

Guard, and we conquer!
Backward and we fall!
THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER AND NO SURRENDER!
TO THE OLD GUARDS.

FRIENDS, COMRADES, BROTHERS,
Last week I felt invigorated and strong, because I was unjustly persecuted. This week I feel oppressed and overcome by your kindness, your confidence, your protection, and love. I waited for your response to my accusers, because, though conscious of my own innocence, I was nervous and excited until your judgment should have affirmed my convictions. How truly I have said that the people are seldom wrong, and never very long wrong; and henceforth, with sustenance, comfort, and support, the virtuous and honest must, though afflicted, derive from the tribunal of public justice.

Old Guards, mine has been no ordinary career, and my task has been one of no ordinary difficulty—nay, of no ordinary peril—as he who undertakes to dethrone licentiousness, and establish the supremacy of industry, will be beset by the malice of the strong, and the command of the privileged and wealthy. I look, with no small amount of interest, to the day when I shall see you assembled around me, proclaiming Labour's victory, and the downfall of tyranny: when we shall talk over our many battles, fought in the cause of Freedom, and laugh to scorn the puny efforts of the tyrant.

It is not my intention to rub old sores, or to fret those which are yet green; but if my character is of value—as you seem to think it—it will have been destroyed had I submitted to the despotism and domination of those whose object was my destruction; and now, that your courage and confidence have sustained me through a struggle which no public man has ever had to contend against, and emboldened by your reiterated confidence, I shall again venture to map out the policy by which our movement should be governed.

Old Guards, when I opened my commission at Stockport, in 1835, I told you that my duty was to marshal the public mind for the day of action, when Russell and Peel would bid for it, according to the value that courage, union, and resolution would stamp upon it; and I told you that I would knock down that Public Villain to the bidder who would offer Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Equal Electoral Districts, No Property Qualification, and Payment of Members; and, having been party to several agitations in Ireland, and being acquainted with the constitution and feeling of the House of Commons, I warned you that, as we approached the goal of victory, the middle classes—accustomed to use the people for their own purposes—would balk us of our triumph if we were not watchful and resolute. In the outset of every movement they are seductive, coarsening, and kind; but when the strength of the people is unconditionally surrendered, they are tyrannical, oppressive, and harsh. For, believe me, that if economists were to write 10,000 volumes, the whole would never erase from my mind the fact, that so long as Capital legislates for Labour, so long will the Labourer be the slave of the capitalists.

Old Guards, cast a glance at the odium I have encountered from the commencement of the Free Trade agitation, for propounding these doctrines, and let it confirm you in the belief, that if I were now weakened by the withdrawal of your confidence, I should be again sacrificed to middle class tyranny. In what has the failure of Free Trade altered the propensities, the desires, and the anticipations of the party? Had it succeeded to their utmost expectations, as far as regards their own profits, would your poverty and disappointment ever have induced them to fraternise with you for an extension of your rights, or for the redemption of your brethren? On the contrary, has not class after class been shifting the burdens of taxation from their own shoulders to yours, until the dried pap has failed to give sustenance to the luxurious idle? and is it not a notorious fact, that the law of primogeniture, with all the other anomalies that are part and parcel of the feudal system, annually increases the burdens of the poor? Well, if you read the debates in the National Assembly, you will discover that the maxim propounded by Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, at the Sturge Conference at Birmingham, was to have been the rule of action. "It is not so much a name," said that gentleman, "as your leaders, that we want to get rid of;" and some of the Scotch delegates, who were of the Complete Suffrage party at that Conference, acting upon precisely the same principle, said—"We want to get rid of Feargus O'Connor."

Old Guards, can any man deny the increased strength and vigour that the Chartist movement has acquired since the glorious 10th of April—the day when we marched through the armed battalions of the enemy, and held our meeting in defiance of an unconstitutional proclamation? And as it has been my aim and object to circulate those principles by all and every means, the terror created by our resolution that day, and the respect created by our courage, our prudence, and forbearance, has set all men, of all classes, inquiring about the Charter; and those who laughed at our presumption and ignorance, now admit that the consummation of our victory is but a question of time; and you may rely upon it, that I at least am not prepared to adopt the old maxim of "Live horse, and you'll get grass." I have never thrown away any opportunity of strengthening our position, and much less am I prepared to parry with assassins when I see the life's blood sucked from the pallid cheek of the innocent babe! when I see woman a slave, and man a shadow!

This move in the Assembly was one upon the part of the middle class, which my position in the House of Commons, as your representative, prevents them from making openly; and had you not come to the rescue, and had confidence in me been destroyed or weakened, you would have been juggled, as you have been aforetime, by the shadow of Reform, and the fashions of Free Trade.

Old Guards, "come weal, come woe," it is my resolution, and my fixed determination, to keep our banner straight, and our flag unfurled and unsullied, and to preserve the noble army of Chartists as a distinct and separate battalion, neither turning to the right hand nor to the left, but marching onward till labour is fully and fairly represented in the House of Commons.

Old Guards, some of your representatives in the Assembly disdain to consider the question of Labour; that is to be the secondary consideration. But I tell you that it ever has been, and ever shall be, my primary consideration. It is my thought by day and my dream by night. And now mark me, and mark me well, when I call your attention to the present position of parties in France. Labour, oppressed by despotism, made its revolution, and gained its triumph; but the question of Labour never having been discussed, it has for twelve long weeks been the vexed question—the all absorbing question—the one and only question with the Provisional Government and the National Assembly; and they are now as far from its adjustment as they were upon the first day of the revolution. And why? Because their theories are all based upon the artificial principle, and the farther they stray from nature's laws the deeper we get into the labyrinth of confusion.

Old Guards, had I been deposed, and had Labour risen in arms and gained its revolution, the first men who would have fallen a sacrifice to popular fury and disappointment would have been those who were instrumental in destroying the old system, without being prepared with a new system as a substitute. After a revolution, whether it be obtained by moral or physical means, there must be a commanding hand, and before a revolution there

The Northern Star, AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. XI. No 551.

LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1848.

PRICE FIFTEENPENCE or
Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter.

must be the universal adoption of a new system—one so self-recommending and easy of practice as that the satisfied majority, who glory not in idleness, shall be capable, and at once, of overhauling the idle, the refractory, and lascivious, who would rather live in disorder than earn their bread by labour.

Old Guards, I now invite you to call the attention of the people to the Labour question; to debate the subject at your meetings, and without much loss of time, to elect such a representation of the National Will and improved mind, as will defy oppression, and command respect. And although not now belonging to the Legislative body, the Executive, your choice shall have my hearty co-operation and support; you must supply them with funds. And I contend now, as I ever contended, that the more extensive we make local representation the better, and the more vigorous we make the movement; as the several localities are the best judges of character, efficiency, and fitness; and the less those lecturers are brought into collision with the Executive the better for the cause, and the better for the Executive. This course prevents the possibility of jealousy arising from the disappointment of rivals, or the dismissal of inefficient parties. I am now speaking from long experience, and I have found it to be invariably the case, that in any disagreement between the locality, the lecturer, and the Executive, if the Executive refuses to dismiss the lecturer, the locality refuses its contribution; if the Executive dismisses the lecturer, the locality becomes its enemy—therefore, I say, pay your Executive honourably, and not stingily; appoint your own lecturers, enable your Executive to print and circulate tracts, and when an Assembly is called, be prepared to support your delegates.

Old Guards, as to the appointment of a new Executive, I assure you that it has been a question long mooted by me as to the propriety of the Land Directors resigning their trust; and, from the dissatisfaction very generally manifested, it is a subject that we have thought over, and talked over, and had the last Convention been convened in the ordinary course of business, the Land Directors would have resigned; but, after the French Revolution, we thought it would have been the balance of cowardice if we abandoned our post in the hour of danger.

I have always thought that the safe guidance of the Chartist movement required the undivided attention of the Executive Council; but, from the lingering state of Chartism until the establishment of the Land Company, and taking into account their empty Exchequer, I think he will be a bold man who will venture to charge them with any dereliction of duty—in fact, the position of the late Executive—every hour of my time otherwise employed—Mr. Doyle always absent—and Mr. Wheeler attending to his farm—rendered it impossible for that body to devote proper attention to the Chartist cause—just as I held it inconsistent with Mr. Harney's duties as editor of the "Northern Star," to devote his time to the National Assembly, and just as I should hold it inconsistent to continue Mr. Jones, as Mr. Harney's assistant, now that his whole time must be devoted to the cause of Chartism. It is impossible for any man to devote Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and till twelve o'clock on Friday, to the business of a newspaper, and to do justice to those by whom he is paid. Apart from this consideration, I could not but be very impolitic that any officer, whose duties are of a perambulatory nature, should be tied by the leg.

Old Guards, I have now discharged a duty which I owe to myself, as far as I am personally concerned, and now I shall discharge another, which I owe you as a journalist. A charge has been made against the "Star" for not publishing a more lengthy report of the proceedings of the Convention and the Assembly. On the first day that the Convention sat, so anxious was I to have a *verbatim* report of the proceedings, that I asked Mr. Reynolds to recommend me to the best reporter in the gallery. He did so; and I agreed with that gentleman to give me full reports—besides having my own reporter always in attendance; but so hostile are the whole of that class to the "Northern Star," that when too late, I learned that this gentleman had not sent a word to the office. I then requested Mr. McGowan, the reporter, to engage a special reporter for the "Star," and he did so; and thus I answer the charge of indifference as to reporting.

Old Guards, the "Star" has now been nearly eleven years in existence, and hear my boast. It is—that I have never interfered with editor or reporter, unless I found just cause for expostulation or dismissal—that, though the "Northern Star" has sometimes conspired against me, it has never conspired against any one else; and now I will prove to you, from past events, beyond the power of refutation, that the main object of some of the Assembly was to destroy the "Northern Star."

Old Guards, when did you ever before hear of the proprietor of a newspaper rejecting advertisements, and returning the money, in order to make room for denunciation and censure of himself, as I have done?

Old Guards, judge of the future from the past. The first dissension in our ranks was created by the "Champion," the "Charter," and the "Birmingham Journal," trying to make parties against the "Northern Star." Subsequently, when the first Executive was elected, Mr. Philip—who was one of the Executive—made a tour, not to establish Chartism, but to establish the "Western Vindicator," in opposition to the "Northern Star," which never completely divided us in the West of England. Then came the Convention of '43, when the "Statesman" was purchased to oppose the "Star," then came the "Southern Star," and then the host of Scotch papers—the "True Scotsman," the "Dundee Chronicle," the "Perth Chronicle," and numberless others, all of which the revived "Star" has seen out of existence, and all of which, in turn, attempted to pander to the middle classes for support.

Now can this be denied or contradicted? And to prove that I have always stood by the Executive of your choice, can it be denied that I dismissed Mr. Hill for having traduced the characters of Dr. McDouall and the then Executive?—and, while speaking of Dr. McDouall, allow me to do him that justice which he deserves at my hands. I understand that he conceives the term "poor gentleman" to apply to him, but I beg leave to assure him that it was neither intended to apply, nor is it at all applicable to him, inasmuch as there is a difference between him who is too idle to work, and the man who has generously abandoned a class with whom he might have been popular, and given up a profession from which he might have amassed wealth, to devote his energies and his talent to the popular cause. And I further beg to assure him, that there is not one man in the movement for whom I have a greater affection and regard. As a young man he was placed in trying circumstances, and he has had his full share of persecution, which he has borne like a man; and, although he and I have differed, he never, during his absence from the ranks, spoke a word or wrote a word calculated to damage the cause, and, therefore, I hailed

his return amongst us with pride and satisfaction. Old Guards, it is a maxim with our enemies to magnify the virtues and suppress the vices of their party; but it has, hitherto, been the practice in our ranks to suppress the virtues and fabricate the vices of our party.

Old Guards, change of circumstances never alter my resolution. Some feel proud and vain when they gain admittance to the House of Commons, and they immediately become surrounded by Conventionalism, to which weakness compels them to surrender; they are fascinated by ministerial and lordly invitations, and soon forget the power to which they owe their position; but I, as fondly clasp the bliss of the honest operative, as I do the power of the dishonest politician, as others condescendingly do in return for his vote at an election.

Old Guards, I have abandoned family connexion and friends; I have given up the luxuries of society and the profits of profession; I have surrendered the amusements of the ball room, the race course, and the chase—that I may make myself more serviceable to the cause of labour; I live frugally, honestly, and abstemiously, so that my character may be valuable to the labouring classes from being unassailable by their enemies; I have seen, I have read, and heard, of the many revolutions that have taken place throughout the world, but in no change has labour lost its share, and have sworn that from the next it shall have the lion's share.

Old Guards, I am one of a persecuted family and an outlawed race. And I am impelled by generous motives, which new men cannot feel, in seeking retribution for that class, for fighting those cause my family have been persecuted, banished, and dispersed.

Old Guards, as the indictment against me was long, your love of justice and of English fair play will tolerate somewhat of a lengthy defence; and let me, therefore, remind you of my oft-repeated maxim, "Moral power is the deliberative quality in each man's mind, which teaches him how to reason, how to endure, and when forbearance becomes a crime; and should that fail to achieve for him all the rights to which as a freeman he is entitled, and should physical force be required—which God forbid—it will come to his aid like an electric shock; but the man who marshals it destroys it by forewarning the enemy, and will be the first to desert it."

Now such was my motto in the most boisterous times, when mounting bullets filled the goals to suffocation, and then deserted their colours and their cause. Did the French, did the Prussians, did the Milanese, shout "We'll fight?" Is it not an invitation to the enemy to prepare them for the coming event?

Old Guards, let me go through some of my campaigns. In 1822, I stood alone by the Whiteboys, who fought two pitched battles for their liberties, in the county of Cork, and when all was over I was obliged to fly my country for thirteen months; and go to that country, where I was born, and ask them "Whether FARGUS is to be relied upon?" In 1831, as Mr. Garret stood in the House of Commons, I charged a regiment of cavalry with a view on my back, and was trampled upon by the cavalry. In 1832, I had marshalled such a resistance to Tithe that the tyrants were obliged to persecute me. In 1834, for seven long days and nights, I fought the battle of freedom at the Dunganan Election, the soldiers defending me against the police—breaking through their ranks single-handed. In 1834, I conducted John O'Connell's election at Loughall, addressed the people in the presence of three regiments and 1,200 police, the drawn swords within four feet of my face, and the priests requesting me for God's sake to desist; and about the close of the election, when the soldiers were placed as sentinels over the doors of the voter, I rushed through a double file of fixed bayonets, smashed the back door, took the voter out at the front door upon my back, pulled him, and gained the election. At the Rathmore slaughter, I preached the general armed over the slain in the midst of three armed regiments, denouncing them as murderers. I have conducted more contested elections in Ireland than any living man, never accepting my professional fees, nor my travelling expenses. Did I fly in Preston in 1837, when I stood in the middle of the street, in front of a troop of the 15th Hussars, refusing to leave it until the Mayor ordered them into their quarters? Did I fly at Manchester, when attacked by 5,000 in the Hall of Science? Did I fly in the Town Hall in Birmingham, when seized by nine Free Trade ruffians, hallooed by 1,500 of their associates? No, I jumped from their grasp over the Mayor's head, and made my speech. Did I fly in the Market-place at Nottingham? And, Old Guards, remember that I sought, and I triumphed for myself in any one of the struggles, but I looked upon the results as indicating the popular triumph.

Old Guards, I have had four times engaged in duels, and have been fired at, but never showed the white feather; and yet there are monthing braggarts who talk of arms, of wars, and of bloodshed, that would sink into the earth before any of the scenes that I have gone through, and who would yet dare to call me coward. At Coventry, when the freemen thought that I was interfering with their privileges by seeking to put down bribery, when I stood almost alone, and for the first time in a wagon, a hired bully broke through the meeting, and struck a poor man in the face; an instant I was out of the wagon, and I turned the complacent with interest—dragged him through the meeting, and gave him up to the police.

Now these are some of the dangers I have encountered on behalf of our cause, not to speak of walking alone through the memorable tea party at the Crown and Anchor, amid the jeers and hisses of 450 Complete Suffrage delegates, assembled from all parts of the country; and on the memorable 10th of April, did I not take the part of danger when the Chartist army was passing through the enemies' ranks? Believe me, that the man who is the most ready to fight, is the most cautious in talking about it, and that the man who talks most about it has the least stomach for it.

Old Guards, when you lay your heads upon your pillows ask yourselves these questions—"Where would O'Connor go, if he would be so, or what would become of him if he turned the prayers of the poor into the curses of the disappointed? Is there one act of his life, and we have watched him for sixteen years both in and out of Parliament, which merits our censure, our condemnation, and reproach? Did ever man of his class, or of any class, defy tyranny and brave oppression as he has done? When have the poor called that he has not answered? When has the oppressor struck that he has not returned the blow? Where is the fortune that he has amassed out of our confidence? Where is the blot in his character that makes us, his friends, his comrades, and his brothers blush? Where is the man who so feels the agony of the infant, the suffering of the mother, the poverty of the father? Where is he who would so cheerfully rush into battle against so fearful odds, to see industry required, tyranny demolished, and virtue in the ascendant?"

Old Guards, I swear by Heaven, there is not

a man amongst you who would rather share his last crust—nay, give it all to the hungry child, the famishing mother, or starving man, than I would. Nothing but your love—your confidence and affection, has charms for me; and ten thousand times would I rather perish than accept of bauble titles, wealth, or gaudy honours, as the price of my desertion of that cause, which is dearer to me than life itself, and rendered doubly dear by the shield of your protection thrown over me this week, and the maddening enthusiasm that I witnessed at Leicester on Monday. It is very easy to lead me, but very difficult to drive me. I now know my position, and that position will maintain and uphold as long as I possess your confidence, your affection, and esteem.

Everything I have of power, of constitution, of position, and talents, I hold in trust for you, and I think I may turn with pride to the course I have pursued in 1833, '34, and '35, and '47 and '48, in the House of Commons, and during the whole period out of the House of Commons. In my previous parliamentary career, when I was independent of your support, I took a part in every English Labour question, thus proving to you that I have ever acted upon stern principle, and not upon expediency. Upon the ballot—upon the Dorchester Labourers—upon the persecution of the True Sun newspaper—upon the damnable Poor-Law Act—I stood by you when I was an Irish member; and now that I am an English member, I will stand by Ireland and repeal—by John Mitchell, for whom my heart bleeds, and who is fully oppressed—and by England, the Charter, and the Land; and I will never relax my exertions until I see the Land Plan national, and the standard of wages in the artificial market established by its value in the free labour market, and the Charter made the law of the land.

Old Guards, cement the Union that is now forming. You have strength which you little know of; it was manifest in the fact of the wolves in the Assembly, being unable to change the name of our movement. I will make that strength irresistible. Let nothing divide it. Let nothing disunite us.

Unto us stand, divided we fall!

Our disunion is the only title upon which tyrants can much longer establish their right to rule.

Old Guards—my beloved Old Guards—you have given me new life, new vigour, and new courage. I am well again. Your confidence and approval is the medicine that I want. My heart bursts with joy when I think that I have not laboured in vain, or spent my life unprofitably.

Old Guards, by the God of Justice and of Battles, I will stand by you till the last. I have nurtured many vipers in my bosom, who have hung me but for you. I'll cast them all off and breathe again. And now let me implore all, that disunion may cease, and that Chartism may be itself again. I harbour malice against no man. Let us forgive and forget; shake hands, and be friends—and in less than a month, from this date, I promise you that the flood of Chartist mind will compel the middle classes to fraternise with us for the animal, man, and all.

I am, and till death will remain, Your fond, your faithful, your affectionate, and unpurchasable leader,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE "DEMOCRAT," DAILY NEWS-PAPER.

To THE CHARTISTS.
Having received numerous applications from different parts of the country, as to the propriety of establishing a daily newspaper, for the support of the Democratic cause, and having, from my first introduction into public life, felt the necessity of such an organ, seeing that the Press of the factions is sternly opposed to us, and knowing the absolute and indispensable necessity of conveying intelligence while it is fresh and feverish, and before excitement shall have passed away, and well understanding the value of being able to answer the falsehoods and fabrications of the morning journals before the sun shall have set, and knowing the vitality that the "Evening Star" newspaper gave to the cause, while under my management, I am willing to accept the proposition made from several parts of the country, namely, to undertake the management of such an organ, upon the following conditions:

That the necessary amount shall be raised in shares of one shilling each.
That no individual shall hold more than one hundred shares.
That I shall have the entire control of the paper.
That the ablest accountant shall be kept.
That he shall furnish a half-yearly balance sheet of the accounts.
That every hundred shares shall be carried to the credit of some one person appointed by the other ninety-nine. That the accounts of the hundred should be opened with him, as it would be impossible to keep a separate account for every shilling subscriber. And,
That the profits should be divided every half-year between the subscribers.

I have now got the weekly artillery and the monthly reserve of the Chartist force. Give me this rifle brigade, and I will promise you to silence a few of the batteries of the enemy. I can very soon make the necessary arrangements for my staff. I can devote part of my night in the country to writing articles upon general subjects, and I will take care to surround by men who will strike the iron of faction while it is hot, and administer the antidote before the poison has worked. My services, as ever, shall be gratuitous and unpaid for, and even unthought; but I promise you that such a power would make Chartism in a month, what its present power could not make it in twelve.

We know the value of a lie which remains uncontradicted for six days, and we know the value of its immediate correction. The people, at their meals, would ask for the Democrat as they do for bread. It shall be as well conducted as any paper in Europe—it is what I have always wanted for—what I have always asked for—and when you see the freshness of lies, and can do for the enemy, you will not be convinced of what the freshness of truth can do for the people. The Times has turned Whig, and the Chronicle has turned Tory, but the Democrat shall never turn its coat—its principles shall be—

THE CHARTER AND NO SURRENDER.

The Castle and the Free-Labour-Field for every man who chooses to enjoy them! "The Rights of Labour and the means of achieving them." Up, then, Chartists. The man who is not willing to give a shilling, is not fit to be a freeman. The man who will not lend one to his poor brother, who is not able to supply it, is only fit for a slave. Smash your porter pots and tobacco-pipes—you can break the government by abstinence, and they would more dread the resolution to be sober than the thunder of your defiance. If I had a hundred thousand teetotalers around me, I'd carry the Charter without a blow being struck, for I

tell you that the vice of a people is the power of the tyrant. The question is now in your hands—deal with it as you think proper, and then, neither the country Chartists, nor the National Assembly, would complain of not being represented. Such an organ would make us respected by the good, and feared by the bad; and while preparing the locations for my land children, I could, after my day's labour, write with a freshness and a vigour that I cannot possess amid the smoke of your towns. Give me that, and I don't care how soon it kills the Star.

Your faithful friend,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

Imperial Parliament.

MONDAY, MAY 8.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—REPLYING TO THE SPEECH OF LORD STANLEY, brought under consideration the correspondence relative to the late Spanish dispute, laid on the table of the house, with a view of obtaining explanations of the contradictions which that correspondence gave to the declarations made by the Lord President of the Council on Friday night last. While the Lord President then alleged that the letter written by Lord Palmerston to Sir H. Bulwer was a private instruction for Sir H. Bulwer's private guidance, and not intended to be communicated to the Spanish Minister, the despatches laid before parliament showed that not only had Sir H. Bulwer satisfactorily followed his instructions, but that on two distinct occasions Lord Palmerston had written to Sir H. Bulwer, and on both occasions he had given him the substance of his private instructions for the communication he had made to the Duke de Sotomayor. It was right that the country should know whether Sir H. Bulwer's conduct had been indiscreet and indefensible, as declared by the Lord President, or whether, according to the despatches of Lord Palmerston, it was deserving of the entire approbation of the government. Lord Stanley strongly condemned the unqualified and unworthy way in which Lord Palmerston closed this correspondence—generously declaring that the British government was not at all disposed to give the Duke de Sotomayor any satisfaction—that they entirely approved of the kicking that had been inflicted on them.

The Marquis of Lansdowne admitted that, judging of the circumstances in England, he had expressed his opinion in the belief that the Duke de Sotomayor was a man of honour, and that he was not a man of war. He was returned by the Spanish Minister, it was necessary to recall the recall of Sir H. Bulwer was determined on, to give to him an assurance that the government had approved of his conduct; that was not done, and it was very much degraded, and the result of a great quantity of money had been brought over by speculators. Now, it was useless to go pretending to do a kindness to the weavers of Spain, who were a set of money-voracious men in loss and injury. (Hear, hear.) He was for the fullest freedom to enable all these persons to better themselves by any kind of trade they chose, and to let them have no objection to a number of men, titled, but not very wise men, forming an association among themselves against French silk, and to let the government do anything calculated to create an ill will between this country and other nations, and to foster feelings among the working classes which must end in disappointment.

A conversation followed, in which the Protectionists and Free-traders as usual amused the house by denouncing each other's notions. Mr. Disraeli moved an address to the Queen, commending the ministerial policy towards Portugal, but was counted out shortly after the commencement of the speech, and the house adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—At twelve o'clock, and sat till four. The business was of a very uninteresting character. A discussion arose as to the proposed postponement of the bill, for disfranchising the corrupt electors of Horsham. In the course of the discussion Colonel Sibthorp said, there had been some talk of patronage, and he for one, thought it was not a very desirable thing. The bill, he thought, would do more harm than good, and he would not support it. The House was, perhaps, not aware that the bill was a measure of patronage for secret services. He strongly suspected that a good deal of money was spent in returning Members to the Treasury Bench.

Ultimately the government succeeded in postponing the bill.

RESOLUTIONS ON THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF REPRESENTATION.

BY EARL STANHOPE.

I. That, for the purpose of preventing bribery and corruption at elections, oaths shall be taken, or declarations shall be made, by each candidate and by each elector, the former stating that he had not given and would not give, and the latter stating that he had not received, and would not receive, any money, or any service having the value of money, directly or indirectly, with the view of influencing the election; that a similar oath or declaration shall, at the commencement of every session, be taken, or made, by every member of the House of Commons; and that every member taking any such oath, or making any such declaration, and being proved to have acted contrary thereto, shall, exclusive of other pains and penalties, be subjected to those of perjury.

II. That, for the purpose of securing from any undue influence those electors who may consider themselves subject thereto, every elector may, if he thinks proper, vote by ballot.

III. That, for the purpose of avoiding those expenses which might otherwise prevent many fit and proper persons from sitting in parliament, the necessary expenses attending an election shall be paid by a rate to be levied on the electors; and that every representative shall, during the session of Parliament, receive, if he shall think fit, an allowance for his expenses.

IV. That, for the purpose of conducting with greater convenience the public service, and of allowing to the Crown the unrestrained exercise of its prerogative in the appointment of its ministers, a certain number of persons holding official stations shall, by virtue thereof, have seats in the House of Commons.

V. That, for the purpose of maintaining the due responsibility of the representatives, the duration of any parliament shall not exceed three years, and shall not be affected by a dissolution of the Crown.

VI. That, for the purpose of establishing a full and fair representation of the people, all the rights, interests, qualifications, and franchises, which now exist with regard to elections in counties, towns, boroughs, and universities, shall be abolished.

VII. That, for the purpose of enabling each class of the community to elect those representatives who may support its rights and promote its interests, there shall be representatives for each of the following classes, viz.:

1. The owners and occupiers of land.
2. The manufacturers, and those who make any article for sale on their own account.
3. The merchants, and those who traffic in any article on their own account.
4. Those who are employed in daily labour, whether in agriculture, in manufacture, or in trade.
5. Those who have professional employments, or who have rent-charges, annuities, or mortgages charged upon real or personal property, or who receive salaries or yearly wages.

VIII. That, for the purpose of giving to every citizen of the state his due share in the representation, every person of full age shall be entitled to vote in each of the above-mentioned classes to which he may belong, and in each district where he is either an owner or occupier of land, or a manufacturer, or a merchant; and when absent, to vote by proxy.

IX. That, for the purpose of allowing a free and untrammelled choice at elections, every citizen of the state being of full age, being willing to take the requisite oaths, or to make the requisite declarations, and not being a Peer of parliament, shall be eligible as a representative in the House of Commons.

NOTE.—The preceding resolutions were, we believe, submitted by Lord Stanhope to Earl Grey's Government in 1833.

In Lord Stanhope's opinion, the House of Commons ought not to contain more than five hundred members. To each of the preceding classes, his Lordship would commit the business of electing one hundred representatives.

BANQUET.—A meeting of the Chartists and members of the Land Company will take place at the Star Inn, High-street, on Monday, the 15th of May. The meeting will be held at half-past seven o'clock.

MANCHESTER.—The monthly meeting of the Manchester branch of the National Land Company will be held at the People's Institute, on Sunday morning, May 14th. Chair to be taken at nine o'clock.

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then be made. The principle of centralisation made the bill in many respects a very objectionable measure. Mr. Stansfeld concurred in the view taken of this bill by Mr. Denby. The principle of centralisation, which he said was a libel on every town in the kingdom to assert, as it is asserted, that their inhabitants were incapable of carrying a system of sanitary reform into execution without the superintendence of a central board in London.

After some further discussion the house resolved itself into committee upon the bill, and the remainder of the sitting was spent in discussing the clauses. The house adjourned at one o'clock.

TUESDAY, MAY 9.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—PRIVY COUNCIL ASSOCIATION.

FRANCIS PATERSON BULL.—This bill intended for the protection of the Old Fellows, the Foresters, and similar societies, was, on the motion of Lord Beaconsfield, read a second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Lord G. BENTINCK wished to ask the noble lord at the head of the government a question of the greatest importance as connected with the free trade principles of which the noble lord was one of the staunchest advocates. He need not remind the house of the royal command which had gone forth to the lords of England, in the name of the present degradation of trade and manufactures, to appear at the approach of drawing-rooms and royal assemblies in no attire—greatly augmented—except the products of British industry. The question he had to ask the noble lord was, whether that royal command had been dictated by the impulse of her Majesty's own heart, or whether it was the result of the suggestion of her Majesty's responsible adviser? And if it was the suggestion of her Majesty's responsible adviser, he would like to know whether, within the first three months of the present year, French silk goods, to the value of £400,000, and which, if manufactured in this country, would give employment to 31,000 weavers, had been imported into the port of London alone? Had her Majesty's heart been beating for the distress of the poor weavers, it would not have been so much as £400,000, but £200,000, sufficient to employ 15,500 weavers, and 7,500 pairs of boots and shoes, sufficient to employ 15,000 more. (Hear, hear.) Of whom were all this money out of employment in London had also been imported? (Hear, hear.) He asked whether the royal command was the result of her Majesty's having been made acquainted with all these matters, or whether it was that the noble lord at the head of the government had determined that the free doctrines were to be put aside with dismay, and no longer to be tolerated or encouraged by Englishmen or Englishwomen? He asked his noble friend whether the command was to be taken as an indication that her Majesty's ministers were about to abandon a policy which had brought the trade and manufactures of this country to beggary and ruin.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said the command in question had been issued through the Lord Chamberlain, as had been frequently the case in the case of the Duke of Devonshire, who was intended as an act of kindness, for the benefit of persons engaged in the manufacture of articles of dress. Although he believed that the command was not a particular class of persons in this country who suffered inconvenience by the introduction of foreign goods, yet, inasmuch as their introduction stimulated the production of other goods which were exported to the foreign market, he was bound to advise her Majesty to return to the old system, very much doubting even were he thus to act contrary to his convictions, whether the free doctrines were to be put aside with dismay, and no longer to be tolerated or encouraged by Englishmen or Englishwomen. He asked his noble friend whether the command was to be taken as an indication that her Majesty's ministers were about to abandon a policy which had brought the trade and manufactures of this country to beggary and ruin.

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ROCEADALE.—On Thursday last, at seven o'clock, a meeting (called by circular to the electors of the borough) was held in the large room of the Public Hall, Balliol-street, Rochdale, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of forming an association for the effecting a thorough reform in the representative system, and a readjustment of the national expenditure. William Cusackiewicz, Esq., J.P., having been appointed chairman, resolutions were moved by H. Kelsall, Esq., J.P., G. Ashworth, Esq., Mr. J. Bright, junior, and several manufacturers and shopkeepers, in favour of Household Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Triennial Parliaments, Electoral Districts, and No Property Qualification for Members of Parliament, and carried unanimously. The room was crowded.

On Saturday, a meeting, numerously attended, of the broad silk handloom weavers and other trades of the districts of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green was held at the Woodman, Waterloo Town. The object of the gathering upon this occasion was. 'The adoption of an address to be presented to her Majesty, thanking her for the most gracious patronage which she has been pleased to extend to the British artisans, by her expression of a wish that the ladies attending the ensuing drawing rooms should appear in dresses of British manufacture; and to continue and extend her liberal patronage to every article produced by native industry.' Mr Horsham, an operative silk-weaver, having taken the chair,

The amendment was seconded by Mr CUTTER, and carried amidst much uproar, after which the meeting broke up.

RESOLUTIONS

THE OPERATIVE BROTHERS of the Metropolis and its vicinity, assisted by such employers as are favourably to their movement, are about to petition the House of Commons, and upon which petition Lord Robert Grosvenor will lead, on the 30th day of May next, a motion for a committee of enquiry; and which motion we believe, will be granted. But something more is required than mere committees of inquiry—viz. a remedy for the very great grievance complained of.

[illegible]

Mr ADAMS in rising to propose an amendment, said, the time was gone past for an obtrusive policy. It was time for them now to be in earnest, if they were to make an effort to get their rights. (Hear, hear.) They had hitherto been standing upon trifles, obstructing men who were as sincere in their wishes for the welfare of the working classes as they themselves. The time was gone past for cavilling about names and little differences. The amendment which he had to propose would, he thought, point out the policy which they ought to pursue. A Household Suffrage Bill had come into the field. Some of the members were to be charged with the doctrine of Unrestrained Manhood Suffrage, and he had lately found out the name in

by no very logical sequence, that, therefore, the-y may be adopted; but he supported Mr Adams' amendment, in order that the House might be enabled to form an opinion.

Mr M'GARRY admitted the great importance of this question. He opposed Mr Jones's motion because it affected a separate question altogether; but he thought it was necessary that they should come to a decision upon the policy which the Reformers of this country were to pursue towards certain parties. The country gentlemen looked to this Assembly. As for the opposition they were not to be guided by the House of Commons, but by the House of Lords. He would say, he had no law to give. But when he was speaking this, he did not mean to have the Char-o'-well introduced on all occasions. There were questions in short of the Charter that he would support. In a

On the motion of Dr M DOUALL, the Assembly adjourned at one o'clock till the usual hour on Monday morning.

MONDAY, MAY 8.

The Assembly met this morning at nine o'clock. Mr Dixon in the chair.

Mr J. BACE took his seat for Blackburn, and Mr

against another National Petition; but if the principle were adopted of holding meetings, and sending up petitions signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, I should not object to it.

Mr. S. Kyrle would not say they ought not to petition, for he thought they ought to retain all the rights they had got and endeavour to acquire more; but why not go forward with a memorial to the Queen? Did not every gentleman present come up to London charged with a memorial? So far there that question was settled. But why not for an Englishman to go to the Emperor of Russia, and say to him, "I am a subject of the Russian Czar, but I am not a subject of the Russian Czar; do you not wish to retain your national freedom, then the long parliament of Charles the Second; then why not seek their dismissal? The House of Commons had already passed the 'Gagging Bill'—as bad as any law, of Louis XIV. had expressed no sympathy with the people's distress, had insulted

Mr DOWELL agreed with Mr Bisset's amendment. Great advantage was likely to arise from it; and none more than this, that it might be known when their old and tried friend, Mr Dancombe would be in the house, to whom he was sure, Mr O'Connor would concede the honour of bringing in the bill, and who would likely muster great strength in that house. As for petitioning, he confessed he was averse to meeting the jeers, and jokes, and laughter of that house again.

Mr ERNEST JONES expressed himself strongly in favour of the amendment for the deputation.

Mr GUMMING withdrew his motion, and Mr COCH

to conduct their business, and if they were not prepared to pay one halfpenny per week for that purpose, they could not expect men of education and judgment to take that position, and devote to it two years daily to the business.

Mr. Sir Wm. St. John was already found by experience that the levy of one penny a week did not work well. As they had local funds to raise for local expenses, they ought not to make such a request upon the members. The subject had been carefully considered by the committee, and they were decidedly of opinion that the Liberty Fund was all that they should ask from the country.

Mr. Sir Wm. St. John added that it was contrary to the principles of the People's Charter to introduce a property qualification. There was many a poor man who was not able to pay, but whose heart was warm in the cause, and who would be excluded solely on that account.

motion, in which he concurred as far as it went, that in the localities members might be admitted on payment of one penny a week, which should be transmitted to the Executive when it amounted to one shilling; they would thus secure the support of many persons whose circumstances prevented them from paying the one shilling at once.

Mr RASKIN concurred in the view taken by Mr Child.

Mr ANDER, Mr SURROG, Mr WATKINS, and Mr JONES supported the view of Mr Ernest Jones, that there should be no property qualification for membership.

Mr Stevenson said, this was a ticklish question (A laugh.) It might seem all very well (ugh)

Executive to begin with. It was equally evident that they ought to allow the people to elect their officers. He, therefore, proposed an amendment the effect that the Executive to be appointed by Assembly should be merely a provisional one, and that, when the association numbered 10,000 members, they should proceed to elect the Executive. For his own part, he thought that they adopted his resolution before the Assembly departed, they would have more than that number members.

MR M. GRANT withdrew his amendment, as the Mr Adams met his views by leaving the election. Mr Adams then wished Mr Adams would submit a vote for 10,000 members, and the effect of the election should be proceeded with. The effect of the parties appointed by the Assembly might have office for the whole year, on uncertainty that they

Mr WENZLER said, the time proposed by the Committee appeared to them the very earliest at which anything like a fair and proper election could take place. They might be very well pressed in Manchester, but it was not so all over the country, and they ought to give time to all parties.

Mr DUNOAN said he would move 'That the election should be finally closed on Whit Monday.'

Mr J. SNAY (Tower Hamlets) seconded the motion. It would all the confusion and excitement of a double election; and, in the meantime, he objected to the statement that the old Executive were out of office. They were appointed to hold office until their successors were appointed.

