

Stamp Office 1<sup>st</sup>















Mr. Harrison seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. O'Connor, on presenting himself, was greeted with three tremendous cheers. He said—When Mr. Daniel O'Connell was addressing a monster meeting in Ireland he reminded his audience of the motto under the touch-hole of the volunteers' guns, and then he put his finger to his nose, so. (Loud cheers.) Now, it would be, perhaps, the best thing for me to remind you of the motto under the touch-hole of Lord John Russell's bomb, that is to blow us all to Van Diemen's Land, and put my finger on my lips. (Loud laughter.) But, however, notwithstanding that that trap had been baited for the red cap of Chartism, I tell Lord John Russell that he is too cunning to go into it. (Loud laughter.) It is now pretty nearly nine months since I was honoured with your confidence as your representative. I think that within those nine months I have brought to bed of a very numerous family. (Laughter.) I rejoice to think that after so many who have been honoured with your confidence—certainly in return for the money that I have acted a part different from those who purchased that confidence in order to fill their own pockets out of yours. (Loud cheers.) I thank you for the resolution you have passed; and I object a little to the tender of your sympathy. You have expressed your sympathy for the House of Parliament; I gave them as good as I got. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I require no sympathy; and the more I am pricked, the more I am galled, the more I am spurred, the more I am put upon my metal. (Cheers.) But, my friends, I am happy to find, from your resolution, that in these days of danger and dismay, when the rampant Whigs have kicked down the ladder by which they ascended to power, you think that I have fearlessly and honestly discharged my duty. (Cheers.) I venture to say that there are few, even of the liberal members, who are willing again to take the opinion of their constituents. However, in order to show that I think the popular voice should be as much as possible, if there are two hundred here in this vast meeting who are dissatisfied with my conduct, I will not continue to hold my seat. (Cheers.) I dare say the newspapers will state that there are about 200 or 300 at this meeting. (Laughter.) The virtuous press always has one eye clouded and the other shut. As we say of the cocks in Ireland, when the cock falls in the broth, they have one eye up the chimney and the other skimming the pot. (Laughter.) Look at what they said of the meeting of this day fortnight. The most glorious meeting I ever saw. One paper said consisted of 4,000 and another 10,000. On Tuesday, however, after the Commissioners of Police had sent a private letter to every one of the proprietors, there was an extraordinary coincidence in their dreams, for they all came out with 15,000. (Laughter.) That was the meeting which the government proclaimed should not take place. That was the meeting which I was warned, by policemen and by members of Parliament, if I attended should be shot. It was, however, in defiance of the proclamation, I rode on to the front seat, and I thank God I myself was the cause that no blood was shed. (Cheers.) I told that meeting, when I addressed, as I do this audience, as my children, that I had too much in store for them to spare one single man from nature's feast, when nature's feast shall come. (Cheers.) We find all the continental countries bubbling with the new genius of the time. We find despot giving constitutions where a few years ago they would not have made the slightest alteration. We have seen countries placed in the possession of their new-born liberties who are not so well prepared to use them. And why? Because they have not the power of speech; they have not had the power of meeting in public to confer together; and they have not, as we have for the first time in the history of nations, a good school system to replace a rotten system. In France the error, or rather the position of the Provisional Government is not their own fault. If they are obliged to sustain 100,000 of the people in idleness, it is not the fault of the government which has now taken the command, but the fault of the tyrant despot who would not allow the people to confer together in order that they might have been prepared to propose a better system than that they were about to destroy. (Cheers.) But I have proposed a better system; and what I assert here, as in the House of Commons, is, that if to-morrow we had, in order to purchase, the land of our birth, I would not leave a man idle who was willing to work; I would put every man to work. (Hear, and cheers.) It is something for England to say, that, unlike all other nations, her agitation has been made in a quiet, peaceful, and unobtrusive manner. (Cheers.) They may complain of idlers. So do I to the idlers who live on the sweat of others. (Cheers.)—And to-morrow, if I had the means, I would find labour for those who are willing to work, and every unwilling idler I would have whipped through your streets. (Cheers.) But I have now a great regard for the unwilling idlers, and their wives, and their children—they are made so by class legislation—as much regard for them as I have for the man who works sixteen hours a day, because they are not allowed to win an honest livelihood. (Cheers.) They have passed the Gagging Bill, and much good may it do them. (A laugh.) I told the government, and I will keep my word; they may depend upon it, that if they did pass it, I would traverse the length and breadth of the land, by day and night, and that my cry should be 'Down with the base, brutal, and unfeeling Whigs!' I told them that the existence of three political parties in the state was incompatible with peace, law, and order, and told them that public opinion would compel Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell to unite, and then we should have only two parties in the state—the rich oppressor and the poor oppressed. (Great cheering.) I reminded the noble lord and his colleagues that what had produced the French Revolution was what they had been doing the whole session, namely, extracting taxes from the middle and working classes for idlers to live upon. I reminded the Prime Minister—pushed and howled on by those tax-devourers who sat behind him on the Treasury benches as he was—that this continued drain upon the pockets of the people could not be maintained; and I asked what was the reason so great a number were starving when the land of the country was capable of supporting five times the population? If I prove, and I think I shall, that the land will produce enough for the maintenance of those placed upon it by God, where is the infidel who would compel the land to be sterile? (Cheers.) Why should we pay £10,000,000 a year to the shepherds while the flocks are starving? (Cheers.) Not a word has been said by the government of reducing the incomes of the idle parsons. (Cheers.) Why should a parson have £3,000 a year, while he allows only £120 to the journeyman parson who saves your souls. (A laugh.) Your souls are saved by journeyman. (Cheers.) All the master soul-savers go—not on the Continent now; it is too hot for them—a laugh—to watering, and other places, and to hear themselves the journeyman of other men. (Loud laughter.) (Cheers.) I say that the working classes, and the middle classes, and the Dissenters, will not allow the Church Establishment to stand. They will not allow £18,000,000 to be paid for the Army, Navy, and Ordnance, nor £4,000,000 to be expended under the head of miscellaneous estimates, which means for the support of idlers, lickspittles, and prostitutes, while the faces of old age, which I see before me, are pallid and careworn, and those of the young stamped with the marks of premature old age. (Cheers.) It is not according to nature, reason, or humanity. (Cheers.) But however I have suffered in my constitution, and though I look five or six years older than I did nine months ago, when I came before you as your earnest, honest, servant—(cheers)—I again thank you for your sympathy, however paltry my face may look. (Cheers.) My atmosphere is rather more wholesome than that of Stephen's. (A laugh.) I love to hear those hearty cheers, and see those smiling countenances. (Cheers.) But you have no more idea of what the House of Commons is, than a cock of a holiday. (A laugh.) I wish you were a few nights in that gallery. (Cheers.) But the press never tells the real state of the house. It did not mention that on Friday night every member of the government was hosted and groaned down. They found there were other groaners than the honourable member for Nottingham. (Cheers.) Never were there such volleys of groans as those the government got from those who formerly were their supporters. (Cheers.) The government will soon find out that they are the worst government in the world, and that they are the worst government in the world. I am receiving from my bitterest enemies, who are beginning to find out that an empty mill makes an ugly wife on a Sunday morning. (Great laughter.) There are the principles I have advocated and will advocate in spite of the Gagging Bill. (Cheers.) These are the principles I have advocated during an agitation of thirty-five years' duration. My resolution now is that no man shall make a fool of me, and that I will not make a fool

of myself, and I think you will allow that I have shown both prudence, courage, and wisdom in my career. (Cheers.) I will give them no cause to put me on board the hulks; but I will continue my speeches to the House of Commons, and utter them regardless of Gagging Bills, and see if the press will report them. Lord Brougham says that any man who reports, prints, or publishes sedition, may be transported by this Bill; but I will have a reporter of my own in the gallery, and they shall be printed in my paper. I was told that if I went to the meeting on Monday, the 10th instant, I should be shot; but I went in the foremost rank upon the car, and I was the means of preventing blood being shed that day. (Cheers.) But suppose I had been shot, and the news had come down to you, what would you have done the next day? (An indistinct murmur arose, of which we did not catch the purport.) That is my protection, because the government know that if I am touched it will not be for long. I shall stand on the constitution of the law. But the government are those who act unconstitutionally. (Cheers.) Throughout my whole life of agitation I have never caused a drop of blood to be shed, but I am determined to go if the middle classes do not go on—if they do not go for the whole hog, bristles and all—a laugh—they will never find me for less than the People's Charter, name and all. (A laugh.) I shall call on them to proceed. In the old time, when danger was abroad, men would shrink back, but if I find them skulking, I will strut out before them. (Cheers.) I do not think anything short of inspiration could have induced me to speak so long in the open air. You know what Mr. Duncombe has suffered from his devotion to the people, and I was attacked by just the same symptoms. But I have a good wife come, and a good pair of bellows inside it, that will keep a deal of cold at bay. I see how the middle classes come out. (Cheers.) The government, however, have met with their match in me. (Cheers.) In 1845, Mr. Fox Maule told Mr. Disraeli that a commission was sent down to Scotland, to see after the state of the crops, and also to report upon the state of O'Connor's speech. (Cheers.) This Gagging Bill is a trap for me; but they will not get so old a fox inside it. The honourable gentleman then made an attack upon the reporters, saying he had no doubt one or more were spies of government, and then continued as follows:—At a meeting at Oldham Edge, at which a quarter of a million were present, the press gave me £8,000, and not had either. (Laughter.) In fact, this is the rule I recommend. If there are thirty newspapers, which give different accounts, add all the numbers together, multiply them by two, and you will get about half the real total. (Laughter.) At that meeting a gentleman said, 'Mr. O'Connor, you are Irish; you must come back to your own country.' 'May,' was the reply of the man who stood next me. 'May,' was the answer, and we cannot part with 'May.' We'll land him yet, but you must send him back again. (Loud laughter.) I shall continue this agitation until I have been the means of placing every man who wishes to go upon the land, in a cottage, with land to support him the remainder of his days. (Cheers.) If there be then any who do not wish that, the artificial labour market being freed from the present amount of competition, they will receive twice the amount of wages they now obtain. (Cheers.) Now, I have to address the tea meeting to-day, and therefore I will not keep you any longer, as I shall then be able to enter more minutely into detail. I have only to thank you once more for the confidence you have reposed in me in having returned to me as your Member, and to assure you that I will not cease my exertions until the Whigs are driven from office and the People's Charter the law of the land. (The Hon. Member then retired amid loud cheers.)

Dr. McDunnell and the Rev. Thaddeus O'Malley, were unanimously elected members of the forthcoming National Assembly, which is to assemble on the 1st of May.

Three times three cheers were then given for Mr. O'Connor, for the Charter, and for the Whigs, and the meeting dispersed.

#### GRAND SOIREE.

In the evening a splendid tea party took place at the Exchange Rooms, about 700 sat down to tea. The tables were cleared at eight o'clock, and Mr. Motz was unanimously called to the chair. The Chairman, Mr. Motz, stated that the Charterists had met on a previous occasion to celebrate the election of Mr. O'Connor, and that the present festivities were for the purpose of driving the last nail into the coffin of the Whigs. He then proceeded to read a paper, in which he stated that the Whigs were the cause of the present state of the country, and that the only way to remedy the evil was by the adoption of the People's Charter. He then proposed that the Whigs should be driven from office, and the People's Charter should be the law of the land. This proposal was carried unanimously.

Mr. O'Connor then rose and addressed the meeting. He said that he was proud to be the champion of the People's Charter, and that he would continue to fight for it until it was the law of the land. He then proposed that the Whigs should be driven from office, and the People's Charter should be the law of the land. This proposal was carried unanimously. Mr. O'Connor then retired, and the meeting dispersed.

We disclaim destruction of property or the sacrifice of life, and will use our united exertions to prevent both. In conclusion, we repeat our protest against the Government, and our support to you in all your political struggles for the redemption of man, and victory, attained peaceably and morally, is certain.

Mr. Harrison then addressed the meeting, and informed them that he had been deputed to the House of Commons, in reference to the memorial of the 10th of April, and that he had never been heard of since. Notwithstanding that he had, however, been preaching liberty in Derbyshire ever since. In allusion to the Chartists' petition, he said that the introduction of obnoxious signatures was the work of the Government. He then proposed that the Whigs should be driven from office, and the People's Charter should be the law of the land. This proposal was carried unanimously. Mr. Harrison then retired, and the meeting dispersed.

Mr. O'Connor, who said, Mr. Chairman—(Thundering applause, in confirmation of what has fallen from my friend Harrison, I beg to remind you that the Whigs are the cause of the present state of the country, and that the only way to remedy the evil is by the adoption of the People's Charter. He then proposed that the Whigs should be driven from office, and the People's Charter should be the law of the land. This proposal was carried unanimously. Mr. O'Connor then retired, and the meeting dispersed.

was signed exclusively by women. But, mark the growth of mind, and the causes which have led to this change. In '59, when we contended for our political rights, the cause was the same, and the result was the same. It was to make woman the mistress of her own home, and the mistress of her own estate. (Great cheering.) Then the mothers were nothing to compare with their protectors; they were not political agitators, because they could not see the political people were the same from it; but now that I have shown that woman is no longer to be the slave of man, and that the babe is not to be turned from the mother's breast and given to a stranger (Cheers); and when we see the women foremost in contending for their rights and liberties, we must have no more either to quarrel or take sides with them. I have had the new birth into lightness upon me. (Thunderous applause.) Men that never asked of the Charter before the 10th of April, now talk of the Charter, and only the Charter. (Cheers.) Well, then, is not this something to have accomplished; and while our friends have told you that the middle class people were the cause of the present state of the country, I say I am not afraid of death. I would rather be found among the vanquished contending for liberty, than among the victorious who have destroyed it. But although the Gagging Bill has been passed, it does not apply to the House of Commons; and I have shown that woman is no longer to be the slave of man, and that the babe is not to be turned from the mother's breast and given to a stranger (Cheers); and when we see the women foremost in contending for their rights and liberties, we must have no more either to quarrel or take sides with them. I have had the new birth into lightness upon me. (Thunderous applause.) Men that never asked of the Charter before the 10th of April, now talk of the Charter, and only the Charter. (Cheers.) 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THE NORTHERN STAR.

saw of the land. Were they of the same determination? (Cries of 'We are,' and cheers.) What was it that the people of this country were now asking for? He believed that there was very great apprehension amongst the working classes, and influential and the middle classes of society, that they were reckless of the middle classes of society, that they were reckless of the middle classes of property, wishing to take from others what they possessed, and appropriate such property to their own use. He believed that no such feelings as these existed in the breast of any honest-hearted Chartist. They wished to have a voice in the legislature; they wished to have a voice in the spending of that money to which they were such large contributors. It should be the

process that we are aware  
acquired.

middle classes that such was their object, and their only object. But at the same time he would have wanted to be understood that they would never rest satisfied until that object was accomplished. (Cheers.) The question might yet arise—which was the best form of government to live under, and if that inquiry should be set on foot, and conducted in the same spirit as that which animated the movement of the Charter, it might end in the people not being satisfied even with the six points of the Charter. (Cheers.) The working classes of this country were now very nearly unanimous for the People's

people have, at least,

could be obtained; and therefore he conceived it to be the duty of every working man not to throw the least obstacle in the way of bringing the middle classes to them, in order that they might have their assistance. The middle classes were fast coming over to them; and if they referred to a meeting lately held at Manchester, they would find thousands of the middle classes who had been sworn in as special constables had openly declared that they would not use their staves against the people, and that they would assist them in agitating for the Charter. The same feeling was existing in the middle

supposed that very  
an advantage of their

Naarhiss. He hoped that that the present meeting would be one great means of cementing the middle and working classes of this community inagitating until the Charter became the law of the land. (Cheers.) The speaker then proposed the resolution. OSBORNE WORSER seconded the resolution. After al- luding to a paper issued by Edward Baines, of Leeds, and which allusion called forth loud shouts of 'he's a liar,' he said, they would recollect that previous to the meeting in London the Queen was recommended to remove from her house to Osborne House; but if she did not want removing from all the houses she

103 We have been accus-

Mr D. LIGNERLOVE, of Bradford, was called upon to support the resolution. He was inclined to think that those who at present counselled the Queen, and who sat at the helm of affairs, were not prepared to make the Charter the law of the land. It appeared that they had no idea of the degraded condition of the working classes of this country; otherwise they would adopt some means for raising the working classes from the degradation and suffering in which

Paris, to the effect that  
the notes will take

giving them something entirely in opposition to that which would tend to remove the burdens under which they groaned. (Disapprobation.) Her Majesty's ministers had given evidence of their unfitness to govern this nation, by passing that Whig Treason Act called the Gagging Bill. Instead of assailing them to rear the tree of liberty, they had given them a Gagging Bill. But they would meet. ('We will,') there was a people groaning for liberty, and determined to have liberty, and yet the government gave them a Gagging Bill. (A voice 'we will gag them,') cheers. It had been observed by a previous speaker

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measure which would have disgraced this country a thousand years ago. (Cheers.) The government had given evidence of their unfitness to manage the affairs of this country by the weakness they manifested day by day. Let it be understood that the strength of a government existed in the affections of the people, and not in muskets and bayonets, and swords. The strength of the government grew weaker every day, and if the Queen did not soon dismiss her ministers they would be dismissed by some other power. (Cheers.) The ministry also manifested their unfitness for office by the introduction of another bill,

be proposed as well as

newly arrived man went in he had no time to stand at all, and  
he bowed down again walking about the streets of London  
and he was glad to see his old friends and to hear of  
something to do with the Chartists. Now, he would  
not have anything to say to them, but they were so  
determined to get something done that they would not  
accept of any objection to that bill provided they ap-  
plied it properly. (Cheers and laughter.) Prince  
Albert should go first. (Loud cheers) The King  
if France next. (Cheers.) Fourth — (Cheers)  
The Queen Dowager the Guizot — (cheers) — and all  
the aliens who had been burdens and paupers upon  
this country: (Loud shouting.) Let the govern-  
ment apply this bill impartially, and then they would  
receive it. The Whigs always told them why they

Ministers will be regu-

Mr J. SHACKLETON, of Halifax, moved the next resolution. He said that he had been just looking

property.

He lying also vinting pretts would so away with the male to parliament that there would be only about five or six thousand of them. He thought there were two acres of them closely packed (hear), and they might, therefore, be able to make their own calculation. So long as the people of this country were divided, so long would they be weak. But the moment the people were united in one bond, not only the powers on earth could resist them, but they did so; they continually meet to other, to be taxed by the government, and will disappear and disappear persons. Now, they were discontented, he said, the persons, but they were not united.

eat: Lieut.-General

coming forward in such numbers was to endeavour to obtain the means of living in the land of their birth; but that right had been taken away by those parties who claimed to be the government of this country. The object of a legislative assembly, was not to do all in its power to promote happiness, morality, and good order in society; but, in this, our government had utterly failed: so that it was a high time that other parties should take possession of the helm of affairs. (Hear.) What had they done for the working classes? There was one third of the entire population in the manufacturing dis-

General Gager ac-

could scarcely keep body and soul together. What was the reason of this? Was it because the people of this country were not strong enough, able enough, to produce food, and build houses, to make furniture for themselves and buy? No. Why this should be in a country possessing all the scientific knowledge and intelligence which it was said to possess, and that hundreds of thousands should be starving for want of food, and there should be hundreds and millions of acres of land out of cultivation, he could not imagine. Why was it, that such a body of men had so managed that the millions should be lying dead for food, they

village of Sackingen,  
Rhine into Swit

mongers thought fit to give them the means? It was society ever intended for such an end? Was it ever ordained by nature and by God that the great bulk of the labouring population should labour incessantly, with scarcely the means of existence, in order to keep in idleness and priggery a small section of the community. It never was so intended; and with the determination and aid of working men, such a state of things should not be much longer, (cheers.) They had all the elements of wealth and prosperity within their reach, but they were locked up in various ways by individuals who claimed to be

and torch-light proces-

the state of the people of Ireland. There was not another nation on the face of the earth that had submitted to such degradation, poverty, and misery; the people of England were in such a condition that they were fast sinking to the condition of Ireland. (Hear.) Suppose the aristocracy were for a short time to change places with them; and, instead of living in splendid palaces, they were to occupy the hovels of the working men of this country, becoming the servile dependents upon those whom they had so long oppressed—would they not feel that they were indebted for all their grandeur and their wealth,

The Austrian reinforcement has resolved to turn

me would add to property, and the rights of property. He would tell them there was no property except through labour. Everything we saw and possessed of any value had come from the labour of working men; and, therefore, the working man, who produced all, ought to occupy a place worthy of his usefulness in society. (Cheers.) They had been told by some party that if they would only work with them, they could obtain free-trade, and were still going against the hill. Now, some parties were anxious that they should emigrate to New Zealand, or New South Wales, or anywhere else, so that they did not

n to the nations of

avour that cry. He was for staying in his native and, in the hope that it would still be a happy, prosperous, and glorious country. It was unnecessary they should go abroad, so long as they had so many elements of wealth and prosperity at home. And while there were such signs of progress before them—while mankind were steadily advancing in intelligence the government was travelling back to the dark ages of feudalism. They had seen an animal in its death throes strike nervously hard. These were the very symptoms which preceded the destruction of the French government, and we found our own government

retreat; our country



