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dream." Upon examining not only Curtis but nine or ten of his neighbours who also work for me and resolved to do you justice, and to make the *amende* if I had wronged you, I put them in possession of your statement and of my own, and asked them which was true, and I will give you now the substance, if not the verbatim answers that I received from Curtis, and which was corroborated by all—

"Curtis, did your wife work on the 18th?"
"No, I could give my oath she did not."
"Did the doctor order her meat which the relieving officer refused to give you an order for?"
"Yes, sir, but not the day that I came to you, but some time before, when she was so bad that I thought she wouldn't live, and the doctor saw her at work in the field and told her that she had no business there, and that he wouldn't answer for her life if she didn't stop at home, and two women carried her to the house."

"Curtis, mind, you will be punished if you state falsehoods, so be on your guard."
"I know that, sir, for they've told me already they'll drive me out of the parish, and I got a lawyer's letter already for £18, that I don't get, and I hear they've got a warrant for my wife to go to Upton for taking some goods that Mrs. Penson gave her leave to borrow for firing; but sure the poor creature will never live to go there."

"Curtis, can you and your family earn 25s. 6d. per week?"
"O, Lord! sir, who says that?"
"Never mind who says it, can you earn it and your family?"

"No, sir, not from the day I was born, nor a pound a week in harvest, and sometimes without work."

"Have you five pounds of meat, three pounds of bacon, three pounds of flour, 2s. 6d. worth of groceries, a shilling-worth of firing, 1s. 6d. for rent, and 3s. for clothing every week?"

"I could give my oath that there hasn't been a pound of any sort of meat in my house for a week, three or four or five months. I had half a pound of bacon last Sunday, and we're often without that with it on a Sunday."

"When your wife is at work does she earn from 10d. to 1s. a day?"
"No, sir; when she is at work she will earn 7d. or 8d., and work hard."

"Does she get constant work at that?"
"God bless you, no, sir; a day now and then at bean-seeding, hoeing, and haying."

"Is your daughter working for Mr. Morgan at constant work?"
"No, sir."

"Is your son at Mr. Hawkins's in constant work?"
"He has what he earns himself, sir."

"Now, Curtis, what are the wages usually given by farmers in your parish?"
"Well, 7s. and 8s. a week, and 9s. in busy times, and sometimes 10s.; the most we ever have is an ounce of fourpenny tea, and twopenny for a quarter of sugar."

"What is the real state of your wife's health?"
"Why, the neighbours know, sir, and the doctor knows, that she is in a bad and low state, and wasting for want of nourishment, and can only work a day or two now and then."

"Is your medical man from every body?"
"Oh, if they were all like him, sir, the parish would be different; but they don't give what he orders."

Now, gentlemen, I have only to add that your description of an Eldersfield labourer's condition has been the cause of much laughter and general merriment since you had the folly to publish it.

Still anxious to arrive at the truth, I requested Curtis to send his wife to me on the following morning. She came, and her appearance bespoke her condition, and corroborated her husband's statement. However, resolved upon being satisfied, I repeated my questions to her, and she described her state and her family's state just as her husband and neighbours did. I asked her "if her husband was a drunken man, or if he wasted their substance?" and she replied, "No, sir, far from it; he is only too glad to have it for his family."

Now, gentlemen, I have rendered you the easy task of dealing with my assertions and Curtis's fabrications, and in order to enable you to deal summarily with them, I repeat them. To my own knowledge the maximum rate of wages with cyder is 9s. per week; that flour was 18s. per bushel; that I paid it to Mr. Crews that week; that Mr. Richard Aston, my neighbour, paid the same price; and that I had contracted with Mr. Barrett, miller, of Gloucester, for 32l. a ton, or 4l. a sack, for flour during that week; that I have his note in my possession, and here allow me to explain what to you appears a conundrum—how flour could be 18s. a bushel, and 4l. a sack. Now, a sack is five bushels, which at 18s. per bushel would be 4l. 10s., leaving the retailer 10s. profit upon the sack that cost 4l. Now, surely there was no great difficulty in solving this riddle, especially as you are aware that the quarter of a pound of sugar which the huckster sells for twopenny, costs him little more than a penny; so that in the case of flour the retailer has about twelve and a half per cent., and in the case of sugar nearly 60 per cent. How could you confess yourselves so ignorant as to require the solution of so understandable an assertion, such an every-day occurrence? You say, "We do think he would have needed but little assistance if his wife was ill, as he was at work for us at 12s. per week, and, as you felt so interested for him, you would have given him a part of his wages if he had asked for it."

It was not my business to make a parade of my feelings for the man; but as you have indulged in this sympathetic figure, I beg to tell you that I gave him 4s. of his wages and that I did give him a good supply of READY-MADE SOUP to take home to his wife, although your dignity takes fire at the notion of dealing in such an article.

Gentlemen, you do not appear to me to attach the proper meaning to simple terms. I stated that the man had several miles to walk to and from his work, and you put the distance down at two miles and a half there, and two miles and a half back. Now, that implies a walk of five miles a day or thirty miles a week. It implies two hours' labour of walking each day, which increases the day's work to fourteen hours; and although I would not say that the man who had travelled five miles by the railway had travelled several miles, yet I do say that the term "several miles" is well applied to the man who walks five miles a day to his work.

Now, gentlemen, I have looked the matter over, and I find that I have not made even a small mistake; but, perhaps, if your calmer judgment you WILL LOOK THE MATTER OVER you will find that you have made more than a small mistake or two; you will find that not two per cent. of the labourers of Eldersfield parish earn 10s. a week throughout the year, while you have averaged it at 12s. 6d. per week. How could you be so silly? how could you be so inconscientious, as to enter into an unprovoked contest with me, when you must have been convinced that every one of your assertions were untenable, and merely made for the purpose of saving yourselves from that disgrace which

you have artfully distributed amongst the parishioners, but which solely attaches to you as administrators of the law?

Gentlemen, you must have felt mortified that none of the daily papers published your letter, which, to the Free Trade portion, would have been a Godsend. They did not publish it for this reason—because they felt convinced that the Lord had delivered you into my hands, and they did not wish to participate in the exposure. When you quoted from my letter to Lord John Russell you should have published the whole letter, as I do yours, because, in that letter, I have exonerated the farmers from every share in that blame which properly attaches to the law and its administrators; while, in your reply, you seek to bring me into collision with that class. I know but little of the farmers of the parish of Eldersfield, but I will say of those residing in the parish where I live, that such men as Mr. Joseph Stallard, Mr. Charles Stokes, and Mr. John Beach, are an honour to their country, an ornament to their class, and a credit to society.

Gentlemen, as to your sneers at 12s. a week and cold water, I think that you will find that I should be a large gainer by giving 9s. a week and three gallons of sour cyder worth 1s. 3d. However, if you feel yourselves wronged, or in any way misrepresented, I am prepared to afford you every possible facility of proving your innocence and my misrepresentation, and, believe me, that nothing will give me greater pleasure than assisting at an inquiry which will enable you to prove that the labourers of Eldersfield are supplied with three pecks of flour, five pounds of meat, three pounds of bacon, 2s. 6d. worth of groceries, 1s. worth of fuel, 1s. 6d. for rent, and three shillings for clothing weekly. Having got so far I looked for the luxuries; for the ale, the spirits, or, indeed, the wine at least, on Sundays; and, as you say, that, receiving 12s. a week from me, Curtis could stand in little need of parochial assistance, surely, from other sources, drawing 13s. 6d. more, he must have been in a most enviable position.

Gentlemen, I have forwarded a copy of this letter to the Gloucester Journal, and I have printed your letter to which this is an answer, at full length, and the only favour that I have to request at your hands is, that when next you do me the honour to address me you will attach your proper names to the document. During my residence in your neighbourhood you cannot say that I have joined in any cabal, or attempted to create any schism between the labourers and their employers; but in the end, as we must be judged by the unerring standard of public opinion, if you again charge me with falsehood or misrepresentation, I will call a public meeting in that parish where Labour is so well remunerated, and where the Law is so humanely administered, and by its verdict you and I must be judged.

Gentlemen, I have not provoked this contest, nor shall I shrink from any responsibility the result may impose upon me; but, in the outset, allow me to warn you against the attempt to make the parishioners parties in the cause, as between you and me, and between us alone, the difference exists.

I have the honour to remain, Gentlemen, Your obedient servant,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE RAM OF DERBY.

WAR TO EXTERMINATION!
UP, CHARTISTS, AND AT THEM!

TO THE MEN OF THE MIDLANDS.

March! March! Derby and Nottingham, my lads, don't you march forward in order! March! March! Leicester and Birmingham, And drive the base bloods over the border.

FRIENDS OF THE MIDLANDS.

I was just about writing a letter of thanks and congratulation to the brave Chartists of Westminster, for having so gloriously rescued our cause, our principles, and our honour, from the snares of Faction; but, as I understand that a vote of censure has been passed upon me by the METROPOLITAN COMMITTEE for the part I took at the late Crown and Anchor Meeting, I shall reserve what I had intended to say till I am in possession of that vote. I defer any further notice of the subject, because I hold myself responsible to public opinion; and because I may have unintentionally erred, and may consequently be deserving of censure. Having dismissed the subject for the present, I now turn to the consideration of the most important subject just now to the Chartists body—I mean the treatment of our friend Mr. Grath, at Derby, by the Mayor of that town.

The conduct of the BASE, BRUTAL, AND BLOODY, was not only illegal, but unconstitutional. He had no right, as Returning Officer, to play the highwayman, and demand of Mr. Grath, "YOUR MONEY OR YOUR LIBERTY." He had no right to forbid the non-electors holding up their hands—he had no right to make the payment of fees the condition of opening the poll. The blow thus aimed at the double blow at the poor privileges of non-electors and the right of electors, is a blow which, if not resisted, would at once crush all hope of liberty. This is the signal of what we are to expect when we next meet the foe in the field. Just when a Minority-Minister is about to appeal to the country, his local coadjutor shows how in-door toleration is to be strengthened by out-door despotism.

Is it not enough that your voices should be stifled, but must your hands now be muffled? Having started you into submission, are they afraid to see the blisters that overtail has raised? Read Doyle's true and unadorned description of the BLOODY conduct, and ask yourselves then what you have to expect from Whiggery? Now, friends, my blood so boils at the recital, that I fear the value of my incarceration to the Whigs at the next contest, were I to give free expression to my feelings.

It is not a usual or a common act of tyranny that has been committed, it is an atrocious act, for which there is no precedent; and straightway, and without a moment's loss of time, a strong, an indignant, and unmistakable remonstrance must be sent by the electors and non-electors of Derby to Mr. Dancombe. No time must be lost, as we must know the terms upon which the approaching battle is to be fought. Let us have a clear and explicit definition of Whig constitutional liberty from the tools of the constitution body, in order that we may clearly understand our position, and, if the 'RAM OF DERBY' is right in his constitutional law, "Death to the Liberty Slayers!" "Death to the Base, Bloody, and Brutal!" "Death to Whiggery!" shall be our battle-cry and watch-word at the next conflict.

This atrocious act will raise the pride of insulted freemen from John O'Grato to the Land's End. When our friends nobly step forward, as Mr. Grath nobly did, to declare our principles and our views, are we to abandon them in the hour of trial? I now tell you, in contradiction of the RAM'S UNCONSTITUTIONAL DECISION, that the Whiggery Gower is not the member for Derby; and if the question was submitted to a committee, he must be unseated. I further tell you that the base official has rendered himself amenable to the law, and subject to a heavy

fine for his violation of duty. Now, men of Derby, is your time—England looks to you—the enemy has given you a glorious opportunity of testing the dying House of Whiggery upon the question of Constitutional Law. This blow will destroy all hope of Whiggery at the next general election. Our battle-cry will be, "DOWN WITH THE BASE, BLOODY AND BRUTAL WHIGS!" Men of Derby, forward your petition at once; sign it night and day; state every grievance; and send it to your constitutional adviser, our friend and champion, T. S. Duncombe.

Your faithful Friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE DERBY ELECTION.

ILLEGAL AND TYRANNICAL CONDUCT OF THE MAYOR.

DERBY, WEDNESDAY NIGHT.

The nomination of candidates to represent this borough, in the place of Lord Duncannon (now Earl Beaulieu), took place this evening. The only candidates were the Hon. Mr. Gower, the brother of Lord Granville, and Mr. Grath, President of the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association.

On the opening of the court at 9 o'clock, the room was densely crowded.

Mr. Gower, who afterwards entered, supported by Dr. Bent, Mr. J. Moss, Mr. S. Barber, Mr. Douglas Fox, Mr. Thomas Madeley, Mr. H. Moseley, Mr. J. E. Moseley, and Mr. S. Fox. Mr. Grath was attended by Mr. Gorse, and a number of the most active of the Derby Chartists, and Mr. Doyle, from London.

The doas having been administered, and the Bribery Act read,

Mr. Douglas Fox, in a slobering Whig speech, lamenting the death of Lord Beaulieu, and likening the "Cavendish family," proposed the Hon. Frederick Leveson Gower as a fit and proper person to represent the borough of Derby in the Commons House of Parliament.

Mr. Gorse, who talked a great deal of fudge about Whiggery, seconded the nomination of Mr. Gorse, in rising to propose Mr. Grath, was received with vehement cheers. He was, he said, a Chartist, and Mr. Douglas Fox, who proposed Mr. Gower, was a finally Whig. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Gorse) had enough of Whiggery. Mr. Fox said that Mr. Gorse was a lawyer. They wanted less law and more justice. (Cheers.) Mr. Fox said, that Mr. Gorse was nearly done away with by the Whigs. (Cheers.) Mr. Grath, the candidate he was about to propose, was a public man of unblemished private character, and well qualified to represent the working men of England in Parliament. He begged leave to propose Mr. Grath as a fit and proper person to represent them in the Commons House of Parliament.

The nomination of Mr. Grath was seconded, says the reporter of the Times, by a Derby elector, whose name did not transpire. He was apparently a humble working man.

Mr. J. L. Gower, who was received with cheers from the Whigs, said the first clause of the franchise was, that the elector should be a man of property. He maintained that no man should be denied the exercise of any civil right on account of the opinions which he conscientiously holds. He considered it unjust to tax one man for the support of the religion of another. He was a member of the Church of England, but he was opposed to the oppressive and unjust tax imposed upon Dissenters in the form of Church-rates. He maintained the grievance of the Irish Church, which was not a national institution, but the Church of a small Protestant minority of the people, and whose surplus revenues ought, in his opinion, to be applied for the cure of the poor and the relief of the oppressed. He objected as he did to the taxation of the Irish Church, because it was a national institution, but the Church of a small Protestant minority of the people, and whose surplus revenues ought, in his opinion, to be applied for the cure of the poor and the relief of the oppressed.

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to foster and strengthen this mighty agent of human happiness neglects the most important function that falls within his province. If, gentlemen, you wish to promote in abundance the fruits of morality, patriotism and philanthropy, the soil you must cultivate is the national mind. (Cheers.) I am opposed to government interference with the religious education of the people. Government can, however, promote both religious and secular education without venemous intermeddling. There seems to me to be nothing inconsistent with sound principle in the purpose of appropriating every year a sum for educational purposes, which the whole community, without distinction of sect or party, may participate in. Every sect, in every town or village, appoint its own schoolmaster, who can teach its peculiar tenets, in addition to a sound secular education, and government aid is rendered in proportion to the number of mundane and religious education may be secured; government aiding and assisting without any interference. (Cheers.) Such a scheme of education shall have my hearty concurrence and support. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, our attention has been directed to these changes that have taken place within the last half century, and the credit of all good measures has been claimed exclusively for the Whigs. This is an error which I will very speedily rectify. I shall like Whiggery and Toryism; both are the enemies of national improvement, and will never yield but to intense popular pressure. My sincere aspiration is, that the day may soon come when the eternal enemies of these two destructive factions may be sung by the people of the country. But to the point at issue. Which were the two greatest enemies of the past twenty-five years? Catholic Emancipation and Free Trade. Who pushed Catholic Emancipation through the Legislature? A Tory Cabinet, led by Wellington and Peel. Who gave us a greater measure of Free Trade than was ever given by Golden or Bright? A Tory administration, led by Sir Robert Peel, and with reluctant pertinacity by the old Whig and Tory remnants of the Church and Queen's men. (Cheers.) Thus, gentlemen, have I stripped the Whigs of a little of the gewgaw frippery in which they were dressed up for exhibiting before you this day. (Cheers.) (Mr. House of Parliament.)

Mr. Gorse, who talked a great deal of fudge about Whiggery, seconded the nomination of Mr. Gorse, in rising to propose Mr. Grath, was received with vehement cheers. He was, he said, a Chartist, and Mr. Douglas Fox, who proposed Mr. Gower, was a finally Whig. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Gorse) had enough of Whiggery. Mr. Fox said that Mr. Gorse was a lawyer. They wanted less law and more justice. (Cheers.) Mr. Fox said, that Mr. Gorse was nearly done away with by the Whigs. (Cheers.) Mr. Grath, the candidate he was about to propose, was a public man of unblemished private character, and well qualified to represent the working men of England in Parliament. He begged leave to propose Mr. Grath as a fit and proper person to represent them in the Commons House of Parliament.

The nomination of Mr. Grath was seconded, says the reporter of the Times, by a Derby elector, whose name did not transpire. He was apparently a humble working man.

Mr. J. L. Gower, who was received with cheers from the Whigs, said the first clause of the franchise was, that the elector should be a man of property. He maintained that no man should be denied the exercise of any civil right on account of the opinions which he conscientiously holds. He considered it unjust to tax one man for the support of the religion of another. He was a member of the Church of England, but he was opposed to the oppressive and unjust tax imposed upon Dissenters in the form of Church-rates. He maintained the grievance of the Irish Church, which was not a national institution, but the Church of a small Protestant minority of the people, and whose surplus revenues ought, in his opinion, to be applied for the cure of the poor and the relief of the oppressed.

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