

Mr. DEAR FRIENDS,
The *Star* is so crowded this week with subjects and matter interesting to you, that you will not expect a long letter from me; while at the same time, I cannot refrain from exulting in your present position. I felt great pride on Tuesday last, on my way to Gloucester as your agent, for the purpose of completing the purchase of our second Estate. I had a very small lump of co-operation in my fob, which reminded me, every time I thought of it, of your overwhelming power. The size was imperceptible, though it consisted of Eight Bank Notes of £1,000 each, gathered in shillings, sixpences, and pence; and much of which, I was pleased to think, had been scathed from the beer shop and the gin palace. Without a roundabout story I may inform you, that our care-keepers are now in possession, and that they were thoroughly delighted with the prospect, situation and soil.

There are many circumstances connected with our project which are wholly overlooked by parties dealing in the wholesale land market; for instance, woodland, hedgerows, and old buildings, are a great drawback to a farm. At Herringgate I have converted about seventeen acres from an unprofitable to a profitable estate. I paid £445 for timber and crops, and the estimated value of those articles to the society is, upon the lowest calculation, £1050. I have already given an account of £314 worth sold, we have still nearly £360 worth to sell, while, although it may be a conundrum, we used nearly every stick of the timber. We have paid £665 for the materials on Lowlands and Red Marley, and I'd forfeit my existence if by good management I do not turn that into £2000, thus reducing the price of the estate from £8,100 to £6,800. This is a part of the principle of co-operation unknown to those who undertake to criticize our plan. Now I will lay down a simple rule for "One who has whistled at the plough." The Company conveys, for ever, two acres of land that will have cost £30, and a three-room cottage that will have cost £80, and we give £15 to each occupant, for a rent of £7. 12s. 6d. per annum. Now, if we were not to give the £15 capital, we could afford to give the same tenement for £6. 17s. 6d., and no cotton lord or landlord give their tenants £15, or fifteen farthings, upon taking possession and keeping it until it suits their pleasure or convenience to kick him out. What I assert, then, is, that whether in an agricultural district or in a manufacturing district, the house for ever without the land is worth the whole rent, and the land without the house in such convenient allotments is worth double the rent; and yet a parcel of noodles and boobies that see you huddled into garrets and cellars, of which you must pay the rent whether you work or play, have the matchless insolence and hypocrisy to express PAINFUL ANTICIPATIONS of the failure of such a plan. You will read the rignarole of the gentleman "who has whistled at the plough," and, no doubt, you will look anxiously for his acceptance of my challenge. This man is to be used as the first League wedge; and Quaker Bright, who has the insolence to ask for the countenance and support of the Chartists of Manchester, whose families he would doom to perpetual slavery, is the wooden beetle to drive the wedge. Will you just think of the surpassing philanthropy of this "Whistler," coming all the way from Manchester to Herringgate and back, for the mere purpose of satisfying himself as to the land scheme, to the end that he may throw the shield of his protection over its dupes. Notwithstanding his ignorance, his presumption and folly, I would ask this modern economical philanthropist, why it is that the value of the most valuable thing should become deteriorated, when it is applied to its most valuable purpose; and I would ask him what set of joint speculators in the world give equal security for the fulfilment of their engagements that the Land Company gives. What Mining Company, what Joint Stock Bank, what Railway, or other Company, gives the fat security that the Land Company gives to its shareholders, or what Bank offers one per cent. beyond the chances of speculation to its depositors; while we are in this situation, that if the Company was dissolved to-morrow it could even now pay a bonus of £5 and more upon every paid up share.

I shall only say, for the present, that as long as I am concerned in the Company, and for the Company, the most remote probability of failure or reverse shall be announced to the members as soon as it presents itself; while at the close of the year I have no hesitation in writing it as my opinion, that the Land Plan is destined to change the whole face of society, and to do for the Working Classes precisely what the minions and scribblers of their masters are hired to try and prevent. The sudden transition of this new scribbler from exaltate joy to painful foreboding, is too stale to pass current in the Chartist market; so, wishing you a merrier Christmas and a happier New Year than your tyrant oppressors would wish you to spend, I shall close with defiance to all to pull down the house that I am engaged in erecting or Labour.

Your faithful friend and bailiff,
FRANCIS O'CONNOR.

IRELAND.

NARRATIVE OF MALCOLM M'GREGOR.
NO. VIII.

I presume the reader will not require the usual minute description of viands, delicacies and wines that the humble priest's "table groined under," but will be satisfied at learning that our repast did not consist of all the delicacies that the season could afford, that we had neither turtle, champagne nor sherbet; turbot, venison, nor claret; rose water nor damask naphkins; but that the fare was substantial and of the farm's produce, the manual producer and client regaling himself in the kitchen, while the worthy pastor and patron was enjoying his merited reward in the parlour. Meanwhile it may not be out of place to give the reader a description of "mine host."

The Rev. Mr. O'Farrell, then, as he informed me, is in his 68th year, is over six feet high, and straight as a whip, with long white venerable locks small but piercing blue eye, equiline nose, high cheek bone, flat forehead, and the fresh complexion of vigorous youth; the stranger, if asked to guess his age, would say nearly fifty than sixty; such is the value of contentment, occupation and frugality.

When the cloth was removed, and after my host and his coadjutor, for such was our companion, had made sundry anxious inquiries after my friend Capt. Burford, I introduced the subject of the state of Ireland, and, after a short discussion upon the present calamity, I requested the Rev. Mr. O'Farrell to give me his opinion of the Irish character, Irish grievances, and what he considered would be the remedy.

"As to the Irish character," said he, "the heaven-born characteristics are bravery, hospitality, gratitude, industry, and frankness; the system engendered vices are timidity, parsimony, idleness, doubt and suspicion; if I may be allowed the simile, a graft of the sour crab upon the sweet apple. A parent, sir, is ever the greatest martyr to his own harshness, negligence, or over-indulgence as the vices instilled in youth will grow with manhood and gain strength with age, and a negligent government has no more right to complain of the vices of a people than the parent has of those of the child. The duty of the father is to foster virtue and discourage vice, and his reward will be generous and full in the obedience of his children, while, upon the other hand, neglect or parental duties will lead to disobedience and rebellion."

(Continued to the Fifth Column.)

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THE NATIONAL LAND AND LABOUR BANK.

Recklessness, want of economy, indifference of the doubtful future during the prosperous present, have ever been the most unanswerable charges brought by the wealthy, the wily, and the fortunate against the labouring classes. We are not prepared to defend this wholesale charge in the abstract, while we contend that the want of thriftiness evinced by the many is a consequence of our institutions, both commercial and political, being framed and altered from time to time for the convenience, security, and protection of the hasty made capital of the wealthy, rather than for the accumulated savings of the daily labourer or slowly thriving shopkeeper. For instance, our giant trade and commerce preclude the possibility of the poor man becoming a competitor with the rich speculator, while our monetary system rejects him as an ally from the impossibility of qualifying himself as a partner or participator from his daily or weekly savings. The Savings Bank becomes his only alternative, the only depository for his daily or weekly parings, and from the fact of this department being his only source, the government charges a large profit in diminished interest for the convenience afforded by the institution. For instance, the speculator with thousands, or even with hundreds, in the commercial or money market can command the highest rate of profit or interest, while the poor man is reduced to the alternative of being his own depositor without interest, or accepting the highest rate that his gradual savings can command. Hence the man with a thousand pounds may secure four per cent. upon mortgage, the man with a hundred pounds something over three per cent. in Consols, while the poor accumulator during the process of saving, and who has not a sufficient amount to take advantage of any of these securities, receives no more than £2. 18s. per cent. secured upon his own industry and the dissipation of his thoughtless fellow-labourer. He is reconciled to this lower rate of interest—

Firstly.—By the fact that it is the only market open to him.—Secondly.—That it presents security.—Thirdly.—That it guarantees the power of withdrawal in seasons of necessity, but even this power is restricted by conditions sometimes harsh and inconvenient.

Thus we establish the value of co-operation without industry at one pound two per cent., that being the difference between the rate of interest received by the poor saver and him who can command a sufficient amount to insure the highest rate of interest.

We have been reminded to surfeit that the glory of England consists in the equal opportunity afforded to all in the market of speculation. We admit the fact, while we assert that the sun of England's glory would speedily set if all men were mere agents for the transfer of property, and none were producers of property. And it is in order that the latter class, which will ever be the large majority, may be armed with the power of co-operation as a means of placing them upon an equality in point of protection with the former class that we advocate the principle of co-operation, and propose to establish the only medium by which it can be efficiently carried out—

The National Land and Labour Bank.

We may be told that Joint Stock Banks, Railway Companies, Mining Companies, Steam Navigation Companies, and all other undertakings introduced to the world with a fascinating prospectus establishing a fictitious amount of shares, and a mere nominal amount of call, present the desired opportunity to the small capitalist. The result, however, of attempting to engraft this fascinating reality upon an unheeded fiction, has been the ruin of thousands; and the effect has been as follows:—Many a poor man, jumping at the promise of high interest, and unsecured by the phantom of future calls, has paid the required deposit, which an inconvenient call compels him to sacrifice altogether, or preserve as a forlorn hope, at the expense of future contributions, until the society's affairs are wound up, and he finds himself liable to all losses; a few wily concoctors and solicitors taking his crippled child to nurse; and thus fattening upon his credulity. Hence, we show the simple value of Co-operation without industry, while we assert, without fear of contradiction, that the carrying on the necessary operations of trade depending upon individual industry, is not restricted to three, four, five, ten, or even fifteen per cent. Indeed, the value of capital can be best appreciated by the enormous amount of wealth that its possessors have been enabled to accumulate out of hired labour.

Let us illustrate this position. A tenant holds a hundred acres of land at one pound an acre, and dear in its present state. It will require £500, or £5 an acre to drain it, and then it becomes worth £2 an acre—thus returning the tenant twenty per cent. upon the expenditure of £500, so that, had he given fifteen per cent. for the capital, he would still be a gainer of five per cent. by the transaction; while, through that amount of expenditure in labour the district shopkeepers would be benefited, through them the domestic manufacturer and merchant, and, through all, the government. But this source of speculation is stopped by the landlord's indifference to benefit his tenant, and the tenant's indifference to benefit the landlord; whereas if it belonged to the occupier the work would be done. But how much more pointedly the fact will present itself to the reader, when the capital is applied to enable and encourage the small husbandman to prosecute his own industry. The summary of these observations is that

A Nation's Greatness

is better secured by individual property than by commercial traffic, which must restrict industry. The duty of a government is to increase the national resources of the country to the highest state of cultivation they will admit of; and the way to insure this national good is, by the application of free labour, and the equitable (NOT EQUAL) distribution of its produce; while the error of the present system is, that those who possess capital have the power of resisting the cultivation of our national resources to that particular standard which insures them the largest monopoly of the produce. We hold it to be an indisputable fact that the application of free labour, which means the labour of the small proprietor to the land, the cultivation of our mines, minerals, and fisheries, can alone develop the national resources, and at the same time establish a satisfactory standard of wages in the artificial labour market, while the higher rate superinduced by well required industry in the natural market, could be borne by the manufacturer, the merchant, and trader, by the incalculable impetus given to domestic trade and commerce, through the increased consumption of the free labour class.

The industrious man who has contributed a long life's accumulation of property for others must start at the announcement of our present prime minister—"That the criminal law is a problem yet to be solved."—"That the sanitary condition of the people is miserably deficient," and "That our whole system of education requires deep consideration and improvement." Now we hold that governments, and governments only, are answerable for the law's inequality and imperfections, for sanitary deficiency and educational regulation; and we further hold that free and well-required labour would render our criminal law, now a problem, if not obsolete, at least a thing of rare application to an improved and moral society.

That the free labourer can best educate his own children, ventilate his own house, and preserve his own and family's health. In the free labour market we estimate a man's labour cheaply, very cheaply, at £50 per annum, and thus, if we have a million of paupers whose strained labour is now worth £10 a year each, the nation loses £40,000,000 per annum, added to an expense of seven millions per annum wrung from the labour of the industrious, for no other purpose than to keep up an idle reserve at other people's expense, for the capitalist to fall back upon as a means of reducing and keeping down wages in the artificial market. Here then is a national sacrifice to class gain and individual monopoly.

In order, then, to illustrate our plan for creating a free and independent labour class, whose industry shall be applied to the cultivation of our national resources, we propose to establish

The National Land and Labour Bank

upon the following principle:—viz. That it shall consist of three departments:—a Deposit Department; a Redemption Department; and a Sinking Fund Department; and we shall now treat of those several departments each under its proper head.

Deposit.

The Deposit Department to be open to all who wish to vest their monies upon the security of the landed property of the

National Co-operative Land Company.

and bearing interest at the rate of 3½ per cent. per annum.

The capital deposited to be regulated by the following scale:—that is to say,—that for every £60 payable as rent-charge by the occupants, over and above the amount necessary to pay the interest of £4 per cent. on the Redemption Fund, the directors will be empowered to receive £1000, thus leaving a sinking fund in this department, over and above the company's liabilities, of two and a half per cent.

Suppose, for instance, an estate producing £600 a year over and above the Company's liabilities of £4 per cent. (upon the amount in the redemption department) to be occupied by the members of the company, who will each have received a conveyance in fee of his allotment, subject to a rent-charge proportioned to the purchase money and outlay; upon this estate, conveyed by the trustees as security to the bank, the directors would be empowered to raise £10,000, and would be liable to £350 a year interest at 3½ per cent. upon the borrowed capital of £10,000.

Each depositor of any amount not exceeding £10 would be entitled to draw that amount on demand. A depositor wishing to draw any amount from £10 to £20, must give one week's notice. From £20 to £50, a fortnight's notice; and from £50, to any amount, one month's notice. The amount of deposit at any one time not to be less than two shillings and sixpence.

Redemption Department.

The Redemption Department to be open to the members of the Land Company, and who, whether occupants or shareholders, will be entitled to deposit their funds in that department upon the following conditions:—

That each shareholder may deposit any amount not less than threepence at one time, and for which he shall receive interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum. This fund will be applicable to the purchase of Land or rining down of the occupants' rent-charge, at the rate of four per cent., or twenty-five years' purchase—that is, that a depositor having £25 in the redemption Department when he is eligible for occupation, will be entitled to a reduction of £1 per annum from his rent-charge—that is, the member who, if not a depositor, would be liable to a rent of £8 a year, will, when he has paid up £25, be entitled to receive his allotment at £7 rent. We state £25, but the depositor of any sum under that amount, down to £5, would be entitled to apply his deposit to the reduction of his rent at four per cent. The additional half per cent. being guaranteed in consequence of shareholders who deposit their monies in the Redemption Department not being allowed to withdraw more than one-half the amount deposited, and being obliged to give a month's notice before they can draw any portion of their deposit from that department, which however would be equivalent to ready money as a transfer to the deposit less the month's interest (the lender receiving the interest) could be effected.

Sinking Fund Department.

The funds of this department would consist of two and a-half per cent. in landed property over and above the liability of three-and-a-half per cent payable as interest to the depositors. The profits from this department to be added to the redemption department, and equally applied to the purchase or reduction of the rent of shareholders who had been depositors in the redemption department; and to be applied in aid of the location of the poorer occupants, to be repaid by them in easy and convenient instalments.

We shall now proceed to consider the LIABILITIES AND CONTINGENCIES consequent upon the deposit department, and the Company's means of meeting them. We will presume that £5,000, or one half of the whole sum in the deposit department, was liable to be withdrawn on demand. The Company should, consequently, be prepared with that amount, to meet any contingency, and which it proposes to do in the following manner; that is to say, by the application of the Company's floating capital for carrying on building and other operations, and which would be always vested in a Bank, paying two and a-half per cent. as at present, and would be constituted of funds paid upon account of shares, and not belonging to any of the three departments.

The remainder of the funds in the several departments would be applicable to the purchase of land, erection of houses, and location of occupants.

Expenses.

The expenses of the Banking Department are amply provided for by the payment of one shilling per year, per share, payable by the shareholders in the Land Company, and the surplus in the several departments to be applied to the benefit of the shareholders upon the winding up of the section to which they belong.

Mode of Securing the Means of Meeting Liabilities.

The Land Company proposes to locate its members upon two acres of land which shall have cost £18. 15s. per acre, or £37. 10s.: to erect a house which shall cost £30, and to expend in improvements, and give to the occupant, the sum of £15, making a total of £82. 10s., and for which preliminary expenditure the Company charges £5 a year; and five per cent. upon all monies above that sum expended in the purchase of the Land and the erection of a house; that is, if the land costs £30 an acre instead of £18 15s., and the house £60 instead of £30, the occupants will pay £5 per cent. upon £22. 10s. the additional price of the Land, and £5 per cent. upon the £30, the additional price of the house, making a total increased expenditure of £52. 10s., thus making the rent of occupant in the latter case £7 12s. 6d. per annum; the same scale being applicable to any priced land and any priced house in a descending as well as an ascending ratio—that is, if land shall be purchased at a less amount than £18 15s., an acre, £5 per cent. in rent shall be deducted from the reduced price of the land.

Suppose, then, the occupant, whose land shall have cost £30 an acre, and whose house shall have cost £60, and who shall have received £15 capital, that occupant will have cost the Company £135, less £2 10s. the original amount paid for the share—thus making the Company's expenditure £132 10s. without taking credit for any portion of the £15 capital expended in operations of husbandry or other improvements which increase the value of the holding. For this £132 10s. the Society receives £7 12s. 6d. in the shape of rent-charge, or within a fraction of 5½ per cent. upon the outlay, without any margin for the increasing value secured upon the expenditure of a man and his family's labour to that amount of ground. In the case of a man holding four acres of ground, and whose house would cost £80, the Society's profit would be reduced to about 5½ per cent. upon the outlay.

This scale shows the equity of the standard upon which the rent of allotments has been established, and, perhaps, may be met with the assertion, that it is a high per centage upon the outlay, and which assertion we meet thus—

Firstly.—Without co-operation the occupants could not procure a single allotment.

Secondly.—An individual carrying out the scheme would charge rent according to the retail value, amounting to about £15 per cent., regulated only by the convenience and desire of the poor occupant to have a field whereon to expend his own labour.

Thirdly.—The individual would not convey the convenient allotment in fee, and consequently the occupant would be liable to a periodical increase of rent as a tax upon his own industry.

Fourthly.—All profits consequent upon saving of rent over interest is divided equitably amongst the several shareholders.

Fifthly.—A small proprietary class is the only possible means by which the fair standard of the price of labour can be established in the artificial market.

The on'y means by which poor rates and workhouses can be made unnecessary;
The only means by which the national resources can be fully developed and profitably cultivated;
The only means by which famine—save that which is the will of God—can be averted;
The only means that can render man indifferent to foreign production;
The only means that can give an impetus to home trade and home industry;
The only means that can secure a national militia, who will fly to the cry of "My cottage and my country are in danger!"
The only means by which education can be encouraged, health secured, and violation of the laws of society, be considered crime;
The only means by which the arts and sciences of Britain can be made to vie with those of any other nation upon earth.
The only means by which the good in each man may be developed, and his evil propensities kept in subjection by the wholesome chastisement of public censure and disapproval.

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(Continued from the First Column.)

"But," I observed, "have the people themselves, no vices?"

"Do not misunderstand me, sir," he replied,—"I am not their blind panegyrist; it is not my wish to extenuate or palliate; you asked me for their character, and I am defining it."

"Well, but," said I, "the Times Commissioner gives them a very different character."

"The Times Commissioner!" he rejoined with a withering sneer, "and may I ask, sir, if that is the source from whence you have derived your knowledge of the Irish character? You cannot expect our accounts to tally; you come to me for information, he acquired his from Parson Preachlove and Captain Squeezetank; and which, sir, do you consider most likely to be purer most efficient? Which is the best authority, the man who mixes with the people 365 days in the year, and who hears their unreserved and unadorned tale, or those whose approach is an evil omen, preceded by the law's stern messenger? Again sir, who was that Commissioner?"

"Why, a Mr. Foster," I replied, "an ENGLISH BARRISTER."

"Mr. Foster! an ENGLISH BARRISTER!" he retorted with a sneer; "one hired for a purpose, and circumscribed by instructions—a mere PEEPER—and you would place his authority in the scale with one whose been born in the land, and for the last 40 years made the subject his daily study. I see, sir, like most strangers, you have drunk deep of the cup of prejudice."

"Reverend sir," I replied, "you must pardon me, I am not prejudiced, but merely mentioned the source from which several like myself have derived their information of your country, and my present mission is to hear and judge for myself, but I was led to believe that the Irish did not consider themselves bound by any moral obligation, and required the force of law to enforce the observance of social duties, and moral obligations."

"How have you applied your information, or what am I to understand are your deductions," he asked?"

"Why," said I, "that false swearing, for instance, in courts of justice, is a thing of common occurrence, is it not?"

"I understand you, sir," he replied, "and will endeavour to trace the evil to its source; the law ever comes to the peasant's door but as a cruel scourge, it never comes as the just avenger; and from infancy to old age he is trained to deception by a just suspicion of all he comes in contact with. The village housewife instils it into the infant mind, and necessity compels her to do so; she is watchful and suspicious of every thing above her own degraded class; hence she will trust her crawling helpless babe to the mercy and consideration of the peasant carter or horseman, while the sound of the carriage wheel, or the approach of the aristocratic horseman, is the signal of alarm, and she flies to the rescue. Thus I show you the circumstances under which children are trained; and now to the question of false swearing—when life or liberty is about to be sacrificed to the law's vengeance for the gratification of some powerful enemy; and, without sanctioning the crime, even I, may palliate it, and ask if it is unnatural to resist tyrant force by moral fraud; but, sir," he continued, "in all moral obligations and worldly transactions, tell me of a people upon the face of the earth whose dealings are transacted with more fastidious honour, and while you measure our faults by the strict rule which is applicable to parties dealing on terms of perfect equality, to whom the law deals equal justice, and equal vengeance; bear one thing in mind, Ireland is as a large camp, besieged by a watchful and implacable enemy, and the besieged are compelled to resist illegal force by justifiable fraud."

"What then," said I, "do you advocate a recourse to physical force as a means of making the enemy raise the siege, as you term it?"

"Physical force, sir," he replied, "is a very harmless term in the mouth of an unarmed man, just as moral force is a fine sentiment in the mouth of him with a musket in his hands. It is a resort reprobated by him who owes his power to it, and should never be threatened by those who are not possessed of it; my ancestors lost their property by brute force and fraud, and whatever peevish notions of passive obedience and non-resistance my calling compels me to preach, I cannot prescribe the limits by which their descendants should be bound to submit to the wrong; the existing generation can no more ensure posterity's obedience to its code of honour, than it can enforce the immutability of its statutes. Do you consider me right or wrong, without reference to my calling?"

"I confess, reverend sir," I replied, "that your simple reasoning and convincing logic has already shaken the groundwork upon which my youthful opinions have been based, and I freely admit the impurity and just suspicion of the sources from whence my information has been gleaned; but then, are not your people in a miserably deficient state as regards education? I met a large farmer to-day who was ignorant of the existence of Sir Robert Peel or Lord John Russell, and who had never before heard of the *Times* newspaper."

"That is most likely, sir," replied my host, "and the *Times* newspaper was just as ignorant of him, and admitting his want of education, who do you blame for the child's ignorance but the undutiful parent? But, sir," he continued, "if all the money paid by that peasant to the support of the conqueror's church had been expended upon the cultivation of his mind, where is the proof that he would be ignorant of those statesmen, or THEY OF HIM? He is as clay in the potter's hand, and is rude and unfinished from the potter's negligence. Every ignorant, or rather every uneducated, man in a state, is a living reproach to the government he lives under: the strongest condemnation of the system that brutalizes him."

"Well but," I observed, "sure as regards Ireland government is not so much to blame, as your country is comparatively untaxed?"

"Untaxed, sir," he rejoined, "we owe the calamity to our poverty and not to our ruler's mercy! Untaxed! what could they tax but our poverty, and that would be but poor aid to the Exchequer. Taxes, sir, are measured by the rule of ability to pay, and the slightest tax imposed upon an impoverished people would be equivalent to a prohibition of the use of the taxed article."

"What then do you consider your principal grievances," I asked?

"Our principal grievances," he replied, "are want of education; insecurity of tenure; want of cheap, impartial, and speedy justice, partial representation in the stranger's parliament; imposition of tithes, a tax which appears to have escaped your notice, and, perhaps, the most grievous; the abandonment of all social and paternal duties by the natural patrons and guardians, and the cruel substitution of a species of step-father terror, in the person of middle men and solicitors, who can have no possible interest in the improvement of agriculture and the people."

and whose only object is to fleece, decoy, fleece, and then brutalize, debauch, and abuse; in justification of their own unnatural cruelty; and such are the representatives to whom our despoiled landlords have delegated the duties that belong to, and are so inseparable from, the ownership of property; hence the step-father becomes a magistrate, grand juror, or juror, and his solicitor, a kind of freebooter, scourging the outlawed poor with the oppressor's law, while the only duty of the unnatural proprietor appears to be the enactment of Irish laws which will aid his representative in the exaction of his every demand; however unjust, and the enforcement of his every command."

"You omit want of capital," I observed.

"Capital! sir," he replied, "redress those grievances, and there is ample capital in every peasant's untrammelled arm, fertile brain, and love of independence."

"Well, reverend sir," said I, "what do you propose as the remedies for these grievances, which I admit are startling and unanswerable?"

"In the first place," he replied, "perpetuity of tenure and a sound system of education, and all others would very speedily follow these improvements, as, believe me, an independent educated people would very speedily enforce a proper representation of their intellect and their property; see to the law's equality; the equitable distribution of the national property, and the most extensive development and profitable cultivation of the national resources, and we should be spared the loss and degradation of seeing our hardy peasants employed in useless and unprofitable work, to save their guilty rulers from their vengeance; it is a very melancholy sight to see useless roads being made as a means of oppressive landlords securing exorbitant rents out of the farmer, while his own land is sterile for want of proper cultivation. Allow the producer to cultivate the land for his own benefit, and I pledge my word that he will soon cultivate his children's minds and train them to the enforcement of more regard and a better system of representation."

"Now, my dear sir," I observed, "is not England, upon the whole, a benefactor and faithful ally to Ireland? Does she not afford your people a good and convenient market, and what can it signify to the vendor where he sells his produce, provided he gets a fair price, and as to poverty, we are taught that it is the will of God, that poor shall always abide in the land."

"As to your first proposition," said he, "I shall answer that presently, and to the last my answer is, that we are not taught that the producers only shall constitute that class prescribed by Holy Writ. But you ask me, what it can signify to the vendor where he sells his produce, so long as he receives a good price—I will give you an illustration from my own neighbourhood—a rule, not an exception—and *ex uno disce omnes*. The late Lord Buttermill drew £10,000 per annum in rents from this parish and spent every farthing of that sum in it; the present man draws the same amount and spends not one sixpence a-year in it: now what must be the balance against the parish in the latter case."

"Enough, enough," I replied, "it is too true; but yet your arguments are opposed to all the principles of political economy, and are at variance with the reasoning of the *Times* and other papers upon whose faith so many minds are made up."

"Political economy and the *Times*!" he rejoined his reverence with a sneer and rather hastily, adding, "Pray tell me, sir, would you take your opinion of plaintiff's case from defendant's brief; and if not, be assured that you can as little rely upon newspaper philosophy. The *Times*, sir, is nothing more than defendant's brief. Ireland is plaintiff, and the writers of that journal are feed'd by defendants precisely as counsel is feed'd. The Irish people are not clients of the *Times*, because they cannot fee its proprietors; and, therefore, as far as regards that journal, they are out of Court. You are a young man," continued the worthy pastor mildly, "and do not pin your faith to newspapers, or the honour of statesmen, as both are conventional and hollow. And now, sir," continued he, "as to political economy—to what school, or class, or section, or tribe, do you belong? because, as yet I have never found any two to agree. You may, probably, have seen a showman present a plain sheet of paper to the spectators, and, astonished, delight, and puzzle them, by the many varied shapes he makes it assume?"

"I certainly have," I said.

"Well," said he, "that is his political economy. Political economy is the showman's puzzle, the merchant's philosophy, the trader's ready reckoner, and the poor man's thief; and, as to governments, they, for the time being, represent the largest showman; they have no other rule than expediency. One of its principal features is to buy cheap and to sell dear—that is, to send a board of works to establish a standard, not of value, but of forbearance and existence, for labour, and then a standard for the price of Indian corn. Now, pray inform me what quality of reciprocity or equality is to be found in that bargain; and are the contracting parties upon equal terms and equally untrammelled? Believe me, sir, the basis of the science of political economy—if any such science ever shall exist—must be equality, reciprocity, mutuality, and legislative regulation, where vendor and purchaser can meet upon equal terms in the mart of representation, while the very fact of capricious laws being called in aid of the principle, proves that it is a DELUSION, a MOCKERY, and a SNARE."

This charming, and to me, instructive lesson, was continued to a later hour than the hard-worked pastor was in the habit of devoting to other society, than the care of his flock, and after having apologized for my frequent and rather abrupt interruptions, I received hearty absolution for all, upon the assurance, that henceforth I was a deserter from the ranks of showmen, jugglers, capitalists, merchants, traders, newspapers and statesmen, and to Mrs. Mahony's great delight she was roused from the kitchen chimney corner to show Captain Burford's friend to his room, and where I found every thing conducive to comfort: the worthy dame, after wishing me a good night's rest, telling me not to let his reverence's going out in the morning wake me, as I could sleep till seven or eight, as may be I was tired, and by that time she would have my breakfast ready and my boots cleaned, and hot water, and every thing I wished for; and I am free to admit that I learned more of Ireland and the Irish in one night from the outwaded and plundered descendant of an ancient family, than from all I had ever heard or read of that ill-fated and oppressed country and people.

(To be continued.)

THE MURDER AND SUICIDE IN LAMBETH.—The police, obtained a clue which eventually led to the identification of the female and child. The female had formerly lived in the service of several families in Lambeth, but whilst in one of her situations she was seduced, and she ultimately gave birth to the child found in the water with her. Since her confinement she has been subject to great privations, having no settled place of abode, living one week in one part of the town and then shifting to other quarters. Her name was Hannah Reid, her age 32, and the child was only 11 months old, and was named William Reid. From what has since transpired, no doubt exists but that the unfortunate creature had destroyed her own life, and also that of her offspring. The last time she was seen alive was on Thursday last, when she appeared very disconsolate and unhappy, and she frequently stated that her troubles were more than she could stand against. Since that day she had written a letter to the party who had identified the bodies, in which she made known her intention of destroying her life, and stated that it was all owing to the treatment she had received from one of her own relatives.

LAST OF JANUARY next, no goods trains are to run along the line of the London and North-Western Railway during the day, arrangements being in progress for conducting most, if not the whole of the traffic during the night.

AS USUAL.—Fever is greatly on the increase in Glasgow.

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.—The National Temperance Society is raising a large sum of money, for the promotion of the temperance cause. Among the special contributions we observe the sums of J. D. Hewitt, Esq., of Leighton, for £100.

NO MORE.—Considerable apprehension exists among the relatives of the seamen engaged in the expedition of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, which sailed on the river in June last year, under the command of Sir John Franklin and Captain Crozier, and many anxious applications have lately been made to the Admiralty for the issue of the tidings have been received since last December.

PENNY PARCEL POST.—The Parcel Post Company are about to adopt the penny system, and to convey any part of London a package not exceeding 18

NATIONAL TRADES ASSOCIATION

convince an earnest desire to have the principles of the National Association explained to them, by Miss

sonaries from the Central Committee, and expressing their firm conviction that the traders of the three kingdoms are fully alive to the principle of National Combination only waiting an active agitation on our part, to ensure their rallying around the glorious standard raised by the hon. member for Finsbury. A letter was read from Keighley, Yorkshire, giving the adhesion of 541 woolcombers, and 805 Power Loom Weavers, and other smaller adhesions, amounting on the whole to near 2 000 members.

A resolution was passed appointing Mr. Lenegard of Wigan, agent of the association for that town, and twelve miles round.

Messrs. Buckby and Winter, agents for Leicester and twelve miles round, when not engaged in negotiating, to be employed by the Sister Association at their respective trades. Those gentlemen therefore hold themselves in readiness to attend any trade body within their respective districts, who may require their services.

Mr. PEEL of Manchester, was appointed a missionary to explain the principles and objects of the two associations, his first tour is amongst the block printers of the following districts of Lancashire, on :—

Monday evening	28th	Blackrod
Tuesday, ...	29th	Chorley
Wednesday ...	30th	Holytrysted
Thursday ...	31st	Accrington

Mr. PEEL is most desirous of meeting those who

are particularly opposed to these growing associations, he has little doubt of being able to remove the prejudices of all, who, in the true spirit of enquiry will favour him with their attendance.

Mr. Bush reported his mission to the carpenters of Rochdale, he sent a note to each of the employers desiring an interview, which induced them to call a meeting of their body, to which meeting Mr. Bush was invited, when considerable discussion took

place with reference to the several points at issue the employers agreeing to a concession made by the men, that two hours should constitute a quarter of a day, in fact all the points in dispute were amicably settled, except that of the two half hours per day for breakfast and tea in winter, and the one hour in summer, upon which the masters declare they wished for time to consider, the fact of the next week being Christmas holidays, had more to do with their decision than the merits of the question at the

Mr. ALLEN reported his mission to the block printers of Mitcham, his object being to ascertain from the employer whether he turned the men out because they took an active part in trades union matters, showing him that trades unions being in

It was untimely and unreasonable to turn them out for taking an active part in such legal societies, and if employers thought proper to adopt such a course, it would be resented by the whole body of unionists; and the men supported;—the National Association acting upon the principle of “all for each, and each for all.” The employer denied having turned them off for the cause alleged (of course with a view to depriving them of assistance), referring him to the

workmen for confirmation of what he stated, all of whom, when appealed to, declared they were discharged for the cause stated above. Mr. Allen then put the question, would he have any objection to take them back, one having worked for him nine years, and the other twelve years. The employer desired time to consider. In the meantime, the men will be supported by the Association.

The Committee then adjourned.

**UNITED TRADES ASSOCIATION FOR THE
EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR.**

The Board Meeting of the above Association, was held in the office, 30, Hyde-street, Bloomsbury, on Tuesday last.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Gimblet reported he had been to Duffield, and seen the frames, stock, &c., transferred to M. Rodgers, the newly appointed manager of the glove makers, employed by the Association, and after examining the accounts, stock, material, &c., and having found the same perfectly correct, transferred them over to Mr. Rodgers. Mr. Gimblet further stated, that he also visited the nail-makers employed by the Association, at Cradley, and the stocking

weavers of Nottingham, and was happy to renege to report that he found everything going on satisfactorily at both places, and that he had authorized Mr. Clarke, the manager of the stocking weavers, to take more spacious premises, as he found those at present occupied, not sufficiently large. After making some arrangements respecting fitting up the house and shop, No. 11, Tottenham Court-road, the lease of which having been purchased by the Association, the Board then adjourned.

THE SHORT TIME QUESTION.

RENEWED AGITATION FOR THE ADOPTION OF THE TEN HOURS' BILL IN FACTORIES.

On Wednesday evening last week a public meeting was held at the Town Hall, Exeter, for the purpose of discussing the question of the ten hours' bill in factories.

On Wednesday evening last week, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Paisley was held in the Old Low Church, for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. Richard Oastler, on the propriety and necessity of a Ten Hours' Bill, to regulate the labour of children and women in factories. On the platform, besides the committee, were Councillors Baird and Striarratt and Mr. Pitkeithly of Huddersfield. On the motion of Mr. J. FLEMING, Mr. Robert Kerr, was called to the chair amid loud cheering.

Letters of apology for absence from the meeting were read from the Rev. Messrs. Brewster and Thompson. Both approved of the object of the meeting.

Mr. OASTLER rose to address the meeting, and was loudly cheered. Mr. Oastler described as he has already done in his addresses on this subject, the condition of the children and women employed in factories previous to the enactment of the present law, and also the necessity of an alteration in the

present condition by a 'Ten Hours' Bill. He never noticed a number of objections to the measure, had been said that the trade of England required the present long hours. He did not believe it. "Will the Prime Minister of England he would say—"If the trade of England perish, if it is built on the groans and blood of women and children. (Loud cheers.) The trade of England enables merchants and manufacturers to live in splendour and retirement."

from business with large fortunes. His motto was: Be just; and, if they will, let the Heavens fall. His opponents, if they can, account for this fact, that many of those who have been millowners, have retired with fortunes ranging from £1,000,000 to £4,000,000 sterling. He would ask if they could have done so had they acted justly towards the workers? (Heard.) Was this Christianity, which requires that "the labourer must first be partaker of the fruits of his labour?" But it was said that

two hours a day are taken off the labour, then the wages must also be reduced one-sixth, that the goods will be raised in price, and that our foreign trade will be revived. Now, the children's time had been reduced from twelve to six hours, and no reduction had taken place in their wages. He generally found that the longer hours any class wrought the lower the wages were, and he accounted for it on the principle that long hours threw too much labour

the market. Talk of the loss of foreign trade—why what can the poor overwrought factory worker lose? Death, in many cases, is to them a positive gain (I hear, hear.) But what should be the foreign trade of a country? Nothing more than the surplus left after the wants of all are supplied. He would ask if all our wives have plenty of shawls that we are exporting them? On the same principle he would find fault with the manufacturers of Yorkshire broadcloths and blankets, sending their produce to

of the country when our own population were supplied. The whole of the present state of things was threadbare, and he dreaded that if the poor were not brought to love the rich and the rich the poor, an awful crisis was at hand. Mr. Oastler then severely denounced the New Poor Law of England, and concluded his address amid great cheering.

The CHAIRMAN having intimated Mr. Oastler's willingness to answer any questions that might

Mr. J. PINKERTON asked, what the rate of wages per week might be which were earned by young women employed in power-loom factories of whom they had heard?

Mr. OASTLER said, he believed their wages were from 9s. to 13s. per week.

Mr. PINKERTON added, that he understood from person on the platform that 6s. was the average

After votes of thanks had been passed to Lo Ashley, and to Messrs. Fielden, Ferrand, and Oasler, for their labours in the Short Time movement, and also to the Chairman of the meeting, the proceedings terminated, and the meeting, which was well attended, broke up.

having called at the bakery of Mr. Hughes, is doing

having called at the bakery of Mr. Hughes, in Bancroft-street, demanded to be supplied with bread, and that they would help themselves. *Representations* being of no avail, the people on the premises handed them out a quantity of bread, and having obtained this, they proceeded to the Public Bakery, in Church-street, where they repeated their demand, and were again successful. Such dominating conduct on the part of a populous town, was not heretofore admitted to, and the ringleaders were at once arrested by the police, and lodged in the police office. At twelve o'clock fully five were put to the bar, and the case having been fully argued, the court sentenced, Mr. William Walker, from Cook-street, to pay a fine of £2, or to be imprisoned for one month, *April 1841.*

rough, from Caldon, £1, or one fortnight's imprisonment, and Henry Mason, from Salford to a

MURDEROUS ATTACK.—The correspondent of the *Northern* gives the following details from an attack upon himself:—

"The day before yesterday being fine, I took the gun on my shoulder and walked out to look for some snipe on Cuman bog, and went on from one bog to another, until I came out on the road, close to where Mr. Bates is building a new mill. I then saw the

between twenty and thirty people, employed on the building, running up the road, and on the

[illegible]

delivered a downright cut at my head, which, had it taken effect, would have

Rhodes me. I watched him (his eye, hurried the blow with closed with the ruffian (which eye cut into the hole), and gun from me on the bank of the river, feeling an accident in the struggle. After a desperate struggle, in which he attempted to shorten the weapon and stab me, I wrested it from him, and threw him with his head into the ice. I followed him to the top of the bank, and then I saw him get a good grip of his windpipe. After I got the weapon from him, he made a great effort to reach my gun, which was in the ditch; but I succeeded in preventing him getting hold of it. While the struggle lasted, not one of looking on, ever put a foot at the mill, and who were as I had got him down, and had thrived him the same. When two or three of the fellows had got a secure hold of him, I let him up. A decent sort of men, who appeared a kind of steward at the mill, came forward and asked me to be sworn in as a carpenter, who might be useful in the pay-clerks of the public works, against who he had some enmity. I have lodged informations against him. The steward said, if I had not been merciful I would have shot him, and wondered I did not.

The Dredghe—*MISS ANN FINE*—*ANN*.

* At one fair on Friday two cart loads of fire-arms were sold by auction, and a spirited competi-

tion took place for guns, pistols, bullet mounds, &c., for midnight practice! It might have been imagined

The dearness of provisions would act as a drawback on their sale, but strange to say, such is the avidity of the Irish for Arms, that men, with scarcely a coat to their back, have become purchasers of the most valuable articles of the kind. Arms, accessible to the hatters of Sarsfield, where fire-arms, bullet moulds, powder, &c., may be obtained on most reasonable terms! There are only four of them in this town, all of whom are drawn to a publick sale.

The same story relates to the following:-

"The most daring robbery we have heard of for a length of time was perpetrated on a cattle dealer named Tierney, residing in this town. On his return from a fair at Dogheda coach, in the town of Kesh, he was seized by a party of five men, on Thursday morning, shortly after 12 o'clock, whilst returning, through Newmarket-street, a man stepped into his arms, and placing a blunderbuss to his head, said, 'I was

long watching you, Nelson' (imagining that he was a cattle dealer of that name); another joined him, and

The usual weekly meeting of the members of this body was held on Monday in the Cobdenian-hall. There was but a very thin attendance of members and associates present.

The chair was taken by Mr. W. T. Kelly.

Mr. O'Connell repeated that he wanted £200,000 from England, but no longer on the old terms, that of an instalment on a debt of £200,000,000. It is now £200,000,000, and he would like to have the instalment out of the revenues of the country. The new subject was of course "Young Ireland." He said the question of reconciliation was all over—there was no end to it; and the association was able and willing to fight by itself for repeal, in total disregard to the machinations of the little Ireland party. (Loud

home his defiance. (Loud cheers.) Now, he was assailed

for stopping to the voice of the Young Inlanders, and he was told that they would claim a triumph. (Hear, hear.) O'Brien, who said this would be the case, then made an offer of reconciliation, and was kindly and graciously refused. He then said he would not be so flattered; yet he did not mind him from making the offer—and why? (Hear, hear.) Because the result he knew must turn out in his favour. (Cheers.) What had he done? He sacrificed his feeling and his pride—and, after a struggle for some time, he had at last consented to place the claims of his hands under the feet of the man who was biting them back, and obtain amnesty; in fact, he did all but sacrifice principle, and they, nevertheless, refused his offers—ungraciously refused them. (Hear, and cheers.) He was astonished at Mr. O'Brien's want of tact in declining that conference, and had added insult to injury in his message of refusal. He then said that he would speak to him (Mr. O'Brien) who entirely regretted that he had aspersed me as good as himself in every respect. They *laughed* over him, indeed, but it was the crowing dunghill cock over the old game ones. (Laughter.) They wanted to have the regulation of the Association.

tion; but he would rather see it perish than fall into their hands. The funds were falling owing to the

distress of the times; but while, he possessed £6, in the world, it should not be closed. (Cheers.) He felt that his duty was to do what he could for his fellow-relaxers were greatly in the need.

The frelancers wanted them to cushion religious questions; but he would never agree to suppress the claims of any religious grievances. He would not allow himself to be gagged in such matters. He treated the pious indifference of the Young Irelanders as a great insult. He said that if he had shown they had shown the clearest light in time, he would have grown old and infirm; but his aspirations for the independence of Ireland were as strong as ever.

M^r. A. O'NEILL then came forward, and said he hoped that there was no one present who could join in the triumph of one party of Irishmen over another. (Cheers.) He said that he had heard M^r. O'Connell, like him, would, nobody would give down (Loud cheers.) lie (M^r. O'Neill) had criticised M^r. O'Connell that day say, "that all was over," but he rejoiced afterwards to hear him express a hope that yet there might be a reunion. (Hear, now.) It was a bold thing for a man like him to stand

rs and that hall; but he was about doing so, (hear, hear,)

Mr. O'CONNELL.—They entered into a conference on the legal question, if the other questions they proposed should be introduced. (Cheers.)

Mr. O'NEILL said he certainly agreed in the principle that the majority should not dictate to the majority, and then went on to state that he had a number of amendments to propose, and that he had

follow- plan to suggest which he thought might lead to a reconciliation. He would propose that each party

Mr. O'CONNELL.—Certainly not. (Cheers and hisses.)
Mr. O'CONNELL.—Certainly not. (Cheers and hisses.)

Mr. O'NEILL had no such consultation, and was him-

STANTON himself an Old Irelander; yet, he could not but prefer his own country, and he was not without reason, for his proposition of being brought to trial before twenty-five Young Irelanders—where twenty-five tallors all in a row. (Cheers.) If Mr. O'Neill had no objection, he would almost laugh at the proposition. (Laughter.) It was a ridiculous one if not carefully considered. And why? Mr. O'Brien had refused the conference altogether; and if it was held without him, it would be like acting *Hamlet* without the character of *Hamlet* left out. (Great laughter.)

After some further attempts on Mr. O'Neill's part to induce Mr. O'Connell to give way, and submit the

question to public arbitration, the following specimen of toleration occurred—

Mr. J. J. Sullivan, here handed £1 to Mr. O'Connell, and asked permission to say a few words. He was in the hall on the previous Monday and heard the captain (Mr. O'Neill) say that six men could settle the difference, and he had proposed fifty days. (Groans and hisses for Mr. O'Neill.) He (Mr. Sullivan) would like to know what that was for, and why Mr. O'Neill should have through the streets arm-in-arm with Mr. Meagher? (Great confusion.)

Mr. ARKINS.—Because he is a paid Young Irelander. (A loud uproar.)

Mr. O'CONNELL then handed in the £1 given to him, observing that Mr. Sullivan was a scoundrel, and that he would not accept of it.

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crowd for notice, a Chartist should be preferred to a moral force man.

Now, as I have been already irascibly selected for objection by Mr. T. D. M'Gee, there can be no possibility of doubt that I am the person meant as the "Chartist who was preferred to a physical force man."

The obvious intention of Mr. M'Gee is to confound Chartist and physical force for the double purpose of making a great display, and leading the public to believe that the Chartist cause constitutes one of the principles of Chartist. It is not true that physical force forms any portion of Chartist doctrine. This false charge against Chartist and Chartist is as base as that which used to be made by casting aspersions against Catholics and Catholics, as reasons for their opposition to Catholic emancipation. They expressed great sympathy for the Catholics, but could not conscientiously advocate their cause until such time as they should abandon their superstitious practices and idolatry.

It appears, Sir, that you are guilty of a high and unpardonable crime for having selected for mention a Chartist from the crowd rather than a moral force man, who was not at the meeting.

Sir, I am a Chartist; but I say that the association must not be a party of Chartist, but a party of the principles of Chartist. The association in both cases is equally false.

In order to put an end to this matter, and to enable Mr. M'Gee to resist hereafter the temptation of insinuating that which is untrue, I beg leave to submit to you the object of Chartist, its principles, the rights it seeks to achieve, and the means proposed to achieve those rights.

I am your very obedient servant,

No. 15, North Anne-street, 10th Dec. 1846.

"And its object is, to secure a full, fair, and free representation of the people in the House of Commons."

"PRINCIPLES."

"1. That the power of making laws for this realm, is, by the constitution, lodged in the hands of the Sovereign, the Lords of Parliament, and the representatives of the Commons."

"2. That it is required by the principles of the constitution, that the representatives of the people should be really represented in the House of Commons."

"3. That the present system of virtual representation is not real representation, and is, therefore, no representation at all."

"4. That those who have no votes for electing representatives, are the slaves of the representatives of those who have votes."

"5. That where there is no representation there can be no constitutional power of taxation."

"6. That the rich and the poor, being of the same species, are under the same laws of nature; and being likewise capable of benefit or injury from their legislators, necessarily have in the election of those legislators some right; but the rich, in defence of their liberty and property, have every advantage which wealth, knowledge, and the purchased power of others afford them; while the poor, destitute of these, have no security but in the purity of legislation, nor any means of self-defence but in the elective power. The poor, then, have an equal right, but more need, to elect representatives than the rich."

"THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS."

"1. That every male inhabitant of Great Britain and Ireland, (infants, insane persons, and criminals only excepted) is of a common right, and by the laws of God, a free man, and entitled to the full enjoyment of political liberty."

"That it is essential to a man's political liberty that he have a share either in legislation itself or in the election of those who are to frame the laws which, although they ought to protect him in the full enjoyment of those absolute rights which are vested in him by the immutable laws of nature, may yet be fabricated to the destruction of his person, his property, his religious freedom, his family, and his life, and, therefore, the right to universal suffrage is an inherent right."

"3. That this is a natural right of the people of this empire, and required by the principles of the constitution, that they elect a new house of representatives once at least in every year; because, whenever a parliament continues in being for a longer term than one session, then those who elect it are no longer the same persons, and, therefore, entitled to enter into immediate possession of that elective power which is their best and most sacred inheritance, and in that case unjustly denied their right, and excluded from the enjoyment of political liberty."

"That it is, therefore, right and just that all the male inhabitants of this kingdom (infants, insane persons, and criminals excepted) should, fairly, and completely enjoy the elective franchise, that is to say, universal suffrage; that in order to protect the poor elector against tyranny, the voting shall be by ballot;—that the franchise shall be abolished;—that the whole empire shall be divided into equal electoral districts; and that the representatives of the people shall be paid."

"MEANS TO ACHIEVE THOSE RIGHTS."

"1. By creating a public opinion in favour of those rights and principles, through the medium of public meetings, petitions to parliament, discussions, lectures, cheap publications, and the newspaper press, and also by securing the return of members to parliament, pledged to support the object of Chartist."

"2. By raising the requisite funds, by subscriptions and voluntary donations, to defray the expenses incurred in achieving the object."

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