













## JULIAN HARNEY TO THE DEMOCRATS OF THE WEST RIDING.

MY FRIENDS,—Having been granted, by your delegates, leave of absence for a short period from my duties as lecturer for your district, I wish to inform you how I have spent my time.

I left Dewsbury on July 7th, for Leeds, from there went by railway to York. I paid a visit to Mr. O'Connor on my arrival, and the same evening addressed an excellent meeting in the Theatre Royal, where I was warmly received.

On Thursday, 8th, I again visited Mr. O'Connor. Upon the occasion of each visit a person sat by the whole time, listening to the conversation. The Government of the Castle, Mr. Noble, appears to be an excellent man. Our glorious friend, O'Connor, I found in much better health than he previously had been, and in excellent spirits, full of hope that the victory of Chartism over the present Government will be a permanent one.

The same day went by railway to Darlington, then took coach to Newcastle, reaching that town at ten o'clock at night.

Friday, 9th.—Went by railway to Carlisle.

Saturday, 10th.—Addressed a meeting of my old friends at Dalton.

Sunday, 11th.—Addressed a good meeting of the Carlisle Chartist. I wish to direct the attention of my friends to an address from the Carlisle Chartist, the last number of the *Star*, and the Carlisle Chartist, which men are in jeopardy, and may be sacrificed unless they have that legal defence which justice demands, but which is denied to those unable to pay gold upon the altar. Men of the West Riding, remember, that whenever a man has been convicted of a crime, he is entitled to a fair trial, and that the law is not to be perverted; remember, that the men of Carlisle have been the first to respond to that appeal; let, then, the country make some return. Be it said, that the lives of our brethren were sacrificed to the vengeance of oppression's mercenaries through the want of a few pence.

Tuesday, 12th.—Went by railway to Winton, where, that evening, I addressed a large gathering of my old friends, by whom I was heartily received.

Wednesday, 13th.—Returned to Newcastle. A meeting had been called to take place in the Association room, capable of holding some hundreds. By eight o'clock, it was crowded to suffocation, and some hundreds being unable to obtain admission, an adjournment to the open-air took place, where a large and enthusiastic gathering was held. A letter from Mr. O'Connor was read by the chairman, and the meeting proceeded to a resolution proposed by Mr. O'Connor, was seconded by Mr. Mason, in a spirit-stirring speech. I followed, speaking for nearly two hours. It was nearly eleven o'clock at the conclusion of the proceedings.

Thursday, 14th.—Spent the day in the market-place of the men of South Shields, in the market-place of that town. I regret to have to say, that I found no Association here, but, at the close of the meeting, a number of the old leaders accompanied me to my lodgings, and there made arrangements for the calling of a public meeting, on an early day, to form an Association. Let this be done, and let the leaders work with spirit, and no fear but that "the days of old" will be speedily restored, when South Shields ranked in the van of the ranks of Chartism.

Friday, 15th.—Addressed a splendid, overflowing and most enthusiastic audience in the Arcade Room, Sunderland. Messrs. Williams and Binn were on the platform; the former delivered an excellent address, and the latter proposed the thanks of the assembly to my humble servant. This was by far the most enthusiastic meeting I have addressed, and tells well for the almost superhuman exertions in the democratic cause of those talented men, Williams and Binn; to them we owe the present glorious state of Chartism in Sunderland. Long, long may they in health and strength continue to enjoy the esteem and affection of their townsmen—estimates which have no sobly won—affection they no nobly deserve.

Saturday, 16th.—Left Sunderland for Stockton. There, where, that evening, I addressed a large open-air meeting, in the High-street. The Stockton Chartist is an excellent body of patriots, they have a good reading room, a co-operative store, and are found ever ready to play their part when any appeal by the Chartist leaders is made to the country; yet strange to say, Stockton is not very seldom visited by the local lecturers; this is much to be regretted. I would earnestly request any of my brother "democrats" who may be going from York to Sunderland and Newcastle, or from either of the latter places to the former, to pass on a visit, they will find a most excellent reception for an open-air meeting, and will there meet with a people generous and hospitable, and sternly patriotic in their cause.

Sunday, 17th.—Returned to York. The same evening addressed a second excellent meeting of the Chartist of York. Men of the West-Riding: I am happy that I can congratulate you on the triumph of Chartism in this city, hitherto the fortress of aristocracy, despotism and early ignorance; but now thanks to the persecution of O'Connor, destined, I verily believe, to be, at no remote period, one of the strongholds of democracy.

I shall this day return to Dewsbury, and on Monday next shall resume my lectures in the Riding. Brother democrats, I reserve till we meet, face to face, comment upon the late downfall of Whiggery in your Riding, as also any advice I may have to tender as to the future course your own interests command you to pursue. In the meantime, I cannot but congratulate you that.

The flag that's tainted ten long years  
The once free English breeze—  
The filthy yellow rag, is at length hauled down; and although in its stead, for a moment, the Tory blue flag, with its union and ensign, my friends, and no fear but that the glorious banner of green will yet arise, speedily to—float triumphant on the breeze, proclaiming the liberation of ourselves, and the enfranchisement of our father-land.

Yours, fraternally and faithfully,  
GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY.

York, Wednesday, July 21st, 1841.

BIRMINGHAM RESTORATION COMMITTEE.

This industrious Committee has this last two or three weeks been busily engaged with their balance sheet and Mr. Frost's case.

At a previous meeting, Mr. Ross, of the Central Committee of Chartism, was elected to be the honorary member of the Restoration Committee of Birmingham, &c.

On Tuesday evening last, Messrs. Wilkinson and Starling were appointed secretaries of the entire balance sheet of the Committee, which will be printed and sent to every district of the country that has carried out the restoration.

The Committee recommended the case of Mr. Frost to the country, and, in an early day, to secure the presentation of the memorial to the Queen.

Correspondence was received from Mr. Frost thanking the Committee for their vote of £3 10s. 8d. in the most polite terms.

Also a communication from the Executive of Manchester as to the state of the funds of the Committee.

Mr. T. P. Green tendered his resignation as corresponding secretary, in consequence of want of time to attend to his duties, and he was held to be the trust only until a competent person would take the place, and on Mr. Wilkinson being unanimously elected to the Committee, Mr. Green would either propose or second that gentleman to the office, believing him qualified in every respect. Election unnecessary, as Corresponding and Financial Secretary to the Committee.

The Committee unanimously elected Messrs. Wilkinson, Nichols, and Thorp, and members of the Committee, to the Committee for the Committee to be addressed to Mr. J. G. Green, (Treasurer, bookseller, 66, Newgate-street, Birmingham).

TO THE CHARTISTS OF YORKSHIRE AND LANCASHIRE.

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,—The day so anxiously looked forward to by the enslaved millions—the day when the oppressors of tyranny shall be struck off, and the prison bonds burst asunder—the day of O'Connor's liberation is rapidly drawing nigh.

I doubt not, men of Yorkshire and Lancashire, but that each locality of your important countries will be anxious to co-operate each other in doing this patriotic business.

But, you will see the propriety of so ordering matters, that the arrangements of one locality shall not clash with those of another; this can only be prevented by a right understanding between all parties.

To effect this, I would respectfully suggest the holding of a meeting of delegates, from all parts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, at Huddersfield, on as early a day as possible.

I name Huddersfield, because, about half way between Leeds and Manchester, it stands on the direct line of railroad uniting the two counties.

I would suggest that such meeting take place in the rooms of two or three weeks.

To work easily as well as work hard. Moreover, such delegates meeting would determine whether our noble friend Brotherton should hold a series of demonstrations previous to the liberation of Mr. O'Connor; or, resting from his prison labours in the bosom of his family for a few weeks, should accompany that gentleman in the march of triumph deserved by, and I feel assured desired for both.

Offering these suggestions for you to improve upon, I have the honour to be,  
Respectfully and faithfully yours,  
GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

Wednesday, July 23rd, 1841.

THE PATRON of rain, St. Swithun, is this year establishing his fame; for 'the weather we are experiencing is much more of a November than a July character; rain, wind, and bleakness prevail, which have enabled the forecasters of the Mark Lane Corn Exchange to raise the cry of a "bad harvest," and caused a rise of 1d. in the 4lb. loaf. The gamblers in the tea trade have likewise raised the cry of "a bad supply," so as to produce a forced market at an increased price. This state of things is sure to be felt severely by the men of London, as the mechanics are now feeling, most acutely, the effects of short work.

THE WANT of confidence is fast and far extending; indeed there are no grounds of hope, for, instead of any alleviation from the present heavy burdens of the State, poor John Bull is very likely to have other charges heaped upon him. Thus we have the Governor General of the Canadas, in his address to the Chambers, stating that, in consequence of the heavy weight of the interest of the debt, (the Canadian debt), her Majesty's Ministers are about advancing £180,000 to the Canadian Treasury, from the empty Treasury of Great Britain! The plain fact being, they dare not let the real expense of the war against the patriots be known, and therefore a pretty juggle is to be played off.

THE WHIGS had, on Monday last, a feed at the Colosseum, in the borough of Marylebone. The dinner was cold, at 4s. 6d. per head, and the speakers were remarkably tame. The Chairman, Mr. B. Hall, and Sir B. Hall and Commodore Napier, and Col. Fox, Dr. Bowring, and Col. Evans, who were visitors. The Commodore decided the Whigs must go head; and Col. Fox said there must be a further impetus given to Reform. As for Dr. Bowring, he was so dull, that your correspondent fancied that Col. Sibthorp had carried his motion relative to the non-allowance of "extra services." The only enlivening period was, when the dinner party broke up, and the ball commenced.

THE LONDON MEMBERS are most particularly requested to let the London correspondent have information when, and where, they meet; and again, that the secretaries will send to him, at either Mr. Cleaver's, or at 15, Little Clarendon-street, Somerset Town, the resolutions which may be passed in any of the localities, for though willing to attend on all, he finds there are three or four which meet on the same evening. He likewise asks when anything of importance is about taking place in any locality, he may be informed of it, so that all may be fairly dealt with, and no grumbling; it is clear, that unless he has notice, he cannot know of what is going on.

## THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, JULY 24, 1841.

"THE CHARTISTS HAVE PROVED THEMSELVES MORE ACCURATE CALCULATORS THAN THE MIDDLE CLASSES. WHETHER THEIR NOTION WOULD HAVE MENDED TO HIS COUNTRY, THIS QUESTION, BUT THE FACT HAS SHOWN THAT THEY WERE CORRECT IN THEIR OPINION—THAT IN THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION, IT WAS WAIN TO THINK OF A REPEAL OF THE CORN MONOPOLY."

POLITICAL CHARTISM IN THIS COUNTRY, THOUGH IT RESIDES IN A COMPARATIVELY SMALL CLASS, CAN ONLY BE EXERCISED BY THE SUPREMACY OF THE MASSES."—*Morning Chronicle* (Copy of the *Whig Ministers*), Friday, July 16th, 1841.

## THE PRESS AND THE CRISIS.

As yet the chaotic rubbish of the press affords the only materials from which we can form any notion of the new political temple about to be erected; and so misshapen, rude, and unmanageable are they, that it would require an architect of no ordinary capacity to guess at the description of political architecture for which they are designed. Whether it is to be of the pure and chaste Tory style, with smooth front, stately and colossal pillars, and royal dome, or whether it is to be of the new order of Whig-Tory architecture, with Gothic front, corridor, and wings, yet remains to be proved.

One thing, and only one, appears plain; and that is, judging from the stand which the Ministerial organs appear resolved to take upon prerogative, the Whigs, as a party, have not, as yet, had sufficient proof of the utter hopelessness of any attempt to regain power upon their olden principles. This madness we may perhaps ascribe to the yet unbalanced state of parties, and a desire to soften or retard Tory craving for the mess. Of this policy we thought our friends had had enough, without publishing a second edition of their folly.

Least however there may be any, the slightest intention of a coalition of the heads of factions "in order to give stability to our drooping trade, so essentially necessary just now," let us point out the obstacles to such an alliance.

In the first place then, we have before shown that patronage, to suit the expectations of the many sections of Conservatism of which the Tory party is composed, is far too scanty to admit of the remission of a single abuse which would diminish the "idle paupers' Poor Law fund." Without the introduction of Russell, PALMERSTON, and MACAULAY to the Tory firm, to say nothing of HOBHOUSE, BARING, LABOUCHERE, and the small fry, there could be no partnership; and we guess that the terms, (fiscal not political), required by those three patriotic Senators, would be such as to reduce the mess very much below par. But suppose such a union did take place, what, in such case, is to become of the young Tories who would be thereby deprived of their share of the mess? and what would become of the constitutional Whigs when deprived of their patriotic, philosophic, constitutional leaders? and what would become of DAN and his tame associates of WICKLEY, DENCOMBE, LEADER, WARBURTON, BOWRING, ROEBUCK, and CRAWFORD? And again, what would become of CHARLES BULLER, GEORGE HENRY WARD, and that small section in short what would become of one and all of the hard-pressed and close-watchers for Whig windfalls? What, we ask, would become of the cut-off Whigs and Tories in case of a coalition? The answer is plain and easy—they would put Chartism to the blush by glaring exposure of its insufficiency to attain the just and righteous ends of justice; and they would start Republicanism on their own account.

Already have the leading organs of the respective parties, the *Chronicle* and the *Times*, taken their ground; and where does the reader suppose? Aye, in truth, where, in the nineteenth century, and in the tenth year of Reform and the thirteenth of emancipation? Why, upon old Mother Dang! Yes, in faith, the bloody old *Times*, not satisfied with the many murders and calamities of which its pestilential columns has been the immediate cause, has the folly and audacity to threaten full-blown popular power with the revival of the religious rancour of resuscitated Toryism and bigoted Protestantism—and this charge, the *Chronicle*, (which we are in justice bound to say has for the first time the best of the argument with its gigantic rival)—merely meets by a set-off of what in such and such cases, it would be justifiable for the oppressed to do.

The *Times* insists upon the appointment of holy Protestant spies, whose Christian duty shall be to attend all Catholic places of worship and report, we presume, (if summary Tory justice is to be dealt to the next Protestant chief constable, who shall be a competent judge as to the tendency of the language complained of, and shall, upon the spot hold a court of *oper and terminer*; and after evidence taken, that is, after having heard the lies of some hired ruffian, he shall forthwith decide upon the amount of pains and penalties to which the priest who utters pollution in his chapel shall be subjected, and that thereupon he, the said constable, shall forthwith proceed to execute his own decree upon the said priest.

Now, just a word in the ear of old "Bloody" Dan—the old lady not remember the reply of the cab-man to his passenger, when the passenger threatened to take his number? "Aye," replied the cab-man, "You would, and my cab too, if I'd let you." We have no doubt that the Protestant chief constable would take the priest and the chapel too, if the parishioners would let him.

This infernal and bloody threat of the old lady, the *Chronicle*, meets thus—"Well, in such case,

would it not be justifiable to analyze and report upon the tendency of the visitation sermons of Bishop PURTOSS, and of Protestant pulpit demagogues, and to deal out like punishment to them? Why, what nonsense! To be sure it would be equally just and reasonable; but then to whom are the parties aggrieved to appeal? To the rub! The Tories are in and the Whigs are out.

As we are the real constitutionalists, and as we fore precedent, as others do, when it makes for us, let us just direct the attention of the *Chronicle* to a case in point. The grievance now threatened by the *Times*, and complained of by the *Chronicle*, is doubtless a great one, and one which with all our might we will resist. But are we not justified in asking the leading journal of our oppressors, why it was silent when *ex-officio* Poor Law Guardians with the title of magistrates; when petty constables and penny-a-line reporters; when Lord Mayors and minions of the faction in power, were made judges of what was evil and what had an evil tendency, in the harangues of poor working men, when the politics taught at their places of meeting did not square with Whig convenience?

There is nothing like proper light for setting off the merits of a picture, and no doubt the change from the glaring sun, which throws its dazzling and unequal rays upon the right of the Speaker's chair, to the steady light which beams upon the left, has exposed to the critic all those inaccuracies which blazing Whiggery so long obscured! In fact, the great change which change of place and scenery works in the human mind is almost incredible.

In conclusion, we beg to assure our friend, the *Chronicle*, that it must select some more open ground than the narrow limits of the Church whereon to fight the approaching battle. We have more than once stated, and we now repeat it, that with perfect religious freedom, civil disabilities, and great social inequalities may exist; whereas the existence of religious tyranny is incompatible with the existence of perfect civil liberty. We have now seen that a people deprived of all the privileges of freedom will not struggle with the favoured privileged oppressor for the accomplishment of his self-interesting objects. Civil liberty is a means; religious freedom is an end.

The English people are, for the most part, Protestant; and they repudiate the present ascendancy of their religious order; while, upon the other hand, the Catholic people of Ireland are beginning to discover that without civil rights all religious disabilities removed are but so many manacles taken from the wealthy leaders and placed upon the poor man's limbs.

The *Chronicle* may rest assured that the shrewd, the oppressed, and oft deceived people will never again struggle for any object until they first acquire the means of effecting it, and of afterwards enjoying it. Proof, full, ample, and convincing proof, has been given that the Whigs are not able to carry their entire modicum of "GREAT REFORMS," constituted as the House of Commons is. We are for the entire change, the justice of which the *Chronicle* admits; yes, for all the "GREAT COMMERCIAL REFORMS," free trade and all; but we are not for allowing the power of exciting the public mind upon them as a mere means of perpetuating office to remain in the hands of those who have no strength to carry them, even if inclined. Give the people the means, and just and prudent results will follow; therefore for the Charter, and that alone, will they contend.

## THE WHIGS AND THE POOR LAW.

All the old fashions are about being revived, and among others, we find the Whigs abandoning the gallopade, waltz, and quadrille, for the old country dance. Doubtless the figure suits them: down the middle and back, change sides, set and turn your partner, is all the go.

Well, well, to be sure, what a world we live in!

It is now some time since we told our old story about the fine lady who was compelled to seek shelter from the pelting storm in the cold and cheerless widow's hovel, where system-made wretchedness and nakedness trembled in the corner. We have told how the lady felt for the perishing inmates who she made one of the shivering group; and how she condescended with the widow, and how she ordered John, her footman, to be sure to bring a goodly supply of coals to cheer the inmates and make the cottage hearth send forth its heat; and how, when she got home, and thrust her feet into a pair of morocco slippers well furred inside, and placed them upon the fender, with the last number of the *Ladies Magazine* in her hand, she rung the bell and asked John if he had sent the coals to the poor widow; and when John answered "No, my Lady, not yet, but I am just going," how the fine lady said, "O, you need not mind it now, John; I don't think it is near so cold as it was, WHEN WE WERE IN THE POOR WIDOW'S HOUSE!"

As we never relate an anecdote without some point, we have told the above for the purpose of contrasting the feelings of the fine lady while a participant in suffering, and her subsequent relapse into ostentation of the heart when relieved herself, with the feelings of the scribes of the Whig press in general, and of GEORGE HENRY WARD in particular, when similarly situated. When the Hon. Member for Sheffield, upon passing by all the Government offices on his way from his cock-loft in the Strand to the Senate-House of the nation, was regaled by the savoury smell which issued from the stew-pot of the Ministerial kitchen, we never heard one word in condemnation of what the cooks term "gravy stock." We never heard that the sauce which smelt so savoury was wholly and entirely constituted of the poor man's marrow, of little fingers, twisted limbs, broken constitutions, and, in short, of a hodge-podge of human suffering. No; not a word of complaint, while "the fat Buck of Sheffield" licked his lips in anticipation of the feast. O, then "the Poor Law was all right and proper;" it was "the industrious labourer's protection against the idler, who pressed too hard upon his means of subsistence." But now, alas! when "mine host" is about to be changed, the close weather and the close grasp of power in Tory hands, makes well favoured dishes and savoury sauce to sink in the nostrils of the humanity-monger; and while sworn testimony and daily instances of brutality and cruelty failed to open the bowels of Mr. WARD to the sufferings of his fellow man, so long as they promised to constitute his (Mr. WARD's) comforts; the moment that he ceases to be an invited guest, the authority of a correspondent is proof convincing that the law is bad, and should be narrowly watched.

No doubt our readers were struck at seeing an article copied from the *Weekly Chronicle* in last week's *Star*, reflecting upon the hardship of taking their stays from the female inmates of "the Chesterfield Union."

We quote again in every word of the said article, that he has never been the lot of Mr. WARD, while on the threshold of office, for seven long years, to have arrived at the knowledge of any greater grievances under the New Poor Law! Has he never heard of the skin being taken from the back of many a little girl and many a little boy? Has he never heard of the father, in a moment of frenzy, when driven to children by Mr. WARD and his class, depriving his children whom he tenderly loved of existence itself, lest they should become inmates of the said workhouse?

Has he never heard of the English virtuous mother giving birth to her infant in a pool of water, at the workhouse door, and of her labour-moans failing to soften the heart of the devil overcast? If he has heard of those things, why is it that we have never till now heard a single word of condemnation of the Poor Law from the said humanity-monger!!!

We have always said that the opposition of a few Tories to the measure was a sprat to catch a mackerel—a bait for popularity; and having been rather successfully tried for a season, we now see strong symptoms of a similar attempt being made by a section of the displaced Whig popularity-hunters. Yes, we see the parties about to change sides! and the Whigs are about to occupy the position now abandoned, because no longer of importance to the *Times* and its party. From the *Times* we shall hear no more wholesale abuse of the Poor Law; its opposition will dwindle down into an exhortation to the new possessors of power to "make the law, which they found upon the Statute Book, as congenial as possible to the wants and feelings of the poor"—that is, in other words, as congenial as is consistent with the feelings and wants of the landlords. Upon the other hand, we feel convinced that a new light will shine upon a section of the Whigs; and that they will taunt the Tories with not accomplishing that change, the promise of which, as they are foolish enough to suppose, has acquired for them much of their acquired strength.

Neither Whigs nor Tories ever intended to make any further or greater alterations in the law than the force of public opinion and a dread of public vengeance compelled them to adopt; therefore, we would recommend the Whigs to bundle up that clapnet with the rest of their traps, before flitting; for they may rest assured that no such fly will catch a Chartist fish. The Whigs and the Tories may play the game of diamond cut diamond; they may dress abuse for the stage, and opinions for the masquerade as they please; but Chartist, like lovelessness, most adorned when unadorned, shall still appear in artless simplicity as the great means to the great end, which is, the regeneration of man—the placing him in that situation for which his God intended him, and making him a welcome guest at Nature's board, covered with the produce of his own hands. This abuse, as well as Church abuse, the Charter would remove; nothing else can; and therefore are we for the Charter.

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## THE REACTION.

The great error into which both Whigs and Tories are now likely to fall, is into a supposition that the unexpected majority of Tories bespeaks a corresponding reaction in the public mind in favour of Tory principles. Such, however, is not the case; the fact denotes a great reaction in favour of Chartism. The Tories have gained a triumph which must prove their ruin; while the Chartists have gained a great victory over the enemy immediately before them and in power. Our assertion is susceptible of easy proof.

Suppose then, that the Whigs had even gone on progressively with administrative changes calculated to make the condition of the people more comfortable, while they allowed them the unopposed constitutional privilege of seeking for those great and organic changes to which they look for complete and ultimate happiness; in such case would the Tories, upon a general election have been able to gain such a triumph over their opponents? Undoubtedly, not. Upon the other hand, do the people in their most sanguine moments expect from the Tories any of those administrative changes to which we refer; or do they anticipate an unopposed license to prosecute their just demand for organic change "ad interim"? As undoubtedly not. Therefore popular expectation to receive from the Tories more than has been granted by the Whigs, cannot be set down as an item in the reaction account; while desertion from the Whigs may be attributed to the non-performance of their several promises when at the right side of the hedge, and looking for power.

It is of all things necessary that the rulers of a great country should clearly and critically understand the terms upon which they hold power, and the incidents or chances to which their tenure is attributable.

In our endeavour faithfully to discharge our duty to those rulers then, we beg to assure them that there has been no reaction in favour of Tory men or Tory measures; that their majority is proof of Whig imbecility and popular hatred of treachery; but not of any diminution of Tory hatred.

The party equables of electors, the superior tactics of leaders, the greater attention to the registration of voters, and unceasing appeals to all who had votes to register, backed by a fair share of the need, full, brought into action with consummate skill; these things proved that the Tory machinery for electioneering purposes is more complete, better arranged and worked, than the Whig machinery; but, beyond that, their present position proves nothing.

Suppose we were to ask, what one principle the majority proves the triumph of, where are we to find the answer? Is it in the accomplishment of those measures of which the Tories, as a party, have professed themselves determined supporters and are the people in favour of any one of those measures? No, not one. Let us try.

War, a favourite Tory game.

Protestant Ascendancy, and extension of Church patronage and proselytism, a vital portion of the Tory creed.

Augmentation of the power of the landlords' interest, the best feather in the Tory cap.

A kind of natural distaste for popular interference in anything but slavery and serfdom, to which the Tories consider working men as heirs.

Advocates for a larger standing army and police force, as the great upholders and safeguard of Tory principles.

Now such are some of the darling objects of Toryism; and to which of these are the people inclined, and in favour of which has the reaction, so loudly boasted of, taken place?

We imagine that the *Times* would find some difficulty in treating its readers to a plain common sense answer to our questions; however if the great magician of the press can still dress fiction in the language of glibility, and persuade his audience that the man in the bottle while he is in bed, and if the audience are not only reconciled to the juggle, but pay daily for seeing it repeated in a new and improved form, well and good; but we beg to assure the juggler that some fine day the bottle will tumble and crack, and mortal and ferocious will be the disappointment of the well-gulled audience when the man falls to jump out!

Now then, reaction may be a triumph in politics, just as a verdict given against law and evidence may be a triumph in law; but as one can be destroyed by a new trial, and by a new jury, so may the other. Having beaten the Whigs, thereby proving our hatred of treachery and deceit, we now but require a new trial to prove that reaction is a mere political fiction, paraded for the purpose of inducing the beaten party to hold their weakness in contempt and the strength of their enemies in respect.

Unless the *Times* and the Tories can prove that a greater number of the unrepresented classes are in favour of Tory principles in 1841 than in 1837, they prove nothing, except indeed, as is not unlikely they still adhere to the philosophy of believing the electoral body to constitute the people, and the unrepresented to be mere filling stuff.

Well, then, what has caused the great change denoted by the result of the recent contest? Why just this. The action of a few score English landlords, both Whig and Tory, and the counteraction of a few Irish assessors, both Whig and Tory, who preferred erring with the high bench to which they look for countenance patronage and support, to a conformity with the spirit of law by the mystification and perplexity of which they live and thrive.

The reaction, then, amounts to action and counteraction; and if the result was but the removal from office, and for ever, of the head-long, tail-foremost, Whig Government, we should say, "well done thou hadst and faithless action and counteraction!" We trust that the fleshed ruffians, hallooed on by their "killing hantaman," will not presume upon re-action, and use it as a temptation to uphold prerogative by force, upon the presumption that the people are with them.

We advised the Government not to choke Frost, WILLIAMS, and JONES, for more reasons than a desire to spare the lives of good and innocent men. We feared that from their ashes would rise a huge pile of disaster, which we shuddered to think upon; and we now tell the Tories that a second Peterloo will not do. We tell them, indeed we have given them ocular demonstration from almost every hustings, that we are united to a man; and we assure them that we will not bear from them what we but reluctantly submitted to from the Whigs. In short, and in plain terms, we will resist tyranny to the death, in whatever shape it may present its hideous form.

In doing our duty, however, we will make the grand distinction between men and principles. We will not oppose Toryism at any risk or hazard, for the mere purpose of giving the fallen Whigs a triumph. We know full well that they would glory in an experiment of popular outbreak, provided that their recall to office was to be the result. We feel assured, however, that henceforth every struggle of the people will be for themselves, and not for faction. We are quite ready to forgive and forget, provided we get the means of preventing a recurrence of those acts which required forgiveness and oblivion. So much for reaction in favour of Toryism!

## THE BALLOT AND THE ELECTORS.

If the Tories boast of reaction in favour of their principles, the Whigs, resolved upon some sort of set-off as a counterpoise to defeat, begin with their little go, and they too speak of another reaction. They tell us that there is now a great reaction in favour of the ballot. Poor simpletons! Surely if we are justified in chastising the Tories for their audacity in presuming that even a reaction in their favour, if it did take place, and was confined to the change of electoral impressions (for as to opinions, one half of the boobies have none) would be an equitable title to rule the unrepresented classes according to the principles supposed to be most popular by the result of that reaction, we are more than justified in condemning the Whigs for their presumption in supposing that the success of a purely electoral question will satisfy the said unrepresented people.

By the way, we are in error, and hasten to correct it. The ballot is not merely an electoral question—it is a vital, a most vital, question for the non-electors, as we have more than once explained. But let us throw some new light into the ballot-box—the rat-trap, as Mr. O'Connor appropriately termed it. What, then, is the result which the Whigs hope for from the ballot? Liberal measures! No; because when their majorities were greatest, and procured by open voting, their measures were most dark, foul, and illiberal. Liberal measures! No, decidedly not—that is, not such measures as the people would ask for, or accept of, without the trouble of forcing the ballot as a means of their accomplishment.

As to the purity of election anticipated, or rather said to be anticipated, from the Ballot, it very much reminds us of the philosopher's stone. The Tories only complain of bribery when their man is out-bid; and with the Whigs the case is precisely similar. Let us have the sword and then we will look for the scabbard to keep it bright and clean, and free from rust; but without the sword; no scabbard, and without the vote, no Ballot.

The Whigs have told us all they would do; and their liberality, we are told, has destroyed their existence as a Government; what more then are we to expect? Would not any extra liberality, even with the Ballot, act progressively towards their utter annihilation as a party? What then is the Ballot for? Why, as a matter of course, an experiment—a bait to fish for Whig supremacy











oppress the poor already so notorious as to  
 of a belief of any enormity. Even if the office  
 a necessary one, the principle would be most  
 establis; but it seems that there is not even this  
 consolation, as there are already six or eight  
 "surveyors-general," who render the "inspector"  
 completely superfluous. The affair, in all its bear-  
 ings, appears an excellent specimen of Whiggery.—



