

"A true Labourer earns that he eats; gets that he wears; owes no man any debt; envies no man's happiness; glad of other men's good; content under his own privations; and his chief pride is in the modest comforts of his condition."—SHAKESPEARE.

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,—

"Coming events cast their shadow before," and it will not be my fault if you do not gain wisdom by what has recently transpired in the House of Commons, as regards Ireland. That country has not been so much crushed and oppressed by English power as by Irish treachery—a circumstance based upon the fact that the people have never been heard as a nation, but as a faction; and, therefore, commanding no respect in the Senate.

While opposing the Coercion Bill, I was taunted, more than once, with the assertion, that there were no petitions against the measure; and that, therefore, the people of England were not opposed to it; whereas, I presented petitions, many petitions, signed by scores of thousands of Englishmen, of which the Irish press, however, took no notice.

Now, my friends, as it ever has been my policy to disarm faction, I am about to appeal to you to place me in a strong and fortified position when I propose a Bill to Parliament to protect the Land Company, and to relieve its members from the payment of all stamp duties. I trust, therefore, that every member—man, woman, and child—will affix their names, occupation, and places of address, to the petition, and which, of itself, will explain the necessity for the consent of those whose interests I represent.

Do not allow me to engage in the contest without the arms which you can furnish me; and then, if I should fail for want of those arms, be prepared to take, not your share, but the whole, of the responsibility. I am aware that many have cautiously joined the Company, by paying through other channels, lest their tyrant masters should dismiss them—but those who sign the petition must rest satisfied with my assurance that those masters will never see it.

Every secretary should make it his duty to get the signature of every member in his district, and he should also get another petition, signed by those who are not members, but who are favourable to the Plan. They need not attach more than their signatures to the petition; and I have very little pity for the condition of the slave who refuses the trifling assistance which I ask him to render in his own cause.

I should state to you that I have had many conversations with leading members of Parliament upon the subject of the Land, and they view it with great interest, and will be prepared to give to it, not only an impartial, but a favourable consideration.

Now, you have ample time to do this, and if you have not the inclination, you do not require it to be done. Let me now remind you, that nothing ever has been obtained from the English Government, nor from any other Government, by silence; and to the silence of the Irish representatives—when silence was a God-send to the Whigs—you must attribute the present state of that country; therefore, taking warning by the past—don't you be silent.

I have shown you before, but I will repeat here again, that social improvement is ever followed by political representation. For instance, when Land was all and everything, the landlords had the whole of the representation; when manufacturers became powerful, the Reform Bill gave them a participation in representation; and when the shopkeepers—the commercial and mercantile classes—joined the manufacturers, the adoption of Free Trade principles gave them the ascendancy of representation; and now that the railways have opened up another source of speculation, that new order of wealth has achieved a powerful representation in the House of Commons—having over one hundred interested members to represent that branch of trade. The maxim that I would draw from these undeniable facts is this—that a wholesome social system is sure to lead to a wholesome representative system.

Now, I pray you to keep these domestic truths always before you, and allow me to illustrate what I mean, so that the merest fool may understand it; and he, who understands it and does not act upon it, is a slave, and does not deserve the name of man. This is my illustration. If there are a hundred thousand men employing five millions of slaves, the hundred thousand slave owners will have the exclusive prerogative of making such laws as will perpetuate their rule, which will be governed by the lowest amount of wages that they can give with safety to their property. But, if a million, or half-a-million, or a quarter of a million of the five millions of slaves become possessed of property in their own labour, independent of the caprice of an employer, then, the hundred thousand will very speedily achieve for themselves a participation in representation.

True, resistance is always offered by those possessing power to those looking for power, but, I tell you, the resistance, the crushing resistance, is in the fear of the many, and not in the power of the few.

The cripples who have been writing about the Land Plan, and who know as much about it as an Irish pig knows of geometry, have spun their web—have laid their eggs—have exhausted their poor store of presumptuous ignorance, and, while they fret and fume, the land-castles progress with surpassing speed.

Indeed, I know of no plan—I can devise no plan—I can think of no plan—equal to the Land Plan for giving the pure liberty to the several classes of society; and to the hope of redemption held out by it, and to the terror of the Land Plan—I attribute the calm quiet we have witnessed amid the most heart-rending distress; for, had it not been for the anticipation of the labour field and the castle those privations would not have been so patiently borne.

The subject so crowds upon me in its multitudinous forms, when absent from other business, gives me time for contemplation, that, even now, in this dull winter season, I see chances to captivate the most heartless, and to inspire the most desponding with hope. The petition that I ask you for you have no six weeks to prepare, as it is my intention to present it at the first day that Parliament meets, and the sheets may be all sent to the Land Office, directed to me, left open at both ends, and "Parliamentary petition," written under the address. The petition will lay at the Land Office in London, and as the directors can have it properly expressed, where the London members can sign it.

To aid your petition, it is my intention to devote the whole of the February number of the "Labourer" to a plain and simple treatise on the Land Plan—a copy of which shall be placed in the hands of every member of Parliament, so that they may thoroughly understand the subject when the discussion takes place.

I am aware that at this season, when the land appears sterile and covered with frost, and the month can see no beauty in prospective, does not believe that ludding spring, blooming summer, and yellow harvest, will ever come again. Unaccustomed to a natural life, he thinks, that because he works all day and every day, that he can procure it, that the land should yield every day; while in the out-of-door, I told him that Nature prescribed a long rest for the land, from which it would be refreshed and strong for its yielding.

And, I have had great difficulty in bringing back an artificial, rare, cramped, and unnatural every thing they eat and drink, and, in use, and exchange, is all produced by the land. In fact, I will, by the one thousand

VOL. XI. NO 531.

LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1847.

sand time, write you a short Land Catechism, or call it what you please, but don't forget it. The Land produces everything, and from it the husbandman can coin his sweat into an exchangeable medium for every article of skill to produce it.

Lock up the Land to-morrow, and I wouldn't give you a straw for the Charter, and for the following reasons:—

Because the Land is the only raw material which man is born with capital and skill to manufacture.

Because Agriculture is the natural employment of man.

Because the Land is the only field wherein the labourer can establish the value of his own worth, and also the free standard by which the value of labour, in the artificial market, can be ascertained.

Because the husbandman can secure ample provision for himself and family, without reference to the standard of value established for his produce, when measured by an unvarying standard of currency—that is, that if wheat is 10s. a quarter, the labourer, who produces it for himself, will be able to consume it as abundantly as if it was only 1s. a quarter; because the increased value will represent the increased value of his labour.

Because, upon the principle of political economy, when one channel is closed the Land opens a succession of sources from which the husbandman can draw his maintenance, while the artificial slave is paralysed by the increasing price of an article which he cannot produce.

Because on the Land a man and his whole family can work from morning till night in proper seasons, the father and grown sons at the hardest work, and the tender solicitude of the mother putting the younger branches to degrees, they gain strength in the open air; while the infant, put to slumber in the artificial market, becomes stunted, sickened, and paralysed, by a sudden application to systematic labour in an unwholesome atmosphere.

Because the parents of the growing family have them ever under their eye and control; and attention to morals, health, and education, stamps the character of the parents in the society in which they move, and must court the approval of it if they would be happy.

Because the work of children may be measured according to their respective strength. Because old and young, sickly and robust, need not go to bed at the same hour, rise at the same hour, and eat and drink at the same hour.

Because no man can say to the husbandman, "Thou shalt not work to-day."

Because the husbandman is always in view of his own estate.

Because when sick he can be watched, tended, and comforted by a wife then dear to him; and while he is on the bed of sickness nature will nourish his crops, while the loom would stand still, and

Because mutual interest would compel all the healthy occupants to lend a hand to the sick, not knowing when they may need a return—then this would be the best Benefit Society.

Because no Act of Parliament can establish an equitable standard between the price of foreign corn sent to supply a domestic deficiency, and wages paid in an unvarying standard of currency.

Because the husbandman has everything fresh of his own produce and at prime cost, and because he need not dig a potato, draw one carrot, or one onion, or cut one head of cabbage more than he requires for immediate use; while, in the market, the artificial slave is obliged to buy the refuse, and in quantities allotted by the salesman.

Because he works task-work every day in the year, and while young, has the opportunity of laying up a sufficiency to support him and his wife in old age; whereas, at artificial labour, different wards in a battle is their lot.

Because at agriculture man can earn more than at any other description of labour.

Because the husbandman, at seventy, is younger, more hale, more hearty, and joyous, than the artificial slave is at thirty-five.

Because his social state compels him to take a more lively and bolder interest in the framing of these laws by which his property is to be protected, and by neglect of which his rights may be assailed.

BECAUSE IT MAKES MAN A FREEMAN AND LOVE LIBERTY.

Now, there is your catechism—here follows your petition.

To the Right Honourable and Honourable, the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled.

"The Humble Petition of the undersigned Members of the National Land Company, SHEWETH,

"That your petitioners, believing in the truth of the assertion, that the science of agriculture is only in its infancy; and finding that unnatural speculation in labour, applied to mechanical power, has closed the several channels of free labour to which the working classes should have full and unfettered access, and believing that that system of centralisation which has led to an over-wealthy and disastrously poor class, trenches unjustly upon the properties of those who derive no interest or profit from speculations in cheap labour; and believing that the industrious of all nations should have the fullest and most unchecked power of selling their labour—which is the source of wealth—in the dearest market; and impressed with the belief that population pressed hardly upon the means of subsistence allowed to the poor—not because there is not ample means furnished by the Creator whereby man, by his free labour, could live in the sweat of his own brow; but, on the contrary, your petitioners feel convinced that that wise and beneficent Giver of life, and Creator of the means of sustaining that life by honest industry, has given ample for the sustenance of every human being.

In proof of this assertion your petitioners would call the attention of your honourable house to the following facts:—

Firstly.—That there are not one hundred acres of land lying together in this vast empire cultivated to one-fourth part of their capability of yielding, if a sufficient amount of labour was applied to the land.

Secondly.—That the land is a raw material which may be manufactured, like other raw materials, to the very highest state of perfection.

Thirdly.—That the land of this country, in its present state, as compared to the condition to which, by labour, it might be brought, is as undressed flax as compared with the finest cambric or lace—as undressed wool as compared with cloth of the finest texture—as the raw hide compared to the most finished boot or shoe, or as the rough stone compared to the most perfect piece of statuary.

"That your petitioners have been trained in the belief that labour is the source of all

wealth, and that the cultivation of the national resources is the primary duty of all governments.

"That your petitioners see no hope of realising this principle and enforcing this duty, otherwise than by placing the free labourer in that honourable situation which will induce him to work task-work every day in the year, in the cultivation of those resources from which he would then draw his equitable proportion of the produce.

"That your petitioners, so far from wishing to live in idleness on the resources of others, claim from your honourable house the privilege of being thrown upon their own resources, without trenching upon those rights, profits, or privileges, which belong to intellectual superiority, honourable speculation, beneficial discoveries, mental endowment, national service, and distinctions honourably achieved by persons in the several ranks of life from which society is formed.

"That your petitioners are opposed to every description of Poor Law, believing that it constitutes an enormous tax levied upon the industrious, for no other purpose than to preserve a competitive reserve of unwilling idlers for the employers of artificial labour to resort to, as a means of reducing wages, while it demoralises the recipient and thus injures society.

"That your petitioners, for the several reasons above enumerated, and confiding in the laws of nature rather than in the laws of man, have entered into a company for the purpose of purchasing land, whereby each may be enabled to earn a livelihood for himself and family, without being a burden upon the poor rates or the bounty of the charitable.

"That your petitioners are firmly convinced that if farmers can pay rents, the interest of capital, educate their families, and become wealthy by profit accumulated from the husbandman's labour, that the husbandman, if placed in a situation to work for himself, would justly and honestly earn his proportion of those profits which now go to enrich others.

"That your petitioners repudiate the assertion, that they intended or ever harboured the notion of requiring the proposed means of earning a livelihood from the cultivation of the soil, otherwise than by the purchase of the land in the free competitive market.

"That your petitioners assure your honourable house that the great increase of population will compel such a distribution of the land as will secure employment to the unwilling idle, and by its cultivation a sufficient amount of home-grown produce to make the British people independent of foreign markets, and foreign and domestic speculators in human food.

"That your petitioners, to effect this desirable object, would remind your honourable house, that, so far from the subdivision of the land being any interference with the rights, property, and privileges of landlords, that, on the contrary, the increasing demand, and desire for the possession of a free labour field would have the effect of increasing the value of land by the difference between the wholesale and retail price.

"That your petitioners complain, and justly, that they have no means of establishing the value of their labour otherwise than by the necessities of their families, the caprice of their employers or the horrors of the workhouse.

"That your petitioners submit to you, honourable house, that upon the principles of Free Trade, contracting parties should be free to act, and that the parent, Labour, should not be unnaturally fettered by its offspring, Capital; and that in order to the free realisation of this principle, the free labour field is a freer mart for the engagement of labour than the market cross, the unfurnished hotel, the workhouse, or the House of Call for the Destitute.

"That your petitioners beg to assure your honourable house that the establishment of the Land Company, and the hope thereby created of enabling man to live in the sweat of his own brow, has gone farther to improve the morals and cultivate the minds of the working classes than all the enactments in your several statute books.

"That your petitioners assert that a free labour class, located upon the soil, would create a larger demand for English manufactured goods, and for imported luxuries than any one of your colonies or foreign customers.

"That your petitioners contend that the increased value given to the goods by an increased power of consumption, would enable the manufacturers of this country to derive large profits from increasing wages than they now do from the poor pittance measured by their caprice.

"That your petitioners would call the attention of your honourable house to the fact, that, in proportion as machinery is increased and improved, in the same ratio will operatives be put out of employment; while the decision of your honourable house to suspend railway operations, under certain provisions, for a period of two years, will have the effect of glutting the labour market to an extent which will enable employers to effect a further reduction in wages, consequent upon the increased competitive reserve.

"That your petitioners look with surpassing interest to the time when they can live upon their own free labour, educate and instruct their families, render that assistance to the state for the suppression of riot, disorder, or invasion, which threatens an injury to the social system, in the preservation of which all would then have an interest.

"That your petitioners, when placed in this honourable position, would cheerfully bear their share of that burthen which was found necessary for the maintenance of institutions which were equally protective of the interests of all, while they would bear privation and calamities, in which all participated, without a murmur, but they cannot reconcile themselves to the blasphemy, that an all-wise and just Creator would select the industrious classes as objects of his displeasure.

"That your petitioners remind your honourable house, that the great error of all Governments has been a disinclination to do from justice that which, after fruitless and sanguinary struggles, has been extorted from their fears.

"That your petitioners, relying upon the case they have made out, and depending upon the foresight, the wisdom, and justice of your honourable house,

"Pray that your honourable house will pass such a law as will enable the National Land Company to proceed with their operations of buying land, building houses, and appropriating it to the uses of those who are to be located thereon, free from the payment of Stamp duties, the duty paid on bricks, timber, and other building materials, and place the Company in such defined and legal position, as will guarantee to each of its members the several provisions contained in a certain deed which has been executed in conformity with the law, and that the carrying out of such provisions may be assigned to such trustees as your honourable house shall, in your

wisdom, appoint, and to whom all land, houses, building materials, stock, rents, and other properties, together with the funds now in hand, shall be handed over, for those expenses usually consequent upon such an undertaking, after all the accounts from the commencement shall be submitted to, and audited by, accountants appointed by your honourable house.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c."

Now you see the nature of the petition, and you understand that the proposed members should be guaranteed to the several members by the provisions of a bill, which it is my intention to frame upon this subject, and which, before submitting to parliament, I will publish in the Northern Star, for the consideration of the several members; and in addition to which, the Annual Conference may just as well be held in May or June, if necessary, to watch the bill through its several stages, provided the Government accedes to our appeal. You see that the objection to a somewhat earlier extension of the bill, and you must also understand that no bill shall have any consent, which does not guarantee every single provision stated in the rules and in the bill, that I shall remain the unpaid administrator of the affairs during all their operations, the Government receiving all the monies, and appointing its own pay clerks. The directors, as now, to be appointed by the shareholders; and the shareholders, as now, to be preserved every right guaranteed by the rules. My sole object is to save you from even the chance of litigation; to give you the benefit, to which, I think you are entitled, of exemption from duty on all building materials, and from Stamp duties. And having silenced the ignorance of the law, and the guesses of the prophets, the February number of the "Labourer" shall be devoted to the demolition of their several propositions, and in which I undertake to prove, beyond all question of refutation, not only that the National Land and Labour Bank is the most secure bank in the Kingdom, but that it is the only secure bank; and I assure you must laugh heartily at the arithmeticians, who would endeavour to persuade you that the application of labour to land deteriorates its value.

Now, what would a cotton lord say to a philosopher, who told him that raw cotton was more valuable than calico? or what would the clothier say, if told that raw wool was more valuable than superfine cloth? or a coal king, that an unworked mine was more valuable than a steam engine? and yet this tribe of tricksters introduce themselves to public notice upon speculation in your credulity. It was only three weeks ago that Mr John Cleave introduced Mr Joshua Hobson to the editor of the Dispatch, as a valuable correspondent; and within that period, this simple editor has permitted, that puzzle-pated ass to publish the absurdity, that labour deteriorates the value of land, and that land, because it cannot be put in strips as a security to each depositor in the Land and Labour Bank, must fail to be security to any depositor.

Now, what would you think of a man having a hundred thousand a year in landed property opening a bank, and offering that guarantee to the several depositors; and what would you think of each depositor, upon lodging his money, asking for his strip of the title deeds—his share of the donkey's skin—as security for the amount? and what would you think of his restoring that strip of parchment upon withdrawing his deposit, or a bit of it upon withdrawing a portion of his deposit? I would think that the "Poor Gentleman" would have a very pretentious title; when bits of the parchment were promiscuously read, and stitched together? Yea, verily, he would be king of shreds and patches—a right noble king—such a king as the Dispatch would make him.

The fact is, that these disreputable vagabonds cannot get their claws upon the monies, and hence their vengeance. A Leeds printer, and a Huddersfield printer, must excuse the publication of Mr Hobson's character, as given by them. He is now consigned to that state in Somerset for which nature intended him; even poor Somerville not considering him good company; Bailey denying his acquaintance; and all good men shunning him; therefore, I cannot admit the mention of his name in the Star any more.

I have preferred writing to you upon this subject, this week, to analysing the Irish Coercion Bill, and for this reason—because it gives you a week longer to sign the petition. Next week you shall have my address to the Irish nation, in which I hope to prove to you the identity of interest that must exist between the working classes of both nations, and that the ruin of one must be inevitably followed by the ruin of the other, as three millions of Irish slaves must rivet Britain's chains.

Your faithful friend and representative, FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

REPRESENTATION OF CHELSEA.

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER.

A very numerous and respectable meeting was held in the Finsbury Hall, New Finsbury, on Wednesday evening, the second public meeting convened by the working classes, for the purpose of constituting Chelsea, Kennington, Hammersmith, and Fulham, Parliamentary borough.

Mr Foster was unanimously called to the chair, and briefly stated the objects of the meeting.

Letters, apologising for non-attendance, were read from George Thompson, Lord Robert Grosvenor, and B. Osborne, M.P.

Mr Dowson, in an able speech, in which he showed the numbers, intelligence, and wealth of the district—and contrasted its influence and importance with the insignificance of such places as Harwich, Buckenham, &c. moved the adoption of a petition, praying that the above districts be constituted a borough, in lieu of Sudbury, disfranchised.

Mr Stalwood seconded the adoption of the petition, which was carried unanimously, amidst loud cheers.

The petition was ordered to be signed by the chairman, and transmitted to Lord R. Grosvenor for presentation.

Mr Barker Jones rose, loudly and heartily welcomed, to move the following resolution:—"That this meeting, believing that returning influential representatives to Parliament, is but adding new soldiers to the ranks of the oppressor, while earnestly supporting the prayer of the foregoing petition, pledges itself, at the same time, to further, by all legal means in its power, those political reforms, which can alone secure a just representation of the people, as embodied in the People's Charter."

Mr Jones related the great and incessant struggles making throughout Europe, for organic reforms, and shew illustrated his argument by the miserable condition of the people of Ireland, and the want of employment amongst the operatives of England and Scotland. The speaker next entered into a lucid and very forcible exposition of the principles of the People's Charter, and resumed his seat, amidst the most hearty cheering.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks was given to Mr Ernest Jones for his attendance, and a similar compliment having been passed to the chairman, the meeting was dissolved.

PRICE FIVEPENCE or Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

TO THE ELECTORS AND NON-ELECTORS OF TIVERTON.

GENTLEMEN,—Parliament has adjourned its sittings all the 3rd of February, 1848, leaving the people, in the meantime, to struggle through the worst six weeks of the winter season as best they may.

It was understood that the gloomy state of public and private affairs was the principal cause for assembling Parliament in November, but although Her Majesty, the Queen, expressed her "deep concern" at the distress prevailing among the commercial classes, and her sympathy with the labouring people on account of their sufferings, nothing has been done to alleviate either the distress or the "suffering." It is true that a Committee has been appointed to enquire into the causes of the late financial panic, but everybody understands that the only result of that committee's appointment will be the production of an enormous "blue book," which will contain the beautifully diversified opinions of the currency doctors. From the rich variety of evidence which is expected to be brought before the committee, the public may anticipate that questions already sufficiently complex, will be rendered "confusion worse confounded." Indeed, such is the position of the Committee, that "there needs no ghost come from the grave," to predict that the worthy committee-men will be totally unable to agree upon any report. The printing of the evidence is all that the public may look forward to. The fact is, the Government wish to escape from the pestering annoyances of the currency-gentry, and with that object in view, they have appointed the Committee not to promote, but to "shut" the subject.

Although, in the speech from the throne, Her Majesty expressed "the deepest anxiety and interest" in the present condition of Ireland, and the measures intended to "advance the social condition" of the Irish people, have been brought forward. A Coercion Bill to humiliate and crush the people of the sister country, is the only measure Her Majesty's advisers have yet introduced. Indeed, so far from showing any particular anxiety to remedy Irish misery, they have contemptuously turned a deaf ear to the appeal for redress, and the causes of the evil. It is now evident that Parliament was assembled principally—indeed almost wholly—for the purpose of enabling the Whigs to obtain for their Lord-Lieutenant the power to rule Ireland by the sword.

Poor ROBERT BURNS' ditty is as applicable now as it was "sixty years since":—

"Awa Whigs awa!  
Awa Whigs awa!  
Ye're but a pack o' traitor louns,  
Ye'll do us gude at a'!"

I must add a few remarks on two or three matters which occupied the attention of "the honourable Commons," previous to their "break-up for the holidays."

On the 14th of December Mr Stafford called the attention of the house to the condition of the railway labourers. He showed that the only care or sympathy which was bestowed upon that class of workmen by the legislature, was the passing of a law to keep the "navvies" quiet. Quite characteristic of this of our precious legislature, which while ever ready to coerce, is seldom inclined to instruct or protect the masses, Mr STAFFORD showed that the railway labourers had been allowed to fall into a state of utter demoralisation; that they were plundered of their hard-earned wages by the infamous "truck-system," being charged for very inferior food (twenty, thirty, or even fifty per cent. higher than the fair market price); that they were lodged worse than dogs or pigs; that they were decimated by fever; and that the average age, even of the stoutest and most muscular men amongst them, did not exceed forty years. In reply, Sir G. GARRICK coldly declared that government could do nothing for these men, thousands of whom are now utterly destitute, in consequence of the stoppage of the works on the railway.

Mr B. BEN-SON, in course of formation, Lord G. BEN-SON volunteered a defence of the railway-gentry, and added that the labourers received 22s. 6d. "Now," said "his lordship," if a man received 22s. 6d. a week's wages, it could hardly be said that no care was taken of him, and that he was treated like a beast of burden. I must admire the effrontery of this Protectionist Lord, who affects to consider 22s. 6d. weekly, a large and liberal sum for a working man to receive; subject, he it remembered to "truck."

Many of the men having too much to support families, living scores of hundreds of miles from the scene of their employment. I desire very much to see the labourers receive 22s. 6d. a week, but I will cover the cost of a single day not consumed by "his lordship." That the people of England submit to be ruled by these insolent aristocrats, is really disgraceful to the national character.

A few days before the adjournment a very pretty party was brought before the House by the excellent Mr. WALKER, of New Finsbury, Mr. WALKER, in the shape of a petition from the electors of West Gloucestershire, charging Earl Fitzharding with having interfered in the election of Members of Parliament for that district. The charges brought against the Earl were bribery, corruption, and intimidation, which it was alleged had been practised by his "high mightiness" with the view of securing the return of his nominee. Now, although the house has on its book a "sessional order" declaring any interference by peers in the election of members of Parliament, to be a breach of privilege, and an infringement of the liberty of election, nevertheless there was no great alarm shown by the honourable members to protect their own rights. My misrepresentative's colleague, the Attorney-General, "fenced" the question in a manner quite creditable to his character as a Whig! The matter is not yet finally disposed of, but if the Electors of Roman virtue "restrained" every exhibition of "Roman virtue" on the part of the senators they have appeared to for justice, I have no doubt that they will find themselves disappointed.

The last notable act of the Government previous to the adjournment of the House was the introduction of a bill for the removal of Jewish Disabilities. Considering this question in its relation to the important principle of religious liberty, I have no objection to Jewish Emancipation—quite the reverse, for I hold that every man has a perfect right to possess and exercise all the privileges of citizenship, no matter what may be his religious belief. But viewed politically and socially, I have strong doubts of the justice of Jewish claims to political equality. The possession of rights supposes the performance of duties, and where duties are not performed there can be no corresponding rights. Now I should be glad to see a list of the duties which the Jews fulfil as working builders, weavers, tailors, shoemakers, hatters, &c. When was ever a Jew seen carrying bricks up a ladder? I grant that they are excellent hands at the mischievous craft of buying and selling. I am aware of their matchless superiority in trafficking in the labour of other people. I know that as bargain-makers, schemers, and profit-mongers, they are unrivalled. But from Rothschild trafficking in the wealth of plundered nations, down to the juvenile vendor of sham blacked-pencils, the whole conduct of Jewish speculation and harpies, preying upon the industry of their fellow men, would not oppose "Jewish Emancipation," firstly, because I would not take part with the stupid bigots who constitute the only party in opposition to the measure; and secondly, because the wealthy Jews already hold in their hands the real power of the state. Since the rise and growth of the "National Debt," England has been year by year brought under the dominion of Jew millionaires, until at last they have become arbiters of the national destinies. The removal of their political disabilities does not alter their real power, it is merely a public and legal recognition of their power. Still I protest against the Jews being emancipated, to the exclusion of the Jew-working people of this country, and at a moment, too, when Parliament has authorised the further enslavement of the people of Ireland, taking from them that right which was in former times considered as distinguishing the freeman from the slave—the right of bearing arms.

The speech delivered by Lord J. RUSSELL, Lord Mowbray, and others has been greatly praised for the "just" and "liberal" sentiments expressed by the

speakers. For my part I find a great deal more to excite disgust than admiration in the said speeches. With a great deal of assurance, Lord J. RUSSELL said "that every English subject is entitled to the privileges and advantages which the British constitution yields." How does his lordship reconcile this statement with the fact, that seven-eighths of the adult male population of Great Britain and Ireland—not being Jews—are denied all participation in the "privileges" of the constitution, as defined by the Reform Bill which "his lordship" has declared he will uphold as a "final measure?"

Lord J. RUSSELL warned the house against risking its character by refusing to do justice, unless coerced into so doing; and hoped that, for their own sake, the Commons would ground every concession on the conviction of the justice of that concession, without waiting to be coerced into acting honestly. This sounds very fine; but when Mr O'CONNOR presents the National petition for a Charter, demanding, on the ground of incontestable justice, that the disfranchised millions shall be admitted to the "privileges" and "advantages" of the "British Constitution," will his lordship then use the same language to the Commons as he has used in claims of millions, which he lately employed with such effect in behalf of the questionable "final measure?" We shall see what we shall see!

I am indebted to two or three unknown friends for copies of the LIVERPOOL MAIL, of December 4th, from which I take the following paragraphs concerning Lord PALMERSTON and his Irish tenantry, extracted by the editor of the Mail from the St John's New Brunswickist of November 2nd:—

A young Jew or Paddy, Emancipationist, yesterday, having on board 4200 pauper emigrants, from Lord Palmerston's estate near Sligo, who have been sent out at his lordship's expense. On inspection by the Health Officer, it was found that there were 104 males, above fourteen years, on a Irish list, the rest were women and children. Many of the men and women are aged and infirm, and the whole are in the most abject poverty, almost destitute of clothing, and much debilitated. Some of the emigrants are in a state of starvation, and the portion of the passengers have either shoes or stockings, and there is a great deficiency both of petticoats and trousers. One boy about ten years of age, was produced to the Health Officer absolutely stark naked! Six of the passengers were over the age of one and one of the crew ill with fever, but there are many others with feverish symptoms. We have now arrived at the commencement of winter, and these unfortunate people, sick and destitute of everything, are as naked upon our shores, without the slightest provision for their necessities, and without even an intimation that they might be expected. Can anything be more heartless or cruel than this? or could anything be more unjust to the people of the colony? The Sligo has, of course, been placed in isolation. Another vessel, the Richard Watson, sailed from Sligo, on the 29th of September, with two hundred and thirty pauper emigrants, on board, to be sent to the West Indies, and the orders to make this port, if she makes the coast to look for the Richard Watson also. With the paupers we have already, and those now coming, we may almost make up our minds to yield up the revenues of the province entirely.

Although I cannot but believe the truth of the above statements, I do not know them from personal observation to be true, and, therefore, I refrain from certain observations which I should feel bound to make respecting Lord PALMERSTON's conduct, were I certain of the facts. But, after the vain efforts of "his lordship's" supporters at the last election, respecting the "noble lord's" virtue as an Irish landlord, I do think that if he again show his face at Tiverton, the subject will form a legitimate one for question and answer. At the last election, certain purse-proud fools and corrupt place-hunters did their little best to prejudice you against me, by telling you I was a poor man, whereas, on the other hand, my noble opponent had an income of £30,000, yearly from his Irish estates, to say nothing of his official salary. So, I tell Lord PALMERSTON's friends that I would rather have a street-sweeping, with the consciousness of honest independence, and the knowledge that no miserable wretch could accuse me of wringing gold from his sweat, and blood, and tears, than I would have "his lordship's" £30,000 a year, accompanied by the groans of the miserable and the maledictions of the expatriated and oppressed.

It is my intention to resume these letters on the re-assembling of Parliament.

And now, Gentlemen, Electors, and Non-Electors of Tiverton, Chartist, Whig, and Tory, in all sincerity of heart, I wish you, in good English phrase,—"A MERRY CHRISTMAS AND A HAPPY NEW YEAR."

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, Your faithful servant, G. JULIAN HARNEY.

Brompton, Middlesex, December 23rd, 1847.











## INDIA AND CHINA

and their country from foreign domination. When service was concluded, the multitude again formed and proceeded in excellent order through the principal streets of the city. Nothing could exceed the peace and obedience to their chiefs observed by all classes. No military, no police were present. A number of

preceded by the public, in a style to please the strict disciplinarian. The clergy, also, are

**SOUTHAMPTON CONFEDERATE CLUB**—On evening, December 20th, Mr Maguire in it was resolved, 'That F. O'Connor, Esq., entitled to the unequalled thanks of this club introducing the question of Repeal of the Act into the House of Commons.'

Imperial Parliament

Monday  
the chair,  
M.P., is  
b for in-  
of Union

they were intended not to exclude Jews, but  
class of Roman Catholics from Parliament,  
of Charles II. the same reasons prevailed  
duced the Legislature to exclude the Pre-  
sentera from certain offices by an oath in wh  
words were used. Now, in 1829 we had

these acts, so far as they regarded both Rom

he could not conceive that either the constitution of the country was marked as its characteristic feature. That Christianity was most capable of amalgamating society was not opinion, which might be repeated all the great moral principles of action,

ann Catho

ism, or law, by exclusiveness which in Christianity with Christian be exclusive, but which were more religious public affairs, Christianity was To such a doctrine he could not assent. If the Jews had been already would not have proposed to turn the widely different question to propose to repeal for their introduction an

\_\_\_\_\_

altogether needless. The same God acknowledged the same God and was content even for a single revelation with ourselves, and to rely in Parliament, he was for much of our human civilization, he brought him out, but it was divine knowledge. They profess to bring them in and true, religion. If they did not to death which was a de- tians did, Christians believed all

104-10500-10000

and admitted the same  
whom we were indebted  
on and almost all our  
sed a true, if not the  
believe all that Chris-  
that they did. As far,

