tell you that I have neither received nor seen your bill. Can you read the above without blushing? and will the people read it without crying shame upon the scoundrel?

Now, a word as to my wholesale LIABILITY of disposing of your work. I suppose you have read King Lear. I know you have played Hamlet, and I'd advise you to come out as Sir Giles Overreach, in the 'New way to pay old debts.' When Lear had disposed of his property, his daughters do not see the necessity for a retinue of servants, and by degrees dwindle the old man's attendants down to one, and finally nothing. So with your books. I was to take 200, but what needs 200, surely 100 will do, or what needs a hundred, why not forty? or why needs forty, surely one will suffice for all reasonable purposes. Now, just think of a gentleman undertaking to publish 200 of an edition of 500 books. But what's the fact, I said that I could sell forty amongst my own friends, and before I had got a single one (I never countermanded them) I was told that the whole edition was sold to Mr. How, and the one which you say I insisted upon having I NEVER ASKED FOR, and never saw until you told me that a second edition was about being published.

It would not be wonderful if I was, indeed, afraid to meet you, inasmuch as an unscrupulous liar is the most dangerous opponent for the moment while he has been so unskillful in the fabrication and arrangement of your facts, that, henceforth, there will be no danger in your assaults. You have long laboured in a disgraceful vocation. You have tried to worm yourself into new society, and have vainly sought to destroy the character of him who was sure to expose your delinquency. You had projected the establishment or the management of a new paper, and saw in the Star an obstacle to your wayward course. You make a parade of your philanthropy and essay to announce the coming of your thrifty, while you hoped to quarter yourself upon sympathy for Frost, for the payment of your expenses. That Frost, whose hope of return to his native country you have deferred beyond any other man, by interrupting our meetings with your jargon about non-resistance, and thereby preserving an apparent distinction between moral and physical force Chartists, while all have been harmony and unity. You have coqueted with all parties; you are too vulgar for some, too impetuous for others, and too false for all. I have now done with you, you have sealed your doom. You acknowledge to have charged me with high offences without the shadow of proof, or even believing in them yourself. You hope to have used the cloak of secrecy until your work of destruction had been accomplished, but in an unlucky moment you disclosed your conspiracy to one who had no interest in the destruction of my character. What possible motive could you have had in selecting one who has befriended you when all others had refused to stretch out a helping hand as the victim of your ostentatious ambition? Can you show one single motive, and henceforth, when in that obscurity to which you have now consigned yourself, you reflect, always bear in mind that you, not I, have been the aggressor. That I was the patron, not the assassin. That I was the friend, the avowed friend, THE BELOVED O'CONNOR, and you were the concealed foe.

Your new associates have led you into a labyrinth of error. They hoped to make you serve their purpose and they will be the first to laugh at your credulity. Before we part, and for ever, read the following account of the subterfuge by which you sought to discharge your obligations to your patron.

Great Windmill Street, London.

Sir,—In reply to your letter, which I have just received, and which contains these two questions:—

1. "Whether you were liable for the expenses incurred in the publication of Mr. Cooper's 'Purgatory of the Suides'?" and

2. "How it happened that I had not communicated to you the fact of Mr. Cooper's having paid the account for paper and advertisements in connection with that publication?"—I make the following brief statement:—

1. I cannot be too distinctly understood that I was liable for the expenses incurred in the publication of Mr. Cooper's "Purgatory of the Suides." You gave me your guarantee to pay for the printing; you did pay for the paper; and, in case of need, our house would have looked to you, and not me, for your payment of our bill. The fact most certainly is, that you, and you alone, were liable for the expenses.

2. Mr. Cooper paid the amount of the account for paper and advertisements to me on the evening of Friday the 12th instant, the day on which the "Star" containing your letter relative to him was published. I could not have communicated the circumstance to you sooner, because you had left town, for Herringgates, before Mr. Cooper called.

The amount he paid was £26 15s. 5d.—£26 5s. 0d. of which was a bill, drawn upon his publisher at three months' date (the taking of which, as a settler, is subject to your approval), and 10s. 5d. was paid in cash. He handed me the bill on Friday evening, and the cash on Saturday morning.

Yours obediently,
D. M'GOWAN.

Now, sir, you may look for a new place, and seek a new master, take this your character with you; to conceal it will be impossible.

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

HONESTY TRIUMPHANT!

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHARTIST CO-OPERATIVE LAND SOCIETY.

BROTHERS.—In the execution of our duty as auditors of the accounts of the Land Society, we have had to inspect the BANK BOOK, Post-office orders, Bank orders, &c., in the possession of the sub-treasurer Mr. Feargus O'Connor, and have the pleasure of being able to announce to the country, that, in the whole course of our public experience, we have never witnessed a more satisfactory, clear and lucid statement of the affairs of a society than are set forth by the above officer. And we cannot help expressing our strong sense of the integrity and honour of that gentleman, and the deep debt of gratitude which is due to him by those for whose benefit he is spending his health, talents and time, and think that persons who pretend to be Chartists, might find more useful employment than traducing one who is in every respect worthy of his high and distinguished position.

Brothers, the accounts of your sub-treasurer offer the most ample and complete refutation to the calumnies which his enemies have been so industriously circulating, with a view to the destruction of his character; but, after a strict investigation of his account with the society, as well as his own private accounts, which he gratuitously presented to our scrutiny, we find that, exclusive of a large sum expended by him in prosecuting the objects of the Association, there appears a balance of upwards of £200 in his favour, besides several sums for postage, &c., for which he has not charged a single farthing.

Brothers, your funds are safe, your society is in a flourishing position, and by union and perseverance success will assuredly crown your efforts.

In conclusion, we again proclaim, not only that our confidence in Mr. O'Connor is undiminished, but that it is considerably enhanced, our only charge against him being that he DOES TOO MUCH FOR NOTHING.

Your faithful officers,
JAMES KNIGHT,
WILLIAM CUFFEY.

THIS IS MY ANSWER, MR. COOPER.

F. O'.

TO THE CHARTISTS OF THE EMPIRE.

Friends,

To those who know us, we need not assert that we are incapable of being made use of for more purposes, but, having had to wait upon Mr. Feargus O'Connor, for the purpose of inspecting the Banker's book and other vouchers in his possession,

belonging to the 'Land Society,' (having previously audited the Directors' balance sheet) we, in conformity with the wish of that gentleman, proceeded to an investigation of his accounts as Treasurer to the General Defence Fund, including the trial of the Welsh martyrs, Lancaster trials, and the trial of Messrs. G. White and T. Cooper, from which we found that, instead of being, as certain gentlemen have been whispering, indebted to that fund, there is due to him a considerable sum, a great part of which has been incurred through the 'madness' of his maligners.

We have felt it to be our duty to make this announcement as a reply to the calumnies of men, who profess Chartism for the sole purpose of creating mischief in our ranks.

We are, brother Chartists, yours faithfully,
JAMES KNIGHT,
WILLIAM CUFFEY.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHARTIST CO-OPERATIVE LAND SOCIETY.

PURCHASE OF ANOTHER ESTATE.

MY DEAR FRIENDS.—I now turn to the subject of the Land picture. On Thursday evening, I succeeded in completing another, and, in my opinion, a most advantageous purchase of one hundred and thirty acres, principally meadow land, within 14 miles of London by the high-road, within 1 mile of the Pinner station, which is 13 miles from London, and to where you may go and return for 1s. 6d. The land is, of course, freehold, otherwise I should not buy it, and the Land Tax is redeemed—that is, it pays no Land Tax. For this estate and a wood of oak timber included, we give

THREE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED POUNDS.

The timber I value to us at £400—the materials of the house and outbuildings, which are capital, at £250, and there are two acres and a half off from the estate, at the corner of two high roads, for which I can get £230 or £100 an acre. If you deduct the 24 acres from 130, you have 106 acres, and if you deduct the price of timber, materials, and 24 acres of Land from the purchase money, you have 1771 acres of land, within 14 miles of the metropolis, within a mile of a railway station, and within nine miles of St. Albans, the county town, within a mile and a half of Watford, a celebrated market town, and within two miles and a half of the beautiful town of Busby, on the borders of the county of Middlesex, for £3,000, which is little more than £28 per acre, with Land Tax redeemed.

The country is delicious, and the situation could not possibly be exceeded for our purpose, as nothing is more important at all times, and particularly at the outset, than proximity to good markets. Farmers send hay to London by the high road, and bring back during the day from a greater distance than the Carpenters' Estate (for that's the name of it) is from London. Now, where are the wiseacres who used to tell me, that I could not get land in the mountains for £20 an acre, and that I could not get anything of land for £45, £50, or £60 an acre. Have I not so far given a practical refutation to their folly. There is a fine high road frontage for all the cottages, so that the members will not be placed in the back settlement. This left arm of Chartism is within 61 miles of its right arm, Herringgates, and nothing can be more important than showing ourselves in the first instance in the fashionable districts, within three miles of the Queen Dowager's new residence, and surrounded by noblemen's estates.

You know that one of my hopes, my greatest hope, from the Land plan was, that, wherever a location was established, the whole neighbourhood would become Chartist. Well, recent events have fulfilled my prediction. Rickmansworth parish, where our first estate was purchased, is immensely large, and 19 in every 20 of the working class population, who never heard of the Charter, are now Chartists to a man, and vast numbers are prepared to read, and some to pay up their full shares, as soon as the district is open. This is one triumph. Another is that my opponents assured you that you would be consigned to pigsties, while the complaint of every visitor without exception is, that the houses are too good, that the materials are too good, and that everything is too good. I think myself that the five-roomed houses are too large; that the four-roomed houses look beautiful; however, this is a fault that at once answers the pigsty bravado, and can be corrected. Yesterday (Wednesday) we performed what is considered a great operation; we perfected and got the chimneys up in two of the five-roomed houses, when the whole population was startled by a succession of hearty cheers from all the labourers and tradespeople upon the estate, while a long tri-coloured flag waved from the top of the houses.

It would really have done your hearts good to see the cheering countenances with which the labourers viewed the success of their own order. We have now five pair of sawyers, about sixteen carpenters, and as many bricklayers, besides carriers, labourers, well-diggers, brickmakers, and all other branches of industry at full work; and you will see by the announcement of the Directors it is our intention to have a Grand Procession to the Estate on Monday, the 17th of August. The new purchase we do not get possession of till the 29th of September, and therefore you will see that as there is no necessity for great haste the Directors have decided upon taking the ballot at Manchester, on Monday, the 27th of July, and none will be eligible to ballot who have not paid up all demands to which they are liable up to the time of taking the ballot. This leaves the Shareholders till Thursday, the 23rd of July, for the payment of their shares; and the 2d Section is going on so prosperously that we were in treaty for 70 acres of Land near Cheltenham for that section, but the price (3 guineas) being so enormously high we declined the purchase.

There will be plenty of Estates in the market before Michaelmas, and perhaps my revilers will be astonished to learn that we are now in a situation to PURCHASE ANOTHER ESTATE. It is our intention to apply all the proceeds from the demonstration which the Directors will manage themselves for the benefit of the shareholders whose Estate is the object of attraction, and this rule we intend to observe upon taking possession of each succeeding estate, and by it we have every expectation and reasonable hope of amassing a large sum of money. We could not have the demonstration earlier than the third week in August, because all the rural population up to that time will be engaged in harvest operations; nor could we have the ballot earlier than the day named, as it would be impossible for the Directors to leave until buildings and other operations, which require their attention, are placed in full swing.

It would be impossible to describe the perfect harmony that continues to exist in the directing body, and they think that while they are working, they can afford to bear the slander of those who write under our success.

My friends, there should be no secrets between me and the shareholders, and I may as well tell you, as Mr. Cooper has asked for the title deeds, that I never had them in my possession; that they are in the custody of the proper officer, the Treasurer and Solicitor to the Association. And now as to your request that I should rescind my resolution of resigning my office of Deputy-Treasurer, as I CANNOT TRUST MYSELF, I OBEY YOUR WISH. But then you say, upon the thorough understanding that neither you nor I shall heed the ravings of disappointed fools, and that I am not again to be called upon out of time and out of place to disclose my private affairs at the caprice of every meddler. I am determined that no

power on earth shall drive me out of a course at the end of which I see social comfort, physical comfort, and political emancipation. I shall soon have so many families of my own children to visit, that my whole time will be delightfully occupied. I assure you that every moment appears an hour to me, while I am away from my paradise.

I often wonder, and so must you, that the real humbug, who buy estates and sell them, and who promise to build houses for working classes, and to give freeholds, are never called to account, and never become objects of slander. But so it is, and so it must be. Whoever serves you is sure to meet with the malignity of bad men, while whoever imposes upon you is sure to be sympathized with as a sufferer. We have now gone on so long together, that though you sometimes sold me yourselves, you will not allow others to take that liberty; you are as man and wife, and was to the fool who tries to separate us. He will come in for the blows of both.

I remain your faithful friend and belief,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

TO THE IMPERIAL CHARTISTS.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—I have been really so perplexed and occupied this only day in the week that I have to devote to the Northern Star, that I must, for the first time in my life, claim your indulgence. The fact is, that writing my two letters has taken up some time, while most of the day has been occupied in counting Post-office orders, bank orders, and such a complexity of accounts as would have puzzled any man that was not particular upon these matters. I can keep accounts as well as any man living; but the poring over them for three or four hours unites me for the more spirited occupation of editor. I ask your indulgence, and I know you will grant it. I will make amends next week by a few slashes at all around me. I have great pleasure in publishing the following short but highly gratifying letter for you. These are the communications that keep up my spirits and spur me on to action. But don't mistake me; I never was in better spirits or better health in my life, or more ready, able, and willing to meet the foe, when the approaching struggle loomed—believe me, I am near at hand; and I am anxious to get my farming labours as forward as possible, before I once more buckle on the armour of political agitation. Oh! if you could but see what we are all doing, you would say that we deserve something better than slander and reviling—but we will live it down.

Your faithful friend and servant,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

P.S.—You may be sure that the Star shall never again be occupied with one single line about the departed Mr. Cooper. This man has hampered me and tried to destroy the Land movement for several months. Nothing was right that he didn't do himself; and he was the mischief-maker who had set the City Locality by the ears.

SUNDAY, JUNE 14th, 1846.

Dear Sir,—I brought my family Sunday morning to see the estate, and I am happy to say that it has amply repaid my journey. You, sir, have set a great pattern for the bravos of our over-rated country. I don't wonder at the money-grubbers envying your fame, for I feel satisfied that if the working classes will support your undertaking it will work the regeneration of mankind. With every wish for your success, I remain,
Yours, &c.,
W. GROVER.

Old Brompton-road.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CHARTIST CO-OPERATIVE LAND SOCIETY.

FRIENDS.—You will have already learned from Mr. O'Connor's brief notice in the Northern Star of Saturday last, that we have made a second purchase, consisting of one hundred and thirty acres of excellent land, situate about a mile and a quarter from the Bushy station, about two miles from Watford, and thirteen miles from London, on the route from the metropolis to Birmingham. This announcement we know has given you all infinite satisfaction and delight, but, gratifying as the intelligence must be to those who are situated at a distance from the favoured spot, all who are acquainted with the locality are perfectly enchanted at the idea of our success in getting possession of an estate so eminently suited to our purposes. We announced on a former occasion that the ballot for the second purchase would take place on the first Monday in July, but, as the estate at Bushy will not be formally delivered into our possession until Michaelmas next, and in order to give all an opportunity to pay up their shares, we now finally declare that the

BALLOT FOR LOCATION

on Carpenter's farm will take place on Monday, July 27. It commences at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in Carpenter's Hall, Garratt Road, Manchester, when all will be entitled to draw who may have paid up their shares, including all levies, LOCAL and GENERAL, on or before Monday, July 20.

THOMAS MARTIN WHEELER,
Secretary.

Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS, MONDAY, JUNE 15.

The House met at five o'clock. Several personal "explanations" preceded the reading of the Bill. Lord DUNELM was asked to clear himself from the charge of having been a member of the Cheshire Protection Society, and several of the Bishops warmly defended themselves and their "order" against the attacks of Lord Stanley on Friday night last.

Lord Stanley presented a petition, signed by the chairman of the London and East India Dock Companies, six Bank directors, a large number of bankers, merchants, ship owners, and traders of the city of London, including all engaged in the Canada and Australian trades, expressing doubts whether the petition which the Directors had presented to the House, represented the general opinion of those classes in the city, and that they did not believe the bill before the House was necessary or called for; and that, in their opinion, it was an experiment affecting vital branches of our national interests, and involving the anxious consideration of their Lordships.

The Earl of DUNELM observed, that the petition he had presented did not profess to express more than the opinions of the petitioners, "certain" merchants, bankers, and traders of the city of London, including, however, 24 or 26 Bank directors, 14 other bankers, firms, and 207 other signatures.

These preliminaries over, the House proceeded to the debate on the order of the day, that the bill be committed, which was commenced by Lord COLTCLUTH, who opposed it. The House then went into committee.

On the 1st clause.

The Duke of BUCKINGHAM moved the omission of the words providing for the cessation of all duties, except the nominal one of 1s., after the 1st of February, 1849. His Grace desired it to be distinctly understood that he was not party whatever to the bill; that he opposed it altogether; but that he moved his amendment with the hope of reserving a small portion of protection, and of sending the measure less injurious to agriculturalists than it would be if passed as it then stood. The Noble Duke called on their Lordships not to think about backing up an Administration, but to regard the interests of the country, and to do as he did, and throw aside all personal feelings and friendships when they came to give their vote.

The Earl of RUTLAND shortly opposed the amendment, as involving an entire alteration of the principle of the bill.

The Earl of CLACKMANTON, Earl STANHOPE, Lord BAUMONT, and Earl HARDWICK spoke in support of the amendment. It was opposed by the Marquis of

Burr and Lord KINKARD. The latter said, he had not the slightest doubt that our farmers could compete with foreigners, wherever only 1000 to 1500 acres, and the effect of that competition would be

had a quarrel shortly before the murder, at the public-house of Edmond Muldowny, of Webbsborough. He proceeded to Boyle's house at Knocknadoge. Boyle did not return home at the time, but arriving shortly after, they arrested him, and he is at present in custody on suspicion of having committed the

Foreign Movements.

"And I will war, at least in words,
(—Should my chance so happen—decide.)
With all who war with Thought!"

"I think I hear a little bird, who sings
The people by and by will be the stronger."—BYRON.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE EMPEROR

NICHOLAS.

NO. VII.

In the *Star* of the 20th of November last, we copied from the *Times* a long account of the

HORRIBLE PERSECUTION OF POLISH

NUNS.

extracted from the work before us. The author of

this work was the first to make known in England

the horrible atrocities that persecution, and for

so doing deserves the thanks of every hater of cruelty

and oppression. In an appendix to the third volume

(just published), we find a number of documents on

this subject, confirmatory of the account of this

horrid iniquity, in reply to the statements of the

Russian officials, who have vainly attempted to re-

fute the statements of the principal of the sufferers.

Without repeating the entire of the account given

in the *Star* of the 29th of Nov. we may remind our

readers that the nuns of a Basilian convent at Minsk

were ordered by their apostate Bishop SIEMASZKO

to conform to the Russian religion; this they re-

fused to do. In consequence of this refusal, they

were seized, bound, driven before the whips of Co-

sacks, and finally imprisoned in "Greek" Convents.

Here they were obliged to perform the most menial

services, starved, fed on salt herrings and denied water

to assuage their thirst, and flogged twice a week.

In the convents in which they were imprisoned,

they met with other victims—non-conformist nuns

of the same order, who shared in their sufferings.

The flogging took place in open sheds, where the

ladies were exposed to the view of the brutal in-

struments of their persecutor. Their flesh was torn

off their bodies in strips, and when any sank from

exhaustion they were beaten with sticks until they

rose again. Some of the sufferers died under the

repeated flagellations. Others were killed by being

beaten with sticks, or met their deaths by being

thrown down, kicked, and trampled upon. Another

favourite mode of punishment was that of plunging

the victims into a lake, and dragging them through

the water until they were senseless. On these oc-

casions the nuns were dressed in a sort of chemise

of cloth, similar to what is used for corn sacks; a

single sleeve united both arms, and thus prevented

resistance; ropes were fastened round their necks,

and by these ropes they were dragged through the

lake by executioners in boats. These "baths"

usually lasted two or three hours, after which the

victims were suffered to remain all night in their

wet clothing, shivering with extreme cold. Two of

the nuns were drowned. They were employed to

dig out clay, and not understanding how to con-

duct an excavation, the earth fell in, and buried five

of their number, who perished in this self-dug grave.

They were also employed to serve the masses in con-

structing a palace for the renegade bishop, and while

one employed a wall fall, and killed eight of them.

One of the nuns was burnt alive in a large stove, in

which she was shut up after being compelled to light

the fire. The crowning atrocity we will repeat at

length.

When the Russian soldiers, and the newly-made de-

acons, had been rendered drunk with brandy, all these

helpless nuns were turned out amongst them as in-

credibly obstinate to treat them as they thought fit. Then

commenced a scene worthy of Pandemonium—the

shrieks and prayers of the victims mingling with the

curse and execration of the demons of the crowd to whose

brutal lust they were abandoned.

When the fury of these demons in human form had

been exhausted, it was discovered that two of these un-

fortunate females were quite dead. The skull of one

had been crushed by the stamping on the temples of an

iron-plated head. The other was trampled into a red-

dened mass of gore, and then even its human charac-

ter was scarcely recognizable. Eight others had one or sev-

eral bones or limbs broken, or their eyes torn or trodden

out. Of the whole number, the superior, a woman of

iron frame as well as indomitable resolution, fared the

best; but she was not allowed to attend or console her

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