

TO THE LANDLORDS OF IRELAND.

LETTER IV.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN.—I have now shown that an Irish farmer occupying 100 acres of land for twenty-five years, and requiring, at the very lowest calculation, a capital of £200 to start with; has, at the expiration of that period, if all goes very well, no more than five cent, or £250, as the accumulated simple interest upon his capital; and that he, his wife, and five children, have laboured for so many years for a scanty subsistence, with bad lodging and clothing; where compound interest, at six per cent., which is the legal interest of the country, would have left him between £100 and £150 in the same time. Such is his position; while few labourers in Ireland can command ten pounds after a life of toll, starvation, uncertainty, and sorrow.

I have shown that farmers have heavy responsibilities, liabilities, and calamities to contend against. They have all the responsibilities attendant upon the payment of a settled rent, keeping the stock together, supporting their families, and paying their way; they have to contend against the liabilities to which you, as legislators and ancestors, chose to subject them. They have the calamities, casualties, and fluctuations to which nature and the markets expose them; and in no one of those responsibilities, liabilities, or calamities are you participants. You drag the rent in bad harvests from the capital, and thus set them struggling for years to hold possession by loans, for which they pay in many instances, as high as 30 or 40 per cent., rather than quit the spot upon which they have toiled and to which they have become attached. While you, thus, free yourselves from all chances and changes which may operate unfavourably, you take advantage of every turn which improvement by the farmer's skill and attention yields; and you raise his rent, not only his reward for industry. Thus do you benefit not only possessors of the soil, but regulators and dispossessors of its produce and its crops.

The farmer cannot so easily rid himself of responsibility, inasmuch as he must employ labourers; and your blighting influence operates against the interests of the labourers also, because the bad remuneration and uncertainty of tenure prevent the farmer from employing more than one-half the number of hands he would do, if freed from your eternal pulling, dragging, watching, and screwing.

My Lords and Gentlemen, having thus inverted all the rules of Providence, having stinted and limited tenure to the standard of political power, ruled to the exclusion of all other interests, you have created a "surplus population" which your friends, the political economists, now tell us "presses hard upon the means of subsistence." Thus have you made paupers; while the economists have made slaves of the bees upon whose honey the drones live; and in exact proportion to the inability of the bees to produce does your hill of idle drones increase; and this is the whole, the sole, the only cause of distress, dissatisfaction, and discontent, which no power on earth can remedy so long as the system which creates and upholds it is allowed to continue.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, I shall enter into a very brief, and I trust, clear, fair, and unbiased consideration of my client's case.

In the first place then, labour is the foundation of wealth. That is indisputable. The barren surface of your soil, until made available by the poor man's labour, has no more value than the shapeless block of marble, rough from the quarry, before it receives value from the sculptor's hand, who puts the stamp upon it; and even its value is but, or rather it must be regulated by the price of the produce of the land. So with every luxury that you see in this world, from the gaudy feast, the gaudy trappings of your persons, the sumptuous furniture of your mansions, and the splendour of your carriages, down to the mere necessities of life—all, all are regulated by the price of labour: and having deteriorated the value of labour by your law of primogeniture, settlement, and entail, as also by your whimsical mode of leasing ground for terms of years at fixed rents without reference to annual produce or price, of which more hereafter, and also by bad tenure and destructive conditions annexed to occupation; having by these complicated means deteriorated the value of labour, you have dragged the world with its cheap produce, while you have snatched the bees in the midst of their own honey, not allowing them the very means of subsistence after all; and you now vainly hope to limit suffering to those very produces, never reflecting that all other properties, of every description and however guaranteed, whether they be fixed incomes, salaries, or fluctuating incomes, and whether insured by acts of Parliament, custom, or contract, must, sooner or later, catch the infection and take the disorder, which is poverty.

In this state of things, allow me to claim, upon behalf of my clients, the full benefit of the latest, most brutally concocted decree—that decree which "throws the poor man upon his own resources." Beyond that I do not go; and the fulfilment of that I have a right to demand. The rich have thrown the poor "upon their own resources," by the repeat of all laws for the punishment of such offences. If the former, give to them the only means whereby in this world they can live upon their labour, their health, and their industry, which are their resources, by opening the gate of Nature's field, and allowing them to enjoy these blessings for year and their own advantage, freed from more artificial constraint than is absolutely necessary for the existing state of society; and, above all, allow each to have a voice in regulating the existing state of things.

My Lords and Gentlemen, the skill and industry of the British and Irish people are proverbial all over the world; but bear in mind, of THE PEOPLE; not of the gambling aristocracy, the speculating merchant, the basely Churchman, the sporting Squire, or the shooting soldier, but of THE PEOPLE. Is it not then, high time that the system should be changed which prevents the one from wearing a sufficient portion of the other's mantle, and the other from eating a sufficient portion of the food he produces? Nay, more, that I may not be out of fashion, I will go upon "reciprocity," the economist's criterion for all man's wants, by an interchange of their respective surpluses; and it is not passing strange that the producers of England cannot exchange, with the producers of Ireland, their surplus produce, or any portion of it; nay, more, that over the regulation of supply and demand, they, whose very existence depends upon a jealous watching of the balance, have no control, either directly or indirectly. Now, is not that very strange, very wrong, and very much at variance with all the rules of free trade and "Reciprocity"! and yet: those very people who cannot level the waters, or stem the torrent at home, are asked to be free traders with all the nations of the earth, in order that, by a "reciprocity" or mutual return, which is the meaning of "reciprocity," they might get a command over the Government and valuable produce of all foreign countries; while they cannot make a policeman appoint a magistrate, sit upon a Jury, vote for a representative, or appropriate one acre of land to national purposes at home! Is it not disgusting infamy, to hope to cram a starving people with such moonshine?

My Lords and Gentlemen, I hold that man in utter contempt, who, seeing and feeling the justice of his case, withdraws any portion of it from the most jealous inspection and rigid scrutiny. But in fact, politics and social arrangements have been so mixed up together of late, that very honest men are fearful of explaining the success of a political measure. We know that weak-minded men who dread the result, will from motives of safety give a decided and dogged opposition to the proposed change, without adducing any better argument than: "I don't like it;" "I don't understand it;" "I don't see the use of it;" "We do very well;" and "Depend upon it, it would fail of satisfying fit management."

Now all these furnish no argument; nay, not even an objection; they amount to no more than a perverse conclusion. Moreover, I now feel myself in a situation to argue with all the hostility which dogged folly and perverse conclusions can furnish. I feel that my party is now sufficiently strong to stand firmly with the law upon the broad base of popular right, which never was before, within the memory of man; nor was

# The Northern Star,

## AND LEEDS GENERAL ADVERTISER.

VOL. IV. NO. 194.

SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1841.

PRICE FOURPENCE HALFPENNY, or  
Five Thillings per Quarter.

In that position till the dissolution of Parliament. My motions may now lose the tone of appeal, and assume the tone of warning and judgment. I shall therefore fearlessly tell you all that is required for the composition, perfection, and stability of my plan.

These requirements do not amount to innovation, experiment, or even Reform; they, one and all, whether social or political, amount to no more than restoration. They are a restoration to Ireland of her Paradise; and a restoration to the whole people of their electoral rights, with entire and ample means for their fullest enjoyment. Such may be considered the two great principles, while the whole of the detail benefit sought may be gleaned from the following measures which, I rejoice to say, still stand upon the journals of "The House," and to which is appended the name of Fergus O'Connor.

My Lords and Gentlemen, when I discovered, in 1833, that the windings of the Repeal question were too mysterious for my comprehension, and when I supposed that many more ignorant than myself were, equally with me, liable to misconception upon that point: when I discovered that Repeal was but intended to be a drawn sword held over the heads of a party which is no longer frightened when I found that it had lost its bugbear—then I turned my attention to the immediate correction of many abuses. Now pray understand me. In fact, I was as ardent in the cause of Repeal, and being convinced that my dozen men had worked for it up to this, as I worked, and backed as it was by forty-two votes, a powerful eloquence and great courage inside, that it must have triumphed those forty-two remained firm, which Ireland would oblige them to do.

Thus for the first year I abandoned all minor considerations, and clung to that question, which ever has been, and ever shall be, the darling object of my life. However, finding that the whole thing was a piece of magic, I placed the figure on the wall in 1834, showing its strength, its justice, and its prudence, and at the same time exhibiting the great superiority of the arguments of its supporters over the factious opposition of its opponents.

As my next letter shall contain a plain and simple development of what Repeal would accomplish for Ireland, and the hopelessness of expecting benefit even from the adoption of any agricultural plan, or indeed from any other plan without giving it to the protection of the master's eye and the guardianship of a freshly-elected representation, I shall say no more upon that subject now; but shall at once proceed to lay before you the five measures which I proposed for immediate relief in 1834 and 1835.

No. 1. To move for leave to bring in a bill to compel Irish landlords to give leases for ever at a certain rent; and in all cases where lands are now held upon lease or accepted proposal, and are considered too dear to give to the tenants the right of appealing to a Jury, who shall establish the value in many cases.

No. 2. For leave to bring in a Bill to consolidate the several Stamp Acts now in force in Ireland.

No. 3. For leave to bring in a Bill for the better regulation of Quarter Sessions' Courts in Ireland, with a view of making those courts cheap courts of equity as well as courts of law, whereby cheap justice might be done.

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No. 5. To move a resolution of the House, that it is desirable, as well for the ends of justice as for the tranquillity of Ireland, that all clergymen, being magistrates, should be deprived of the Commission of the Peace.

Now, by these five measures, you will at once discover that I have been long looking after my project.

The law to regulate tenure I shall presently explain.

The Bill for a provision for the poor was of a very different nature from that which has since been adopted; by it I meant to make a good provision for the unwilling idler as for the wholly destitute; and I meant to carry out my plan, as announced in one of my speeches upon the presentation of a petition, by a tax upon absentees, middle men, and landlords; by agricultural and labour premiums for the working farmer and labourer. My plan was persuasion; yours compulsion.

By the Stamp Act, (a full draft of which I handed to Mr. Littleton, and received his assurance to bring it forward,) I meant to deprive landlords of a right to monies on account of rent, without giving stamp receipts, by want of which tenants are cheated out of thousands annually.

By the Quarter Sessions' Bill, (which I foolishly re-languished, relying upon Mr. Littleton's honour that he would adopt my every suggestion,) I hoped to establish a kind of Court-roll, or Baronial Court, where tenants might, in case of dispute, lodge monies for their landlords and receive receipts upon notice given to the landlord; might cheaply register their leases, and the Sheriff of which should have certain powers in case of dispute. I also hoped to confine all questions of equity between landlord and tenant to those cheap courts, instead of seeing the farce of a man of straw going to the Court of Chancery to defend the best equitable title against a golden calf. I also hoped to take from landlords the power of distraining for rent, and giving them the same mode of recovering as any other persons who deal in the world have; making them liable to double costs in case of illegal or vexatious proceedings against their tenants. I also hoped to simplify the law of ejectment, by making it more inexpensive, and rendering the re-assumption more easy; in cases of fraud, failure, or non-payment of rent; all I would be ready to defend the rich man's right as to defend the poor man's right. Indeed, I have seldom, or never, known a single instance of a rich man and a poor man going to law, wherein the poor man had not both law and justice on his side; and the very fact of a poor man braving the danger is, "prima facie" evidence of the justice of his case.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I now come to a consideration of the justice, propriety, policy, reasonableness, and mutual convenience of my proposition as regards a tenure in perpetuity of land at a rent regulated by the graduating (or sliding) scale of prices of produce.

Firstly, then as to a lease of land for a term of three lives, or thirty-one years or fourteen years, which is the shortest term; or for any term at fixed and unchangeable rent—it is rank nonsense!

What would you think of a clothier, a hosiery, or a wine merchant who should say to a purchaser: "You must give me so much for this article, because two years ago I gave so much for it myself in the wholesale market!" and yet, it would not be one-half as absurd as the practice of requiring a fixed annual price for your wholesale raw commodity without any reference to the retail market. Besides the folly—the national loss, is too enormous, and "population pressed toilfully" upon the means ALLOWED BY YOU for its substance to admit of the continuance of a vicious practice, which deprives the community of the full development of all that skill, industry, capital, and even honourable speculation, which the husbandman would more freely and largely expand upon his own account than he can be expected to expend to his own disadvantage. You ride a hired horse harder and take less care of him than you do of your own horse; so with the poor man who merely hires your ground at your will for your recent contest for Leeds.

Secondly, the very fact of your being compelled to make leases for ever of your land, would, for self-interest, work out my principle of small farms; inasmuch as you would then see the great advantage of a small market.

Thirdly, the whimsical mode of lending land operates prejudicially not only against the farmer but also against the labourer, whose services the farmer

will not venture to hire, except at the very lowest rate and the lowest amount; while if he had a lease for ever he would make a garden of his every inch of ground. An Irishman will work from sun-rise till sunset, and work cheerfully, too; and so would an Englishman, or Scotchman, upon his own ground, and would require no military force to put him to bed at the sound of the drum-curf.

He would sleep sound, and awake to the pleasure of the growth of grain, in which we are told, we stand so much need?

But inasmuch as the price of grain regulates the price of all other produce, it would affect all the grass land to the full amount of the difference of ten shillings; that is, the difference between twenty shillings and thirty shillings; while it would leave to the tenant the benefit of all surplus of profit above rent upon grain; and what could be so great an inducement for the encouragement of the growth of grain, in which we are told, we stand so much need?

My Lords and Gentlemen, custom reconciles the mind to practice and principles the justice and propriety of which few men will venture to defend; and while the defence of those principles and practices invariably subjects their supporters to universal scorn and reproach, nevertheless are the principles and practices preserved and universally adopted. For instance, the Duke of Newcastle has been censured, and most justly, for defending his "right to do as he pleased with his own;" and no apostle appeared even from the ranks of the practitioners. Mr. Bruen said that the Irish were "savages," and he was universally regarded as such; but is there a country upon the face of the earth, or do we read in history of any country, where the principle of the Duke of Newcastle and the belief of Mr. Bruen is or was more extensively acted upon than both are at the present time in Ireland?

Was ever the system of serfdom and vassalage more perfect—softened down as it may appear by the assertion, that the vassal and serf is a free agent and enters upon the contract with his eyes open; he does not: nor is he blind to his position, but he has an alternative.

The moment he becomes your tenant, he is to all intents and purposes, your vassal, slave, and bondman, for the whole term of his tenancy. He cannot keep a gun to shoot a crow without your license; he is bound down by conditions of every sort you think proper to impose for the management of a farm, for the rent of which he is answerable; you are part proprietor of his capital, of his skill, his industry, and his labour, while you are released, as I have shown, from all casualties and liabilities.

You have his capital, as a sinking fund to fall back upon in case of bad years; while at the expiration of his term, should he get a renewal, it is in general on condition that he give something more for his own improvements than another will bid over his head; and, above and before all, he is compelled, at the hazard of losing his farm, and perhaps his life, to vote for your nominee, who is most likely an enemy to his interest, his religion, and his political feelings; and yet this is called the justice of "doing what you like with your own."

This is the leaven of the system of which all have a right to complain; this is the cause of the demand for foreign grain; this is the original cause of "surplus production" for the fancy market," of "surplus population," and a scatty supply of food.

Firstly, then, I will take the ruling power of the Church, and I will show you how the principle of annual tender according to annual produce is therein acknowledged; and I will also show you, when you altered the old practice, you brought it still to bear upon the principle of reciprocity.

Let us now see wherein authorities and titles higher than yours, bear me out in my principle.

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anxious to make all circumstances conduce to the facilitation of the means necessary for ensuring it through the latter medium. The greatest step towards this which has been yet taken, is the unseating of the Whigs. Whipped from the mess, the hungry wolves will howl most ravenously; and though RUSSELL and a few others similarly gorged with Church and people plunder, may prefer political extinction to the chances attendant on the recognition of right principles; there are not a few, on whose backs the hair grows more thinly, who will be ready enough to swallow pledges of any character, trusting to the chapter of accidents, to furnish excuses for their violation. To make these the unwilling instruments in the accomplishment of their own professed intentions, we must have thirty or forty thorough-going Chartists Members in the next House; more than that we may have, if the people do their duty, and the dissolution comes not too hastily on us; and these will so hold the balance of the nation's power as to make the nation's will to be respected in its own House. For the procuring of this band of veterans to battle with the factions, every means must be instantly put, and incessantly kept, in operation, to convince the ten-pounds that their holding of the franchise is a trust, and that their personal interest will be best served by the honest and faithful discharge of that trust. Let the people learn to know their friends and to avoid their enemies, and they have done much towards the attainment of their object. Nothing, however, is well done, in which anything which might have been done is left undone. The people must not only see to the exercising of their just influence over the ten-pound voters now on the register, but they must see that the law be made to do every thing for which faction has not yet unscrupulously intruded it towards their own enfranchisement. The next register must have upon it every thorough-going Chartist, who by any fair construction can succeed in preventing the factions and their paid agents from depriving him of the power to vote. We must have done with all fastidiousness about "rates" and "shilling" paying. Pay anything; submit to everything to get on the register, and so obtain the means of fighting the people's foes with their own weapons. As useful and necessary instructions for this purpose, we have copied the following from a contemporary, and recommend it to the attention of our readers:—

## HOW TO EXTEND THE SUFFRAGE.

"Every person, who is in the occupation of any house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, workshop, stable, shed or other building, worth £10 per week, is entitled to a ballot-vote, in the city or borough in which it is situated, if he has been in occupation of such premises from the 31st of July last, 1840, or in several such premises in succession, in the same city or borough."

"It is necessary that it should be clearly understood what the revising barristers hold to be: Houses, warehouses, counting-houses, shops, and other buildings, which are as follows, viz:—

"Houses.—A house is a separate dwelling, approached by a door from the open air."

"Any person therefore occupying apartments, and having control over the outer door, is held to be a holder, although he may allow others the use of such door. As some misunderstanding has existed on this subject, it should therefore be particularly observed that the possession of a separate door is only necessary for those who claim for a house, and not necessary for the occupiers of warehouses, counting-houses, shops, &c."

"Warehouses.—A warehouse is a store-room for merchandises or goods used in trade."

"Counting-houses.—A counting-house is a room in which a person in trade keeps his books and accounts, whether it be a separate building, or only a room in a house for that purpose."

"Shop.—A shop is a place for the sale of goods, or a room in which manufactures are carried on as a workshop, which may be either a detached place, or a room in a house used as such: so that a tailor, shoemaker, &c., holding an apartment or apartments, and working in one room worth £ per week is entitled to be the voter."

"Other Buildings.—May be a stable, shed, storehouse, stable, separate building used as an office or school, post-office, bookshop, &c., or to Joseph T. P. Donald, 122, High-street, Newcastle, or to T. P. Broadbent, 13, Crosshall-street, Whitechapel, Liverpool, who is the secretary to the committee for sending Northern Stars to Ireland, and who will, doubtless, dispose of them to advantage."

W. L. FISHER.—We admire the patriotic spirit of his letter, and are sorry that we have not room for its insertion.

J. W. CALISBURY.—His address next week: too late for this. We shall be glad to find room for his reports regularly.

S. L. TUNBRIDGE WEALS.—Direct to the office will be the most certain.

THOMAS LARKEE.—Thanks those friends who sent the letters to him, "Beverley Hall," and must be excused answering, as the Government only informed him of their arrival; but thought it advisable not to defer them.

A LONDON SUBSCRIBER.—If he will trouble us with his full address, and name the person he receives his paper from, he shall have an answer.

F. NEWCASTLE.—The whole of the Papers for the Newcastle district were posted last week at half past one, on Friday, five hours before the departure of the mail to Normanby: they should have arrived at Newcastle on Saturday afternoon, same as the previous week. How they came to be delayed till Sunday we cannot tell, but suppose they were sent to Manchester, &c.

A READER IN DROGDEN, is informed, that the tracts mentioned, with any others, may be ordered of Mr. Ceare, London, through the medium of any bookseller.

AN ENGINEER, at Bath, may send all his papers by post to Bath, in Ireland, and they will go free. His name is Mr. P. M. Brophy, Newmarket-gate, Dublin, or to Joseph T. P. Donald, 122, High-street, Newcastle, or to T. P. Broadbent, 13, Crosshall-street, Whitechapel, Liverpool, who is the secretary to the committee for sending Northern Stars to Ireland, and who will, doubtless, dispose of them to advantage.

A CLAIM TO BE MADE.

"I hereby give you notice, that I occupy a No. in street in your parish, and I claim to be rated to the relief of the poor in respect of such premises, in order that I may be entitled to vote in the election of Members of Parliament for the city of Westminister. Dated this day of 1841

(Signed) of

"Instructions.—Insert the name of the parish, and the nature of the premises, as house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, workshop, stable, shed, or as the case may be; and the name of the street, court, &c., put in the date, and sign the name of the claimant, and his partner, if any, full length. Give this claim to an overseer, and cause it to be signed by the person who serves the claim, and immediately write on the back to whom the claim was delivered, and the day of the month. If any poor's rate be due in respect of the premises occupied by the claimant, tender the amount. If omitted from the list of voters on the 31st of July, claim to be registered on or before the 25th of August."

THE PORTRAITS.

On Saturday next, we shall give the portrait of Emmet to our Yorkshire subscribers; on the following Saturday, to those of Lancashire; on the Saturday after, to those of all other places. Price of Paper, with Portrait, 6d.

THE MONMOUTH PLATE.

Specimens of the above splendid Engraving are now in the hands of our general Lancashire Agent, Mr. Heywood, from whom the other agents will receive theirs as usual; in the hands of Mr. Guest, Midland Counties Agent; and in the hands of Mr. Cleave, our general London Agent. Specimens shall be sent to our other Agents, with their Plates of Emmet. We request the particular attention of our Subscribers to this magnificent Engraving—the most splendid ever given with a newspaper.

To Readers and Correspondents.

ABERBOTH.—Mr. O'Connor will have much pleasure in accepting the invitation of his good friends of ABERBOTH upon the conditions formerly named.

MARY TYNDALL.—Mr. O'Connor acknowledges the receipt of the letter from Merthyr with interest, and the 100 thousand signatures for the Charter and the Repeal of the Union, is a banquet worth going to!

THE CHARTIST STARS.—We have received a long, able, and satisfactory opinion of Counsel, with minute instructions for our guidance as to details, in the recovery of the Edinburgh, Newcastle, Norwich, and Sunderland stars, now usurped by the enemies; which we shall lay before our readers next week. Mr. O'Connor has undertaken to furnish a legal and formal draft of petition, which will present rights fourteen days after Parliament meet. For the present we can only assure our hearty readers, that, according to the opinion of Counsel, the seals will be recovered.

M. O'CONNOR appears in a great fury with us, and we must say very unreasonably, for having inserted a notice of his health being drugged by an Orange Society, at Morton. We thought Mr. O'Connor had no extensive knowledge of the Orange Society, and that he had been led into the error that the term "Orange" implied anything like a Star, or other democratic paper, and success will most undoubtedly attend our efforts.

YOURS, WILLIAM TAYLOR.  
Howwood, 22d July, 1841.

Six copies have been sent to P. M. Brophy, 4, Newgate-street, Dublin, and six copies to Mr. J. Donald, Chartist Secretary, 119, High-street, Newry.

The CHARTIST AGENTS should say immediately the day their plates are to be sent. These near can hear, by calling at the office during next week, why they are to be done.

CHARLES PARSONS.—We are desirous.

W. H. CRONIN.—If we will send his exact address, we will communicate with him on the means of conveying his "strange intelligence" to the proper quarter.

A. C.—His song must stand over for awhile.

W. CLARKE JUN.—We are sorry not to have his approbation, but cannot help it: we think he takes a too restricted view of the subject. We have no doubt there are some exceptions to the rule, in which, at the late elections, the Ballot might have served, to some extent, the people's cause; but, however, is not the question. The question is, whether it would not, as a general practice, militate against us in the present state of the franchise—and we are decided of opinion that it would.

B. SCOTT.—We think his present song not so good as his former one.

A MEMBER OF THE WESLEYAN SOCIETY sends us a letter to the Wesleyan Methodists of Worcester, from which we extract the following:—"I wish our ministers minutely to examine Mr. O'Connor's letters to the Irish landlords, especially that in the Northern Star of July 24th. Now, what I wish is, that every preacher of our society (especially the present conference) would examine that letter, and either plainly and candidly refute, and point out its errors (if there are any), or otherwise candidly embrace, and use all their influence to accomplish its object. In my opinion, it points out a full, complete, and remedy for our present temporal national calamity. It does not need any skillful orator, but, I see it fairly refuted. I wish all the ministers of Christ either to point out Mr. O'Connor's errors, or otherwise to embrace them as important truths, and use all the means in their power to accomplish the same. And I beg respectfully to tell them, that if they intend to be made extensively useful to the sons of men, they must now begin by manifesting far more regard than they have done for their poor, pined, naked, backs, bellies, houses and bodies. Indeed, the best way of doing good to men's souls is to have coats of meeting torn upon their heads, by doing good to their bodies. Brethren, some of you have read Mr. O'Connor's letter: I advise you to bring the principles of the Charter to the public, and let the world know what has been put at all times on the contrary."

R. BREWSTER.—CHARGES OF RAPE.—On Monday last, William Carter, a decent looking man from Holbeck, was charged with having committed rape on Anne Barlith, an unmarried woman, on Thursday night last. The woman, a servant of the Hotel Moon, at eleven o'clock at night, by a watchman, in a state of exhaustion, and with evident marks of ill-treatment. From the information she gave, the man was taken into custody, but when the case came to be heard, it appeared that she had been drinking with the man and some others, at a public-house on the Dewsbury road, and she not wishing to say that she made any resistance, or any outcry, the charge was dismissed.

THE BREWSTER SESSIONS.—We are given to understand that the Brewster Sessions for this borough have been fixed to be held on Monday, the 30th of August next.

Rewards to POLICE OFFICERS.—On Friday last, a reward of £3 was awarded to Sergeant Hepworth, who has been for some time acting as Inspector; and a reward of 30s. to policeman Soheran, who is acting as sergeant.

FIREWORKS.—On Monday evening, Mr. Hadfield, of Sheffield, gave his promised display of fireworks in the yard of the White Cloth Hall. The evening was at first highly favourable, but a threatened shower at half-past seven made it rather curtailed the exhibition. The principal pieces, however, and a very considerable number of minor ones were set off, and these fully sustained Mr. Hadfield's previously obtained and well-deserved laurels. We are sorry the company was not so numerous as it ought to have been to have rewarded the artist.

WORCESTER.—FIREWORKS.—On Friday last, a reward of £3 was awarded to Sergeant Hepworth, who has been for some time acting as Inspector; and a reward of 30s. to policeman Soheran, who is acting as sergeant.

WORCESTER.—CHARGES OF RAPE.—On Monday last, a lad named Philip Douse, from Ossett, was charged at the Police Office, before J. Holdsworth, Esq., M.P., with placing a piece of iron, weighing about 28bs., upon the rails of the Manchester and Leeds Railway, near Healey Mill. It appeared from the evidence of a post-mortem examination, which showed the entire absence of any thing wrong, and proved that he had died from natural causes alone, and the jury returned a verdict accordingly. The deceased was 35 years of age.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—The working men of this place, have acted with a degree of spirit, and in a manner which must prove to the "education mongers" that, at least are not without intelligence. They viewed with disgust the conduct of Mr. Price declining to come forward. Mr. Edwards was proposed at all a fit and proper person to bring the principles of the Charter to the public, and the working men never put at all times on the contrary.

W. CRONIN, of Newport, has written us a long letter in contradiction to the statements contained in the letter of Wm. Edwards, inserted in our last paper. Mr. Cronin denies that Mr. Edwards was proposed at all a fit and proper person to bring the principles of the Charter to the public, and the working men never put at all times on the contrary.

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DANIEL O'CONNELL, THE FRIEND OF THE POOR.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, THE REVILER OF THE WIVES AND DAUGHTERS OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

(Continued from our last.)

From this general charge against the people of England, which it was necessary to place in its true light, I come to your several charges against "English Poor Laws," which might, perhaps, have experienced from you some little mitigation of censure, if you had, too, by accident, happened to know that they were, to America, Poor Laws, as you will to (your indignant scruple, I dare say) the English Poor Laws.

The first charge against our Poor Laws is, that they "interfere with wages," and that this is one of the things that "frightens" you. As an Irish lawyer, you might be excused for your ignorance of these laws, but not for a *miscalculation* of them; and here we have a mere fact to deal with, and have the written proof at hand. To the original poor law of the 43rd of Elizabeth, many acts have been added, relating to the relief and management of the poor; and, in no one of these acts is there any authority given to anybody to interfere with the wages of labour, nor is there in any of them any provision for or word about, the *whipping* of Irish labourers. Therefore had you not been misled by this speech of yours, it would have been natural to suppose that the poor laws of England, as you call them, do not, after all, what is this? what does this crooked working of self-interest amount to, compared with the frightful evil of leaving thousands to perish with hunger and cold for want of legal and sure relief?

For "sick and maimed," however, you would, it seems, have relief provided by "the State"; but at any rate, you would have *them* provided for by a compulsory assessment of some sort; but not the aged, nor those, though they be without work, and with no means of obtaining food, who are entitled to relief. You add, that "it is not at first intended by the poor-laws to provide for the wants of this class." When a lawyer is speaking of an act of Parliament, and especially when its tendency is the subject matter of his discourse, he should not "believe" anything about its provisions; and, before you pronounced so decided a condemnation of this, the greatest of all our acts of Parliament, which, in fact, furnishes a great part of the machinery for carrying out all our internal affairs, which rank among the dispensary of more than two millions of acts of legislation in England and Wales; before you so boldly condemn this great act, your mind ought to have left in it not the smallest ground for *believe* respecting the provisions. This belief is, however, erroneous; for the act does provide, and it clearly intends to provide, for this class of persons; and, if it had not provided for them, it would have been nugatory at the time; and if they were not provided for now, an army of five hundred thousand men would not uphold the Government of England for a moment. That God, that it does provide for the sick and maimed, I think, gives them the bane of peace; it is the element of English society; and accursed be all those who would effect it!

But, "the sick and maimed," you would have the state provide for these; *but not for the aged*; and if these be, in "almost every village of Ireland, a dispensary, and in every county town a hospital," there is provision already made for the "sick and maimed," so that the Irish poor have all that you want them to have! Glad to know it! It certainly is news to me. I wish it may be true! Yet there must want a "dispensary" over there about every village, taking in all the sick, and seeing to their wants; and about whole parishes receiving the extreme *unction* preparatory to death from starvation, and about whole families of females being in a state of complete sacklessness; and our own eyes must deceive us, and make especially must deceive me, when I think I see, every month of my life, hundreds of squallid creatures tramping into London, by the dozens, without shoes, stockings, or shirts, with nothing on the head worthy of the name of hat, and with rags hardly sufficient to hide the nakedness of their bodies! However, for the open year, it is now over. And, to boot, it is now over. What is our excuse for this? For, upon the face of the proposition, it does seem to be dictated by anything but that *tenderness* which you are constantly expressing towards the Irish people. Your reasons are these—1. That, by making provision for the destitute in old age, you take away the great inducement to industry and *frugality* in the days of youth; and, 2. That you deprive the aged parents of the aid of their children, who, seeing a provision for them in the poor house, will leave them to go to parish in the "sick and maimed." This is what they say, this is what they ought to have said; this is what they ought to have said. This is notoriously the cause in many cases the fires have stopped when the wages have been lowered. This has, indeed, been the case all over the country; and, in the face of these well-known facts, considering also that the poor-laws have existed about two hundred and forty years, and never produced such effects before, it required, certainly, nothing short of a *Dæmoniacal* *conspiracy* to be led to believe that "it is a consequence of the poor-laws" after which you need to wonder if you were to ascribe the national debt and the cholera but to the poor-laws?

You have known "committee after committee sit in vain, to discover some way of making an *effective amelioration* in the poor-laws." Have you, indeed? and so have I too. But that may be an argument in favour of the poor-laws. LORD COKE said, that MAGNA CHARTA was too strong a fellow to be overcome by puny acts of Parliament; and the same may be said of Old BETSY's poor-laws. But, do you know, that the *same*, after all; if he do it, where is the tongue or pen to speak the praise that is his due? But if he has not from *adversary* cause, been able to do it, or have not done it, he has a clear right to a provision in old age: He has spent his life, and worn out his strength in the service of the community; and that reluctance which every man naturally feels to ask another for something, is a sufficient security against his being *lazy* and *profligate* in his youth; for the days of old age, is reasonable and just; but to cut upon the hard-working man, who, in his youth, has been compelled, by the law, to a greater extent, it does it in six months out of twelve, after all; if he do it, where is the tongue or pen to speak the praise that is his due? 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## GUILDFORD.

On Tuesday, Charlotte Clements, an old woman, was brought up on a charge of beggary.

The charge was no sooner made than the wretched prisoner, made bold and almost eloquent by hunger and extreme distress, exclaimed—“Well, if I did beg, is it not better to beg than to steal? One or the other I must do, or I must starve. I have not a bit to eat. I have not a place in which to put my head. I have not a rag to put on. What must I do?” She cried, and her voice rang through the Court.

Alderman Kelly was much affected, and evidently purposed to answer her question.

“Look at my body,” said she, raising her arms, which were each thrust into an old stocking leg, and turning herself round in the dock, exhibiting her breast and her back, covered only with a piece of ragged lining—no dress, shoes, or anything.

“Now tell me,” said she, with great vehemence, the tears streaming down her aged cheeks “what am I to do? I could sell little things, but they must be bought; and if I go to beg the money, I am seized and taken to prison.”

Alderman Kelly—“Where is your home? Prisoner—Have I not said ‘I have none?’”

Alderman Kelly—“But you surely know where you come from?—Yes, on, yes, I know that. I come from Hunslet, near Leeds.”

One of the clerks stated that she was sent down to Hunslet some time ago, but had returned.

Alderman Kelly—“Why did you return? Prisoner—I’ll tell you why. My daughter, the only child I had left out of thirteen, was taken up and transported. She was innocent, I know she was, as Sir, who never saw her. But before she went I came to London to see her. That was not a guilty act was it?”

Alderman Kelly—“Have you no friends at Hunslet? Prisoner—None. Father, mother, brother, sister, husband, and children, are all gone. I have not a friend in the world, but God Almighty above me; and sometimes I think it is hard upon me to take all away and leave me behind.”

The worthy Alderman ordered the keeper of Bridewell to take charge of her for a few days, and supply her with clothes. Afterwards they must see if something could not be done for her.

Alderman Kelly stated Wednesday, at Guildhall, that he had received three contributions for the poor woman from Hunslet, charged with beggary. They were 10s. from Mr. Rickard, of the Stock Exchange; 10s. from a gentleman unknown; and 2s. 6d. from a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion.

We invite our readers to read the above, to read till every word is engraven not merely upon the tables of the memory, but upon the more durable ones of the heart, and then say if the state of which we have produced, and which has been the subject of infinite discussion, ought longer to be suffered to exist. We dare not say the tenth part of what we feel on this heart-rending tale of horror. Here is a female, one who has been wife, parent, daughter, sister—all that woman can be made—in a state of absolute destitution. Proprietary prop has been removed, till she has neither staff nor stay remaining; and, to add to her misery, her efforts to exist without being criminal, are, by the accused system which the supineness and indifference of the people have suffered to be established in this country, converted her into a criminal, all that she has now to live on is to look to a pious to keep her from becoming a chaf. Talk about society! but society exists not for her: she is an outcast. But though society refuses her rights, it sternly demands a respect for its institutions, and tells her, in effect, that should she starve, it has no tribunal before which to cite those whose apathy and avarice have thus rendered them guilty of murder; but if she stoned to satisfy her hunger and clothe her nakedness, it has laws for the protection of property, the iron grasp of which she must speedily be made to feel. It is fair to conclude that this woman, in by-gone times, was a member of thirteen children, the last of whom the laws of the country has doomed to exile, for a crime of which the mother deems her innocent; and this seems the only consolation for the scared and widowed heart. She comes, she says, from Hunslet, near Leeds, and she finds her way to the emporium of wealth, to the abode of royalty, the British Metropolis, for what? To give the last embrace to her sole remaining child; and how touchingly she asks—“That was not a guilty act, was it?” Yes, in the eyes of blooded capitalists, landlords, and fundholders, a parent’s feelings are a curse, and the hand of Hercules to the proprietor, for God helps those that help themselves.” Mr. G. Halton was of opinion that the time had gone by to amuse the country with empty professions, that a very great portion of the people of this country had been taught wisdom by experience, and that if those classes of society who arrogated to themselves the right to govern by exclusive privilege, did not speedily alter their course, anarchy and confusion would be the inevitable consequence. At the evening meeting, to which the speakers had agreed, a conclusion was arrived at to discuss the grievances, as to set the matter of remedy at rest, and attain one general and united support, it is hoped that every one will attend who can possibly do so; and in order that full scope may be given to every speaker, the meeting will be adjourned from time to time, till the public be put in full possession of the remedies of the day. The chair to be taken at eight o’clock precisely. Order of the Preston Charter Council, G. Halton, Secretary.” In consequence of this arrangement, a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Preston took place at the time specified in the preamble. Mr. E. Swindhurst, originally called to the chair, who opened the business of the meeting by observing, that now was the proper time for those who had the least claim to patriotism to step forward and elucidate their views to the meeting, in order that we might arrive at some conclusion to produce a universally beneficial change. Mr. E. Swindhurst then came forward, and showed that the grievances complained of was in consequence of bad measures emanating from men incapable of understanding the real wants of the country. Mr. H. Diddick followed, and concluded the discussion, earnestly entreating the Association, Royal Shropshire, at eight o’clock precisely, when it is hoped there will be a numerous attendance of the committee and friends of the good cause, as business of great importance will be brought before the meeting.

LIVERPOOL.—On Wednesday evening, Mr. Wm. Jones delivered a powerful and eloquent lecture in the Charist Association Room, Preston-street.

SLEATHWAITE.—On Sunday last, Mr. Clayton gave a very instructive lecture to a number of friends, at the house of Mr. William Rollitt, the Charist’s Delight, back of Mount Pleasant, Sleathwaite. The lecture was listened to with intense interest, and after having fairly exposed the villainy of class legislation, and the Whig delusion of cheap Salt-Surplus would render them nothing but ultimate benefit. At the conclusion, eleven persons were enrolled as members of the Association, and the meeting was adjourned to follow the example of Hercules to the proprietor, for God helps those that help themselves.”

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SWINDLESTON.—On Saturday last, Mr. G. Halton was of opinion that the time had gone by to amuse the country with empty professions, that a very great portion of the people of this country had been taught wisdom by experience, and that if those classes of society who arrogated to themselves the right to govern by exclusive privilege, did not speedily alter their course, anarchy and confusion would be the inevitable consequence. At the evening meeting, to which the speakers had agreed, a conclusion was arrived at to discuss the grievances, as to set the matter of remedy at rest, and attain one general and united support, it is hoped that every one will attend who can possibly do so; and in order that full scope may be given to every speaker, the meeting will be adjourned from time to time, till the public be put in full possession of the remedies of the day. The chair to be taken at eight o’clock precisely. Order of the Preston Charter Council, G. Halton, Secretary.” In consequence of this arrangement, a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Preston took place at the time specified in the preamble. Mr. E. Swindhurst, originally called to the chair, who opened the business of the meeting by observing, that now was the proper time for those who had the least claim to patriotism to step forward and elucidate their views to the meeting, in order that we might arrive at some conclusion to produce a universally beneficial change. Mr. E. Swindhurst then came forward, and showed that the grievances complained of was in consequence of bad measures emanating from men incapable of understanding the real wants of the country. Mr. H. Diddick followed, and concluded the discussion, earnestly entreating the Association, Royal Shropshire, at eight o’clock precisely, when it is hoped there will be a numerous attendance of the committee and friends of the good cause, as business of great importance will be brought before the meeting.

PAPOOK.—On Tuesday afternoon, a very respectable and happy company agreed to make a tea-time Charist tea-party. The company assembled about five o’clock, out of doors, and the weather being very favourable, the apparatus being arranged, and the viands, “the bread and cup which cheered and did not infect,” set in order, about the number of twenty set down, and were greatly delighted with the treat and with each other. Before the conclusion, rain soon threatened, and the party removed to the Temperance Hotel and wound up the rational conviviality by music and dancing.

KEIGHLEY.—LECTURE.—On Tuesday evening last, Mr. G. J. Harney gave a lecture in the Working-men’s Hall, on the principles and prospects of Chartism.

MOSSLEY.—At the weekly meeting of Chartists, held on Monday evening, an unanimous vote of censure was passed on John Collins and Arthur O’Neil.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

Thursday Evening, July 29.

THE ANTI-CORN LEAGUERS are making efforts to get the steam up here, though from the apathy of the galled followers, it must be a work of extreme hardship, for well as their lecturers are paid, it is not pleasant for them to have their breath wasted on some twenty auditors; and as the game is spoiled, it would be more advantageous for them to go elsewhere. Mr. Hayton, in a brief speech, seconded the proposition, which was unanimously agreed to, and after a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting broke up, apparently highly delighted with the proceedings.

BRADFORD.—BOY MISSING.—We understand that a boy, about thirteen years of age, son of Francis Mason, residing in Cannon-street, Bradford, has been missing since Wednesday afternoon last, and though every possible search has been made for him, he has not yet been found. He is of low stature for his years, rather fair complexion, with light hair. He had on, when he left home, a worsted cap, fustian jacket and waistcoat, cotton cord trousers, and cloche. His disconsolate parents will esteem it a favour should any one give them intelligence respecting him.

SUNDERLAND.—TRADE DISPUTE.—HONOURABLE DECISION OF THE MAGISTRATES.—It is so seldom that the poor obtain either law or justice from those whose duty it is to administer it, that when an appeal, excepting in cases of life and death, is made to them, it is only to receive it prominently, and await the honour that is due to those who have earned it. On Monday, John Rogers, and John Williams, two pugglers, or iron workers, in the employment of the Bishop Wormalth Iron Works Company, were summoned by the company, before the borough magistrates, Sunderland, for leaving their employment without sufficient notice. Mr. Hayton, solicitor, appeared for the company, and Mr. Cooper for the workmen. Mr. Hayton, having stated the case, called upon Thos. Simpson, manager of the puddling works, in support of the charge. Simpson, upon being sworn, stated, that he had supplied them with the proper “masses” (a technical term, meaning the proper quantity of iron, 4 cwt.); but that the men expressed their belief that there was not the quantity stated, and as they would be liable to have their wages reduced, if they did not produce a sufficient quantity of work, they objected to work until the metal was weighed. It was weighed, and it was found short weight, except one which was over; but many heads were considerably less than the proper weight. The master was supplied; he advised them to work until morning, when all would be recited; they refused. Cross-examined by Mr. Cooper—Did not tell the men he could not, and would not, rectify the deficiency. The quantity less would make the wages of the workmen sixpence or threepence a day each less. By the magistrates—“Why did you not let the men see the metal weighed before you gave it to them?” Answer—“They might see it if they thought proper. Did not turn any men off for producing short weight in their work, but for work of art, all individual, the best of which have been exhibited.” The master was not of the opinion that the workmen were to blame; he advised them to work until morning, when all would be recited; they refused. Cross-examined by Mr. Cooper—Did not tell the men he could not, and would not, rectify the deficiency. The quantity less would make the wages of the workmen sixpence or threepence a day each less. By the magistrates—“Why did you not let the men see the metal weighed before you gave it to them?” Answer—“They might see it if they thought proper. Did not turn any men off for producing short weight in their work, but for work of art, all individual, the best of which have been exhibited.” The master was not of the opinion that the workmen were to blame; he advised them to work until morning, when all would be recited; they refused. 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