

TO THE LANDLORDS OF IRELAND.

"If England, with her proper power at home, cannot defend her own door from the dog, let us be wiser; and let us not lose the name of hardihood and policy."

SHAKESPEARE—HENRY V.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN.—Removed from the busy haunts of man; away from the bustle of the world; free from malice, hatred, or ill will towards any living thing; and prompted by a sincere love to serve all, without doing injustice to any, I assume the task of addressing a series of letters to you, which I hope to perfect without the introduction of political controversy. In truth, my Lords and Gentlemen, it is now full time that the madness of the many by which the destructive gain of the few has been upheld, should be laid aside, for the benefit of all.

My Lords and Gentlemen, removed, as you are, from the scenes of action in which I have taken a conspicuous part, and for which I am thus compelled to address you from a felon's prison, mayhap your minds may require a little preparation, before you direct yourselves, as I have done, at all prejudices and unkindly feelings. With that view, I shall not go over any of the "whys" and the "wherefores" I am here; but, being very extensively acquainted with you, and very well known to many of your order, I have only to appeal to the whole of life for reasons why I should not be here, as far as you can judge. Let me, then, remind you, that during the whole of life I have never been party in suit or action; that I have never been charged with, suspected, or guilty of one single mean, low, dishonourable, or ungentlemanlike act.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I took a prominent and more violent part, in 1821, against what I considered injustice in Ireland, than I have taken against what I consider injustice in England for the ten last years from that period. In 1821 I was not prosecuted, although I was most unjustly persecuted. I then wrote a pamphlet in which I ascribed every act of violence done by the people to the injustice of landlords, parsons, magistrates, grand jurors, and police. In that pamphlet I implored of the landlords and other parties to reform the several abuses of their respective orders, before the people should be impressed with the hopelessness of justice coming from the aristocracy. I was then denounced, driven from society, and branded as a rebel; but, my Lords and Gentlemen, the legislature has since passed a separate act, for the purpose of correcting the very abuses of which I complained as existing among those several orders.

I complained of sub-letting as a great grievance, against landlords and tenants; and of many other grievances also. The legislature passed a law, which merely nibbled at the abuses of the system, but stopped short of interference just where it should have commenced.

I complained of the individual ministerial and judicial acts of magistrates and the legislature justified my complaint by the enactment of the Petty Sessions Bill, by which magistrates are compelled to meet together, and in open court.

I complained of the unequal pressure of the tithe system, and the compulsion of grass land to share of the burden, and I also complained of the whole system; and that I was justified in complaining, in manifest by the bill of Mr. Goulburn, passed three years subsequently, which had for its object the correction of the principal abuse of which I complained; and I am further justified by the many attempts of administration recently made to deal with the whole system.

I complained of Grand Jury jobbing, in which I was justified by the new Grand Jury Bill, which has certainly caused a more just expenditure, although not a sufficient retrenchment in that department.

I complained of the old Police, their mode of appointment, their qualifications, their dependency upon the local magistracy, and many other abuses; and that I was justified in that complaint also, the Irish Constabulary Bill fully proves.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, I merely state these facts to prove that I was not a rebel, but a reformer, in 1821; and that by means with the intention of assisting that any one of the remedies was sufficient for the abuses which they professed to cure, while each and all manifest evidence of the existence of abuse.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I further state these facts for the purpose of proving that the justice of my present demands, and the injustice of my present persecutions, may be equally and perhaps more speedily acknowledged by some subsequent acts of administration.

My Lords and Gentlemen, having said so much with a view to free your minds from any prejudice which a conviction for what is called libel might have created, allow me to tell you that, however the members of the law may have caught me, my real crime consists in an endeavour to preserve your estates from the grasp of the English manufacturers. That is "the head and front of my offending;" but do not mistake me—I claim no credit or thanks, inasmuch as my motives were of a far higher nature than a desire to obtain unjust powers in your hands for the preservation of a very foolish and a very destructive monopoly. My motive was to give to you the opportunity of Reform before others compelled you to transfer.

My Lords and Gentlemen, such is precisely your present position. You have now the option whether you will forego monopoly and commence Reform, or preserve monopoly and see your estates transferred to other hands.

In the plenitude of your power, you may say, and many of you will say—How can I have lost my property? How can I have been transferred? Let us inquire how law has introduced landed property, and see whether landlords objected not to legislation in terms, when the estates tended to their benefit. Can you show me one Act of Parliament which does not interfere with landed property? While I will point your attention to many which have done so to a very considerable extent.

I shall commence with that law which you accept, and support of renders your position so very unenviable at the present moment. I mean the law affecting the introduction of foreign grain to the British market. That law extended to you the same faith for the rise and protection of your property that Sir Robert Peel's memorable bill, passed in 1819, extended to the fundholder, for the rise and protection of his property. To that law you did not object. The equalisation of the currency of the countries affected by your property held by tenants at will; that gave to many an opportunity, of which they availed themselves, of adding to that description of property; while the same laws reduced the wages of their labourers from 8d. to 7d., thus adding to you a description of property, and 12s. to another description of property. You will say that middle men only had recourse to this practice. My answer is—They were your representatives. You will also say that the instance was few. My answer to that is, that I have been consulted in my hundred cases of rent; and in my own immediate neighbourhood I know of some very extensive employers who reduced wages as I have stated.

Let me illustrate this by a case, in which a middle man made a profit of over 33 per cent, by the change. Indeed I have known not a few such. Suppose a middle man, who had under his ground to tenants at will, or by accepted proposal, and to hold a large quantity of land upon his own hands. Now I have known such men fairly raise the rent to the new standard, that was 12s.; then to pay wages upon the truck system, by potatoes or flour; and the labourer never touching the penny retail market of the labourer, was a further step upon him of 12s. per cent; thus, suppose A to have sold potatoes for 8d. a weight before the alteration, and to have sold a day afterwards, after the alteration he reduced wages to 7d., and still demanded and got 8d. for a weight for potatoes; and as he dealt in the wholesale market, his 7d. was made to represent 8d., both in the payment of rent and interest and everything else.

The next act to which I shall direct your attention is the Tithe Composition Act. By that act you forced the incumbents into large reductions upon their livings, corresponding, as you avowed, with the increased security, while it gave them no increased security.

The next act was the recent Tithe Act, by which you reduced your estates of twenty-five per cent of the tithe.

The next act was the Irish Poor Law Act.

The Northern Star

AND LEEDS GENERAL ADVERTISER.

VOL. IV. NO. 191.

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1841.

PRICE: FIVE CHILLINGS PER QUARTER.

New laws these acts had a direct influence upon rents; and I will now show you how Acts of Parliament, of a purely political character, interfere with landed property.

The Catholic Emancipation Bill caused hundreds of thousands of small holdings to be thrown into large farms, or added to those already existing. The Reform Bill induced hundreds to withhold leases from direct themselves, as I have done, at all prejudices and unkindly feelings.

Lord Morpeth's Registration Bill, so fortunately defeated, would have increased that practice to an extent frightful to be contemplated; and, judging from the past, must either have depopulated a great portion of Ireland, or must have paralyzed the hand of industry, and have limited the expenditure of capital, by depriving the occupying tenants of all tenure beyond your will in their farms, and, consequently, of all inducement and heart to improve their holdings.

My Lords and Gentlemen, having so far shown you wherein you have been consenting parties to legislative interference with your estates, let me now point out whatever has been, and whatever must be, the result of a perseverence in error, and a dogged obstinacy in resisting Reform. Had the owners of borough property conceded a very little right to growing opinion, the Reform Bill would not, as yet, have passed. Had the Protestant Church and Churchmen conceded minor points to their Catholic brethren, so virtually a sweeping measure of Emancipation as that of 1829 would not yet have been looked for, or, at all events, it would not have been carried.

Had the Clergy of Ireland paid attention to the warning voice of Lord Mountmellick, conveyed to them in his celebrated, but neglected, lecture to Froude at Kington upon his translation to a bishopric, you would not as yet have heard of Church property being handed over to the landlords of Ireland. Had the West Indian slave owners listened some little to the voice of reason, justice, and humanity, the slave might yet have sighed for his manumission.

Had the old corporations deferred, in time, to the call for Reform, their prescriptive right to reveal in local abuse, would not have been transferred to other hands.

Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, I use these instances of popular demand, increasing with alacrity, and for the purpose of opening your eyes to the starting fact, that hitherto the word Reform has meant transfer; and, further with the hope of convincing you that you have now the option whether you will Reform your own abuses, or allow those abuses to remain as a mark for the most powerful (because the most wealthy and centralised) party in the State, against which to direct the full current of popular indignation, Ministerial experiment and commercial speculation, with the view of your transferring your estates to their own pockets.

My Lords and Gentlemen, surely you have long since ascertained the fact that the Reform Bill was a transfer of legislative power from the landed to the manufacturing interest; and the manner in which that power has increased and been used for the last nine years may lead you to some conclusion as to the probable result. Mark the odds against which you have to contend; your forces in Ireland are in the hands of a man who would use them for your benefit, if he so doing he could benefit himself; but that not being practicable, he has chosen the shocking alternative of including the Catholic people to commit suicide, and (as it is supposed by those who foolishly attach a religious motive to his tactics) for the purpose of making a Catholic ascendancy; no such thing; about that he cares not a farthing; but your abuses give him a handle over Catholic prejudices, and thereby enable him to throw all the political weight of agricultural Ireland into the English manufacturers' scale, which is the important one just now for insuring of political patronage. While you are thus deprived of all popular support, your party in England is thinly dispersed over the face of a scantily populated country; the population much diminished for the purpose of creating a labour reserve in unhealthy manufacturing towns. This portion of the population is, firstly, ignorant as the beasts they drive; and, secondly, not capable of being brought together for effect, such as public demonstrations; while your enemies are assembled in an hour by ring of bell, or placards on the wall.

Secure, secure in your mountain retreat or well-wooded castle, you may say that you don't want demonstrations. I know you do not, but can you either step them or prevent their effect? No, you cannot; and, believe me, that the day is gone when any Government can hold power against popular demonstration.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I now come to close quarters with you and you know that I have been mixed up for twenty years in all the violent political struggles of my own country, and who can bear witness that during those contests, which have been sharp, and frequent, I have never given personal offence, or lost a friend, will now bear with me, while I seek you well with the hope of coaxing you to a sense of your duty, of opening your eyes to your negligences and follies, and of directing your attention to the only possible means by which you can much longer remain possessors of your estates. Again, I beg and beseech of you not to reject the advice, because it comes from one who has gained great triumphs over you; not to look too carefully at the picture which, for a time, you may see but at a great distance; not to suppose that your most quiet rival, embodied in your most inaccessible mountains, is unapproachable to, or proof against an act of the legislature.

My Lords and Gentlemen, do not "lay the flattering unction to your souls;" that the temporary ascendancy of your political party can stay the wanton assault upon your property. Do not allow momentary strength to harden you in error; but, on the contrary, seize it, embrace it, use it, as the most fitting and appropriate time for deliberation, and self-correction, and Reform. Set about it at once; for, believe me, that short, very short, will be the political triumph of your friends.

My Lords and Gentlemen, you are called monopolists, robbers, plunderers, murderers, and starvers of the poor. If there is any defence for you, you will find it in reclamation. You will find it in the fact, that those who thus brand you have themselves committed wholesale murder, plunder, and spoliation upon the poor, and would now rob you to further enrich themselves. But, my Lords and Gentlemen, while I thus arm you with a defence against those more deeply steeped in crime, do not suppose that I hold you guiltless. No, I do not; but then your crimes are as white as snow compared with the scarlet sins of your enemies. Yet you committed many and flagrant offences, and are still chargeable with the name of monopolists, but not in the sense in which the term is applied to landlords. No! while their object is not by any means to improve the condition, or advance the comfort, of the poor, your crime consists, not in upholding monopoly produced by Act of Parliament; it does not consist of making a monopoly of grain; but it does consist in making a monopoly of the land which produces grain, in order that you may make a monopoly of legislation, which produces place and wealth, patronage and distinction. Now herein is your folly; and my greatest surprise has ever been, that landlords, not of a political tinge, or not looking for political gain, will allow their estates to be endangered by joining in the mad and reckless career of political patrons.

My Lords and Gentlemen, your monopoly consists in the law of primogeniture, which, morally, socially, and physically does you much damage. In your mode of leasing your estates in large allotments unsuited to the capital of the country and destructive of the industry of the country; in your conditions annexed to occupation; in your restrictions as to application; in your exertions as to political support; in your encouragement of the substitution of horse power for manual labour; but above all, in your obstinate perseverence

in that antediluvian system of making sale of your tenants, by short leases or no leases, and the practice of exacting one settled invariable rent for a period, no matter how long or how short, without reference to the price of the produce of the commodity you let, instead of regulating rent by a graduating scale of prices of produce;—this is little short of madness.

My Lords and Gentlemen, however anxious you may have led your judgment captive for a season, your shareholders must have told you that when you were ready to join in the spoliation of Church property for your own appropriation, you were firstly furnishing a precedent for legislative interference with a title certainly inferior to the title of the Church; and you might also have learned that your turn would come when the next pill was required.

You must have known, because you speak much of prescriptive right and inheritance, that the title of a Church, whether that Church was Catholic or Protestant, was a higher title, by law, to the land than the title of the landlord.

You who speak of national faith, must be aware that prior to your becoming possessors of the land, the Church had a lien upon it to the amount of one-tenth of its produce.

You must have been aware that livings were purchased, and bargains made, and contracts entered upon, on the faith of this prior claim or mortgage. The Church, in its turn, must have known that when it became a party to the appropriation of the trust-property of the poor, that its turn would one day come; and the landlords must have been aware that when they became a party to the appropriation of church property to their own uses, that their day would come; and those who would now appropriate your estates to their own uses, under the specious pretext of feeding the poor, may rest assured that their day will also come.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I mention these things to warn you of your danger, to alarm you of the threat which hangs over you, to induce you to turn your attention to the means of your own safety, and the safety of others, who may take the means of doing gratuitously for yourselves, that which, if left undone by you, will be done by rougher hands; for, done, believe me, it will be, and that right speedily. My Lords and Gentlemen, pray, pray, keep that one feature full in view, THAT DONE IT MUST BE; and therefore the question is, WHO SHALL DO IT?

You are now very peculiarly circumstanced. A bold exercise of your self-acquired political strength may do something for you. A prompt use of your social powers may save you. Let me point out to you how, and in what manner.

If you come forward in your political strength, and reduce expenditure, debt, wages of public servants, and all the cost of Government, to that standard to which a repeal of the Corn Laws would assuredly reduce your estates, you will but nominally suffer: your rents will be reduced, but your burdens will be correspondingly lessened; your incomes will be virtually smaller, but actually more valuable, because more secure; your position in society will not be in the least altered. The most wealthy will still be the most wealthy, the several classes measured by the same gauging scale, will see no perceptible change in their social or monetary arrangements. This change you can accomplish by a vigorous and timely exercise of your political functions. However, should you still cling to high rents and expensive government, and a false sense of eminence from which a sudden shock may hurt you, you must, in such case, make timely use of your power as landlords; you must bring your estates into the retail market, to suit the habits, customs, capabilities, and wants of your own people; while you will open for the English manufacturers a trade, a home trade, a sure trade, larger and more remunerative than all their quackery would produce.

Thus, my Lords and Gentlemen, you have it in your power to act as a break-water to the rushing rapids, while you are erecting your new building; and if you proceed with judgment, you may strike your centres at any given moment, without fear of damage from the flood; but, oppose the current, and your all will be hurried down the stream.

My Lords and Gentlemen, attend to the alternatives between which you have to select. You must either throw your estates into gale, and become tenants, in common with all the landlords of all the corn and cattle-producing countries of the earth, or you must bring your estates into the retail market, and give, for their cultivation, an impetus to the manufacturing, and native industry. Have you not had full and ample proof that the system of "hand-to-mouth" legislation, so long attempted, but in vain, is intended to correspond with the system which has been but too successfully practised of making the working classes live from hand to mouth, in order that they may be more at the mercy of those employers who are millions of times their dependency, your obstinacy, and their own devilment? Does not each day's novelty furnish you with proof that all laws are now made with the one single object, however wide they may be of the mark; and that that object is to reduce the working people, made "surplus population" by machinery, to the necessity of working at wages regulated by the mere existence point, or of emigrating to some foreign land, or of dying of hunger, or of revolting against the unnatural state of things?

My Lords and Gentlemen, you have been too much in the habit of listening to the wild vagaries of hired experimentalists, who write according to order in the daily and weekly journals, and who know as much as the nation's doctors, and the proper remedies, as barbers and apothecaries about the purity of their clients. They bear in mind that the press is a hand to mouth press, furnished exclusively by the moored orders; and although your interests may be said to be represented by a few, yet are they all in the possession of the hand-to-mouth genus; for, which, see advertisements, and point out one from a landed proprietor, and let those papers dare to advocate your cause, and then point me out one at all.

Another "ignis fatuus," which blinks you and sets your heads wandering, is your sectional attachment to, and following of, some local and general parliamentary leader. Now, believe me, that those gentlemen will advocate their own interests by making merchandise of you. Firstly, they do not understand the question; and, secondly, they are politically divided upon it.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I smiled most sorrowfully at your childish notion, recently made manifest in an endeavour to commence Reform by raising subscriptions for agricultural schools, to divide among yourselves and a few of your political friends. As well may you hope to have a mortal wound by the application of a bit of court plaster. You must amputate.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I have for the present devoted as much space to you as I can prudently afford. In my next I shall take a small estate of 1000 acres, and show the little benefit conferred upon society by your injudicious management and destructive monopoly of it; and the great benefit which a prudent and profitable disposition may confer upon yourselves and society at large. I shall prove, beyond a possibility of refutation, that you are the monopolists, but not in the way sought to be proved by others. I shall prove that a wise and profitable allocation of a very small portion of the land of Great Britain and Ireland, would make the whole National Debt a mere thing of nothing; capable of being redeemed in less than five years by the working classes.

My Lords and Gentlemen, in my treatise I will not allow a political economist, a moonshine theorist, a single page to hang a scientific objection upon, because I will argue the thing according to the very roughest and most discouraging calculations, and not by the new arithmetic of scientific production; but from such data as the least cultivated will understand; and I will undertake to prove that the landlords, either as the ascendant political party, or as a united body, may now prepare to save their estates, their country, their

properties, and the people from want, from rapine, from revolution. I am aware that many objections will be raised, but no refutation will be attempted; and, as to objections without foundation, they but bespeak prejudice and affection for the system which but ill accords with the present times, and will not be listened to.

My Lords and Gentlemen, let me, in concluding this, my first letter, warn you that, of one, either the Corn Laws must be repealed, or you must render their immediate repeal unnecessary, or put yourselves in a condition to meet the new order of things coming by Reform, or defend your estates by force of arms.

Again, I tell you that the political democratic current will run over the heads of the old Tory and the Tories to the hands of the Reformers, for the purpose of working out that principle of the Reform Bill, which they say, they have hitherto been prevented from doing by Tory opposition. Now, this is the safety-valve—the only safety-valve, and if not very speedily applied to the steam of boiling public opinion, the engine will explode.

This representation, would place the people, not the Reformers, were placed some forty years ago, but in that position in which their increased power, based upon their increased union and knowledge, enables them to. The Reformers never had any back, this is, any real back, such as the Chartists would have had, if the Reformers never moved what they had, and most unfortunately, the Reform Bill was passed in a storm, and without previous preliminary tutoring of the public mind, to prepare it for the full benefit of a well digested measure. This is the full benefit of a well digested measure. This is the full benefit of a well digested measure. This is the full benefit of a well digested measure.

My Lords and Gentlemen, we can rob you all in less than six weeks, though you had the Court, the Lords, and the Commons with you; and having done so, then would we be there to revolutionise with the thousands of the people, the mortgage, the simple contract creditor, your mothers, your brothers, your sisters, and your dependants, who, believe me, will be as loth to give up their grasp upon their monopoly as you have been to surrender yours. Judge, then, in which situation you can best arbitrate, whether before or after TRANSFER. We are called Destroyers; while we have borne oppression rather than change the warfare to our oppressors' camp.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I will write you six letters. Do not reject them or treat them fearfully; for should you, after notice, persist in error, the war will be carried into your camp.

I have the honour to be, My Lords and Gentlemen, Your obedient servant, FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

York Castle, Condemned Cell, June 29th, 1841.

TO THE FUSTIAN JACKETS.

MY DEAR COMRADES.—The first campaign of single-handed Chartism is over, and thank God for it! It has terminated gloriously and to the immortal honour of the people. I rejoice to think that, however long it may take, and how many more men have been sent to the gallows, the national support here and there, yet has not one single demonstration taken place in aid of faction—not one!

Now, my dear friends, hear me. To gain a victory in a cause which, while it turns triumph into advantage requires all the thought, prudence, and discretion of the wisest head. I asked you to take care and make the Whig forces in the next Parliament too weak to carry out their policy. You shall now have my reasons, and judge of their soundness.

If the parties were balanced, as recommended by "Publicists," they would have played badly down, and shuttled with the people. A party sufficiently large to be presumptive heirs to office, would still stand upon constitutional prerogative, and would be afraid of "liberal measures," lest they should establish precedents to be followed when in power. A party in opposition large enough to take office with the existing Parliament, will have nothing to fear from popular indignation, as they would not be compelled to do so in order to retain office. If the Whigs were in a minority, of no more than ten, and if the Tories found themselves too weak to retain office, a sufficient number of "waiters upon Providence" would join the Whigs rather than encounter another election; and, with a majority of fifty or sixty against them, the Whigs would be compelled to come again before the people, and, before their next appeal, they will have discovered what the people are.

I have told you time and oft, that there are only two ways of effecting any great change: the one by physical revolution, the other by an act of the legislature. The good people have now come to the knowledge of the fact that all physical revolutions terminate unsuccessfully to the cause of liberty; and even if they were not so, they but look upon such means of acquiring justice as a last and dreadful resource. In such case it becomes the bounden duty of every man who cherishes revolution, and proclaims death in any shape to be preferable to the continuance of the system against which he contends; it becomes his duty to state freely and fairly wherein the realisation of his hopes is feasible with the Whigs, and how they can be effected by an act of the legislature. Such shall be my present task.

The papers provided for by the State are divided into two parties, each depending upon a different foundation, and even for existence, upon their respective hold of office; while all the industrious classes form one compact and united body. I say united, and I say all, because tradesmen, shopkeepers, and farmers, and all other classes, and those who have raw property and those who convert that raw material into value by labour, must, of necessity, very soon discover that the people are the belly of the State, and that all other classes are but the members; and that the belly being starved, the members must perish.

While there was enough of plunder for all the tradesmen and shopkeepers, each depending upon a different foundation, to superfluity purchased with the expense of the loss of that distinction; but now that the idlers of the aristocracy have become too numerous to admit of any division of the plunder, and that the parties of the highest order have become, either of them, too large to be comfortably quartered upon what the people, made paupers by machinery, can afford to give, they will, with very good reason, discover that the increase of machinery, no amount, no matter how great, and the wealth produced thereby, no matter how enormous, will be of not the slightest benefit to them; but, on the contrary, "as much would have been done, had the machinery been considered all too little for themselves."

In this state of things, I think we stand in no danger of a coalition being formed by the parties; and that, should they give up the Reform Bill, and opposition in the House, constituted of all the disappointed of both parties.

Now, the Whigs are far the poorer of the two parties; and when they are for a season excluded from that seat, and when Mr. O'Connell finds the Sergeant Jackson, and Mr. Litton, and a few more Tories, placed upon the bench, and when he finds all the offices to which he had the appointment, handed over to the enemy, he will learn from a mad dog at the mouth; and in their weak and helpless condition, their appeal will be from houses to men. Don't you mind "Publicists" who would give you a plan of the highest solution than the Whig scribbles put together, and that is saying a great deal; I say don't you mind him, when he tells you that the Whigs will join in a coalition for spite, because the people opposed them. Not a bit of it. They believe me, will join whoever or whatever it is they deem himself, has the power of whipping the Tory pack from the mess and giving it to them. Well; then will that who has written more rubbish than the distaff, and that who has written more rubbish than the distaff, understanding, and this brings me to the legislative mode of carrying out our principles.

The Whigs, before they again come to office, must discover, that they must not only dissolve, but we will take previous good care that if they do dissolve upon a clap-net, the appeal will be answered as the last has been. But, if they dissolve upon the only measure which we will accept as terms of union, we will further take care that their majority shall consist of Chartists, and not of mere anti-Tories.

Now, one thing they have ascertained, that is, that the Reform Bill has failed to be a Whig guarantee of office, and another thing they say and learn, is, that without the people they can do nothing. Now, suppose they should either dissolve, or, which is by no means improbable, because the Whig interment will not be allowed to terminate without a farce; or, suppose, that anything should

cause a dissolution. Well; in such case, the elections of the present year must be registered, and they would elect the Tories. If, since 1837, being four years, the Tories have changed over a majority of 109 to a minority of 46, by the Reform machinery, and if the last year has been one of the probable result in registration, what would be the probable result of another General Election? Answer:—It is so, that 1 is to 35, and the result would be a Tory majority of 75.

Another question is, what possible means have we of obtaining such a result? Answer:—By an appeal to the people. Upon what terms? By guaranteeing to them the return of thirty of their own selected representatives, upon the condition that the nation will be constitutionally, as one man, to resist only an anti-Tory House, but to give to the whole people one-twentieth of the representation, with a view to laying popular feelings, opinions, wants, and demands before the Legislature, thereby placing the Reformers over the heads of the Tories to the hands of the Reformers, for the purpose of working out that principle of the Reform Bill, which they say, they have hitherto been prevented from doing by Tory opposition. Now, this is the safety-valve—the only safety-valve, and if not very speedily applied to the steam of boiling public opinion, the engine will explode.

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TO THE FUSTIAN JACKETS.

MY DEAR COMRADES.—The first campaign of single-handed Chartism is over, and thank God for it! It has terminated gloriously and to the immortal honour of the people. I rejoice to think that, however long it may take, and how many more men have been sent to the gallows, the national support here and there, yet has not one single demonstration taken place in aid of faction—not one!

Now, my dear friends, hear me. To gain a victory in a cause which, while it turns triumph into advantage requires all the thought, prudence, and discretion of the wisest head. I asked you to take care and make the Whig forces in the next Parliament too weak to carry out their policy. You shall now have my reasons, and judge of their soundness.

If the parties were balanced, as recommended by "Publicists," they would have played badly down, and shuttled with the people. A party sufficiently large to be presumptive heirs to office, would still stand upon constitutional prerogative, and would be afraid of "liberal measures," lest they should establish precedents to be followed when in power. A party in opposition large enough to take office with the existing Parliament, will have nothing to fear from popular indignation, as they would not be compelled to do so in order to retain office. If the Whigs were in a minority, of no more than ten, and if the Tories found themselves too weak to retain office, a sufficient number of "waiters upon Providence" would join the Whigs rather than encounter another election; and, with a majority of fifty or sixty against them, the Whigs would be compelled to come again before the people, and, before their next appeal, they will have discovered what the people are.

I have told you time and oft, that there are only two ways of effecting any great change: the one by physical revolution, the other by an act of the legislature. The good people have now come to the knowledge of the fact that all physical revolutions terminate unsuccessfully to the cause of liberty; and even if they were not so, they but look upon such means of acquiring justice as a last and dreadful resource. In such case it becomes the bounden duty of every man who cherishes revolution, and proclaims death in any shape to be preferable to the continuance of the system against which he contends; it becomes his duty to state freely and fairly wherein the realisation of his hopes is feasible with the Whigs, and how they can be effected by an act of the legislature. Such shall be my present task.

The papers provided for by the State are divided into two parties, each depending upon a different foundation, and even for existence, upon their respective hold of office; while all the industrious classes form one compact and united body. I say united, and I say all, because tradesmen, shopkeepers, and farmers, and all other classes, and those who have raw property and those who convert that raw material into value by labour, must, of necessity, very soon discover that the people are the belly of the State, and that all other classes are but the members; and that the belly being starved, the members must perish.

While there was enough of plunder for all the tradesmen and shopkeepers, each depending upon a different foundation, to superfluity purchased with the expense of the loss of that distinction; but now that the idlers of the aristocracy have become too numerous to admit of any division of the plunder, and that the parties of the highest order have become, either of them, too large to be comfortably quartered upon what the people, made paupers by machinery, can afford to give, they will, with very good reason, discover that the increase of machinery, no amount, no matter how great, and the wealth produced thereby, no matter how enormous, will be of not the slightest benefit to them; but, on the contrary, "as much would have been done, had the machinery been considered all too little for themselves."

In this state of things, I think we stand in no danger of a coalition being formed by the parties; and that, should they give up the Reform Bill, and opposition in the House, constituted of all the disappointed of both parties.

Now, the Whigs are far the poorer of the two parties; and when they are for a season excluded from that seat, and when Mr. O'Connell finds the Sergeant Jackson, and Mr. Litton, and a few more Tories, placed upon the bench, and when he finds all the offices to which he had the appointment, handed over to the enemy, he will learn from a mad dog at the mouth; and in their weak and helpless condition, their appeal will be from houses to men. Don't you mind "Publicists" who would give you a plan of the highest solution than the Whig scribbles put together, and that is saying a great deal; I say don't you mind him, when he tells you that the Whigs will join in a coalition for spite, because the people opposed them. Not a bit of it. They believe me, will join whoever or whatever it is they deem himself, has the power of whipping the Tory pack from the mess and giving it to them. Well; then will that who has written more rubbish than the distaff, and that who has written more rubbish than the distaff, understanding, and this brings me to the legislative mode of carrying out our principles.

The Whigs, before they again come to office, must discover, that they must not only dissolve, but we will take previous good care that if they do dissolve upon a clap-net, the appeal will be answered as the last has been. But, if they dissolve upon the only measure which we will accept as terms of union, we will further take care that their majority shall consist of Chartists, and not of mere anti-Tories.

Now, one thing they have ascertained, that is, that the Reform Bill has failed to be a Whig guarantee of office, and another thing they say and learn, is, that without the people they can do nothing. Now, suppose they should either dissolve, or, which is by no means improbable, because the Whig interment will not be allowed to terminate without a farce; or, suppose, that anything should

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fatal the hazard, that when the danger was over
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