William Hewitt, Publisher
16, Great Windmill Street, Haymarket

The Northern Star,
AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. XI. No 546. LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 8, 1848. PRICE FIVEPENCE or Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

MY FRIENDS.

SATURDAY MORNING.

It is now nearly eleven o'clock on Saturday, and I am about to start to discharge my duties as bailiff, to pay the workmen their week's wages; and I assure you, after seventeen hours a day of hard work and great anxiety, I should much rather devolve the trouble upon some one else; as I am literally doubled up with a severe pain in the chest However, that shall not prevent me from the faithful discharge of my duty.

When you read the proceedings of last night in the House of Commons, you will see that I have no little badgering to stand for the follies of those who cause me to be insulted—and actually jeopardised and perilled—without cause.

I have conducted this cause from the month of September, 1835, to a successful issue, so far as we have gone. I resisted the folly of the Convention of 1839, which subsequently led to the imprisonment of our leaders, and the prostration of our cause for many years. My advice was unheeded, and a consequence was that I suffered—in common with others—from the folly which I tried to resist.

I then, as now, saw my way by prudent and courageous conduct to the successful issue of our cause; and, if my counsel had been followed, it would have been out of the power of any government to have proposed such a measure as Sir G. Grey proposed last night in the House of Commons; a measure which, when carried, will subject every man, who is found guilty of speaking or writing advisedly anything which may subsequently lead to—or may be supposed to lead to—an overt act of violence endangering the monarchy of this country, to transportation for life: that is, if I make a speech now, or publish a written article, and if violence takes place subsequently, that speech or that article would be termed an act of felony, and would subject me, or any person acting as I have described, to transportation for life.

I delivered my opinion very freely upon the subject, but Mr Fox, the member for Oldham, made the most constitutional, the most able, and eloquent speech against the measure that I have ever heard delivered upon any subject in or out of Parliament; a speech which, if he never spoke before or after, would immortalise him.

Well, you will have seen how the current of feeling ran in the house when I stated that an Alderman, and a member of that house, assured me that I was to be shot on Monday; it was met with a "laugh;" and I also stated that I had received communications of a similar nature from very many sources.

Alderman Thomson, without giving me any notice whatever, read to the House what he called a report of my speech at Cartwright's Coffee House on Monday last, taken by a city solicitor, and sent as his depositions to Sir G. Grey; and not one sentence of which, as reported, on my oath, did I speak; but I mention the fact to show you the snares by which we are surrounded, and I ask you, with a knowledge of the fact, that the whole force, cunning, and ingenuity of the Government, and the hatred of the middle classes and aristocracy, thus directed against our movement, with every one of your leaders threatened with instant death, or the law's vengeance, whether you, by any folly and imprudence, are prepared to make needless sacrifices?

Read the letter of your discreet and zealous leader, Mr Duncombe, who rose from his sick bed to write those words of wisdom and admonition; and say, whether or not you are prepared to reject the admonition of one who has all but sacrificed life itself in your cause.

Now, I unhesitatingly declare to you, that I see my way to the completion of our object as clear as I see the daylight, and I ask you, in the name of God, in the name of justice and humanity, in the name of your families, your interests, and your country, not to peril the cause of liberty, and jeopardise the cause of humanity, by giving ear to spies and informers; for, believe me, that, in the present state of Europe, nothing but democratic folly—which would be regarded as a justification for Governmental tyranny—can much longer retard the accomplishment of your full, your undivided and entire liberty.

You, who know that I have stood the battle and the breeze from the moment I entered this cause, will not put down to shrinking or hesitation what comes from hope, resolution and courage.

Working Men! I leave myself and the destines of your country in your own hands, and conclude with my reiterated assurance, that worlds could not purchase me, and that folly shall not intimidate me.

Working Men! in the words of Mr. Duncombe—

THINK! THINK!! THINK!!!

Think what my feelings would be if the world rang with a calamity I had produced, and think what yours would be if I were sacrificed to your folly.

Ever your faithful friend
and representative,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

MANCHESTER.—'Woe unto them that laugh now for they shall weep!'—A public meeting of the citizens of Manchester will be held on Sunday next, April 9th, in Smithfield-market, Shudehill, to take into consideration the awful state of the country. Fellow citizens, the time has at length arrived when it behoves you to be prepared for any emergency that may arise. Your petitions have not only been neglected, but treated with contempt. Aristocrats and millocrats, who live upon the produce of your toil, laugh, ay, laugh at your sufferings, and seem to rejoice at your degradation. Will you submit to be thus trampled upon? Will you continue, spaniel-like, to lick the hand that smites you? Forbid it justice, forbid it God! We call upon you by every endearing tie—by the dignity of manhood—by the love of liberty implanted in your breasts, to arouse yourselves, and solemnly swear, in the presence of high Heaven, that, come weal come woe, you will remain serfs no longer; nor ever rest till you are emancipated from political bondage, by the enactment of the People's Charter as the law of the land. Chair to be taken at two o'clock, p.m. By order of the council of the Manchester locality of the National Charter Association. William Grocott, chairman; Thomas Ormersher, secretary. Mr B. S. Trayner will deliver a lecture in the People's Institute, on Sunday, April 9th. Chair to taken at six o'clock in the evening.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, a Chartist camp meeting will be held at Jerebend Green, near Shelf, at two o'clock in the afternoon.—A Chartist meeting will be held on Sunday (to-morrow), at six o'clock in the evening, at the Temperance room, Old Dolphin, near Queen's Head. Several speakers from Halifax and Bradford are expected to attend.—A public meeting will be held at Thornton, near Bradford, on Saturday evening, at six o'clock, to organise the district.

TO THE LONDON CHARTISTS.

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

FRIDAY MORNING.

Every day's experience teaches me, and will shortly teach you, that indiscretion is, and ever has been, your greatest enemy. This is Friday morning, and you will have read a proclamation, cautioning the people from joining in any demonstration in favour of the National Petition; and you will see that the injunction is based upon the valour of the mouthing patriots, who have advised the people to attend the Demonstration *'armed.'*

Now, my friends, your cause must not be damaged by the folly and the ignorance of raw recruits. You are aware of the fate of the Convention of 1839. You recollect that I opposed the insanity which weakened our hands, strengthened the hands of the Government, and gave the Government a complete legal triumph over us.

But to the point: I censured Odillon Barrot for deserting the French people in the hour of danger; I censured Mr Cochrane for deserting his post in the hour of danger, and I would deserve your censure were I to desert my post in the hour of danger. SO I SHALL BE AT MY POST ON MONDAY, and from our Proclamation you will see that it is *our* intention to keep the peace. I never had any other intention; for, although it may suit the purpose of some to smile over the ruin they have brought upon the unwary, my object is to secure comfort for all, and make life worth preserving. Every Chartist will be a special constable on Monday, and in the country, you, the Fustian Jackets, the Blistered Hands, and Unshorn Chins, will hold your representatives responsible for any damage your cause may suffer at their hands, while the country will hold the Government responsible for any act of unconstitutional aggression upon its part.

Faithfully yours,
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

P.S.—This morning's post has brought me the following letter from your long-tried and faithful friend and leader, T. S. Duncombe. Read and ponder well upon the words of this staunch friend of the good cause, and recollect that this warning voice comes from one, who, even while stretched upon the bed of sickness, is ever thoughtful of your welfare.

TO THE SONS OF LABOUR AND INDUSTRY.

Sidmouth, April 6th, 1848.

MY DEAR FEARGUS,—

Tardy absent, I am not an inattentive observer of passing events, and it saddens me to see a cause for which I have so perseveringly struggled—and I think in the right direction—now likely to be damaged by folly.

I can, of course, make every allowance for reasonable excitement, but I cannot reconcile to my mind the folly of jeopardising a good and just cause by extravagant language and foolish threats, which, as of old can only have the effect of retarding progress, and disarming its best friends.

Nothing in my mind could be more ridiculous or cruel than to hazard the long-looked for prospects of the people, by any rash collision with the authorities, and those who adopt such a course will impose upon themselves a fearful responsibility.

THINK! THINK! THINK!

and remember—that one false step may seal the fate of millions.

Faithfully yours,
T. S. DUNCOMBE.

TO THE SHOPKEEPERS, TRADESMEN, AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF LONDON.

The members of the National Convention, unanimously assure the inhabitants of London, that they deprecate and view with unmitigated abhorrence all attempts that have been, or may be, made to create disturbance or effect plunder; and that they pledge themselves to adopt such means as will ensure *order, peace,* and *good conduct* on the day when the National Petition is to be presented to the House of Commons.

By order of the Convention,
PHILIP M'GRATH, Chairman.

Convention Rooms,
John-street, Fitzroy-square,
Friday, April, 7th, 1848.

THE MARTYRS.

Mr F. 'OConnor moved an address to the Crown praying that the Royal clemency might be extended to Frost, Williams, and Jones, and all political offenders. Mr Wakley seconded and supported the motion, in common with Mr Hume and Mr Aglionby, Mr S. Crawford, Dr Bowring, and Mr Gardner, it being opposed by Sir George Grey, Mr C. Morgan, and Sir David Dundas, Colonel Thompson thought the present an inopportune moment for bringing on the motion, which would have been more properly made a week ago or a week hence. On a division the motion for the release of Frost, Williams, Jones, and Ellis, was negatived by a majority of 68, the numbers being 23 to 91.

SOUTH LONDON CHARTIST HALL.—At a meeting of members of the National Land Company, held at the above Hall, on March 26th, it was resolved:—'That the members of this locality and the friends of Mr Gathard generally, do enter into a subscription to assist in placing him upon his location, he having been the first secretary to the Land Company.' Subscriptions will be received by the secretary, A. Side, 5, Pepper-street, Union-street, Borough, and at the Hall, on Sunday evenings, from six to seven. It was resolved:—'That Mr R. H. Side be the land agent for the ensuing quarter; also that the members meet every Sunday morning for the future from half-past ten to twelve, for discussion, and in the evening from six to seven, to receive money.'

TOWER HAMLETS.—A public meeting will be held in Bishop Bonner's Fields, Victoria Park, Bethnal-green, on Sunday afternoon, April 9th, in support of the People's Charter. Several delegates to the Convention will attend and address the meeting.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

TUESDAY MORNING, April 4th.

This body assembled at the large Hall, John-street, Tottenham Court-road, at ten o'clock. The organ-gallery was set apart for the reporters. The honourable delegates sat at a table extending the full length of the room, each of them being provided with writing materials. Ten o'clock was named as the hour of meeting, and by that time several delegates were in attendance, but the proceedings did not commence until some time afterwards.

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY.

On the motion of Mr Clark, seconded by Mr Grant, Mr Philip M'Grath, president of the association, was called upon to preside over the sittings of the Convention. On the motion of the same gentlemen, Mr Doyle was appointed secretary to the Convention.

THE RETURNS.

The secretary read the certificates of the following returns:—

Exeter, J. Prater Wilkinson; Ipswich, Samuel George Francis; Bolton, Matthew Stevenson; Halifax, Ernest Jones; Wigan, James Hitchins; Leicester, George Buckby; Nottingham, George Julian Harney; Birmingham, Joseph Linney, and J. A. Fussell; Oldham, Samuel Kydd; Manchester, Dan. Donovan and James Leach; Liverpool, Edmund Jones and Henry Smith; Edinburgh, James Cumming; Dundee, James Graham; Lancaster, J. T. Lund; Barnsley, Frank Mirfield; Newcastle, James Watson; Northampton, W. Ashton; Bury, Thomas Tattersall; Stockport, John West; Staffordshire Potteries, Samuel Bevington, Edward Sale; Aberdeen, James Shirron; Derby, W. G. M. Reynolds; York and East Riding, George Stevens; Paisley, Robert Cochrane; Glasgow, James Adams; Irish Democratic Confederation, C. M'Carthy; Bath, Charles Baldwin; Bradford, D. Lightowler; Leeds, F. O'Connor, John Shaw; Carlisle, John Lowry; Merthyr Tydvil, David Thomas; Ashton under-Lyne, Robert Wild; Worcester, Edward Walter; London, William Cuffay, Henry Child, and Bronterre O'Brien; Plymouth, John Petrie.

Mr CUFFAY wished to know if Mr Reynolds was a Chartist?

A good deal of conversation ensued relative to the impropriety of putting such questions, it being held that a man had a right to sit in the Convention as a delegate, no matter whether he was Chartist or Conservative, so as he was sent by a Chartist constituency, regularly convened.

Mr REYNOLDS said he had only become a Chartist within the last few days, but he had held the doctrines of Chartism ever since he had been eighteen years old. (Cheers.) He had gone even further than that, and had avowed himself a Republican. (Cheers)

One or two delegates here asked it some of the members present had not been elected contrary to the instructions issued by the Executive Council?

[Here Mr Feargus O'Connor entered, and was received with loud cheers.]

The return of Mr M'Carthy as the representative of the Irish Democratic Confederation was then read.

Mr CUFFAY moved that the credential be not received.

Mr FRANCIS seconded the motion.

Mr ERNEST JONES moved that the certificate be received. On a point of order, Mr Cuffay was undoubtedly correct; but now that the Convention had, by recent events, become the organ of democracy in this country, he thought they would do well to admit Mr M'Carthy; when the Chartists of England and the Repealers of Ireland held out the hand of friendship to each other, it would ill become the Convention to refuse the representative of Irish democracy. (Cheers.)

Mr FEARGUS O'CONNOR: By receiving this certificate they would be establishing a dangerous precedent. (Hear, hear.) They might be asked to admit ten or twenty more delegates to morrow, on the same plea. Let it not, however, go to the country that the Convention had no sympathy for Ireland; they had as much sympathy with the Irish as they had for the English—the wrongs of Ireland were also the wrongs of England. (Cheers.)

After some discussion, the question was referred to the following committee:—Messrs, Leach, Fussell, Adams, West, and Cuffay.

THE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Mr WHEELER begged to remind Mr O'Connor that having been elected as delegate for Leeds, he had a right to vote.

Mr O'CONNOR said, he would wave his right to vote.

Mr BRONTERRE O'BRIEN said, that Mr O'Connor appeared there as an elected delegate, and he should not be allowed to escape from his due share of responsibility. (Hear, hear.)

Mr O'CONNOR said, there was one objection to members of the Council being allowed to vote; if they had a Chartist parliament they would not allow ministers to vote. (Hear.) He did not wish to shake off one single particle of responsibility. (Hear)

A long discussion here ensued, in the course of which Mr O'CONNOR announced that he had just received a letter from Mr Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, M.P., stating that he was much better, and that he hoped by next month to take his place amongst them. (Cheers.)

Ultimately the affair resolved itself into the following shape:—

Mr WILD moved that members of the Executive Council should be allowed to sit *ex officio*, but not to vote.

Mr O'BRIEN moved that all delegates duly elected should sit and vote.

Mr WEST moved that members of the Council should sit *ex officio*, and that they should be allowed to speak and vote.

Mr ADAMS moved that members of the Council should be allowed to speak in the Convention.

Amid cries of 'order,' and 'divide,' the motions were put *seriatim* from the chair, and the result was as follows:—

For Mr West's motion	18
Mr Adams's motion...	11
Mr O'Brien's motion	4
Mr Wild's motion	9

Mr West's motion was then declared to be carried.

ORDER OF PROCEEDINGS.

On the motion of Mr CLARK, it was agreed that the Convention should meet each morning at nine, adjourn at one until half-past two, re-assemble at half-past two, and sit until five. That the proposer of any motion should be allowed ten minutes for his introduction, and five minutes for his reply. That the seconder and other speakers should be restricted to five minutes. That no person, except the proposers, should speak more than once on the same question.

A committee to fold and arrange the petition was appointed, as were also a door-keeper and two or three messengers.

The Convention then adjourned until half-past two o'clock.

THE REPORTS OF THE DELEGATES.

At the afternoon meeting, the chairman called upon the delegates, in the order in which their certificates had been received, to lay before the meeting the political and social state of the several districts for which they had been returned.

Mr WILKINSON said he had very little to report. The city he represented was not remarkably forward on the subject of Chartism. A spirit of Chartism had arisen in the districts around, more than in the city of Exeter. At Tiverton, where their friend Mr Harney had faced Lord Palmerston on the hustings, a determined spirit had been shown. A vast accession of members had been gained in that neighbourhood. The population round Exeter was very scattered—the people were more like lambs than wolves—they were of a strictly peaceable character, and had great confidence in the moral strength of the Charter. (Hear.) They were, by nature, opposed to physical force. (Hear.) 'The Charter (concluded Mr Wilkinson) never stood so high before; and having contended, through years of adversity, against physical force, let us not, at the eleventh hour, throw aside the majesty and dignity of that moral power which the Charter at present exercises over the minds and feelings of the people.' (Cheers.)

Mr GEO. FRANCIS said he had no lengthened report to produce, because the society at Ipswich had not long been in existence. There were a few staunch souls belonging to it, men who were ready and willing to live and die by the Charter. (Hear.)

Mr MATTHEW STEVENSON said, the working classes of Lancashire were sunk for ever, if a change, and a sweeping change, did not take place in the institutions of the country. (Hear, hear.) There was no good in preaching patience to the starving masses. (Hear, hear.) He wished to convey to government, through the medium of the press, the assurance that the people of Lancashire would not quietly submit to die by thousands in a land glutted with wealth. (Hear, hear, hear.) The scenes he daily witnessed when at home were truly horrifying. The naked, emaciated, spectre-like beings, who crowded round his house for charity, were enough to melt a heart of stone. It was high time the government stepped forward to remedy this state of society, instead of listening to the fine-spun arguments of Johnny Bright. (Hear, hear, and laughter) If they did not, no man could answer for the peace of the country.

Mr ERNEST JONES said, his constituents were impressed with the desirability, if possible, of conducting the movement on moral force principles; but they warned him not to stoop to one act of unnecessary humility in urging their claims. To a man they were ready to fight. (Cheers.) If necessary, they were ready to rush down from the hills of Yorkshire in aid of their brother patriots in London. (Hear, hear.) They wished to enforce moral force measures if those measures were consistent with common sense. They thought the Convention should appeal to the House of Commons, and if treated with contumely, or put off with half-measures, they should petition the Queen to dissolve the parliament and dismiss her ministers. In case her Majesty refused to obey that command—he used the word 'command' advisedly, for the Queen was but the servant of the people—they then would be prepared to advise the Convention to resolve themselves into a permanent assembling, and the struggle would commence between the two parliaments as to which should be the dominant authority. (Cheers.)

Mr JAMES HITCHIN said, that no town had been more oppressed, nor had any population suffered more privations, than the people of Wigan, or put up with so bad a state of things more peaceably. Nearly all the factories were at a stand; in short, the men had broken into the coal mines and suspended operations. The people of Wigan considered, however, that they had suffered long enough, and they would rather go to work and resort to physical force at once, than remain in their present deplorable position. (Hear, hear) He asked them to try again. They said they would try one more petition; but if that were rejected, they would 'go to work,' let the consequence be what it might. He knew that the people of Wigan had the spirit to come out and stand manfully by the Convention until the Charter became the law of the land. (Hear, hear.) They were determined to have the Charter, either morally or physically.

Mr BUCKBY said that his constituents had furnished him with no specific instructions, nor was he prepared with any report. The people thought they had petitioned long enough, and if they got nothing by this petition they would try no other. They told him that they would get the Charter by moral force if they could; if they could not, they were determined to have it by other means. (Cheers)

JULIAN HARNEY said, he was elected for Nottingham at one of the largest meetings ever held in that democratic town. He was not, however, present at the meeting at which he was elected, and the only instructions he had yet received was that the men of Nottingham had resolved that this should be the last petition addressed to the House of Commons, as at present constituted. He should be in daily communication with his constituents, and expected further instructions, which he doubted not would breathe a spirit of determination worthy of the known patriotic character of the men of Nottingham. Whatever these instructions might be, he would enforce them to the utmost of his ability.

Mr LINNEY said, that in the district round Birmingham the people declared that they were tired of meeting. He was authorised by the people of Bilston, Wolverhampton, and Dudley, to say, that whatever course might be recommended by the Convention, they were prepared to carry it out. (Cheers) In his own mind, he felt determined to have the Charter before he left London. (Hear, hear.)

Mr FUSSELL said, the condition of Birmingham was better than it had been in previous years. The middle classes had declared for the People's Charter. The Chartists were now freely granted the use of the Town Hall, wherein to hold their meetings. The Chartists of Birmingham hope that the Convention will be unanimous, and they might then safely rely upon their aid. They hoped the question of physical and moral force would not be introduced to destroy their unanimity.

Mr SAMUEL KYDD said, in Oldham there was a general feeling of discontent. So long and so continuous had been the misery, that the people began to feel reckless. They entertained the idea that constant starvation was worse than death.

Mr D. DONOVAN drew a deplorable picture of the sufferings of the working classes of Manchester, nearly 10,000 of whom are now entirely unemployed. They wish for the Charter at all risks; but they would wish to arrive at their end without shedding one drop of blood. (Hear, hear.) The shopkeepers, too, felt the necessity for a change—their trade had fallen off more than one-half, while their rents and outgoings were the same. 6,000 summonses had lately been issued against poor-rate defaulters. (Hear, hear.)

Mr EDMUND JONES said that Liverpool composed all the various classes of society. There were the wealthiest merchants in the world who looked down upon the other classes with indifference or disrespect. Liverpool had been prosperous, but now it was the reverse. 10,000 unwilling idlers, from among the river porters alone, thronged the streets. They had been twenty weeks out of employ. Liverpool saw bankruptcy on the one hand, and revolution on the other. Depend upon it, there is an under-current at work which would wash before it every vestige of oppression and wrong, leaving behind it a fair field for the erection of justice, humanity, and liberty. (Cheers.)

Mr H. SMITH said, he could re-echo the sentiments of his colleague, Mr Jones, and he believed that if no other town commenced, Liverpool would. An immense meeting had been held in that town, and the feeling was that if the petition was not granted they must obtain it at the point of the bayonet. Here the Repealers were Chartists. There was a great body of the trades who had by destitution become Democrats. His constituents had resolved to have a large meeting, to call upon the members for the borough to support the motion of Mr O'Connor, when made.

Mr JAMES CUMMING said that Edinburgh was not so badly off, comparatively speaking. They were not poverty-stricken Chartists at Edinburgh; they were Chartists from principle, and were ready to support that principle at the stake, in the dungeon or on the field. (Cheers.) If France had a republic, England ought to have her Charter. (Cheers.)

Mr J. GRAHAM said that he was not instructed to say so; but his conviction was, that the people of Dundee would indignantly resent any attempt to coerce the Irish, and that they would be ready, by every means, to support the People's Charter.

Mr LUND said, the Chartists of Lancaster were ready to join in extreme measures, if there exists any probability of success.

Mr FRANK MIRFIELD said that his constituents, at a large public meeting, had instructed him to say, that if the government let the military loose upon Ireland, something else would be let loose here. (Cheers.) If the petition were rejected they hoped the Convention would not break up, but that it would take into its hands the government of the country. (Tremendous cheers from the strangers' gallery.) That they would divide the land into small farms, and give every man an opportunity of getting his living by the sweat of his brow.

Mr JAMES WATSON said, come what might, the people of Newcastle were resolved to have the Charter.

The Convention then adjourned for the day.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 5.

Mr M'GRATH took the chair at nine o'clock.

[Mr DIXON took his seat as delegate for Norwich.

Mr MURPHY took his seat as delegate for Huddersfield.

Mr LEACH reported from the Election Committee:—'That Dr Hunter was duly elected for Edinburgh.' 'That Mr M'Carthy should sit as a representative of London.' The report was received.

Mr TANNER took his seat as delegate for Totness.

Mr J. P. GLENISTER took his seat as delegate for Cheltenham.

REPORTS.

Mr ASTON rose and said, that Northampton had been in a bad state, and they had come to the conclusion that nothing but the People's Charter would restore a proper state of things, by bringing about good and beneficial social changes. The people being makers of boots and shoes, depend on foreign trade. He was justified in stating that the working men were determined to have the Charter at all hazards. The working classes thought the man who would not fight for it, was unworthy of it. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) They further thought that the wrongs of Ireland were the wrongs of England, and that the people of both should unite for their removal, and the abolition of class misrule. He was instructed to support any measure that would insure the adoption of the Charter in the shortest time. (Hear, hear.)

Mr JAMES LEACH said, his report was much the same as his brother delegates'. He should say nothing of physical or moral force, but leave that to the chapter of accidents. (Hear, hear.)

Mr TATTERSALL said, the state of the people in Bury was most frightful—work so bad, that they could scarce keep body and soul together, and such a state made the people reckless. The Charter was the all-absorbing topic, and he could assert, without fear of contradiction, that at no previous time was the feeling so intense, or so enthusiastic as the present. He could say, emphatically, the men of Lancashire were up to the mark, but he thought they should not destroy the labour of years by any act of rashness.

Mr JOHN WEST said, the people were living upon less than half wages, or rather they were starving on it; they were in favour of the protection of lives and property, but it would be the lives and property of all, and if this were not done, they saw nothing before them but a war. The people of Stockport had determined that this should be the last petition. He, like Mr Tattersall, was opposed to a precipitate movement, but he was equally opposed to cowardice.

Mr BEVINGTON said, poverty and destitution prevailed to an alarming extent, and he never witnessed such a state of uneasiness and restlessness—the people were determined to accomplish their rights at all and any risk.

Mr SALE coincided with his colleague; the authorities had refused to issue any more summonses for poor rates and had, at the suggestion of a public open air meeting, taken twenty acres of land to employ the destitute poor on; but this did not go far enough for him—excitement in favour of the Charter was very high.

Mr JAMES SHIRRON, said, in Aberdeen the Chartists were not well organised, but on great occasions, like the present, the people had always come out in great numbers; they had procured upwards of 10,000 signatures to the National Petition. Should their petition not succeed, they would recommend the adoption of an address to the Queen, and leave any further steps to the Convention.

Mr G. W. M. REYNOLDS said, he had been in Derby but a short time, but he had made the best use of that time. The best feeling prevailed in the town and districts; they wished every step to be taken, and did not anticipate that the government would grant the Charter all at once; neither did he. At the same time he thought this should be the last petition to the house, and he agreed with a deputy who spoke on Tuesday, that its refusal would be a declaration of war against labour. He said he agreed with the sentiment of Lafayette—'That for a nation to be free, it was sufficient that she willed it.' A few drops of blood were as nothing in the scale and if moral means should fail, the people were prepared for any means. The people of Derby agreed fully in the sentiments he had given utterance to—and he trusted they would speedily be in possession of their rights and liberty. (Loud cheers)

Mr GEO. STEPHEN—His constituents wished a deputation to wait on Lord John Russell, and represent to him the condition of labour. The masons had been engaged in a resistance to a reduction of wages. The seamen had also been similarly occupied. The boiler-makers had been working short time during the winter, and the masters had taken advantage of it, and made an attempt to reduce wages. A company of the 57th had been quartered in Hull; they were ordered to Ireland, and before they left, not less than thirty-seven of that body attached their names to the National Petition for the People's Charter. (Loud cheers.) Hence, he thought this was adding disaffection to Ireland. (Loud cheers.) The people of Hull wished the Convention to continue its sittings until the Charter was gained.

Mr COCHRANE said, his constituents wished that the delegates would wait on the members of Parliament to reason with them prior to the presentation of the National Petition; also, that the persons residing in the several districts, should write to the members, demanding their support to the Charter, and they also recommended, in the event of the rejection of the Petition, simultaneous meetings should be held all over the country to ascertain what other steps should be taken.

Mr ADDAMS said, from Glasgow, which was a district comprising an immense population, he had brought up one hundred thousand signatures to the petition, and another thirty thousand had since been forwarded. The middle classes had begun to fraternise; in fact, the only parties who refused their aid and subscriptions were those who fatten on the vice and dissipation of the people—the publicans. (Hear, hear.) They had a large hall in Glasgow, in the principal street, the Trongate; and on its front was inscribed, in letters of large dimensions—'Democratic Hall,' and meetings were held almost every night. Poverty prevailed to a great extent, and discontent kept pace with it; and so strong was the feeling that, at any rate, they could manage to keep all their soldiers to themselves. (Loud up, lause.) He had no particular instructions; but he should oppose any precipitate movement, as being calculated to injure the cause. He had attended a meeting of the Irish in Glasgow, and the best feeling prevailed between them and the Chartists. (Loud cheers) As regards the late riots in Glasgow, the Chartists had no connexion with them whatever, except to oppose them. (Hear, hear.)

Mr LIGHTOWLER said, he had the honour to represent something like 100,000 persons, and he should have at least 70,000 signatures to the petition—(hear)—and the opinion of his constituents was, that life, under present circumstances, was a burthen, and they resolved to have their rights at all hazards. The people were in a starving condition, and the time had arrived when a change should take place. This was the opinion of the great majority of the inhabitants of his district.

Mr F. O'CONNOR, M.P., said, he was ready to receive a variety of taunts and sneers, in his place in the house, in the execution of his duty on presenting their petition, and making his motion consequent thereon. (Hear, hear.) He looked on this Convention as a fair and faithful representation of the people. (Cheers.) He had long been connected with the movement. There were some that might have been a few years longer, but none more incessantly than he had for the last fifteen years, and, consequently, the cause was deeply graven on his heart. At the first Convention, at a cost of £30,000, they had only 1,250,000 signatures. At the second, at a cost of something less than £200 they had an accession of strength to 2,000,000, and at the last occasion they had three millions and a half, at an expense of eighty pounds. Although the Scotch pedlar had stated that he had put down the movement, Chartism was increasing, and to be increased,—(great applause,)—and he had every reason to believe that on this occasion he should have five millions four hundred thousand signatures, and yet the shopkeepers had only just begun to pour in to the stream. The events of France had doubtlessly given an impetus to the movement; thrones were crumbling and tumbling on the continent, and was it to be expected that England should remain in slavery under such circumstances? (Loud cheers.) The Press was now doing, or attempting to do, what Pitt did with gold heretofore,—destroy the proper influence of the French revolution. Ay, but should events occur here, when the change did come, the suffering of your friends had prepared you with such a political and social system as could, and would be, at once adopted by the people of this country. (Loud cheers.) He would not give a fig for the Charter unless it carried with it a social change; such a one had he prepared as would employ all the unwilling idlers, and set them at work in the free labour field. (Loud cheers.) In fact, the whole question was a labour question; from his starting into public life he had always looked at it as such. His efforts in Ireland had been frustrated by the showman, with his box of figures. The meeting year,—the clinching year,—and the Repeal year, had resolved him in prosecuting a movement where such humbug would not prevail. On Monday they would go down to the House. He was not prepared to destroy the movement he had been mainly instrumental in raising by precipitation, nor was he prepared to allow the people to remain in bondage one moment longer than they could obtain their freedom. (Loud cheers.) Look to Ireland at the present moment, and he thought he might say with the delegate from Glasgow, they would be at least able to keep all the military there. (Loud cheers.) He had a greater interest in the question of the Charter than any other man living; he belonged to a persecuted and prosecuted family, whose wrongs he had sworn to avenge. He had fought and bled at Birmingham, Manchester, and Nottingham, and therefore was not likely to turn craven now. (Hear, hear.) He had received his credentials in 1835, and was proud of them, and therefore would not abdicate, and should the people even depose him from their leadership, he would remain in the ranks and fight the battle out. (Loud cheers,) The Press had kept the aristocracy and monied classes in ignorance of the real state of the people. He was now becoming a quasi-minister, and doubtless would be asked what they intended to do on Monday. On the faith of that Convention, he should reply, that not one pane of glass, nor one pennyworth of property would be injured. (Loud cheers.) That peace and good order would prevail whilst their grievances were under discussion. (Repeated cheering) An alderman had told him, in the house, that he would be shot on Monday; he told the alderman that were he shot, shooting would take place all over the country. He would be in the procession, in the front row of the front rank; and now they might shoot away. (Rapturous cheering.) In the event of the rejection of the petition, he recommended simultaneous meetings in every part of the country, to address the Queen to dismiss the ministry, and call to her councils men who would make the Charter a cabinet question. (Applause.) If that were unavailing, he would never flinch, but would sooner die than not win the Charter. He meant to wait no longer than the time when the majority of the people demanded it—and were prepared to establish their rights. He thought they now had power to obtain it. He was now about to leave to go to the house, to give his support to Mr Sharman Crawford, for a bill relative to Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Again he repeated, on their faith he would pledge himself for the security of life and property on Monday. (Great cheering.)

Mr JOHN SHAW said, in the reports delivered here, much of the opinions of those he represented had been expressed; like them, they resolved this should be the very last petition presented, and that they would have the Charter, if not peaceably, otherwise; they believed their condition could not be worse under any circumstances, and they were prepared to risk their all on the attempt to gain the Charter. His instructions were, not to return until the Charter was the law of the land.

Mr LOWERY described the condition of the people in Carlisle to be most fearful. As regards physical force—the Carlisle people were not in favour of it; they thought the Charter would be gained without it—Wigton, Dalston, and other towns thought differently, that it would never would be gained without physical force. The shopkeepers had signed the petition, and more numerously than at any former time; they were generally complete suffragists.

Mr D. THOMAS said, the people of Merthyr Tydvil were desirous of having a procession in their district, at the same time as the procession was proceeding to the Commons with the petition; they were prepared to carry out the views of the Convention.

Mr ROBERT WILD said, the district he represented he thought had not less than one hundred thousand unenfranchised workmen in it, all expecting soon to be enfranchised, and he believed they should have nearly that amount of signatures; he had brought up 70,000 with him. He had instructions; one was to wait on the members of the government, and tell them if they were not prepared to find employment, to give up their offices to those who were both willing and able to do so. (Hear, hear.) He had the pleasing duty of informing them, that only one middle class man had refused to sign the petition when asked. (Loud cheers.) The district had authorised him to say, that collision with the authorities would be premature until one more step had been first taken; they were tired of petitioning, and resolved that if London did its duty, Lancashire would not be behind hand. (Hear, hear.) In fine, the position of Lancashire and Cheshire he represented, were determined to continue their efforts until their object was achieved.

Mr WADDER thought that petitioning, under any circumstances, was humiliating. He should, however, go with it, on this occasion. He believed gallows and gibbets were the implements of the aristocracy to keep down the people, and he thought that aristocracies should be abolished—some portion of his constituents were in favour of physical—others in favour of moral force.

Mr WM. CUFFAY said, the middle classes in London were opposed to us, but the working classes were up to the mark. In the Westminster district they increased in numbers thirty or forty per night. Confederates were with the Chartists, and would march under their own banner—the green flag of Erin, on Monday next. The trades were also coming out. He was prepared to carry out all he had said.

Mr HENRY CHILD said, his constituents were determined to have their rights, peaceably if they could—but forcibly if they must. But he was certain no alarm need be raised. The people would keep peaceable until such time as their petition's prayer was either granted or rejected.

The Convention then adjourned to half-past two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

Mr M'GRATH having resumed the chair at half-past two,

Mr G. W. M. REYNOLDS announced that the government had sent two reporters to take their proceedings. This announcement was received with great applause.

Mr PETRIE rose to give in his report. In Plymouth they had a considerable number of half-pay officers. The people were peaceably inclined, but wished, nevertheless, energetic measures taken for the purpose of the obtainment of the Charter.

Dr HUNTER said, Edinburgh was not quite so democratic as he could wish. He was delighted at hearing Mr Feargus O'Connor to-day; only one result could take place from the obtainment of the industrial principles laid down by that gentleman—the prosperity and happiness of the people; there were only two or three men who thoroughly understood those industrial principles, amongst whom was to be found Mr Feargus O'Connor. (Loud cheers.) He had no instructions from his constituents, but he did wish to say a few words on first principles. he thought the Charter could be made the law by moral force, and moral force only, as when the people said—'We will the Charter,' it must become law. (Cheers)

Mr J. P. GLENNISTER said, perhaps they would esteem it a novelty to have a delegate from the aristocratic and priest-ridden town of Cheltenham, Their clergyman had from the pulpit denominated the provisional government of France—bloodhounds. He could not say as others had done, that his constituency were prepared for such and such things, but they desired agitation, and a long pull and strong pull for the obtainment of our rights.

Mr WILLIAM TANNER said, the Chartists of Totness had thought some mistake had occurred in making out the districts, as Totness was not a recognised portion of the National Charter Association; however, they supposed the object was national, and as they were in favour of the Charter, they had gone to work—got the use of the Guildhall, adopted the National Petition—and afterwards held a meeting for the election of delegates, when he was elected. His instructions were to remain until the petition was presented.

Mr RICHARD MARSDEN said, he had brought up some 65,000 signatures with him. He was up in London about ten years ago, things were bad enough then, they were ten times worse now—(hear, hear)—and unless something was done he sincerely believed it would be impossible to keep North Lancashire quiet. He gave a harrowing picture of the suffering endured by the people in North Lancashire; one woman lay perishing, and ten minutes before she died she said to her husband, 'Is it right that I should be murdered like this, by starvation?' The husband said, 'Thou knowest I can't help it, I have done my best.' Ten minutes from this the woman died. This was not a solitary case by any means. Now, notwithstanding this, they were prepared to wait time for it to be done, but a change must be had. (Tremendous cheering)

Mr WM. DIXON said, his constituents were but little better off than those described by Mr Marsden, and he could say Mr Marsden had not overdrawn the picture. His constituents said, should the prayer of the petition be rejected, they were in favour of simultaneous meetings to be held all over England on one day, and at one hour, and never to desist until the Charter was law. (Loud cheers.)

Mr CHARLES M'CARTHY (Irish Confederalist) said, the Confederalists were determined to achieve their liberties; and they had their rifle clubs, showing at once their determination to fight for their liberties, if necessary—(loud cheers)—and should a single shot be fired in Ireland, forty thousand Irishmen, in London, were ready to avenge their brethren.

Mr MURPHY said his constituents at Huddersfield, were determined to have the Charter morally, if possible, but to have it any road. (Loud cheers.)

Mr G. J. HARNEY said, he yesterday stated that he had received no instruction from his const

CELEBRATED THROUGHOUT THE GLOBE.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.

CURE OF FISTULOUS SORES AND PLEURISY.
Extract of a Letter from Mr Robert Calvert, Chemist, Stokesley, dated, September 3rd, 1847.

To Professor Holloway.

SIR,—Mr Thompson, National Schoolmaster of this town, desires me to send you the particulars of his son who had been bad for three years and a half, and has received the greatest benefit by the use of your pills and ointment. He is of a scrofulous constitution; a pleurisy had left a large collection of matter in the chest, and this eventually formed a passage through the wales of the chest, and ended in three fistulous sores which discharged large quantities of pus, when he was induced to try your pills and ointment, at this date he was apparently in a dying condition; the stomach rejected everything it took. Your pills and ointment had the effect of completely curing both the cough and stomach aftections, his strength and flesh are also restored, his appetite keen, and digestion good. There is every prospect that a little further continuance of your medicines will finish the cure.
(Signed) ROBERT CALVERT.

The MOFUSSELITE Newspaper, published at Meerut, has, on the 15th October, 1847, copied an article from the BENARES RECORDER, of which the following is an Extract:—

'The Prince of Maharajah Bissonath Sing, who was temporarily residing at Chittecote, was suddenly taken ill with Spasmodic Colic, and during his illness His Highness often asked for Holloway's Pills and Ointment, as he had heard much of their virtues, but none could be obtained in the neighbourhood, and Professor Holloway, no doubt, unfortunately loses a certificate which would have graced and dignified his list of cures.'

The native Princes are now using Holloway's celebrated Pills and Ointment in preference to every other medicine, they being so wonderfully efficacious in the cure of diseases in India.

CURE OF A BAD LEG OF THIRTY YEARS' STANDING.

'I, George Bourne, butcher, of Stockton-upon-Tees, do hereby certify, that my wife had a bad leg for thirty years by the bursting of a vein, her sufferings were intense, she had been under the care of most of the eminent medical men in the neighbourhood but to no purpose, and was afterwards perfectly cured in eight weeks by Holloway's Pills and Ointment.—(Signed) GEORGE BOURNE.—June 7th, 1847.'

CURE OF ULCERS WHERE THERE EXISTED DISEASED BONE.
Extract of a Letter from Mr James Wetmore, Hampton, New Brunswick, dated February 10th, 1847.

To Messrs PETERS and TILLEY,

GENTLEMEN,—I feel it is but due to Professor Holloway to inform you, as his Agent for this Province, of a remarkable cure performed on my son. He had been afflicted with Ulcers on his limbs and body for three years, from which small pieces of bone had been removed. I tried several medical men in St John's, but all to no purpose. I was then induced to try Holloway's Pills and Ointment, which made a complete cure. Several months have since elapsed, but there is not the slightest appearance of the cure not being the most complete.—(Signed) JAMES WETMORE.

CURE OF THE PILES.
Extract of a Letter from Joseph Medcalf, Beverley, dated June 17th, 1847.

To Professor HOLLOWAY.

SIR,—For some years I had laboured dreadfully with bleeding piles, by divine blessing, together with the use of your pills and ointment, I have been perfectly cured, and never was there a greater sufferer with piles than myself.
(Signed) JOSEPH MEDCALF.

TESTIMONY OF A PHYSICIAN IN THE CURE OF SKIN DISEASES.
Copy of a Letter from W. E. Powell, M.D., 16, Blessington-street, Dublin, dated February 9th, 1847.

To Professor HOLLOWAY.

DEAR SIR,—Having devoted my attention for some years to cutaneous or skin diseases, I think it but right to inform you that I have in various cases recommended the use of your pills and ointment, and invariably found them to have the most perfect effect in removing those diseases.
(Signed) W. E. POWELL, M.D.

The pills should be used conjointly with the ointment in most of the following cases:—

Bad Legs	Cancers	Scalds
Bad Breasts	Contracted and Stiff joints	Sore Nipples
Burns	Elephantiasis	Sore throats
Bunions	Fistulas	Skin diseases
Bite of Moschetos and Sand flies	Gout	Scurvy
Coco-Bay	Glandular Swellings	Sore heads
Chiego-foot	Lumbago	Tumours
Chilblains	Piles	Ulcers
Chapped-hands	Rheumatism	Wounds
Corns (Soft)		Yaws

Sold by the proprietor, 244, Strand, (near Temple Bar,) London, and by all respectable vendors of patent medicines throughout the civilised world, in pots and boxes, 1s 1½d, 2s 9d, 4s 6d, 11s, 22s, and 33s each. There is a very considerable saving in taking the larger sizes.

N.B.—Directions for the guidance of patients are affixed to each pot and box.

SCURVY AND IMPURE BLOOD.

ANOTHER MOST EXTRAORDINARY CURE BY MEANS OF HALSE'S SCORBUTIC DROPS.—The following case has excited so much interest, that the Guardians of the parish of Brent, Devon, have considered it their duty to sign their names to the accompanying important declaration. It is well worthy the notice of the public:—

'We the undersigned, solemnly declare, that, before Thomas Robins (one of our parishioners), commenced taking Halse's Scorbutic Drops, he was literally covered with large running wounds (some of them so large that a person might have laid his fist in them), that before he had finished the first bottle he noticed an improvement, and that by continuing them for some time he got completely restored to health after everything else had failed. He had tried various sorts of medicines before taking 'Halse's Scorbutic Drops,' and had prescriptions from the most celebrated physicians in this country, without deriving the least benefit. 'Halse's Scorbutic Drops' have completely cured him, and he is now enabled to attend to his labour as well as any man in our parish. From other cures also made in this part, we strongly recommend 'Halse's Scorbutic Drops' to the notice of the public.

'Signed by JOHN ELLIOTT, sen., Lord of the Manor.
'JOHN MANNING.
'WILLIAM PEARCE.
'HENRY GOODMAN.
'ARTHUR LANGWORTHY.

'June 21st, 1843.'

The above-mentioned Thomas Robins was quite incapable of doing any kind of work whatever. Before he commenced taking these drops some of his wounds were so large that it was most awful to look at them, and the itching and pain of the wounds generally were most dreadful; indeed, the poor fellow could be heard screeching by passers by, both day and night, for sleep was entirely out of the question. He was reduced to mere skin and bone, and daily continued to get weaker, so that there was every probability of his speedy death. The effect which 'Halse's Scorbutic Drops' had on him was, as it were, magical; for before he had taken the first bottle, his sleep was sound and refreshing, the itching ceased, and the pain was very much lessened. Persons who see him now can scarcely believe it is the same man—the pale, sallow, sickly complexion having given way to that of the roseate hue of health, and his veins filled with blood as pure as purity itself. For all scorbutic eruptions, leprosy, diseased legs, wounds in any part of the body, scurvy in the gums, pimples and blotches on the neck, arms, or face, these drops are a sure cure. They make the disease vanish like snow before the sun. Their action is to purify the blood; they are composed of the juices of various herbs, and are so harmless that they may be safely administered even to infants. The enormous sale which this medicine has now obtained is an undoubted proof of its invaluable properties, the great sale of it being principally through recommendation. Any medicine vender will procure it on application.

Read the following extract from the NOTTINGHAM REVIEW:—

'*Impurity of the blood the cause of Scurvy, Bad Legs, &c.*

'It is really astonishing that so many persons should be content to be afflicted with scurvy, wounds in the legs, &c., when it is a well ascertained fact that Halse's Scorbutic Drops make the disease vanish like snow before the sun. No one is better able to judge of the value of a medicine as to its effects on the bulk of the people than a vender of the article; and as venders of this medicine we can conscientiously recommend it to our friends, for there is scarcely a day passes but we hear some extraordinary accounts of it; indeed, we have known parties who have tried other advertised medicines without the least success, and yet on resorting to this preparation, the now justly-celebrated Halse's Scorbutic Drops, the disease has yielded as if by magic. We again say, try Halse's Scorbutic Drops.'

Halse's Scorbutic Drops are sold in bottles at 2s. 9d., and in Pint bottles, containing nearly six ss. 9d. bottles for 11s., and Halse's Galvanic Family Pills are sold in boxes at 1s. 1½d. and 2s. 9d., by the following appointed Agents:—

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WHOLESALE AND RETAIL COUNTRY AGENTS.—Evans and Hodgson, Exeter; W. Wheaton, Fore-street, Exeter; Winnall, Birmingham; Acland, Plymouth; Cole, Stonehouse; Raimes, Edinburgh; Scott, Glasgow; Allan (Medical Hall) Greenock; Byers, Devonport; Wheaton, Ringwood; John King, Bridgend, South Wales; Bradford and Co., Cork; Ferris and Score, Bristol; JOURNAL and HERALD Offices, Bath; Brew, Brighton; Marshall, Belfast; Scawin, Durham; Ward and Co., Dublin; Potts, Banbury; Buss, Faversham; Bowden, Gainsborough; Henry, Guernsey; Fauvel, Jersey; Anthony, Hereford; Harmer and Co., Ipswich; Baines and Newsome, Leeds; Lathbury, Liverpool; O'Shaughnessy, Limerick; Mares and Argles, Maidstone; Sutton, Nottingham; Mennie, Plymouth; Bagley, Stamford Kett, Oxford; Brooke, Doncaster; Clarke, Preston; Procter, Cheltenham; Heard, Truro; Bolton and Blanshard, York; Drury, Lincoln; Noble, Boston; French, Chatham; Heckley, Putney; Noble, Hull; Brodie, Salisbury.—Burgess and Co., New York; Zieber and Co., Philadelphia; Morgan, New Orleans; and Redding and Co., Boston, America.

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The task of preparing and producing the work entitled 'Control of the Passions,' by Messrs Lucas, though apparently not one of magnitude, demands a most intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of a profession of the highest character. To say that the author has produced a volume which cannot be otherwise considered than as a treasure, and a blessing to the community, is not saying too much; and being written by a duly qualified medical practitioner, its pages give evidence of the results of much personal investigation, and great researches in the study of medicine. In a word, the work has merits which develope no superficial attainments, and we cordially and most earnestly recommends it for general perusal.—*Weekly Chronicle.*

The press teems with volumes upon the science of medicine and the professors of the art curative abound; but it is rarely even in these days, when 'intellect is on the march,' that we find a really useful medical work. It was with no small gratification that we have perused the unpretending, but really truly valuable little volume, entitled, 'Controul of the Passions,' by Messrs Lucas. The awful consequences of depraved habits, early acquired, are set forth in language that must come home with harrowing force to the parent and the victim. We regard this publication as one of a class that is most productive of benefit to humanity. The subjects, highly important and delicate, are treated in a style which at once exhibits the possession of great scientific knowledge, combined with the fidelity of truth. The author of this work is a legally qualified medical man, and we most cordially recommend it.—*Conservative Journal.*

Persons desirous of obtaining the above work, and not wishing to apply to a bookseller for them, may, to ensure secrecy, have it direct from the authors, by enclosing 38. 6d., or postage stamps to that amount.

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FRANCE.—At a meeting of the Electoral Club of the district formerly represented by M. Thiers, in the Chamber of Deputies some of the ardent friends of that gentleman proposed him as a candidate for the National Assembly, but he was not welcomed with so much favour as was M. Berryer. Though the abilities of M. Thiers were not questioned, the determination of the meeting was to submit him to a political quarantine, and a hope was expressed that this time, though painful to his self-love, would purify the Statesman.

Several parties have been fined recently for allowing dense black smoke to escape from the chimneys of their furnaces.

AN ADDRESS TO THE ENGLISH, SCOTCH, AND IRISH.

Men of England, Scotland, and Ireland, mark, read, and learn, by the glorious victory of liberty gained by the enlightened, bold, and generous people of France, who have set an example worthy of imitation by every nation in the world, by dethroning and releasing themselves from an ungrateful and tyrannical monarch. Every man of sense—every man of principle—every man who is a well wisher to his country, cannot but feel deeply indebted to that brave nation, who have conquered all those difficulties which, but a few months back, appeared insurmountable; not only have they conquered their own tyrant, but have also generously offered a helping hand to their English, Scotch, and Irish brethren. Who can refuse such a generous offer? Who cannot wish for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity? Who is not disgusted with an aristocratic and extravagant government? Who is not tired of an exorbitant and indirect taxation? Now is the time for every voice to be raised. Now is the time for all to join in one bond of unity, and let all minor differences sink into oblivion, and unite, first, in peace, and demand your rights; and if they cannot be obtained by such measures, then follow the noble example of your French brethren. The man who will not listen and accede to this, is not only a fool, but a knave; he is blind to his own interest, and encouraging a licentious government to pick the pockets of his fellow countrymen.

Prepare, every one of you, for a great national change, either by peace or war. Suffer no longer an oligarchy, but let every class have its own representative. Let every one be rewarded according to his industry and merit. This cannot, this will not be, till the den of thieves is rooted out, and England is governed by experience, knowledge, and wisdom. Now is the time—agitation has commenced; let it continue till your rights are obtained. You have justice and reason on your side, and steady perseverance will gain you the victory. Royalty and its followers tremble—Royalty and its followers will fall, and great will be that fall. Well may Royalty and its supporters sympathise with a fallen crown, when they have walked in the same path—arrived at the brink of the same precipice, and will shortly descend with the same rapidity as the base object of their undeserving pity.

Men of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are you aware of the amount you pay on every article you purchase for the common necessaries of life? I presume many of you are not. For every £1 spent in tea, you pay 10s. duty; for every £1 spent in sugar, 6s. duty; for every £1 spent in soap, 5s. duty; every £1 spent in tobacco, 10s. duty; for every £1 spent in beer, 4s. duty; for every £1 spent in spirits, 14s. duty; for every £1 spent in coffee, 8s. duty. From this brief statement you may easily form an estimate of what you annually pay towards an extravagant government. No doubt you would like to know what becomes of the money, and it is right you should know; and it affords me great pleasure to give you as much information on that subject as time and space will allow:—

Civil List	£392,165
Prince Albert	30 000
Queen Dowager	100 000
Duke of Cambridge	36 885
King of Hanover	27,205
King of Belgium	50,000
Duchess of Kent	30,000
Duchess of Gloucester	16 000
Princess Sophia	16,000

But this does not satisfy our grasping Royalty. In the first place, his Royal Highness, Francis Albert Augustus Charles Emanuel, Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, in addition to his annual stipend of £30,000 for being husband to the Queen, is

2. Regent of the kingdom on demise of the Queen, during the minority of the Prince of Wales.
3. Member of her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.
4. Field Marshal of the army, for which he receives an annual stipend of £6 205.
5. Colonel of the Scots Fusiliers Guard, about £2,000 per annum.
6. Colonel of the Royal Artillery Company; annual emoluments unknown.
7. Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.
8. Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle.
9. Knight of the Illustrious Order of St Patrick.
10. Great Master of the Most Noble Order of the Bath.
11. Lord Warden of the Stannaries; emoluments unknown.
12. Chief Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall, in Cornwall and Devon; emoluments unknown.
13. Member of the Prince of Wales's Council; emoluments unknown.
14. Ranger and Master Forester of the Forest of Dartmoor; emoluments unknown.
15. Doctor of Philosophy, by diploma, in a tin case, from the University of Bonn.
16. Doctor of Civil Law, from the University of Oxford.
17. Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.
18. Bencher of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn.
19. Governor of Christ's Hospital.
20. Governor of the Charter House.
21. Livery Man of London.
22. Fellow of the Royal Society.
23. President of the Society of Arts.
24. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.
25. President of the College of Chemistry.
26. Patron of the British and Foreign Institute.
27. President of the Fine Arts Commission.
28. Governor of Windsor Castle; emoluments unknown.
29. Constable of Windsor Castle; emoluments unknown.
30. Ranger of Windsor Great Park; emoluments unknown.

I will now return to that very fortunate woman, the widow of the late king, commonly called the Queen Dowager, who, in addition to her annual stipend of £100,000, has also other emoluments which are unknown; as Ranger of Bushy Park, and Mistress of St Catherine's Hospital. This alone, my friends, is royalty. I will now give you a short account of some of the salaries of the royal supporters:—

Three English Secretaries of State	15,000
One Irish Ditto Ditto	5,500
Seven Under Ditto Ditto	14,000
Seven Lords Commissioners of the Treasury	12 200
Their Secretaries	4,000
Six Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty	10 000
Their Secretaries	3,500
Post-Master General	5 000
The Secretary	2,000
Mr Rowland Hill	1,200
The Solicitor	2 500
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	5,000
He has also a pension as Ex-Chancellor of Ireland, an office he held for about twenty-four hours	3,700
Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests	2,000
He is also Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital	1 200
Lord President of the Council	4,500
He is also one of the Indian Board	1,500
Chancellor of the Exchequer ...	5,000
He is also one of the Board of Control	1,500
He also holds other offices amounting to about	4,000
Master of the Mint	2,000
Paymaster General	4,000
He is also one of the Board of Control	1 500
Lord of the Privy Seal	3,000
He is also one of the Board of Control	1,500

Brethren of the United Kingdom, the foregoing are *only a few* to whom you pay immense salaries *for doing nothing, set forth just to give you a slight* idea of the extravagance of your government. No doubt, you feel anxious now to know how each of these aristocratic leeches spends your hard earnings. A great part of it is spent in giving splendid banquets, *and such like noble entertainments. One of them* sometimes will not cost this liberal nation less than £100,000. Who enjoys it? Royalty and its supporters. Who pays for it? The labourer, the tradesman, the artisan, and the profession—in fact, all classes of the community except the aristocracy—except men of wealth and property, who do nothing more than lay down one shilling to your shilling, and that shilling is returned to them again with enormous interest, by way of government salaries. And these men are men of immense private property. Many of them are worth hundreds of thousands per annum. These are the men you are paying to legislate for your country. These are the men who share your hard earnings. For these men you are compelled to pine yourselves, your wives, and your families. Arouse, then, I beseech you, from that torpor in which you, your fathers, your grandfathers, and great-grandfathers have slept for so many generations, and join hand and heart in gaining your own just and lawful rights. But delay no time. The storm has begun. The wind has blown, which has made the castle walls to shake, and one blast more will level them with the ground.

I must now give you a few words on the present representatives of the House of Commons—you will then see at one glance that, until you are represented by a different class, there will be no chance of just legislation. In our present House of Commons, or, more properly speaking, House of Aristocrats—there are 658 members, to represent the people of the United Kingdom. Out of that number 266 are the sons, heirs presumptive, grandsons, brothers, nephews, cousins, and near connexions by marriage of coronetted members of the House of Lords. Of these 266, three-fourths have invariably voted as Tories against the people, and for the aristocracy; and out of the whole number, there are not more than 150 that stand free to vote as the people wish, and for the people's interest. Ought these things to be? Are these things to continue? If so, I cannot understand the feelings of mankind. Before concluding the subject of aristocratic government, I must simply ask you, 'Do you think our present Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, a proper person to advocate the cause of a poor man, a tradesman, or a professional man? Certainly not—for he has ever lolled in affluence—never known the duties of a profession—the anxiety and losses of trade, or the miseries of a destitute cottage. What then is this great man fit for? He is fit to represent the aristocracy—to support their extravagant and licentious propensities—to attend the Royal Banquets—and to pick the pockets of an industrious people.

It is not my wish to excite you to physical force—far from it. It is not my wish to prejudice you against those who call themselves your superiors—far from it; but it is my wish to show you that you are now living under a tyrannical government, burdened with vexatious taxes, for the sole support of a licentious, extravagant, and over-reaching aristocracy; many of you may, perhaps, at the present time, be ignorant as to the benefit you would derive from a legislative change; but you need not remain long in ignorance, you have many very eminent men on your side daily advocating your cause at the risk and inconvenience of every personal comfort. Attend their demonstrations—converse upon them—reason with your own mind—consult your own principles and the natural sense which Providence has given you, and a few weeks will plainly show that a national change is essentially necessary for your domestic comfort, and the prosperity of your native land.

Believe me to be, my dear fellow countrymen,
Your sincere well-wisher,
A LIBERAL-MINDED ENGLISHMAN.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M. P.

MY LORD,—At this critical period of my life, I cannot rest any longer without addressing a few lines to you, sincerely hoping they may find you in good health and spirits as they leave me. But now to business, as I do not wish to detain you any longer than I can help, knowing you are Prime Minister of the United Kingdom—an office you have fulfilled much to the dissatisfaction of every sensible person in Her Majesty's dominions. I understand you are therefore to be dismissed from that honourable and profitable situation in April next. I must say, I think this is coming rather too hard upon you, considering at that time you must deliver in your accounts, and you have a long and awful settling with conscience; how you will balance I can form no idea, although I am an accountant by profession. For, in the first place, yourself and your predecessors have been robbing millions of people for years, and you have only told us how part of the money has been spent, and that has been divided between your royal mistress, yourself, and your colleagues. Now, my Lord, do be kind enough to tax your memory in the same manner you have done the people, and no doubt you will be able to inform me where part of it is gone to. If you do not comply with this request in the next number of the NORTHERN STAR, I shall begin to think you deserve prosecuting for obtaining money under false pretences; it will also lead others to think that their money has been applied to private purposes. It is an old saying, 'you should lay by for a rainy day,' and I fancy your poor old grandmother has taught you that very lesson—and if she did, she was none too honest, otherwise she would have taught you how to have taken care of your own, and not to have robbed nations. Consider again, my Lord, that millions have sunk into their graves in the prime and vigour of youth, from no other cause than bad legislation. Does not your blood run cold in your veins, when you think of these horrid murders? Think again, there are thousands of fatherless and motherless children, left unprotected on the wide world, and all through that wicked government of which you are the head. Although, my Lord, you cannot deny having literally pined millions to death, you had the audacity, the other night, to stand up in the house, and in reply to an honourable member, respecting the hospitality shown to that execrable tyrant, now christened 'King Billy Smith,' to say that you should always sanction that hospitality and sympathy towards an unfortunate individual for which England had for ever been famed. My Lord, I hope you will excuse me dictating to you, but you made a mistake; it was not Billy's misfortune, but misconduct. I should have thought a man of learning, like yourself, would have been able to distinguish the difference between those two words, and also the merit and demerit to which they are respectively entitled; but however, time is precious to us both, just now, for you are at the head of a government and I expect to be in a few weeks, for although you have had so much political experience you are quite incompetent to govern this empire; it is a pity I did not take the office of Prime Minister years ago, as it would have been the means of saving millions of poor wretches from starvation, and have been millions of pounds in the pockets of those left behind. Now, my Lord, I shall only dissect one speech of yours, which I think will be sufficient to show you, that I am as fit for that honourable office, and even more so than yourself, This speech you made on the 13th of March, in reply to the learned and hon. member for the West Riding of York (Mr Cobden), on the Income Tax question: in the first part, you observed, 'That you had heard the most opposite and strangest reasons urged for the support of an amendment which embodied no principle, but which was a mere amendment for the purposes of embarrassment.' Pray, my lord, on what principle was your favourite tax first founded? On the look-out and take-care-of-yourself principle, I presume; but you have gone rather to far, and you must be either a great fool, or a great rogue—I beg your pardon, my lord, I make a mistake, I mean both; and for fear you should ask why, I will tell you, to save me the trouble of writing another letter on this subject. You were a fool to suppose the people would sit down by such a base imposition, and you were a rogue to desire them. Now this is what I call plain English, and coming out like a man. In the same speech, you ask whether it is possible to make such reductions as to enable the House to dispense with the Income Tax after the present year, and that you thought it necessary for the sake of the credit of the country to ask for the tax for three years longer; now, my lord, you have made another great mistake,—it is not the credit of the country—no farther than self interest is concerned—that you care one fig about, therefore do not preach any more of that nonsense to me. I will at once suggest a plan, not only to dispense with the Income tax, but also to pay off the National Debt, which I shall lay before the new Republican Government as soon as things are settled, which I hope will be by the last week in May or the beginning of June. This, my lord, perhaps, will astonish you, but it is no more odd than true. I shall now state it as brief as possible, merely to give you an idea of my intentions:—I shall reduce the property of every aristocrat in the United Kingdom down to £10,000 per annum; but those who have been the cause of so much destitution and misery, the whole of their property should be confiscated to the government, and such provision made for them as the statute shall enact, not exceeding £100 per annum; and in case of any attempt being made to deceive the government by means of transfer of any real or personal estate whatsoever, the party or parties so offending will, upon the discovery thereof, be transported for the term of their natural life. Now, my lord, this is only one means I should adopt, and which I am sure you cannot think arbitrary, as you will never pine on £100 per annum. I can only say, I wish I had it myself, or even half that amount, I should not grumble, nor even wish to change places with the most wealthy monarch in the world. My lord, there is another sentence or two in the speech which looks very black against you, and I must say, I do not think you bear that wise proverb in mind,—'Always to think thrice before you speak once,'—otherwise you would not talk of suppressing the truth, which you say you are determined to do; but I am inclined to think you will then undertake a task you will not be able to accomplish, for you will have more than one, two, or three to chastise, if you once begin, for the voice of him to whom you allude is the voice of millions,—this, I think, will almost make you scratch your head where it does not itch. If, my lord, you are really ignorant as to the public opinion of your political career, you will know on the 10th day of April next, for there is at this time a waggon making on purpose to carry it to your Hon. House (the House of Commons), and which will be drawn by nine horses, and headed by the father of all nations, (Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P.), and many thousands of his dutiful children will follow and precede this wonderful vehicle. Now, my lord, as daddy to your colleagues, I hope you will be in attendance on that memorable day, and yield to public opinion and natural sense, otherwise I am afraid the two families will not very well agree; in fact, I should not be surprised if your own children disagreed betweeen themselves, and remember—

Birds in their little nest agree,
And it is a shameful sight,
When children of one family
Fall out, and chide, and fight.

In short, you must not be absent under any circumstances whatever. I am sure you need not take any pills after this, for your disease is a hopeless one if this does not cure you; your physician feels rather reluctant about disclosing to you what is really the matter, but I am not quite so particular, so I will out with it at once;—it is what is called 'Black Heart,' and as you are very bad there is no chance of an effectual cure, nevertheless I will give you a little advice:—Do not take a warm bath between now and the 10th of April, for fear of reducing your strength too much, as I have no doubt the excitement on that day will have the same effect. Do not forget to instruct your valet to prepare some clean linen, and to have it well-aired on your return home. I also think it would be advisable for you to go in disguise; by so doing, perhaps, you may escape a few insults which unruly children are so often apt to indulge in; but to cut the matter short, if you think you really cannot bear the excitement, or do not feel inclined to come to terms with the National Father, your wisest plan will be to procure some hair dye, a travelling cap, and such like necessary articles, and pack up your traps and start.

I am,
A LIBERAL MINDED ENGLISHMAN.

AN APPEAL TO HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, IN BEHALF OF THOMAS PRESTON.

The government, thirty years ago, having most unadvisedly employed Edwards as a spy, and believing his most false and wicked statements, were led to prosecute Thomas Preston for High Treason; and although he was honourably acquitted, yet the proceedings subjected him to such expenses, and entailed such losses, as reduced him and his family to the most abject poverty, from which they have been suffering greatly for many years.

The writer of this appeal being convinced that the principles of Thomas Preston are very similar to those of Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and Richard Cobden, Esq., addressed the annexed letter to them.

Now, through the medium of the press, he appeals to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, the Government, and the People of England, in behalf of Thomas Preston, that his case and circumstances may be fairly and fully considered, and that justice may be done to his principles, to himself, and to his family.

LETTER ADDRESSED AND SENT TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, THE RIGHT HON. SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., AND RICHARD COBDEN ESQ

GENTLEMEN—Since I came to London, my attention has been directed to an individual, eighty years of age, who was better known in the political world thirty years since than at present. He was much earlier in the arena of the Corn-law agitation than yourselves. He had laboured twenty years in the cause before you commenced your work. He was one of those who laid the foundation on which you have since built. Shall I add, that to him in part, perhaps, you may be indebted for your rise and present high stations? In the words of Cardinal Wolsey, I may add, 'Had he endeavoured to serve God as sincerely as he has endeavoured to serve man, He would not have so slighted, neglected, and forsaken him.' In his behalf I appeal, not so much to your benevolence as to your justice. I may even remind you of the debt of gratitude you may even owe to him. As fine a spirit, and as vigorous a mind, dwells in this aged man of eighty, as in any of you, so that whenever he may come into your presence, you will do well 'to rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God.'

This aged individual, whose cause I have the honour and privilege to plead, is THOMAS PRESTON, who was tried for High Treason, but after a protracted trial of nine days was acquitted, as justly and honourably I believe, as any individual could be that was ever brought into any court of justice.

So far from meditating or planning evil against the king or the country, I believe he was, and still is, one of the most loyal subjects in the Queen's dominions; and as such the Prime Minister will only be doing an act of justice, by presenting him to the Queen as one of the Fathers of Reform.

As a Clergyman, I look to one who is even higher than the highest on earth, even to the King of kings and Lord of lords; and I believe I am acting in conformity with His will, in thus bringing before you the aged Thomas Preston. I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen, your faithful humble servant,
HERBERT SMITH.

8, *Buckingham street, Adelphi, London,*
February 22nd, 1848

Donations thankfully received at the residence of T. PRESTON, 16, Field Lane, Holborn-hill.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, AND FRATERNITY.

The following speech, delivered at the French Republican Banquet at Freemasons Hall, on the 27th ult., was in type last week, but press of matter compelled its withdrawal from the report of the Banquet which appeared in the last number of the STAR.

JULIAN HARNEY also responded to the sentiment, '*Le Peuple Anglaise.*'

On rising to speak he was received with immense applause. He said: I feel greatly honoured in being permitted to take part in the proceedings of this glorious festival. I speak to express the sentiment of fraternity which I know is cherished in the hearts of my countrymen towards their brethren, the

Poetry.

We give another translation of the 'Marseillaise' and 'Mourir pour la Patrie,' from the pen of ERNEST JONES:—

(From *The Labourer* for April.)

THE MARSEILLAISE.

TRANSLATED BY ERNEST JONES.

Sons of freedom! break your slumbers
The day of glory's drawing nigh,
Against us tyranny's red numbers
Rear their bloody banner high.
Rear their bloody banner high.
Hark! hirelings fierce for brutal strife,
Far and near sound war's alarms,
And outrage in your very arms,
The hope—the partners of your life.
To arms! brave citizens! Array each gallant band!
March on! march on! your tyrants' blood
Shall drench the thirsty land.
We'll march! we'll march! our tyrants' blood
Shall drench the thirsty land!

What demand their banded minions?
What dares each despicable king?
Amid the flap of Freedom's pinions,
Hear their rusty fetters ring.
Hear their rusty fetters ring.
For us? 'Tis but an insult vain
That shall arouse our hearts the more,
We broke their manacles before,
We'll dash them into dust again.
To arms! brave citizens, etc.

Shall an alien crew conspiring,
Make laws to blight a freeman's hearth?
Shall the mercenary hireling
Tread all our manly pride to earth?
Tread all our manly pride to earth.
Great God! shall mighty millions cower
And 'neath a yoke so paltry yield,
Shall petty despots basely wield
A nation's strength—a people's power?
To arms! brave citizens, etc.

Tremble, tyrants! traitors! tremble,
Plague spots of the factious few!
Plot, conspire, betray, dissemble,
You shall not escape your due!
You shall not escape your due!
For we'll be soldiers one and all—
If hundreds die—fresh thousands stand—
Every death recruits a band
Vowed to crush you or to fall.
To arms! brave citizens, etc.

And now, like warriors—gallant-hearted,
Learn by turns to strike and spare—
Pity those whom faction parted,
And would be with us, did they dare!
They would be with us, did they dare!
But for those despotic knaves,
Who make them play the minion's part,
And tear their bleeding country's heart,
Onward—onward, o'er their graves!
To arms! brave citizens, etc.

Children of each hallowed martyr!
Kindle fresh the kindred strife—
'Till their ashes Freedom's Charter
Shall set the seal upon their life.
Shall set the seal upon their life.
Less eager to survive the brave
Than to partake their honoured rest,
Now dare the worst—and hope the best,
But never—never die a slave.
To arms! brave citizens, etc.

Our country's sacred love inspires—
Freedom!—those who fight with thee!
For the land—for the land of our sires,
The home and birthright of the free!
The home and birthright of the free!
Fight with us Freedom—at thy voice
Victory hails our strong career,
Till stricken tyrants dying hear
The liberated world rejoice!
To arms! brave citizens! array each gallant band,
March on! march on! your tyrants' blood
Shall drench the thirsty land.
We'll march! we'll march! our tyrants' blood
Shall drench the thirsty land.

CHORUS OF THE GIRONDISTS.

(Mourir pour la Patrie.)

The cannon are calling in thunder
The high-hearted children of France,
And rending her fetters asunder,
See her citizen soldiers advance.

CHORUS.

To fall for liberty!
To fall for liberty!
Is the fate the most noble—most worthy the free!

Let us rush like a vast inundation,
On those who would keep us in thrall;
Let us show them, united, a nation
Can battle and conquer them all.
To fall, &c.

Upholding the rights that we cherish,
Away! to the scene of the strife;
And soon shall our enemies perish,
Or ask on their knees for their life.
To fall, &c.

To arms, then, each gallant avenger,
The wrongs of our land to redress!
Then on! for where thickest the danger,
The soldiers of freedom shall press.

To fall for liberty!
To fall for liberty!
Is the fate the most noble—most worthy the free!

THE CHARTIST TRICOLOUR.

BY ALFRED PENNELL.

See our true ensign in the sky,
Its folds the breezes stir;
The rallying flag for liberty,
The Chartist Tricolour;
Displaying in its varied sheen,
The red, the white, with Erin's green.

One tint doth the bright beams display
Which lighteth up the sky—
The herald of the coming day,
When sun-rise fresh is nigh;
And as she rises fair and free,
To be the sun of Liberty.

One, the white foam that crests the wave,
When winds and tempests play—
White as the sails of gallant bark
That cleaveth on her way—
May Freedom cleave her way along,
As straight her course, as pure, as strong.

The beauteous mantle of the earth,
When Spring-time gaily comes—
When grass blades dance with wind in mirth
In all their quiet tones—
As glad—as gay—may we soon be
Beneath our flag of Liberty.

Then wave our ensign o'er the land,
From the Lizard to the Forth—
Come, all of Freedom's gallant band,
From East, West, South, or North—
And as ye see our banner fly
Salute the flag of Liberty.

Salute it! all ye nations round,
When we our flag display—
That flag is with more glory crowned
Than monarch's best array.
Obeisance pay! ye tyrants, for
It is our Chartist Tricoleur.

THE 'NORTHERN STAR.'

AN ACROSTIC.

The friend of the weak,	The stern foe of might,
Harbinger of Freedom,	Herald of Light,
Exposer of Error,	Expounder of Right,
Noble defender of	Nature's just laws,
Organ and journal	Of Labour's good cause,
Renegades' Mirror,	Reformers' true pride,
The Democrat's Shield,	The Patriot's guide,
Hater of tyrants and the	Hard hearted knave,
Ever supporting	Each down-trodden slaver,
Register of wrongs,	Recorder of mind,
National leader,	None like it we find;
Star of Democracy,	Shine round the world,
Till kings, priests, and class,	To oblivion are hurled,
Awake, NOW, ye slaves,	Arise, NOW, and be,
Resolved NOW to conquer,	Rest not till you're FREE,

JOHN ARNOTT, Somers Town.

HOLLINWOOD.—The silk weavers in this neighbourhood have for a long time been suffering the direst oppression from a few unprincipled employers, in the shape of reduction in wages. Some of the employers admitted the reductions on certain fabrics were unwarranted; the men believing this to be true, called a meeting, formed a committee, and appointed a deputation to wait on the manufacturers with a list of prices, to which many of them agreed; they also invited the manufacturers to meet, and in connexion with their workers, form a list of prices. This has been rejected, and the committee, in vindication, have issued a spirited address to the trade. There is not a class of workmen who have suffered more than the silk weavers. Huskisson brought ruin on them first by taking off the greater part of the protective duties, and Sir Robert Peel has given the trade its death blow by his free trade measures.

ABUSE OF CHLOROFORM.—*We regret to announce* the death of Dr Andersen, of Birkenhead, who expired last Wednesday. He was in his usual state of health (which was delicate,) till within a week ago, when chloroform was administered to him for the purpose of rendering the extraction of a tooth painless. Within forty-eight hours a rush of blood to the lungs threatened instant death.—*Liverpool Mercury.*

THE IRISH STATE PROSECUTIONS.

The following are the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the Irish Repealers held in Farringdon Hall. Mr T. O'Mahony in the chair.

Moved by Mr T. Daly, seconded by Mr J. Lindsay:

That we deliberately adopt the prosecutions of W. S. O'Brien, Esq. M.P., John Mitchel, and Thomas Francis Meagher; and we tender to those gentlemen our deep and heartfelt gratitude for having asserted, in the teeth of English law, the right of self-government; and we hereby promise to sustain them in any and every effort that they may make to break down English domination in Ireland, which brings nothing to her inhabitants but starvation, shame, pestilence, and death.'

Moved by Mr J. M'Lean, seconded by Mr Maher:—

That the spirited, manly, and efficient conduct of the council of the Irish Confederation, since the arrest of O'Brien, Mitchel, and Meagher, entitles them to the admiration of every lover of Ireland's independence; and we pledge ourselves to support them at every risk and sacrifice, in their noble struggle with their country's oppressors.'

Moved by Mr Fitzgibbon, seconded by Mr Looney:—

That we hail with inexpressible delight the determination of our countrymen to establish a National Council, and as it is more than probable that the English government may resort to violent and coercive means, for the purpose of crushing the glorious spirit which has arisen in our long-oppressed fatherland, we believe it to be the solemn and imperative duty of every Irishman, and friend to Ireland's cause, to prepare themselves, forthwith, with arms of some description or other, in order that they may be prepared to do for Ireland what Irishmen should do.'

Moved by Mr Kenny, seconded by Mr Dowling:—

That at this time, when the courage, virtue, and patriotism of the Irish people are about to be put to the test, it is the opinion of this meeting that all who are determined on seeking their regeneration, should abstain, as much as possible, from the use of intoxicating drinks.'

More than 2,000 persons adopted the above resolutions unanimously.

THE LONDON REPEALERS.

The union between the Repealers and the Chartists of London is now settled, and the two parties have cemented that union for the avowed purpose of establishing the rights of the unenfranchised in Great Britain and Ireland against the evil effects resulting from class-legislation. On Sunday last, a large meeting of Irish Confederates was held at the Green Man, Berwick-street. Mr R. Hussey in the chair. Messrs Reynolds, M'Carthy, O'Mahoney, and Glass, addressed the meeting, and one of the speakers alluding to the liberation of Frost, Williams, and Jones—it was heartily responded to by the meeting; showing that the feeling is not confined to Englishmen, but that Irishmen feel with them, and denounce the illegal conduct pursued towards those men by a *bad government*. In the course of the evening, a deputation, consisting of Messrs Handley, Mills, and Wilkes, from the Chartists, for the purpose of asking the meeting to send two delegates to the Metropolitan Council of Chartists to arrange matters for the forthcoming demonstration, was received with loud cheers. The deputation having addressed the meeting on the subject of their mission, amidst loud and deafening cheers, (for Repeal and the Charter,) Messrs Glass and Hussey were then appointed to attend the council. The meeting, which was a crowded one, then broke up, giving three cheers for the glorious union between the oppressed of both countries.

On Monday evening an aggregate meeting of the Irishmen and friends of Ireland of Westminster, was held at the Working Man's Temperance Hall, Carteret-street, Westminster. The hall was crowded to suffocation, there not being less than between four and five hundred persons present, and about as many being compelled to leave for the want of accommodation. Mr Wm. Spiller was called to the chair. The first resolution recommends union among all classes of Irishmen. The second resolution strongly condemned the conduct of the government in Ireland, and their determination of standing by Ireland in the event of bloodshed. The third resolution advised an union of the working classes of both England and Ireland against class legislation, and to prevent the destruction of the rights of labour. The resolutions were moved and seconded by Messrs M'Sweeney, Driscoll, Geoghegan, Daly, M'Cleau, Walford, O'Mahoney, and several Englishmen spoke to them, and they were carried amidst deafening acclamation, and the whole of the speeches breathed the true spirit of democracy, and evinced a determination to be up and doing, if required. Mr Dixon attended from the Metropolitan Council of the Chartists, and addressed the meeting; he said that he always advocated the right of Ireland to a parliament. Messrs Reading and Walford were then appointed to attend the Chartist council on the next day. The meeting then broke up, giving three cheers for Union, (to repeal the Union); for Repeal; the Charter and the brave French.

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the Irishmen, of Wapping, was held on Sunday last, in the large Temperance Hall, Mr Looney addressing the meeting, at great length, and a determination was evinced, by the men of Wapping, to be up and doing. A committee was then formed to carry out the organisation of this important district, and it was strongly denied, by many, that the coal whippers, as a body, had enrolled themselves as special constables; they said, the thing had been magnified to suit the base intentions of a base government.

DAVIES'S CLUB, 83, Dean-street.—On Monday evening, a crowded meeting of the Club was held, when two delegates were appointed to attend the Metropolitan Chartist Council. The greatest enthusiasm was displayed. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity are now the order of the day. Monday next will show to the oppressors of the Rights of Labour that a union—a lasting union—has been effected between the Repealers and the Chartists; the days of the base, brutal, and bloody Whigs are numbered, and the men of no property will teach the men of property that they have duties to perform as well as rights to protect.

REPEAL OF THE UNION.—The adjourned discussion on this subject will take place on Sunday morning next, in the Library of the Working Men's Temperance Hall, Carteret-street, Westminster, at half-past ten.

MEETINGS FOR THE ENSUING WEEK.—Sunday: Green Man, Berwick-street, Oxford-street; Bull's Head, Vere-street, Lincolns-inn-fields; Victory, Newenham-street, Edgeware-road; Druid's Arms, Greenwich. Monday: 83, Dean-street, Soho; Working Man's Temperance Hall, Carteret-street, Westminster. Wednesday and Friday: 83, Dean-street.

TO THE NON-UNIONIST OPERATIVE CORDWAINERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.—Fellow Workmen: The time has now arrived when it is essentially necessary that we should be united, and occupy a position that shall enable us to make ourselves heard in the expression of our wrongs, and in the demand of our rights. We, in common with the working class in this country, have either been too supine, or have confided too much to the delusive prescriptions of political quacks, false economists, and class legislators, until an eruption of the social elements has burst out in revolutions, wide spread and mighty in their effects and consequences, shaking the whole fabric of civilisation, and pointing to a new order of things—in the universal reverberations of continuing peals of moral thunder—Equity, Justice, Fraternity, and Protection to Labour, in security of employment and fair remuneration, have darted their electric and exciting influences through every domicile of wretchedness, arousing the moral and mental energies of millions (hitherto degraded and impoverished, even to destitution, whilst producing abundance for tyrants to luxuriate upon), whose united loud responses to the enfranchisement of labour, peals a knell to class distinction. Thus a new era is opened for the exercise of the energies of united bodies of operatives, for obtaining and securing in peace those rights which have elsewhere been seized and consummated through blood and tears. There is an effort now being made in London, in the most legitimate way, for the redress of labour's wrongs; it is our duty to be at our post, ready to render such assistance as circumstances may require—but divided and strangers to each other, we shall be a blot in the list of trades, unprotected and undeserving protection. Every man should act in the present crisis as though the interests of his trade and his country depended upon his own individual exertions—every voice we require to fill the grand choir, and chant the bold strains of our holy demand. Friends, we call for your fraternity; we ask you to fraternise only in the way of duty to your own order, your trade, and in your own locality. Ours is not a political society, yet it is impossible to shut our minds' eye to the effects which political circumstances have upon our every interest—we must no longer be lethargic when questions press with vital importance to us. To those who have deserted or neglected, or who by adverse circumstances, have been driven from or unable to continue in society—the men who have stood stedfast and true, who have borne the brunt and toil of its preservation, call upon you, and they have no selfish end in view. When the men who are best remunerated give their energies to succour the most oppressed, without any advantage accruing to themselves, excepting those advantages which we think we see gleaming in the distance, of a happy social regeneration—this is true fraternity. The offer to re-enter is now offered to all for two shillings and sixpence, on the following nights only:—April the 10th and 24th, and May the 8th, at the following houses: The Hole in the Wall, Chancery-lane; White Hart, Fetter-lane; Ship, Ivy-lane, Newgate-street; Golden Lion, Fore-street; and Dial, Long-alley.

NOTTINGHAM.—The authorities are making us all special constables; I suppose to keep themselves in order.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD J. RUSSELL.

MY LORD,—Allow a humble artisan to whisper into the ear of a philosopher—a mite among the millions to remind a statesman of subjects which his high position in the political heavens, and his sole occupancy with the interest of the wealthy classes, leads him to undervalue and contemn, namely—the deplorable condition of the working classes—the *rights* they claim, the *wrongs* they suffer—and the pressing necessity of restoring them to the one, and relieving them from the other.

Whoever is not in the full possession of equal social and political rights, is a *slave*. Whoever is not equal in all respects before the laws, is a *slave*. That body of men who are debarred by law from the status of citizenship, under a theocracy, autocracy, aristocracy, constitutional monarchy, or a republic, and treated in the administration of the laws as an inferior order—a 'blatant beast' that must be chained and muzzled—*are slaves*. The chains may be invisible, and the muzzle gilded, to the apprehension of the unintellectual; they may be hugged with delight by fawning sycophants; borne with suppressed anguish by the fortunate few, who though subsisting comfortably at present, live in constant dread that the same social ruin and physical suffering which is overwhelming their relatives and neighbours, will one day be theirs; but all are now opening their eyes to the fact, that skill, patient and persevering industry, sobriety, even for lengthened years, are no guarantees against dismissal from employment, the breaking up of their homes, the loss of their little all, and the alternative of vagrancy or pauperism. Formerly, it was the worthless, thriftless, drunken portion of their class that sunk to this wretched condition; now, as the caprice and cupidity of capital dictates, the honest and industrious multitudes are driven into circumstances of misery and demoralisation. They enquire the cause—they discover that they are slaves. They discover that self interest is the governing principle of man in all the relations of social life. That they have never received a single benefit from legislative action, but such as was intended to give a four-fold advantage to capital. That they have been removed *in masses from agricultural to manufacturing* labour, with the avowed purpose of bringing those in the latter industrial department to a minimum of wages in prosperous seasons, and to starvation when the markets were glutted and sales could not be effected. That every encouragement had been given to the capitalist, in the saving of labour by new inventions of machinery, &c.; while no provision has been made for the sons of toil, but the degradation of a pauper prison, and the no less prostrating doles of proselyting charity, whereby they have been compelled to sell their consciences for a warm blanket, and jeopardise their souls by hypocrisy, for a cwt. of coal. They discover that the cursed 'competitive system,' while it increases the country cess and poor rates, adds to the bankrupt list, crowds the insolvent courts, and brings the employers of labour down even below their own level; overcrowds the labour market with juvenile workers; enables unprincipled speculators to reduce the profit of trade to the injury of honest and upright employers, and compels them to practice the same suicidal system, whereby the workmen and their families are turned adrift to starve, and the 'apprentices' as fast as their time expires, let loose upon the world as vagabonds, or subsist as they can on the over-taxed and necessarily meagre charities of their trade. And, lastly, they conclude, that with a population increasing, as it is said, at the rate of 1,000 per day, this WAR between LABOUR and CAPITAL must soon come to a crisis, as it has done in France. For that revolution, my lord, differs from each of the preceding ones; and if you, as do the journals in the aristocratic interest, look on it merely as the triumph of one political creed over the other, you make a fatal mistake.

A great prelate, my lord, has said, 'All actions have their appointed result, either here or hereafter.' There is a law of retribution in all Nature. Things good in themselves, become evil by excess. The eternal order of the universe is secured by the maintenance of an equilibrium. The centrifugal and centripetal forces, keep planets in their trackless paths around their present sun; the disturbance of this order would wreck a world. As in the natural, so in the moral and social world; injustice committed by prince, peer, or peasant—by government, the *bourgeoisie*, or the mob—will bring its own retributory results.

My lord, although the working classes, and those immediately above, but fast merging into the vortex which is swelling them up, are *slaves*, they are equally as much justified in asserting and demanding their rights, as were the mail-clad barons, who on the field of Runnymede extorted Magna Charter from King John; as were the earnest Puritans who dethroned the tyrant Charles, and proclaimed the Commonwealth; as were the Whigs, who ejected James, and enacted the Bill of Rights; as were the middle class Reformers, who, under the guidance of the Whigs, used 'the mob' to start and run down their game (as the 'Squires do their dogs,) and thus carried the Reform Bill; as were the Corn Law Repealers, who under pretence of getting cheap bread for the poor, but, in reality, to take advantage of it for further reducing the worker's miserable pittance of wages.

Yes, my lord, if John was a *tyrant*, who for curbing the turbulence of his nobles, was opposed by them with arms; if the Stuarts were *tyrants*, with their Star Chamber, their illegal arrests, their religious bigotry, their doctrine of 'Divine right to govern wrong,' &c.; if the oligarchy were *tyrants*, in their opposition to the claim of the mercantile and trading orders, for an extension of the Suffrage; *then* they, too, are *tyrants* who deny those liberties to others, which by both moral and physical force they obtained for themselves.

You, my lord, and your party, have taught the lessons to the people—history has taught it—the boasted, but incomplete, 'Constitution' teaches it—your 'Reform Revolution' practically exhibited it; that resistance to tyranny is a Briton's right—that 'political offences,' as they are called, are not to be classed with criminal—that rebellion of 'right against might' comes not in the category of crime—that offences which arise out of a struggle for an equal participation in political and social privileges, have no moral turpitude. These doctines have made an indelible impression on the minds of the excluded millions, who are fully convinced that the pretended 'virtual representation' of the people by the present system is a palpable falsehood, and that 'it is impossible for those who live on the profit of labour to represent the labourer.'

Allow me to call your attention to the following facts: Six millions of *men*, standing in the ranks of labour, with eighteen or twenty millions of women and children, of whom they are the natural protectors and guardians, *are* shut out of the gates of the constitution, and are sneeringly told, in language tantamount to that of a negro song:—

'It's of no use knocking at the door any more;
You're not good-looking, and you shan't come in.'

All these men are considered to be 'a rude rabble rout,' not worthy to utter their complaints, or demand justice from 'an assembly of the first gentlemen in the world.' Most of them are struggling for an independent and honourable existence; thousands of them are literally starving; yet, with few exceptions, and when their condition is mentioned with feigned compassion to bolster up some sinister measure of political economy, to enrich the capitalist, their heart-rending cries for work that they may have food, are heard with cool indifference, replied to with bitter irony, and their few advocates interrupted with sneering cries of 'Oh! oh!'

The social wretchedness of these slaves is treated as an endemic; the causes of that forlorn condition as a miasma, irremediable and irremovable; the speech from the throne sometimes affects to pity, at other times to commend these patients of misrule, for their 'unexampled patience and pious resignation to the inscrutable will of Providence.' Politicians aver that it always has been so, always will, and that all hopes of a radical cure are chimerical. The ministers of the benevolent Jesus, forgetful that his system of morals, his plain and unmistakable apophthegms, inculcate not a partial but an entire relief to human miseries—not a sectarian and proselyting charity, but such as that exhibited in his admirable parable or history of the Good Samaritan—dare to utter that God ordained the poverty of man, and, by plain logical consequence, that he is the author of all the squalor, vice, crime, ignorance, of which poverty is the main cause, and which are always its concomitants. The government treats their outbursts of desperation as symptoms which are best allayed by a due administration of grape-shot, musketry, and rockets; and if the cries of his famishing children, and the murmuring of his wife, should stir the bile of some poor weaver to harangue his brother unfortunates about their common miseries, they try the chilling influence of a felon's cell on his excited cranium, or introduce him to the taming discipline of a chain gang.

Amidst all this mass of suffering humanity, my lord—notwithstanding the taunts about their inability to conduct their own affairs, their ignorance of what is best for themselves, and the necessity that the capitalist-orders should have the same care and compassion for them as the wolf has for the lamb—there are men, who, (like Drew, the blacksmith, that wrote a prize essay by fire light on a bellows on his knee, amidst the squalling of his little ones,) can master the most deep and metaphysical subjects. There are men who can work out some of the most difficult problems in Euclid; who study the mechanical powers and their adaptation to the work of production; who walk the Heavens with the astronomer; dive into the arcana of nature with the chemist; soar into the regions of fancy with the poet; who study man in the physiological, psychological, moral, and social aspects of his nature. Your supply of intellectual and moral education, by the late extension of the means of instruction—faulty and sectarian as it is—will increase their number, and give a moral power to the masses, which will heave up the crust of society, like some mighty volcano; bury the asinine brayers at the people's miseries among the petrescent remains of former worlds, and elevate to the seats of these insolent popinjays, men careful to understand the condition of the people—to consult their wishes—to produce by wise and salutary measures an equipoise and consolidation of the claims of all.

There are men ready to do all this, my lord, ay, in your own ranks of society, men that commiserate the condition of starved, soul-tortured, dying labour—that hear its wailings—that are above the paltry selfish prejudices of their order, and are firm in the conviction that the only way to preserve its existence, and make it permanent in society is, to 'do justice and love mercy.' Ay, and there are men among the slaves themselves, who have looked death in the face so steadily, so constantly, as to penetrate the black veil which shrouds it, and conclude that they have two rights—to live—to die—and if society deprives them of the former they can at least risk the latter. Mark it, my lord, this is all that is left to hundreds—a lingering death by starvation—a speedy quietus by a soldier's musket, or a suicide's grave. It will soon come to this: you must save the people—slaughter them when they rise in despair—or fall with your order amidst the wreck and ruins of that constitution in which you glory. The dikes, the embankments of society, are saturated by an ocean of discontent; it is rushing into the foundations of the social fabric; the once solid and compact basis of society is becoming a shifting quicksand. The modern Babylon is invested; its rulers are at ease; they curl the lip; they laugh to scorn the coming hurricane; the handwriting is nevertheless upon the wall. Anon a 'Gideon' shall arise; his 'barley cake' shall overturn their tents; his 300 lamp-bearers shall strike pale panic into the hearts of the 100,000 mercenaries that man its walls. There is possibility—awful probability—in all this. There is no magic in the word 'finality.' Britons are not impetuous—they bide their time.

Hoist your old standard, my lord—'Retrenchment, Economy, and Reform'—add to it, 'the Rights of Labour,' and be assured that nothing less than 'Universal Suffrage' will satisfy the people.

Excuse the candour of one whose name to know,
'To thee it matters not
To whom related, or by whom begot.'

AN EDUCATED ARTISAN.

Imperial Parliament.

MONDAY, APRIL 3.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—INVASION OF LOMBARDY.—The Earl of ABERDEEN rose to put a question respecting the entry of Sardinian troops into Lombardy. He said: 'The policy of Austria in Italy may have been good or bad, but *certainly it was not aggressive; there was every* reason, on the contrary, to suppose and apprehend that the aggression would proceed from the other side. The state of Italy rendered this probable, and this probability was increased, and must have been increased in the mind of every man who recollected the ancient and constant policy of the house of Savoy. It was the maxim of one of the princes of that house constantly to have it in view that Lombardy ought to be considered as an artichoke, to be eaten leaf by leaf; but King Charles Albert seems to fancy that he has so good an appetite that he ought at once to devour the whole plant. (A laugh.) But, be this as it may, it is to be observed that, amidst all the convulsions which we have witnessed around us, convulsions most unexampled and portentous, the King of Sardinia is the first power who has directly controverted the public law of Europe. (Hear, hear.) He has thought right to command his troops to enter the territory of a neighbouring, friendly, and allied power, without the slightest pretext of a grievance, without any provocation, and without any complaint or reason assigned whatever, and also in direct violation of engagements by which he as well as this country was solemnly bound. (Hear, hear.) I think, my lords, that this first violation of public law should not pass altogether unnoticed by those who desire to preserve the peace of Europe. (Hear.) I do not wish, however, to be misunderstood. I have nothing to say to the endeavours of the people of Lombardy to shake off the power and dominion of Austria. That is their own affair. If they succeed in this endeavour, I only hope that they may find themselves as happy, and as prosperous as they will be more free, than under the government of Austria. But your lordships are not to suppose that this endeavour is made against an usurping power, or that the Austrian Government is to be held as a government of usurpation. Lombardy has been under the dominion of the family of Austria for three centuries; and since the peace of Utrecht has been positively assured to the Emperor and his family by all Europe; therefore these are not dominions which the King of Sardinia, who has himself received great accessions to his territory only the other day, can consider as having been usurped by the house of Austria.' (Hear, hear.) He concluded by asking whether her Majesty's government had at any time declared to the government of Sardinia that any aggression in violation of those engagements by which the King of Sardinia as well as this country were bound, would not be viewed by Great Britain with indifference?

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said, that though this country was not bound by any treaty to assist the Austrian government in the defence of Lombardy, yet her Majesty's government had *thought it right to instruct* their minister to express their hope and confidence that in the present alarming and agitated state of all the countries in that part of the world, his Majesty the King of Sardinia might be advised to preserve a *perfect neutrality*. He could only say in conclusion that the entry of the Sardinian troops into Lombardy had been made not only without the concurrence, but against the advice of the British government, and in the face of instructions sent to our representative at Turin.

Lord STANLEY was deeply impressed with the propriety of referring as little as possible at the present time, either in that or the other *house of parliament*, to what was passing in other countries. (Hear, hear.) But he could not help saying, that he had heard with much satisfaction the statement that her Majesty's government had thought it their duty to represent to the King of Sardinia their desire that he should not put himself at the head of any expedition for the invasion of Lombardy. Lord Aberdeen had, however, very properly taken the opportunity of pointing out to the house and the country that an example of aggression had been set, which, if followed up by other powers, might be attended with very dangerous consequences. (Hear.) He believed there was no man, either in that or the other house of parliament, who would not recognise the doctrine which had been so freely and fully laid down by *her Majesty's government*, of the right of any nation, in connexion with the sovereign authorities of that nation, to introduce any internal reforms, any modification of their constitution, which they should conclude to be for their own national advantage—(hear, hear)—and that there was no justification for any other nation, from the remote fear of probable consequences, interfering with the internal affairs of that nation with an armed force. (Hear.) But if that doctrine were fully admitted, and if in deference, *probably*, to their own sense of right and prudence, the government of Austria had abstained from any attempt to interfere with the affairs of Naples, Sardinia, and Sicily, then Austria had shown an example and a regard for the rights of other parties which might have been expected to save her from an armed invasion on the part of Sardinia. (Hear, hear.) It was a dangerous doctrine to admit the right of any other nation, from sympathy with the supposed grievances and injuries inflicted upon another, to enter it with the avowed object of overthrowing the reigning power. (Hear, hear.) And if there was a country in the world whose *essential interest* it was to rebut and reject this doctrine as to the right of interference, it was this country, with its wide-spread and outlying colonial possessions. (Hear, hear.) If of all others, therefore, *should most* strongly protest against the attempt of any country by foreign force, whether on the part of the sovereign against the people, or on the part of the people against the sovereign, to interfere with the internal affairs of other states. (Hear.) He did not understand his noble friend to have asked her Majesty's government to interpose by *force*, or in any way to assist Austria, but he understood his noble friend to call their attention to the fact that amid the universal convulsion of the states of Europe, and admitting the right of all to modify their own constitutions, this was the first instance of carrying out the dangerous doctrine of propagandism, which, if not condemned by the public opinion of Europe, might lead to invasion, by the more powerful and active, of the rights of the lesser powers—(hear)—for he believed that unless it was put down by the general sense of Europe and the civilised world, even the best efforts of her Majesty's government, supported as they would be, without reference to political feeling, would be utterly unavailing towards preventing the spread of a sanguinary war throughout Europe. (Hear.)

A discussion then arose on the subject of emigration to Canada, and after disposing of some unimportant business, their lordships adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—After the reception of petitions and conversations on a variety of subjects, arising out of questions put to members of the government,

On Lord John Russell moving the order of the day,

THE STATE OF IRELAND, was brought forward by Lord JOCELYN. He said, the attention of every member of that house, and of the public, had been call d within the last few weeks to the language and conduct of certain individuals in Ireland, and he was sure they had all seen with indignation and disgust—(loud cheers)—the language of those mischievous and traitorous men—(renewed cheers)—avowedly with the object of overturning the institutions of the country, and levying war on Her Majesty's Crown, by exciting to overt acts of rebellion Her Majesty's subjects in that country. (Cheers.) With similar feelings the people of this loyal country had seen that men had been found in Ireland so devoid of their own and all national honour, as to be at this moment seeking, he believed, in a foreign country, the arms to carry out their traitorous objects. (Hear, hear.) If he were not the representative of an English constituency, he should have called the attention of English members to the effect such language as had been used in Ireland was likely to have on discontented individuals here. He knew the large body of Her Majesty's subjects were loyal and faithful; yet, even in this country, such language could not be left unchecked without danger; but the unnatural and the dangerous state of affairs in Ireland would prove his best apology for the observations with which he had prefaced his question to the noble lord. Not that he apprehended any real danger to the institutions of the country in Ireland. He believed that the throne of our beloved sovereign, standing unshaken amidst the shock that had overwhelmed the most powerful monarchs of Europe, rested not on the bayonets of her soldiers, but on the loyalty and affections of her people—(loud cheers)—the institutions of this country rested on a sound and broad basis, and it was satisfactory to know that the most enlightened Germans, struggling for constitutional freedom, showed their anxiety to follow the example we had set them rather than that of any other nation in the world. (Hear, hear.) Fortunately, the design in Ireland was apparent; but men might be urged into open acts of treason against their Sovereign by the traitorous language of these mischievous persons. The danger, he apprehended, was to those individuals, and not to the institutions of the state. Fortunately for Ireland, a noble lord was at the head of the government in that country who had rallied around him the united support of Protestants and Roman Catholics. (Cheers.) He believed that that noble lord, by his ability, and his courage, had rallied round him all loyal men of all religious persuasions and all political creeds. (Cheers.) But it had been seen that while that noble lord had stretched forth his arm in vindication of the law he had been unable to put a stop to this treasonable language. The continuance of language such as that must eventually lead to hostile collision and bloodshed, and, although we might not fear the result, still the consequence must be deplored. (Hear, hear.) With the recollections of past conflicts, knowing that years could not wipe out the stain of blood shed in civil contest, in the name of those who wished war away from our shores—in the name of all her Majesty's loyal subjects, he asked the noble lord at the head of the government, whether he thought that there was sufficient power vested in the government to crush this rebellious spirit, or whether he did not think the time had come when some alteration should be made in that law which allowed the instigator to be at large while the victim of his instigation suffered; and when some powers should be given to the executive government to meet with vigour and effect whatever emergency might arise. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. RUSSELL.—I rise, Sir, with considerable anxiety to answer the question which the noble lord has put. It is quite true that language of the nature he has described has been used in Ireland—language exciting the people to rebellion against the Crown—language exciting them to acts of violence against persons and property, with a view to establish Ireland as a separate nation—a nation independent of the Crown of these realms. Such language may at some periods be passed over as the mere raving of a distempered fancy, and which can have no effect. But unfortunately it is not so at present. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the effect which has been produced by that language may be attributed partly to the excitable nature of those to whom it is directed, —partly to the very great distress which has been felt by all classes now during three years—a distress which naturally induces men to listen to any desperate language,—and thirdly, to the great excitement which has *been created by the events which have recently taken* place in France and some other parts of Europe. But whatever may be the the cause, it is certain that the utterance of this language has been followed by the manufacture of pikes—(hear, hear)—by the formation of rifle clubs, and by various other preparations, all of which are openly avowed by a part of the press of that country to be with a view of stirring up civil war in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I cannot but agree with the noble lord that, viewing these proceedings as the cause and instigation of civil war, it is not so much her Majesty's Government, not so much the institutions of the country that are in danger, as the peace of Ireland, and the well-being of all classes, especially those who are engaged in the occupation of trade and commerce, in that country. (Cheers.) My belief is, that those who have used the language to which I have adverted have done so for the purpose of raising themselves, careless of the bloodshed and ruin which may ensue. Sir, it is, however, a most difficult and most delicate task for the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to decide what is best to be done under these circumstances. The noble lord opposite has paid what I consider a just tribute to the noble lord now at the head of the government in Ireland. (Cheers.) I hope I need not assure the house, that while my noble friend is anxious to put down disaffection and rebellion, it is at the same time his warmest wish to listen to complaints, and to apply, so far as in his power, a remedy or an alleviation to any distresses or evils that exist. With respect to the means now at the disposal of the government in Ireland for the purpose of meeting the conspiracy to which I allude, my noble friend the Lord-Lieutenant has been in constant communication with my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department and with myself, and he has informed us that, while on the one side there were evident preparations for rebellion, on the other side he had received the most gratifying assurances of loyal support—(cheers)—from a great number of persons, both Protestant and Roman Catholic; from clergymen of the one, and priests of the other religion; from all classes—landlords and merchants—and, in fact, from a large number of persons of all parties and classes in the country. (Cheers.) The noble lord opposite must excuse me if at the present moment I decline stating what further measures are in contemplation by the Lord Lieutenant and her Majesty's government in Ireland. I trust he will be satisfied with the assurance that both in this country and in Ireland we have most carefully looked into the law applicable to the case—that we have entered into the most constant daily communication with the Lord-Lieutenant; and that should he be of opinion that further powers are necessary than those which have yet been obtained by the government, I shall then feel it my duty—being convinced that such measures as he may ask can be no more than are necessary for the occasion—to come down to this house and ask this house to intrust the government of this country with such powers. (Great cheering.) Sir, Lord Clarendon has to consider in any proposal he may make, and in any wish he may express, that if he should appear—or if there should be the least semblance of his appearing, to favour one religious denomination more than another, or of his favouring any particular class of the community above any other class, he would thereby lose a great deal of that support which he has hitherto obtained—(cheers.)—and which has proceeded, as I have already said, from landlords and clergymen of the Protestant persuasion, and from priests of the Roman Catholic persuasion; all these have joined in giving their best assistance to him in the maintenance of peace. (Hear.) But the noble lord may rest assured that it is the full determination of Her Majesty's government, having the utmost confidence in Lord Clarendon, (hear, hear), and in his administration of public affairs, to do all that is in his power to support the law in Ireland, (hear, hear), and maintain the peace of that country; and, furthermore, that we shall not shrink, should it prove necessary so to do, from asking this house for the grant of any further powers that may be requisite. (Cheering.)

A conversation of some length and interest then took place on the subject of the dilatory proceedings of the government in bringing forward a bill for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, especially after the allusion made to such a measure in the speech from the throne.

It was terminated by a declaration from Lord JOHN RUSSELL, that before the Easter recess he would announce the final views of the government on the subject.

JEWISH DISABILITIES BILL.—On the question for going into committee on this bill,

Mr GORING moved as an amendment, that 'so long, at least, as the House of Commons exercises the authority which at present it does exercise over the established church, no Jew ought to possess the franchise, much less be allowed to sit in that house.' He protested *against the bill as an act of national wickedness*, which was certain to draw down on the country the direct vengeance of God.

This led to a debate which terminated in the amendment being negatived without a division, and the house then went into committee upon the bill, when several amendments were proposed and negatived.

After the different clauses had been agreed to, a scene of considerable excitement occurred in consequence of the indiscretion of Mr Law in proposing that the report *of the committee should not be received forthwith* (as is usual when no amendments are made in a bill,) but should be postponed till Friday. Lord J. Russell overwhelmed Mr Law with ridicule, and as Mr Law had based his opposition on his attachment to the church of England, annoyed him very considerably by regretting that the defence of that

WEDNESDAY, April 6.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—OCCUPIED TENANTS' (Ireland) BILL. The adjourned debate on this bill was resumed by

Mr NAPIER, who objected to the measure because it was in reality and substance a 'Fixity of Tenure' Bill and nothing else. It proceeded on the false assumption that all the landlords in Ireland were bad, and all the tenants virtuous, and took no notice of the fact that there was such a class as middle-men in that country. It also laid the foundation of a constant system of litigation between landlord and tenant. The principles on which it was founded were not only useless but mischievous, as they would lead the people of Ireland to believe that the amelioration of their condition could be accomplished by legislation when it must be the work of their own industry, energy, and improved morality.

Mr J. O'CONNELL considered some such system as that proposed by Mr S. Crawford essential to the safety and prosperity of the people in a very extensive portion of Ireland. Whatever medification might be proposed of this bill in committee he hoped that no objection would be offered to its second reading. Mr Napier had given the house a lecture upon the immorality and vicious propensities of the inhabitants of the south, whom he supposed to be naturally inclined to disorder and disaffection; but the hon. and learned gentleman seemed to forget altogether that the north was not always exempt from the imputation, and that the Orangemen of Ulster were licensed to commit any outrage they pleased. (Cries of 'Oh, oh!')

Captain ARCHDALL denied in the very strongest terms the statement of the hon. member for Limerick city that the Orangemen were licensed to commit any outrage. He was not surprised at the soreness exhibited by the hon. member towards the Orangemen, for they had always indignantly repudiated every offer made by the Repeal party, and the house might be glad to know that there were 160,000 Orangemen in the north of Ireland ready to stand forth at any moment when called upon in defence of order, and to crush the poisonous offspring of the agitation led by the hon. member.

Lord CASTLEREAGH was very unwilling to vote against this bill, because he saw reason to object to some of its clauses. He should be glad to see it sent to a committee up stairs.

Sir J. WALSH wished it to be understood that in voting against this bill he voted against tenant right altogether.

Mr FEARGUS O'CONNOR, in applying himself to the merits of the bill, said there were those who thought tenant-right of paramount importance to a repeal of the union. He was not of that opinion, but he quite approved of the conduct of those who, entertaining any opinion whatever with respect to the people of Ireland, expressed that opinion openly. The true way to deal with the people of Ireland was to be perfectly frank. With respect, in the first place, to the manner in which the present discussion had been carried on, he must not only express his strong dissent from the sentiments which the house had heard from the hon. member for Limerick, but he must also take the liberty of saying that the speech of the hon. and learned member for the University of Dublin contributed little to assist the house in arriving at a sound conclusion. That hon. and learned gentleman jumbled up the measure of the hon. member for Rochdale with that of the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; it was, therefore, scarcely necessary for him to do more than call their attention to that circumstance, as of itself, it seemed to him, sufficient to neutralise the entire effect of the hon. and learned gentleman's speech. He should venture to put one or two cases which might be urged in the nature of a reply to the hon. member, if, in fact it could be said that any formal reply were needed. He would say, suppose that a tenant had taken land at 10s. an acre for twenty years—suppose that within that period he had so greatly improved the land, that at the end of his term it was worth £1 10s. an acre; it became quite evident that he had by his improvements augmented the value of the landlord's estate to the extent of £400., and yet the landlord could, if he thought proper, oust him from the soil which he had thus greatly improved. The causes of this state of things were to be found in a very obvious historical truth,—that the laws which regulated relations between the owner and the occupier of the soil had all been made by the landlords, and they took a very different view of the subject from that which presented itself to the mind of a tenant. The result of their law-making was this, that if a tenant, by means of his capital and his skill, obtained a profit of £100 a year from a farm that had been originally worth £10, the remaining £90 though it ought to belong to him, could never under the old feudal system become his; according to that, the landlord was entitled not only to take advantage of every fortuitous event, but of every exertion of industry or application of capital. He hoped the house would not allow themselves to be too much carried away by the speech of the hon. and learned member for the University of Dublin; it was a speech full of sophisms; but in one respect, at least, the hon. and learned gentleman could not be accused of any intention to lead the house astray; because it could not but be obvious that the hon. and learned member had mistaken cause for effect. As he understood the hon. and learned gentleman, he objected to the bill because the tenant-at-will was supposed by it to have a vested right. But the bill of the hon. member for Rochdale provided for that, and there was no one interest that would be violated by his measure. What was the great grievance in the south of Ireland? It was this, that there was no Tenant Right; such a state of the law offered a bounty upon idleness. But the hon. and learned member for the University of Dublin thought himself entitled to compliment the Irish landlords. Few persons would consider them entitled to any compliment who knew the fact, that sixty-one laws for the benefit of landlords were passed in the reign of George III., while only six laws of a similar description were passed for England. Such laws were unnecessary in England; and he was as ready as any man to bear testimony to the excellent spirit in which the English landlords administered the trust which society reposed in them. They required no law beyond the influence of public opinion to coerce them; and hence it was that the objections to the present measure did not so much come from them as it did from the Irish landlords. Then the practice of squatting formed one of the topics of the hon. and learned member's speech; but for that practice, and to meet the evils to which it gave rise, the measure before the house made, as he conceived, ample provision; but, according to the hon. and learned member, there should be no legislation at all on the subject, everything should be left to the laws of nature; yet in the same breath he told the house that in Down and Antrim they were governed by the ancient laws and usages in Ireland; that tenants were prosperous and landlords not tyrannical — a pretty good proof, by the way, that the Irish ought to be allowed to govern themselves; and then from his argument it was not easy to discover whether he thought that the existence of a yeomanry in the north of Ireland produced those good results, or whether he thought that the relations there subsisting between landlord and tenant had the effect of producing a good yeomanry. In this instance, probably, the hon. and learned member, as he had done in other cases, confounded cause and effect. He would not, however, further waste the time of the house by discussing minute points. His hon. friend the member for Rochdale, would not insist upon having the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill, he, on the contrary, was willing to go into committee and calmly consider the several provisions of the bill. In disposing of such a question as the present, they should not forget that the legislature had frequently interfered with the existing relations between landlord and tenant, especially in Ireland. In the course of the discussion which led to those measures, the enormous abuses of the middlemen system were frequently referred to — no abuse could be greater; but the hard treatment which the labourer experienced at the hands of the farmer was also an evil of the highest magnitude—for one tyrant in broadcloth, there were one thousand in frieze. The duty which he owed to his country and to that house, demanded of him that he should deprecate any attempt to trifle with the feelings of the people upon this subject. If the house thought any legislation necessary, let them say so,—if not, let them say the contrary; but, let not the Irish people be carried away by false expectations,—let them not be told that there was justice on their side, and then be informed that the Legislature lacked the machinery for carrying out the sound principles which they recognised. They might talk as they pleased about difficulties with a bill of this kind, but they found no difficulty in bills for imposing taxes; there was not one of the supposed difficulties about this bill which could not at once be easily overcome; undue or unfair modes of improvement might easily be prevented, and a board might be established to declare how many years' rent might be expended in improvements. Having commented somewhat freely upon the speech of the hon. and learned member for the University of Dublin, he should not say much more of the speeches of other members, but he could not help observing, that by the speech of the hon. member for Limerick, he had been shocked, disgusted, and horrified; that hon. gentleman talked of the Irish members being oppressed in that house by the English; but, to him, it appeared that the kind of members sent to that house from Ireland were equally oppressive. He would conclude with this advice to the Irish landlords. He called on them to beware, and he would tell them that the most to be done was to be done by themselves. It was a weakness for them to be eternally coming to this house to assist them. Ireland was a country that might be made a garden, if the landlords only did their duty. But they were too proud, and disdained agricultural pursuits. ('No, no.') He was glad to hear that denial, but he knew that in his time they did (a laugh), and he feared that what Sheridan said of the Irish was too true, that 'they were a poor and proud people.'

Sir G. GREY opposed the bill. Every discussion on the subject showed more and more convincingly the difficulty of settling by legislation the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland. He controverted the proposition that the difficulties had arisen from impediments thrown in the way of popular legislation by Irish landlords in the house. The difficulty was inherent in the circumstances of the case themselves. He agreed with the hon. member (Mr F. O'Connor) in his last observation, although inconsistent with some of the other remarks which that hon. member made to that house, that the real remedy for these evils was to be found, not in acts of Parliament, but in the parties themselves,—not merely in the landlords, but in the landlords and tenants conjoined, and in the mutual agreements which their united interests might lead them to make. In reference to ejectments and the law of distress the legislature might regulate the exercise of the rights both of the landlords and of the tenants, and might prevent to a certain extent acts of hardship and oppression; but if it attempted by law to make agreements between landlords and tenants which should apply to every case, whatever the wishes of the parties might be, the task would be absolutely impossible, and, if possible, the law would be evaded. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member (Mr F. O'Connor) had said a great deal about a tenant taking land at 10s. an acre, and improving it so as to make it worth 30s. an acre, and had observed that the landlord in such case, without any expenditure of capital, reaped the full benefit of the tenant's exertions and industry. But, under those circumstances, the real security of the tenant was, before taking the land at 10s. an acre capable of being improved to 30s. an acre, and before expending capital on the land, to stipulate with his landlord for such fixity of tenure for a limited period as would reimburse him. (Hear, hear.) No law could be passed, in justice to all parties, which could give such fixity of tenure as might be voluntarily agreed upon between landlord and tenant. When the landlords of Ireland were spoken of as being the originators of all the evils existing there with reference to the tenure of land, he thought it fair to state any exception — and he hoped the exception would become the rule — that might exist to such a general assertion, and to show that the principle of making an agreement mutually beneficial was acted upon by some of the best landlords in that country. Since he had come into that house he had had put into his hand an advertisement in reference to the Queen's County, relative to certain farms to let from the 25th March, by Mr Price. These were the terms of the advertisement for letting several large farms belonging to Mr Fitzpatrick and the Marquis of Lansdowne, in the Queen's County:—'Proposals in writing, or applications personally, be received and attended to by Mr John R. Price, Westfield-farm, Mountrath, who will be prepared to satisfy all reasonable tenants on the undefined and vexed questions of 'tenant-right and fixity of tenure,' by the only remedy calculated to remove the difficulty and to perpetuate a good understanding, between landlord and tenant; that is, by providing the fixed capital required for all permanent improvements, on certain, just, and equitable conditions, to be previously agreed upon; and by granting a substantial lease for twenty-one or thirty-one years, as the condition of the farm may require or suggest.—March 9, 1848.' If landlords offered such terms, calculated to improve the relation between them and their tenants, such a mode of proceeding would be found much better than anything else, and most productive of a sound feeling amongst the parties. As to the proposition that every tenant who fulfilled the conditions of ordinary industrial occupation was to be entitled to compensation from the landlord, over and above the profits which he might have realised from his outlay, it seemed quite preposterous. There were, of course, cases in which a tenant was equitably entitled to some consideration in this respect, on surrendering occupation—as, for instance, where he had erected permanent farm buildings at his own cost. He should be quite ready, however, to refer this measure to the serious consideration of any committee upstairs to which the government measure might be submitted. (Hear, hear.) As to the statement that bands of armed orangemen were wandering about the north of Ireland, it was scarcely worth his while to give the statement a denial.

Mr FAGAN said that the English tenant was much better off than the Irish occupier of the land, notwithstanding a far greater proportion of the population of his country depended wholly on the cultivation of the soil. The bill of the hon. member for Rochdale was much wanted in order to restrain the cruel system of eviction that was pursued in Ireland, and he should give it his hearty support.

Col. BLACKWALL said he should offer his decided opposition to the motion of the hon. member for Rochdale.

Mr P. SCROPE was of opinion, speaking as an English member, that the speedy settlement of the Tenant-Right question in Ireland was most essential to the tranquillity of the empire. The hon. member for Rochdale had, it seemed to him, brought forward the measure before the house with the best possible motives, and also in accordance with the general sentiments of the agricultural classes in Ireland. The relations between landlord and tenant in that country called for the immediate and most serious attention of the legislature; and in his opinion no permanent tranquillity could be looked for in Ireland until the tenant farmers of that country were placed on a more equitable footing than they had at present with regard to the landlords. A large number of the agricultural population of Ireland had declared their determination not to endure any longer the frightful evils inflicted on them by the present defective system, and perpetuated by the defective state of the law. All the agrarian outrages which had prevailed in Ireland for so long a period could be distinctly traced to the insecurity of Tenant Right; and it was generally admitted by all writers on the social condition of Ireland, that the evils observable in that kingdom were solely attributable to the defective laws which regulated the relations between landlord and tenant. If the question was not settled satisfactorily by some such bill as the present, there would be a frightful scene of convulsion witnessed in Ireland, which the landlords would have much more reason to deplore than they would to regret the concessions that the measure before the house proposed to grant. He should, for the reasons he had stated, support the second reading.

Col. RAWDON regretted the course the government had taken in regard to the bill before the house, which should have his support, subject to any modification that might be deemed necessary in the committee.

Mr S. CRAWFORD reiterated his former arguments in favour of the bill, and declined to withdraw the measure upon the offer of the government to take it into consideration, in conjunction with the Tenant Right bill, brought forward by the hon. baronet the member for Drogheda. He should persist, therefore, in dividing the house upon the second reading.

The house then divided.

For the second reading.. 22
Against it.. .. .. 145—123

After the transaction of other business, the house adjourned at half-past five o'clock.

THURSDAY, APRIL 6.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.—Mr F. O'CONNOR presented a petition from forty-nine delegates in National Convention assembled, and representing five millions of people, praying for the liberation of Frost, Williams, and Jones.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL apprehended that the petition could not be received, inasmuch as it stated that it came from the 'National Convention.'

Mr F. O'CONNOR reminded the hon. and learned gentleman that similar petitions were allowed to be received under Sir Robert Peel's government, and as a Convention of 49 delegates was recognised by the law, he could not see what objection there could be to the reception of the petition.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL was decidedly of opinion that the petition was not legally worded, but he hoped the hon. gentleman would not press its reception till he had had time to look into the authorities upon the subject.

Mr F. O'CONNOR said the request of the hon. and learned gentleman, coming as it did from the first law officer of the Crown sounded very much like a command, but as a matter of courtesy to the hon. and learned gentleman, he would not press it.

The petition was accordingly withdrawn.

CHARTIST DEMONSTRATION. — Sir J. WALSH wished to know, from the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether he had received any information with respect to a number of persons called Chartists, to meet at Kennington Common on Monday next, for the ostensible purpose of forming a numerous procession to move through the streets of the metropolis, and presenting a petition to this house in favour of what was called the six points of the Charter; and if the government had had its attention called to these circumstances, were they prepared to take those measures which might be necessary to secure the independence of the house from being overawed by any meeting calculated to intimidate them, and likewise to aid in the protection of the peaceable and loyal people of London.

Sir G. GREY said: I now hold in my hand a notice, which I believe was published yesterday, signed by three individuals, one of whom declares himself the secretary, I presume, of the Chartist Association, in which he states that a Convention, consisting of forty-nine delegates, will assemble in a particular place, upon a given day, and some following days, for the purpose of superintending the presentation of a petition to Parliament, and to advise the adoption of such other course as they may think fit for the purpose of securing the enactment of the People's Charter. A great metropolitan demonstration will accompany the petition, and persons are invited to attend at Kennington-common, where the route of the procession would be prescribed. The attention of the government having been called to this notice, and other information having reached me respecting the intended proceedings upon Monday next, the government have directed a notice to be issued, which they hope will be published in the course of half an hour, pointing out that, by the Statutes of the Common Law of these realms, such procession is illegal, and warning all loyal and peaceful subjects of her Majesty to abstain from taking any part in the proceedings, and to give their best aid in maintaining order and preventing any breach of the peace that may ensue. (Loud cheers.)

Mr F. O'CONNOR said, that the course pursued by the government would be taking the people utterly by surprise. There were several precedents in favour of these processions. In the year 1831 a procession of 100,000 or 150,000 persons marched down to this house, and presented a petition in favour of the Reform Bill. In 1834 a procession of 100,000 also marched down to this house while it was sitting, and presented a petition in favour of the liberation of the Dorchester labourers — large demonstration of sailors also walked past this house a short time since. Those persons who have put their names to the document referred to by the right honourable baronet, have this day passed resolutions that every man who joined the procession should be a special constable himself, and they pledge themselves not only to preserve the peace, but to take any man into custody who might attempt to violate the rights of property. It was not the intention of the people to come down to the door of the house, they were to have gone over Westminster-bridge. He had never in his life attempted to palm a falsehood upon that house, and had he thought that the parties had any sinister motive or view, or any ulterior design, he would not for a moment have lent his sanction to the proceeding, or joined in that procession. He believed that it was a constitutional right of the people to assemble in that manner, and he trusted that the government would not further interfere upon the occasion than to preserve peace. He hoped that the people would be allowed to come down in procession as was intended to the house. He should consider himself unworthy a seat in that house if he lent himself to any demonstrations calculated to incite the people to the slightest infraction of the peace.

Sir G. GREY: With respect to the people being taken by surprise, I can only say, that at the earliest moment at which the government could deliberate after they received the information, they directed the notice to which I have before referred to be issued, and it may no doubt be in the possession of the hon. member for Nottingham this evening. (Cheers.) That notice will state what, in the opinion of the law advisers, the law of the land is upon the subject, and, without reference to precedents, I am sure, after having avowed the opinions he has, with respect to the good conduct of the people, he will, I am sure, be the last man to encourage any body of men summoned to join an assembly to violate the law.

Mr HUME said, that on a former occasion it had been asked if a peaceable procession was illegal, and Lord Melbourne's government stated that it was not, and they refused to interfere, He (Mr Hume) thought that it would be dangerous for the government to interfere at the present time, and he hoped that they would be induced to withdraw this notice. (Cries of 'No, no.')

PROTECTION OF THE CROWN AND GOVERNMENT.

Sir G. GREY—I beg, Sir, to give notice, that I shall, to-morrow, move, before the other Orders of the day, for leave to bring in a Bill to provide for the better security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

GOVERNMENT PROCLAMATION.

The following is the Proclamation alluded to above:—

NOTICE!!

'Whereas the assemblage of large numbers of people, accompanied with circumstances tending to excite terror and alarm in the minds of her Majesty's subjects, is criminal and unlawful;

'And whereas not only those persons who take an active part in such assemblage, but those also who by their presence wilfully countenance it, are acting contrary to law, and are liable to punishment; and whereas an Act of Parliament, passed in the 13th year of the reign of his late Majesty King Charles II., intituled 'An act against tumult and disorders, upon pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his Majesty in the Parliament,' it was enacted, 'that no person or persons whatsoever, shall repair to his Majesty or both or either of the Houses of Parliament, 'upon pretence of presenting or delivering any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other addresses, accompanied with excessive numbers of people, nor at any one time with above the number of ten persons;

'And whereas a meeting has been called to assemble on Monday next, the 10th inst, at Kennington Common, and it is announced in the printed notices calling such meeting, that it is intended by certain persons to repair thence in procession to the House of Commons, accompanied with excessive numbers of people, upon pretence of presenting a petition to the Commons House of Parliament; and whereas information has been received that persons have been advised to procure arms and weapons, with the purpose of carrying the same in such procession; and whereas such proposed procession is calculated to excite terror and alarm in the minds of her Majesty's subjects;

'All persons are hereby cautioned and strictly enjoined not to attend, or take part in, or be present at, any such assemblage or procession.

'And all well-disposed persons are hereby called upon, and required to aid in enforcing the provisions of the law, and effectually to protect the public peace, and suppress any attempt at the disturbance thereof. (Signed) 'C. ROWAN,
'R. MAYNE,

'Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis
'Metropolitan Police office, Whitehall-place,
April 6, 1848.'

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FRIDAY, APRIL 7.

THE NATIONAL PETITION.

Mr H. DRUMMOND: Seeing the honourable member for Nottingham in his place, I beg to ask him what is the course meant to be pursued with regard to the presentation of the petition on Monday next, of which he had given notice. I have seen in the public papers that it has been a question agitated at a meeting at which that honourable gentleman was present—What should be done in case of this house refusing to receive the petition then presented? I have read the petition myself, and I believe there is not one human being in this house that would say 'No' to the reception of it. (Hear.) There is no doubt that the petition will be received as a matter of course; and—(Cries of order.)

Mr F. O'CONNOR: In reply to the honourable gentleman, I beg to say that on Monday week last I gave notice that I would move a resolution, founded upon the principles in this petition, as an amendment upon the order of the day for going into committee of supply on Monday next. I now find there is no supply for that night; therefore, unless the noble lord at the head of the government will be kind enough to allow me to bring it forward the first question on Monday, I cannot give the honourable gentleman any answer as to the time when I shall be able to do so. The noble lord is aware that the petition is one of great importance to some millions of the people; and I ask this from him as a privilege, upon the undertaking that I at least shall not detain the house long upon it. If the honourable member had not put the question to me, I should myself have asked the noble lord for permission to bring the measure forward—a measure upon which, as a matter of course, there is great excitement both in and out of this house. If the noble lord does not grant the indulgence I ask for, then I must look for another open night; but on Monday I shall present the petition. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. RUSSELL: I should be very unwilling, sir, that a petition so numerously signed, as the honourable gentleman has declared the petition he has to present will be, should not be received, and meet with every consideration from the house. I do not, however, think that government should give up Monday to the consideration of the petition. But considering the importance of a petition presented by such numbers of the people, and that a petition so signed ought to have early consideration, I shall be ready, having at the same time regard to public convenience, to consent that the hon gentleman shall bring on his motion on Friday next. [Loud cheers.]

Mr F. O'CONNOR—I am most thankful to the noble lord. [Hear]

THE GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN FAVOUR OF THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER.

Mr BRIGHT—I wish to put a question to the government with regard to the notice that has been published, touching the meeting proposed to be held on Monday. I wish to know whether it is intended to refer to both the meeting and the procession, or only to the procession. If the people may meet quietly it is one thing; if they are permitted, or not permitted, to come through the streets in immense numbers, it is a very different thing. I think, then, there should be no misunderstanding, for if there be, there might probably be risk of collision and disturbance, which every member of this house would be anxious to avoid.

Sir G. GREY: Sir, the honourable gentleman asks me if I understood him rightly, whether the meeting as convened to assemble on Kennington-Common, separate from, and independent of, the proposed procession, would be illegal? That would depend entirely upon the circumstances under which the meeting was held. (Hear.) If any meeting should be held, for whatever purpose, if it be accompanied with circumstances such as I have before alluded to—circumstances calculated to inspire terror and alarm—just terror and alarm—in the minds of her Majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects, then, I apprehend, it would be against the common law. (Hear.) But if the meeting is held, or is convened to be held, for the express purpose of framing out of it a procession for the purpose of proceeding, contrary to the statute law, to either house of Parliament, to accompany the presentation of a petition in excessive numbers, then I also apprehend that a meeting identified with the procession would come within the provisions of the law. (Hear, hear.)

Lord R. GROSVENOR put a question to the right hon. baronet respecting the meeting, not one word of which was audible in the gallery.

Sir G. GREY: All I know of the intended meeting on Kennington-common is stated in the notices published throughout England, that such a meeting was convened. I take my knowledge from the published announcements of the Chartists' Association, signed by three gentlemen, one of whom calls himself 'secretary,' which have not been disavowed by the hon. gentleman opposite (Mr F O'Connor), who is considered one of the leaders of the association. In those announcements it is stated that the object of the meeting is to marshal the people for assembling in large numbers—to the number of 300,000 it has been stated—and that physical force may accompany the petition to the door of the House of Commons.

Mr F. O'CONNOR: I wish to ask the right hon. gentleman if he has received a deputation to-day from parties who have issued a notice on the subject of the meeting.

Sir G. GREY: I was very much engaged with public business this day when I received an intimation that three gentlemen, who stated themselves to be a deputation from 'the National Convention,' were at the Home-office. They saw the Under Secretary of State, in the presence of the Attorney General and Mr Hall. I was not present. I will read to the house the letter which they addressed to me. (Sir George here read the letter.)

Sir R. INGLIS: I wish to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, through his under secretary, he has acknowledged a National Convention sitting in London. (Oh, oh, and hear, hear.)

Sir G. GREY: I have no hesitation in answering my honourable friend. The three gentlemen who went to the Home Office were not received or recognised as delegates from the National Convention. I have received a note from the Under-Secretary, informing me that the distinctly stated to them he could not receive them in the capacity of delegates from the National Convention (Hear.)

Mr WAKLEY: I wish to ask a question. The meeting on Kennington Common has been publicly advertised during the last month. I want to know, if it were known by the government that such a meeting and such a procession were illegal, why the people had not information on the subject before this late period?

Sir G. GREY: Because I had not the information which the right hon. gentleman, better informed than he Secretary of State possessed. (Cheers, and laughter.) It was my duty to know, and from information which it was my duty to obtain I did ascertain, that at meetings held in certain parts of the metropolis speeches were made to small numbers of men in which such an attention was announced, in which it was said that upon the 10th or 11th there would be a great demonstration to attend the presentation of the people's petition to the House of Commons. But the first public advertisement I have seen of any such intention is that which now lies before me, which I received the day before yesterday. The Cabinet deliberated upon it, and after their deliberation the notice was published, the nature of which I have stated. (Loud cheers.)

Mr WAKLEY.—The right honourable baronet, in the first part of his reply to my question, intimated that I had better knowledge upon this subject than he possessed. I can state positively that I have attended no meetings whatever in relation to the petition which is to be presented to this house on Monday. I have not attended any public assembly regarding it, and I have had no direct communication with the persons calling themselves the National Convention in relation to it. I derive my information from a public newspaper, the property of an honourable member of this house. I get it from no other source whatever. I consider that the people are unjustly treated by being lured into the supposition that they can safely assemble in large numbers, and can attend a procession to this house in large numbers also, during so long a period as has transpired since the announcement was made in the public journals.

Mr FEARGUS O'CONNOR: I beg leave to state that I have not attended any public meeting in London in connexion with the getting up of the demonstration; though I have attended, as a delegate, the Convention which is now sitting. The hon. gentleman has given me credit for having some influence with those parties. I have had that much influence to show them they should not come down to the House of Commons to present the petition, but go over Westminster-bridge, whereas the last time they marched in procession the petition was brought to the door, and I myself laid it upon the floor of the house. The conclusion, then, which I come to is, that the people have the same right now, when a Liberal government is in office, to avail themselves of a privilege which was never denied to them by former administrations. I declare solemnly, if it had been known before the meeting was announced that it was the intention of government to suppress it, the people would not have held it; but when millions are petitioning for their rights, when we have been told that taxation without representation is tyranny, and should be resisted, by gentlemen now on the Treasury bench, it is hard that the government should punish them for obeying their own instructions. I have always said, and I say again, that I never shrink from any responsibility that may be imposed on me, and therefore I should be sorry to be a party to getting up a procession and then shrink from the consequences. It is my intention to attend the meeting. (Hear, hear.) It is my intention to come down to the House of Commons with the procession, but the procession will pass over Westminster-bridge; and it will be my duty to use all my powers, as I have hitherto done, to prevent the slightest infraction of the peace. (Cheers.)

Sir JAMES GRAHAM: I desire to say one or two words on this occasion. The honourable gentleman who has just sat down has said, and truly said, there are precedents in favour of the course which he is about to take. I understood him, however, to say, that in 1813, when I had the honour of filling the situation of Home Secretary, that the honourable member for Finsbury, who, at that time, I think, presented a petition most numerously signed on the part of the Chartists, presented it in a manner identical with the plan proposed to be adopted on Monday next.

Alderman THOMPSON: Sir, I rose for the purpose of expressing the astonishment with which I heard the honourable member for Nottingham declare that he had not attended meetings for the purpose of promoting this assemblage of the people, and that he had no idea of any disposition to break the peace.

Mr F. O'CONNOR: No public meetings.

Alderman THOMPSON: Does the honourable member remember the meeting on Monday night, at the coffee-house in Cripplegate? [loud cries of 'hear, hear,' in the midst of which]

Mr F. O'CONNOR hastily rose and said: Sir, I went from this house to a tea party of some dozen or so, that was all.

Alderman THOMPSON: I am aware that it was not a "public meeting." I have here in my hand a report of his speech [loud cries of 'read, read,') communicated through a person of the utmost respectability, and on whom I can place perfect reliance, and let the house mark the contrast between the honourable member's speeches in this house and out of it Sir, it was not a meeting of the Irish confederated delegates; and the honourable member said 'they must put down royalty, and all titles as in France. Remember the 10th of April. It would be a glorious day.' Such was the speech of an honourable member,

Mr F. O'CONNOR—I repeat, on my honour, I declare before God, that I never mentioned titles on the occasion; and to the best of my belief, never mentioned France. It is notorious that I have always been against republicanism. I challenge the alderman to prove this speech, which has been trumped up. He had denounced more than any other man in the kingdom the American form of republicanism.

Mr HUME said that it was of the utmost importance for the house not to allow its attention to be diverted towards what took place at meetings held out of doors, for they were all aware how liable such proceedings were to misrepresentations. Members ought to be more guarded in receiving and repeating such statements. The government ought in particular to be very reserved in acting upon any information save that which they proceed upon affidavit.

Sir D. L. EVANS had never yet been found on the side of those who would restrict public meetings of the people, but he was pound to say on the part of his constituents, the inhabitants of Westminster, that there were circumstances which rendered the contemplated procession of Monday a peculiar case. He could assure the house that not only had there been great alarm created at those comparatively small meetings, but also that numbers of his constituents had suffered materially in their business. He concurred with the hon. member for Cockermouth that the hour was come when every honest man—(cheers)—was bound to declare what side he was prepared to take. In that spirit he was prepared to state that he gave his willing assent to the measures adopted by the government.

Mr J. O'CONNELL hoped his countrymen, particularly such of them as might be contemplating the taking part in the Kennington-common meeting, would not be led away by the hon. member for Nottingham. He (Mr O'Connell) hoped they would take the warning given by their best friends in Ireland, and have nothing whatever to do with the meeting.

Lord J. RUSSELL said: The hon. member for Nottingham had told the house that he did not intend that this procession should come to the House of Commons; but we find it stated in a printed notice, signed by three persons, who, I suppose, belong to the party in favour of this petition—'We propose that a great metropolitan demonstration shall accompany the people's prayer to the door of the House of Commons.' (Hear, hear.) I quite admit that there are occasions when it is unnecessary for the government to interfere, and enforce the strict letter of the law; these are times of singular peace and quietness. But a contrary course must be taken in times of great disquiet and alarm, and I put it to the house whether the present time is not such? (Hear, hear.) The hon. gentleman (Mr O'Connor) must know that recent events have raised guilty designs and guilty hopes; and in proportion to these, have been alarm and terror experienced by the peaceable and loyal subjects of Her Majesty. The hon. gentleman tells us himself that he is reproached and reprobated, and for what? (Hear, hear.) Is it for any disloyal conduct? Is it for any behaviour worthy of a man or a member of parliament? Is it for expressing his attachment to the monarchy? (Hear, hear.) No, said the hon. member, the political society with which he consorts reprobates him because he is in favour of a monarchy and against a republic. (Laughter.) The government have thought that the law is against the intended procession, and feel it their duty to warn all the loyal and peaceable subjects of her Majesty against it. (Hear, hear.) Now, sir, has there not been sufficient warning given? There are three days before that announcement for holding the meeting, during which interval the hon. gentleman, and every one else, can reconsider their decision. (Hear, hear.) They may have thought that the procession would not be illegal, they may have thought that it would not be a transgression of the letter of the law, and that custom and precedent would have authorised them in expecting that such a procession would have been permitted. They now know that the government has declared the meeting illegal; they are now aware that the notice of such a meeting has produced terror and alarm among her Majesty's subjects; and is it not, then, the duty of the hon. gentleman not to join in such a procession, but to tell them, as he may to them with truth, that their petition will be received with respect, and that a fair opportunity will be afforded for the calm discussion of the people's Charter. Let him advise them to proceed properly and constitutionally in their efforts to have the prayer of their petition conceded, and not by illegal means endeavour to terrify and overawe the deliberations of Parliament. (Cheers.)

Sir R. PEEL said, he recollected no act of the government of 1843 which ought to fetter the discretion of her Majesty' ministers. He knew it had been said that there were occasions in former years when processions of the people were allowed to approach the House of Commons. But that was only by indulgence of the executive government, The present was the time when the government might properly express its intentions; and, he must say that considering the circumstances of the times, as well foreign as domestic, and taking also into regard the state of the public mind at present, if 100,000 people were to be permitted to parade the streets, it was impossible to foresee the consequences, and, in his opinion, the government had acted rightly in taking the course they had done.

TREASON AND SEDITION BILL.—Sir G. GREY then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better security of the crown and government, to apply equally to the United Kingdom, the principal feature of the measure being the substitution of the punishment of transportation for that of death in cases enumerated in the existing acts, but not comprehending the crime of compassing or designing the death or imprisonment of the sovereign, and the imposition of the penalties imposed by the bill to all such persons as should, by open advised speaking, compass, imagine, or promote the said treasonable designs. After some debate, in which the latter proposition was condemned as a gaggling clause, and calculated to interfere with the discussion of political subjects, the house divided, when the motion for leave to bring in the bill was carried by a majority of 259, the numbers being 283 to 24. [We shall give an account of this bill, and the debate upon it next week.]—The Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Bill was read a second time after some discussion, and referred to a select committee. The Mutiny and Marine Mutiny Bills were reported, and the house adjourned.

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Our cause is, therefore, the cause of Justice and the cause of God; and our duty is to impose the *onus* of resistance to that cause upon those who dread the moral influence of an oppressed but united people.

In the provinces, those who pant for the response to the National Will, thus respectfully and constitutionally conveyed, will not give ear to the thousand and one reports which malice or mischief may choose to circulate; but they will wait calmly for the true intelligence from their own representatives.

There never was, in any country, a more creditable, pure, or honest representation of the National Will, than that which is now deliberating upon the National Cause. Its progress will not be retarded for want of energy and courage; its success will not be jeopardised—and must not be jeopardised—by bluster, bravado, or folly. A sacred duty is assigned to those men, and a sacred trust is imposed upon their constituents; the voice of Freedom is wafted upon each passing breeze throughout the land—and heavy will be the responsibility of those who shall check its course, or impede its progress by treachery, by cowardice, or fraud.

For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it.

For a people to ensure their freedom, it is sufficient that they know their rights, and dare maintain them.

ONWARD AND WE CONQUER!
BACKWARD AND WE FALL!
THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER
AND
NO SURRENDER!

PARLIAMENTARY REVIEW.

If the Legislature means to continue much longer in its "do nothing" mood, it would be better that St Stephens should be closed at once, "until further notice,' and only reopened when the members have made up their minds to go on with work. At present, the sum total of these labours can only be expressed by the term "*nil*." People grow tired of looking into Parliamentary debates, because they know they will find nothing in them, except it be the announcement of the determination of our legislators to do nothing.

We have already commented upon the singular and anomalous position taken up both by the Ministry and the Parliament. In the midst of general progress, they are obstinately bent upon standing stock still. It might, but for some trifling indications to the contrary, be imagined that our ruling classes were both blind and deaf, and that the events which everywhere else stir the heart's blood and make it flow quicker through the veins, have no existence for the occupants of Downing-street, or the benches of the House of Commons. A wise Ministry or a prudent Legislature would not act in this way. The natural effect of the mighty changes that are occurring around us, must be to excite the instinctive feeling, latent in the mind of every man, that things may be, and ought to be, better than they are. Such a period of general and simultaneous movement seems to be pre-eminently the time for an active and prudent Government to lead the way to safe and efficient improvements, and by making the existing constitution the medium for conferring political and social benefits, obviate the necessity for organic or violent changes. The introduction of good measures, and the exhibition of an earnest and honest intention to carry them out, would more than anything else tend to maintain order in this country, and to secure gradually the great objects of good government to all classes without direct injury to any. If the Chartists and Repealers had been in want of arguments to prove that the interests of the masses of this country are not properly attended to, and that an immediate and extensive change was required in order to make it harmonise with the intelligence of the people, and able to provide for their wants, the policy of the present Parliament would have supplied quite sufficient to have proved their case. Instead of increased activity and energy, Ministers and members seem to think that the times demand an increased amount of indolence and apathy. In a few days, more, the House will adjourn for the Easter recess; that is, the best working half of the Session will be over, and what shall we have to show for it? Ministers have botched their Budget. There never before was such a thing of shreds and patches turned out in the financial way. The Public Health Bill has been for many weeks arrested in its progress. Our Colonial system was to have been revised, with the view of giving representative institutions to the Colonies, and so enabling them to manage their own affairs—the only thing done in that way has been to suspend the New Zealand Constitution granted last year. Not a single step has been taken towards improving our Educational Institutions. Ireland was to have occupied a prominent position, by the bringing in of a series of remedial measures. Ministers act the part of the dog in the manger; not only will they do nothing themselves, but they will not permit any body else to do anything—witness the defeat of Mr Sharman Crawford's Out-going Tenants' Bill this week. In short, in every department we see the same stagnation. It is impossible that this can go on long.

It is unnecessary to detain our readers with any detailed enumeration of the matters that have been talked over since our last. A few specimens may be selected, just by way of showing the fitness of the present Ministry and Parliament for their respective duties. When the Army Estimates were brought on, Mr Hume moved that 100,000 men be granted instead of 113,000. He was beaten by a majority of 295. The explanation is easy—of that majority, at least 115 hold commissions in the Army and Navy, or stand in the nearest personal relations of birth or marriage to those who do. More than one-third of the whole undeniably belong to families which have a direct pecuniary interest in maintaining the largest possible amount of armed force. If to these the holders of civil appointments, and the expectants of appointments in future, be added, fully two-thirds of the majority will be accounted for. It is in this way that these classes, under the conventional cloaks of a vote of the House of Commons, dip their hands into the pockets of the people, and transfer the money found there into their own.

The fate of the Out-going Tenants' Bill, to which we have already alluded, in conjunction with other Irish discussions during the Session, and the general tone of the House on these questions should be accepted by the Irish people and their leaders, as an unmistakeable hint that the English Parliament is tired of legislating for Ireland—that it wishes very much they would take the trouble off its hands, and mind their own affairs in future. At least, such is the construction we put upon the systematic and determined refusal to grant a single positive or remedial measure to a country which is known to be steeped to the lips in wretchedness, and which all authorities unite to show is on the eve of a general and organised insurrection.

Lord J. Russell's haughty defiance and pompous boast of Monday night, in answer to Lord Jocelyn's question on the state of Ireland, we look upon in the same light. The Whig Premier has evidently made up his mind to stop legislation and provoke a fight. The grievances of Ireland are nothing to him. The shortest cut to the tranquillity of that country appears to be, in his estimation, through the slaughter of its inhabitants. Certainly, it is a summary way of getting rid of the "surplus population." But blood thus spilt has an awkward facility of springing up in future harvests of revenge and hostility, not unfrequently fatal to those who caused it to be shed. We have no hesitation in saying that if a civil war takes place in Ireland, that the Whig government which has obstinately refused all legislation of a conciliatory or remedial character, and which has, at the same time, proclaimed its determination to put down, by armed force, the internal disaffection arising from its own misconduct, will be alone responsible for all the blood that may be shed, and the loss of property which may follow such an event.

Mr Horsman, by dint of constant importunity, has at length shamed both Sir R. Peel and Lord J. Russell, into the confession that something must be done to reform the Ecclesiastical Commission, to which we have more than once referred. The way in which the Bishops have misappropriated the funds, and evaded the distinct intentions of an Act of Parliament, would, in the case of a poor man, be termed fraud and swindling. But to the "right reverend prelates" such terms, we presume, are not to be applied. They steal so nicely, none dare call it theft. Lord John has promised, however, to consult the new Archbishop of Canterbury as to the means of stopping the plunder in future. Perhaps this is done on the principle, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

The Jewish Disabilities Bill, which was introduced at the beginning of the Session, and which, as it was intended to let into Parliament Baron Rothschild, one of the Premier's colleagues for the City of London, we might have imagined would have been pushed forward somewhat briskly, has shared in the general paralysis. On Monday night it turned up, after having been lost sight of for some time, and, after a preliminary discussion, went through committee. It has still to pass the ordeal of the Lords, and if all we hear is true, it is possible that it may founder in its passage through that Chamber.

To Readers & Correspondents.

DEMONSTRATION COMMITTEE.—Every member of this committee is specially summoned to attend on Sunday afternoon, at five o'clock precisely.

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James Swaffield	0	6
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Brighton, Flower ...	4	0
O'dham, Hamer	5	0
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T Martin...	1	0
W Penny, Hyde	0	6
W Darrant and Brothers, Stratford-on-Avon ...	2	0
Thomas Abbott, Manchester ...	0	6
Walsall, per Perkins	2	6
Lincoln	1	0
Bacup	5	5
	£1	19 7

The above is the list of names which was omitted last week, as the sum only was announced.

Bilston, per Linney	4	2
Walsall, per Perkins	2	6
Lincoln	1	0
Bacup	5	5
Romford, Herbert	5	6
Witham, Fish	2	6
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Leadgate, Grogan	2	4
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THOMAS MARTIN WHEELER.

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Droylsden, J Dawson	3	0
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	£6 15	0

Thomas Rankin respectfully solicits those localities that have not yet remitted their quota to use their best efforts to do so with as little delay as possible.

THE O'CONNOR MEDAL.—A correspondent suggests the wearing of the O'Connor medal on the 16th of April.

H. Y., Stratford, Essex.—Your letter is very well written but has the vice of containing nothing practical. Mere generalities, appeals for 'union,' &c., &c. are but words wasted. Any future communications, whether reports or otherwise, shall have our attention.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.—SIR,—I beg to contradict a false statement which appeared in the STAR of the 18th, in a letter, signed 'William Holmes, wherein he states that I dismissed him from my service in consequence of his having become a successful allottee on the land; the fact is simply this, on account of the great depression in the trade, and having upwards of £250. worth of lace by me from the machine which Holmes worked, I judged it advisable that the frame should stand, and it has not been worked at all since he left me, which is a fortnight since, last Saturday; add to this the fact of my having known of his connexion with the Land Plan from the week after he first entered my employ, and you and the public will, I think, see that it had nothing to do with his dismissal. Your insertion of this will oblige, Sir, your obedient servant, GEORGE LANGFORD. Lenton Sands, March 21.

CORNWALL.—A correspondent asks 'cannot some attention be paid by the Executive to Cornwall, by way of sending an agent? A large field is open there for labour, and would doubtless prove worth attending to.

W. R., Reading.—We know nothing of the note.

ANTI-HUMBUG.—The contribution is one shilling annually. If shillings, are sent addressed to G. J. Harney, NORTHERN STAR office, cards will be sent in return.

AN ENGLISH 'MARSEILLAISE.'—I have been thinking that the Democrats of England are much behind those of France and other nations, in not having their national democratic anthem. Why have we not our 'Democratic Hymn' as our French brethren have their 'Hymn of the Girondins,' and the 'Marseillaise?' I think that if the Chartist Executive Council would take up the matter, and offer a small prize for the best lyric that could be produced, embodying the sentiments of the people, there are many poets in England who would 'string their lyre' to such a theme. What do you think of the suggestion? I remain, yours, A REPUBLICAN. [Very good. Ed. N. S.]

THE NATIONAL PETITION.—A correspondent who signs himself 'late of the 81st Regiment of Foot,' says:—'I would suggest the propriety of every Chartist in Great Britain (who can afford the expense), being in London on the 10th, and to join the procession; and also, that a memorial be presented at the Home Office, in behalf of Frost, Williams, and Jones, to be accompanied thither by the said procession. I would further suggest that all Chartist householders, residing in the metropolis, should allow themselve to be enrolled as special constables, to keep the peace and preserve good order, and so dispense with the government bludgeon men.

T. WOODHOUSE, Stockport.—Yes.

THE COMING REVOLUTION.—From a long letter signed 'Mercator,' for which we have not room in full, we give the following extract:—'Go to any of our manufacturing towns or villages, and there you will find thousands upon thousands, of our best and most industrious artisans starving for want of employment; and in many branches of the staple trade of this country, even when employment can be obtained, the workman cannot earn more than 6s or 7s per week, and out of this pittance, he has to maintain a wife, and probably a large family!! And while the country is in such a state as this, caused by class legislation, our Whig rulers, after having, as is always the case, emptied the Exchequer, are trying to put the screw on the middle classes, knowing full well, that they (the middle classes) will throw the entire burthen on the working classes. While the operatives are enduring sufferings almost unparalleled, the Guizot of England is indulging in the most lavish expenditure—to say nothing of the immense sums paid every year to placemen and hangers on, who never did, nor ever will, render any service to their country. And is this state of things to be endured any longer? Are the working classes to be plundered of their last penny, by a Liberal Whig Ministry, and suffer the infliction in silence? No, let our rulers beware in time; let them grant such reforms as are necessary for the salvation of the people; let them retrench and economise the expenditure; let them grant equal laws, and equal privileges, and all may yet be well. But if ministers follow their present insane policy, they will, and ought to be made answerable, for the scenes of bloodshed, which will ere long blast our once peaceful, prosperous, and happy isle. This statement may startle some, and be laughed at by others. But let these triflers and scoffers attend the gatherings of the oppressed and starving operatives, and they will find that a spirit of the most determined revenge has taken complete possession of those, who a short time ago were the advocates of peace and order. Let them remember that there is a point in suffering, beyond which endurance is a crime, ay, of the blackest character. Let them remember that the people have before them, the glorious example of a successful resistance to tyranny and oppression; and let them also remember, that the middle classes are nearly as much discontented as the bulk of the people; and if amid warnings like these, our rulers do not immediately introduce such measures as will satisfy the people, let them prepare for a day of retribution, which most assuredly is not far distant.—MERCATOR.

RECEIPTS OF THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY,

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY, APRIL 6, 1848.

PER MR O'CONNOR.

SHARES.					£	s.	d.
Reading	3	0	0	Bury Coulter	10	0	0
Wilmslow	1	16	0	Newent	4	18	3
Woolwich,				Richmond	1	14	11
Crombie	0	5	0	Southampton	4	0	0
Birmingham,				Halifax	9	5	0
Goodwin	3	13	0	Corbridge	2	0	0
Kilbarchan	1	2	6	Busby	4	10	0
Bridlington Quay	6	18	0	Glasgow	4	2	6
Birmingham,				Littletown	3	10	10½
Brindley	1	6	0	Newcastle-upon-			
Barnsley	10	14	6	Tyne	8	6	6
Cheddington	2	10	6	Welton	0	15	2
Barnoldswick	0	3	0	Clayton West	1	18	2
Campsie	5	9	6	Yarmouth	5	0	0
Linlithgow	1	7	6	Ely	9	0	2
Retford	8	5	0	Warwick	4	2	0
Falkirk	2	6	4	Whittington and			
Romford	2	12	0	Cat	5	11	11
Daventry	4	11	11	William Crow	0	2	0
Ledbury	1	0	2	Robt Crow	0	2	0
Central Rossendale	10	0	0	Wm Thatcher	0	1	0
Raisnick	1	0	0	Chas Fenton	0	1	0
Lake Lock	3	0	0	Jas A Smith	0	3	1
Edinburgh	5	0	0	Mary Ann Elliott	2	12	0
Lambeth	0	15	6	John Pomeroy	0	7	0
Parkhead	3	14	0	Lanceloy Toy	2	10	0
Mottram	15	0	0	John Toy	2	10	0
Astley	3	0	5	Ann Maria Moss	0	1	0
Marple	5	10	6	John Latham	0	6	4
York	2	0	0	Thos Latham	0	7	0
Rochdale	1	17	6	William Francis			
Tewkesbury	0	8	6	Cherry	0	6	0
Somers Town	2	7	0	Geo Loveridge	0	2	6
Limehouse, B H	6	7	6	John Edward			
Manchester	12	18	10	Bannell	0	8	0
Leicester, Astill	5	0	0	George Hughes			
Mewbury	15	0	6	Chatwin	0	5	0
Oxford	2	7	6	Thos Cork	0	5	0
Nottingham,				Wm Lute	0	1	0
Sweet	5	13	6	Geo Hall	1	0	0
Banbury	15	19	6	John Heffernan	0	1	0
Birmingham,				Thos Collings	0	5	0
Goodwin	5	0	0	Wm Wilson	0	10	6
Clitheroe	4	0	0	Geo Waterman	0	3	4
Liverpool	10	13	9	Hy Byrne	0	2	0
Northampton	7	0	0	Ann Broad	0	0	6
Thrislington	9	9	0	Wm Borrett	0	2	6
Tavistock	2	1	0	Jas Smith	0	1	6
Birmingham,				Wm Crow	0	2	0
Ship	4	11	0	Robt Crow	0	2	0
Inverkeithing	1	14	10	Wm Thatcher	0	1	0
Plymouth	6	11	6	John Quarterman	0	5	0
Keighley	10	0	0	William Thompson	0	5	0
New Radford	6	12	3	Sarah R Salmon			6
Bradford, York	3	9	0	Harriet Towers			0
Hull	12	10	10	Ann Maria Moss			0
Torquay	8	18	0	Foster Gordon	1	0	0
Mells, Corpe	3	6	0	Felix Hunt	0	1	0
Burslem	12	2	0	William Baillie	0	1	6
Alva	15	16	0	Hamilton	1	15	0
Markhinch	1	7	6				
					£339	15	0½

EXPENSE FUND.

Reading	7	0	0	Tavistock	0	2	0
Wilmslow	1	12	6	Plymouth	1	4	0
Kilbarchan	0	4	0	New Radford	0	6	6
Bridlington Quay	0	14	0	Hull	0	11	4
Barnstaple	0	10	6	Torquay	0	5	0
Long Sutton	0	5	10	Mells, Corpe	0	1	6
Campsie	0	13	0	Burslem	1	11	0
Linlithgow	0	12	6	Newent	0	1	6
Retford	0	6	6	Richmond	0	1	0
Falkirk	0	11	0	Southampton	1	0	0
Romford	0	5	6	Halifax	0	15	0
Ledbury	0	2	0	Busby	0	10	0
Rastrick	1	6	6	Glasgow	0	5	3
Lake Lock	0	2	0	Littletown	0	9	1½
Edinburgh	0	6	6	Newcastle-upon-			
Parkhead	0	6	0	Tyne	1	13	6
Astley	0	10	0	Welton	0	1	0
Marple	1	9	6	Clayton West	0	1	0
Glossop	0	8	0	Ely	1	0	2
Rochdale	0	5	6	Warwick	0	1	6
Limehouse, Brunswick Hall	0	2	6	Whittington and Cat	0	7	6
Manchester	2	7	2	Mary Ann Elliott	0	1	0
Oxford	0	4	0	John Pomeroy	0	2	0
Nottingham,				Henry Sullivan	0	1	6
Sweet	2	10	2	Thos Collins	0	2	0
Banbury	0	11	0	Geo Waterman	0	2	0
Clitheroe	1	0	0	William Board	0	2	0
Liverpool	1	16	0	John Hickman	0	2	0
Northampton,				John H Fox			
Munday	8	0	0	Young	0	1	0
Hamilton	0	5	0	Alva	0	4	0
					£45	13	0½

Total Land Fund	£399	15 0½
Expense Fund	45	13 0½
Rules	0	6 6
	£445	14 7
Bank	374	14 8
	£820	9 3

WM. DIXON,
CHRISTOPHER DOYLE,
THOS. CLARK, (Corres. Sec.)
PHILIP M'GRATH, (Fin. Sec.)

RECEIVED AT BANK.

Manchester	28	10 0
Padiham, Power Loom Weaver Association	100	0 0
Liverpool, Clarence Co-operative Society	4	14 0
Barnstaple, Auxiliary Bank	2	0 0
The Mountain Bank of the National Land Company, Yorkshire	2	0 0

T. PRICE, Manager.

RECEIPTS OF NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

Gregory, Belper	0	1	6	Northampton	0	5	0
Bradford	0	5	0	Ipswich	0	10	0
Mr Burke	0	1	1	Bolton	0	10	0
Mr Simpkin	0	1	0	Plymouth	0	11	0
Minster Lovell	2	10	0	Mr Tanner	0	4	0
Petition Sheets	0	12	5	Ladies' Shoe Makers	0	2	0
Todmorden	0	10	0	Marylebone	0	5	4
Birmingham	1	0	0	Mr Temple	0	1	0
Cheltenham	1	0	0	Mr Martin	0	2	6
Bilston	0	5	0	Retford	0	1	0
Dartford	0	10	0	Portsmouth	0	6	8
Three Old Guards, Shoe Mill	0	2	3	MixendenStones	0	12	0
Cupar Angus	0	15	0	Easington Lane	0	5	0
Chorley	0	3	0	Dartford	0	12	8
Railway Labourer	0	0	6	Leicester	0	16	10
Two Friends Sacriston	0	1	6	Wigan	0	2	0
Buckhaven	0	2	0	Mr Rogers	0	5	0
Longton, Working Man's Hall	0	10	0	Wallingford	0	4	0
Mr Potter	0	2	0	TowerHamlets	0	15	0
Buckby	0	1	8	Alva	1	0	0
Brighton	1	3	0	Collected at John Street	1	5	4
Barford	2	6	0	Lambeth	0	14	6
Nottingham	2	0	0	Aberdeen	2	0	0
E Richardson	0	2	0	Stockport	0	16	0
Glasgow	0	10	0	Sowerby Helm	1	0	0
Bath	1	0	0	Falkirk	0	10	0
Hebden Bridge	0	9	9	Hamilton	1	0	0
Edinburgh	1	10	0	Leigh	3	5	9
Mr Derbyshire	0	0	6	Tyldesley	0	16	2
Barnsley	0	10	0	Collected by W Brown	0	5	9
Mr Cuffay	0	5	0	Middleton	0	7	6
Newcastle	1	10	0	Richmond	0	4	0
Ledgate	0	3	4	Newbridge, Glamorganshire	0	10	0
Leicester	0	10	0				
					£38	10	9

DEFENCE OF MR O'CONNOR'S SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

Sleaford	0	2	9	Norwich	1	0	11
Hexham	0	9	6	Mr Duff	0	1	9
Bradford	0	7	1	Sutton-in-Ashfield	1	0	0
Somers Town Land Company and Chartists	0	18	3	Darwin	0	6	3
S O	0	1	0	Hollinwood	0	7	0
Collected by Mr Smith	0	10	9	Clackmannan	0	4	6
J L Quarnley Oldham	0	2	6	Hawick	0	2	9
				Long Buckby	0	11	6
				Sheffield	0	11	2
				J Cheetham	0	1	0
				Edinburgh	4	8	8½
					11	7	7½

C. DOYLE, Secretary.

NOTTINGHAM.—On Sunday last, a great meeting, attended by 20,000 persons, was held in the Forest, and addressed Dr. Macdouall. The meeting afterwards marched in procession through the town. He addressed a meeting of the middle classes on Tuesday night, with excellent effect.

ADDRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF MACCLESFIELD

In public meeting assembled, to the people of France.

Brethren,—Sympathy is the strongest bond of union between individuals, and also between nations. Congratulation is the best encouragement to patriotic effort. We desire, brethren, to express our sympathy in your struggle against tyranny, and to congratulate you on the successful issue of your heroic and devoted conduct in the hour of peril, and after your triumph was complete. We thank you for the impulse you have given to democratic principles throughout Europe. The victory you have won is not for France alone, the world will emulate your example; and with a well organised Republic in France, it will be impossible for despotism to maintain its footing, even in the remotest corners of the world. We thank you for the example you have given us of the power of right, when opposed to the fraudulent and mercenary power of might. For eighteen years your government has been a monstrous, a magnificent lie—the comfort of despots all the world over. Beneath its shade every evil thing has been flourishing with constantly increasing luxuriance, and when neighbouring nations have beheld the result of Frenchmen's former struggles for liberty, they have felt the cold chill of despair running through their veins, and they have asked from the depths of their despondency, 'Who can hope for freedom, while the foot of the tyrant is on the neck of France?' We thank you, Frenchmen, for having lifted this load of despair from our hearts. You have encouraged it to a more active and determined energy, in demanding our rights as Englishmen and Irishmen, and we will never abate our exertions until the government of the British Empire, is based upon the three glorious principles that form the symbol of French Republicanism—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Brethren, the sympathies of the British and Irish nations are with you. The world's hopes are centred in you, we believe you will not falsify our expectations. By your institutions based upon Equality, by justice at home, an honourable recognition of your duties towards other nations, may you realise the ardent hopes we entertain of you, and may the more than doubtful glories of imperial and imperious royalty be dimmed, darkened, and lost in the pure and lasting splendours of UNIVERSAL REPUBLICANISM.

Signed, on behalf of the meeting,
THOMAS LEACH, chairman.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

(Concluded from the eighth page.)

This proclamation having been carried by acclamation,

The CHAIRMAN announced the return of the deputation from the Home-office, when—

Mr REYNOLDS rose amidst perfect silence to state the result of the interview. He stated that in conformity with the instructions received from the Convention in the morning, the deputation proceeded to the Home-office. On arriving there they were informed that Sir George Grey was engaged at a cabinet council, but that the Under-Secretary, Sir Denis Le Marchant, was there, but was particularly engaged at that moment with the Attorney-General. The deputation handed their cards to the person in attendance, and observed that they would not detain him for more than a few minutes. Eventually they were shown in, and found Sir Denis Le Marchant, the Attorney-General, and Mr Hall, the chief magistrate of Bow-street. The deputation represented to them that they attended from the National Convention. Sir Denis Le Marchant replied that he recognised no such body. To this the deputation offered no observation, but stated that they attended in consequence of having seen the proclamation issued by the police commissioners, imputing certain objects and views to the Convention, but that the Convention utterly repudiated and deprecated the idea of congregating an armed assembly, or of conducting an armed procession in any part of the metropolis; and the deputation expressly stated that no body deprecated outrages and disturbances more than the members of the National Convention did; but they begged to assure Sir D. Le Marchant, that under all circumstances the procession would take place, and that they should adopt such measures as they thought best calculated for the preservation and maintenance of peace and order. To this Sir D. Le Marchant said he did not think that anything the deputation could say would alter the determination of the government. The deputation stated that they considered the proclamation issued by the commissioners of police was calculated to create disturbance, and to lead to aggression—that they considered they had a constitutional right to meet to petition and to carry their petition to the House of Parliament. The Attorney-General observed, 'Surely your petition could be presented by a few persons.' To this the deputation replied, that under the English constitution the people had a right to petition and to carry up their petition; and, if that right was to be regulated by numbers, then it might just as well be said that assemblages of the people for electoral or any other purpose could not be had. At this stage of the proceedings Sir D. Le Marchant, who had exhibited throughout great coldness and self-sufficiency, said, pointing to the two gentlemen who were with him, 'This is the Attorney-General, and that Mr Hall, the chief magistrate of Bow-street.' He (Mr Reynolds) replied that he was aware who those gentlemen were, being acquainted with their appearance. The Attorney-General then appealed to the deputation as reflective persons, whether they did not think that they had proceeded too far; on which Mr Clark said that he considered an old and obsolete act had been raked up to form the basis of the proclamation, and Mr Wilkinson reiterated that which the deputation had already expressed, that the Convention intended to hold a peaceful meeting and procession, and that they should exert themselves. Sir D. Le Marchant then told the deputation that as Sir George Grey was not there, the best thing they could do was to communicate their object in writing to him. The deputation then withdrew into an ante room and forwarded a letter to Sir George Grey, which during the evening was read by Sir G. Grey in his place in the House of Commons. This letter the deputation left at the Home-Office, and then took their departure. (Cheers.)

Home Office, half-past two o'clock, p.m.

Sir,—We, the undersigned delegates, appointed by the National Convention to wait upon you, beg to inform you that the National Convention never has advised, and that it utterly repudiates the idea of, an armed assemblage being called together, or an armed procession taking place; and we, moreover, assure you, on the part of ourselves and the National Convention, that we shall entirely discountenance any attempt that may be made on Monday next to create disorder, or to endanger the public peace. We, therefore, avail ourselves of this opportunity to assure you, on the part of the National Convention, that the procession for the purpose of presenting the people's petition to the House of Commons will take place on Monday next, when, should any disturbance occur, it certainly will not be provoked nor encouraged upon our part.

We have the honour to remain, Sir,
Your obedient servants,
G. W. M. REYNOLDS,
T. CLARK,
J. WILKINSON.

Mr CLARK and Mr WILKINSON corroborated the statement made by Mr Reynolds.

Mr HARNEY moved that the report of the deputation to the Home Secretary be printed, placarded about London, and circulated in the country, and that the thanks of the Convention be given to the members of the deputation for the satisfactory manner in which they had discharged their duty.

Mr BALDWIN seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

The debate on Mr West's motion was then resumed; but was interrupted by

Mr WILDE, who suggested that a deputation, consisting of two delegates, should be at once appointed to wait upon Mr Feargus O'Connor, at the House of Commons, and request him to ask Sir George Grey whether he had received the communication left for him at the Home Office by the deputation, and whether he had any observation to make upon it.

The suggestion was immediately acceded to.

The motion for the appointment of a deputation to wait upon the government for the purpose of laying before them the real state of the working classes was then agreed to.

Mr ERNEST JONES postponed his motion concerning a national tri-colour until this day.

On the motion of Mr HARNEY, a committee was appointed to report concerning the electoral districts and delegates for the new Convention, so that in the event of the present Convention being mowed down in the streets of London, or swept into Newgate, there would be others to take their places. (Great cheering.)

At five o'clock the Convention adjourned.

SATURDAY, APRIL 8.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

Mr M'GRATH resumed his chair.

Mr ERNEST JONES said, a paragraph from a letter he had received, set forth that policemen attended the sitting of the Convention, in plain clothes; that they rose as the delegates rose; got if possible into conversation, and insinuated themselves into their lodgings, and then suggested acts and deeds of an illegal kind.

Mr WEST reported that that he had attended at the Home-office, but had not been able to see Lord John Russell.

Mr TATTERSALL reported that he had waited on Mr Sharman Crawford, who said he would oppose Sir George's Grey's Bill, and he would support the National Petition, and the People's Charter.

Mr PETRIE reported that he had seen Roundell Palmer, who said he must support Sir G. Grey's bill, but talked with great courtesy on the People's Charter.

Mr ERNEST JONES said, he had seen Lord Morpeth, who received them courteously, and advised them to wait until they had seen the bill. That it would not give much increased stringency to England, although it would increase the powers of law in Ireland. Lord Morpeth then asked him what they intended to do on Monday. He told his lordship that he was not in a position to answer, unless he would recognise him as a member of the Convention. He did so, and then he told him they intended to join the procession; that they intended to go peaceably, and that they should be themselves ready to give any one into custody who broke the law.

Mr LINNEY had seen Mr Thornley, the member for Wolverhampton, who was inclined to wait. He was in favour of some points of the Charter.

Mr STEVENS had waited on Mr James Clay, who was in favour of four points, and said, it was necessary that something should be done for the people. He regretted that Mr O'Connor was not about to introduce a bill, as then they would be better able to discuss it; As regards the bill of Sir George Grey, if he found it of the nature they anticipated, he should decidedly vote against it.

Dr HUNTER said, he had seen Mr Cowan, M.P. for Edinburgh, who would not pledge himself to get Sir George Grey's bill deferred.

Mr STEVENSON had seen Dr Bowring, and he would vote for the Charter, and against Sir George Grey's bill, and regretted that deputations had not at an early period waited on members, and then so much prejudice would not exist.

Mr BOLWELL said, Lord Duncan said Sir George Grey wished it to be understood that the reason he did not see the deputation yesterday, was solely caused by his being engaged from early in the morning until late in the afternoon.

Mr G. J. HARNEY wished each delegate to communicate with his constituency to name some person to fill his place, should they be absent against their wills on Tuesday morning, their credentials to be the handwriting of the delegate now sitting, backed by the Chartist Council of the place for which the delegate sat. They would meet and proceed to the pres

of the people, that they took them, one by one, and put them out of the meeting; and had it not been for the persuasion of our friend Mr M'Grath, they would have inflicted summary vengeance on them.

Berry Edge.—A full meeting of the members of the Chartist Association will be held at the house of Mr James Reid, painter, Berry-Edge, on Sunday, March 9th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, to take into consideration the necessity of holding out-door meetings during the summer season; and also for devising the best means of raising funds for the support of the delegate to the Convention. All members are requested to attend.

South London Chartist Hall.—Mr O'Brien will lecture in the above hall on Sunday evening next, April 9th, at eight o'clock. Subject:—'The Revolution in Europe.' A meeting of shareholders of the hall will take place on Monday evening, April 17th, at eight o'clock; all persons holding shares are earnestly requested to attend.

Northumberland and Durham.—A district delegate meeting of the National Charter Association, was held in the house of M. Jude, Cock Inn, Newcastle, on Sunday, April 2nd, 1848. Delegates present—Newcastle, Mr M. Jude; Sunderland, Mr H. Haines; Bishopwearmouth, Mr W. Dobbie; North Shields, Mr J. Pratt; South Shields, Mr R. Wightman; Jarrow, Mr Joseph Mitchell. Mr Mitchell in the chair. Resolved:—'That this delegate meeting earnestly request each branch of the Charter Association in these counties, to raise the sum of 6d per member, to defray the expense of sending the delegate for these counties to the Convention; and they are requested to forward the same to M. Jude, the treasurer, immediately.' 'That the delegate to the Convention, be paid the sum of 6s per day, while employed upon the business of the Convention; and that he be paid his expenses for cab hire while in London, and his travelling expenses from Newcastle to London, and from London to Newcastle.' 'That the next district delegate meeting be held in the house of Mr Winlow, Patent Slip House, Jarrow, on Sunday afternoon, April 9th, at two o'clock, but that the secretary be empowered to call a delegate meeting before that time, should any circumstances arise that may warrant him in doing so.'

Newcastle-upon-Tyne. — The members of this branch of the Land Company, are informed that the money club, for deposits in the National Land and Labour Bank, is now run out, and will recommence next Sunday, April 9th. Persons desirous of joining this money club, will attend the Land meeting next Sunday, April 9th, and give in their names to the secretary.

Tiverton.—The monthly meeting of the Chartist Association took place in the large room at the Half Moon Inn, on Saturday last. The leading articles were read from the Northern Star, and commented upon at some length by Mr William Kibbey. The secretary stated that upwards of 3,500 signatures had been obtained to the National Petition. The following resolution was then moved, seconded, and carried:—'That this meeting present William Rowcliffe, Esq., of Runnington, with their sincere and heartfelt thanks for his benevolent and welcome subscription of a sovereign to the funds of our Association; and whilst gratefully remembering his former aid to the advancement of truth and justice, hope he may long be favoured with health and life, to see the cause he has so much at heart triumphant throughout the world.' Arrangements were made to procure signatures to the petition for the return of the expatriated patriots—Frost, Williams, and Jones. A vote of thanks was then given to the chairman, and the meeting separated.

Middlesbro'-on-Tees.—A branch of the National Charter Association has been opened at this place; upwards of forty individuals have already enrolled themselves as members. On Saturday and Sunday evenings last, two very respectable and well attended meetings were held, for the adoption of a petition for the liberation of Frost, Williams, and Jones. A subscription was also entered into for the support of the Newcastle delegate to the National Convention. The association is held in Mr Alcock's School-room, which is open to the public for reading and discussion every Saturday night, at six o'clock, and Sundays from ten o'clock in the forenoon. Question for discussion on Sunday next:—'Whether physical or moral force is the best calculated to obtain any desired object.' Chair to be taken at six o'clock.

Election of Delegates to the National Convention for London. At a duly convened meeting held on Clerkenwell Green, Monday mid-day, April 3rd, Mr Wm. Dixon in the chair, Messrs William Cuffay, Henry Child, and James Bronterre O'Brien, were declared duly elected. Addresses were delivered by Messrs Ernest Jones, Lazzon, and others.

Horncastle.—On Tuesday evening, the 28th March, the first meeting ever held in this place of quietness and retreat, was convened for the purpose of giving an explanation to the principles of the Charter, on which occasion, we were favoured with the visit of Dr M'Doual, who gave us an excellent lecture to the entire satisfaction of a numerous and very respectable audience, which has proved exceedingly beneficial to the cause of the people, by removing a vast amount of ignorance and prejudice which previously existed. I am happy to say that the principles are fast extending in these parts; for, although the working classes, generally speaking, are better off than in many places, still the burdens upon the people are so heavy, that they are quite bound down; and the general impression is, that something must and will speedily be done, the sooner the better.

Manchester.—One of the most dense and enthusiastic meetings that ever took place within these walls, occurred at the People's Institute, on Sunday evening last. Mr Grocott, as usual, in the chair. Proceedings were commenced by the chairman reading from the Star, United Irishman, and what is new here from the Manchester Times, as well as from our old friend, the Manchester Examiner, several soul-stirring and remarkable leading articles. Are not these signs ominous? But the 'Charter, name and all,' is still our rallying point! If they are honest, God speed them welcome. But no matter what their professions may be—if they join us, they must come prepared to embrace those principles for which we and our glorious leader have contended for, unsided and alone, amidst the scoffs and persecutions of those who now profess to agree with them. Let us be cautious. No half-measures—no jobbing—no curtailment—nor addition, will we grant, to please any party. The six points are the people's rights—these rights obtained—all minor things will follow. Messrs Rollinson and Archdeacon, and others, addressed the assembled throng with an eloquence and truth that won admiration. Each one present felt that these were net times for childish play. The game is liberty—where the trumps have hitherto been played into the hands of a selfish and haughty oligarchy—about to change into the possession of the legitimate people! The people know this, and are prepared to employ the only effectual means of reasoning with this crew. We have to war against what is called 'Constitutional Government'—(Query?—Brute force)—and to contend against this with moral power alone, is a moral humbug. Let the people have justice done them. That refused—let them take it, and God defend the right. The meeting separated highly delighted, and firmly resolved to support the leaders of the people.—Out-door meetings take place here every night, and will continue so during the whole sitting of the Convention. These meetings ought to be simultaneous all over the country. That renowned calculator—the square-yard arithmetical man—gives the numbers attending the meeting was six thousand. I, however, dare set up my judgment against this extraordinary biped, and assure the country that no less than ten thousand or twelve thousand were present. So much for the man of numbers—yclept the Manchester Guardian.

North Wales.—The Charter.—A meeting of the workmen employed at the tubular bridge now erecting over the Menai Straits, and of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, was held in the open air, on the evening of Monday, the 27th ult., at the village of Menai Bridge, for the purpose of adopting the National Petition; and, although every means had been used by the magistrates and clergy to prevent the meeting, yet upwards of 400 persons attended, the majority of whom had many miles to walk to the place of meeting. Mr James Steel was called to the chair. After reading a copy of the National Petition, he called upon Mr Craigie to move the first resolution, which he did in a lengthened and powerful speech, explaining the principles of the People's Charter. The resolution he proposed was, 'That, from the reckless and extravagant manner in which the revenue of the country is expended, it proves the great necessity for the adoption of the People's Charter.' Mr Lorimer seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously. Mr Walker proposed, 'That the Charter ought to be enacted; and that this meeting pledges itself to use all lawful endeavours to make it the law of the land.' Mr Bannan seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously. A committee was appointed to carry out the object of the meeting, and get up a meeting in favour of the Charter in Bangor. A vote of thanks was passed to the chairman. Three cheers were given for the Charter, and all separated quietly.

Mr M'Grath delivered an excellent lecture to a vast audience in the Amphitheatre, Leicester, on last Sunday week.

Whitehaven.—The Chartists and Repealers at this place have fraternised.

Southampton.—Great open air meetings are being held every night. The excitement increases.

Great Chartist Meeting at Leigh Field.—On Tuesday evening, March 28, the long club room of the Fox Inn, in this village, situate about two miles and a half from 'Charterville' (Minster Lovel) was densely crowded. At least five hundred persons were present. Mr Edward Upstone was unanimously called to the chair, and briefly opened the proceedings of the evening. Mr Henry Ross, in an argumentative and convincing speech, moved a resolution setting forth the deteriorating effects of the present system of labour, tracing the evils to class legislation and aristocratic domination, and alleging the remedy to be the representation of the whole people in the Commons House of Parliament, in accordance with the principles contained in the People's Charter. Mr Edmund Stallwood, in a very forcibly speech, which met with much applause, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously. The National Petition was then read, and its adoption moved. Mr John Gathard, in an able speech, which elicited the warmest applause, seconded its adoption. Carried unanimously. A vote of thanks was awarded by acclamation to the chairman, and the meeting dissolved.

Gloucester.—The theatre was crowded to suffocation, on Thursday, the 30th ultimo, to hear an exposition of the People's Charter; and most ably was it expounded by Messrs T. Clark, Dowding, Sidaway, Bowly, and others. The victory which Chartism achieved over faction on Thursday night last, was decidedly important, inasmuch as it will be the means of firmly establishing in this city the sacred principles of the most righteous of causes—the People's Charter.

A Declaration of the People's Rights has been agreed to at a conference of the Essex and Suffolk Land and Chartist Union held at the Charter Association, 12, St John's-street Colchester, from which we give the following extracts.

1. Universal Suffrage.
2. Vote by Ballot.
3. Abolition of the Property Qualification for Members of Parliament.
4. Payment of Members.
5. Annual Parliaments, and
6. Equal Electoral Districts.

Results likely to follow the attainment of the people's rights:—

1st. The just Representation of the whole People in the House of Commons.

2nd. The same protection to the Poor Man's Labour as to the Rich Man's Property.

3rd. A reduction in the expenditure of the country, especially in the items of State Church—Pension List—Royal Household—Enlarging Palaces—Army—Navy—National Defences, &c., &c.

4th. Reduction in Poor's Rates—Jail Rates, &c., by enabling the Poor to live on their own industry.

5th. Increase of Home Trade, by bettering the condition of the Home Labourer.

6th. The cultivation of the soil by its rightful owners—the People; rendering Great Britain independent of Foreign supply.

7th. The improved Social Condition of all classes of the people.

TO THE PEOPLE OF ESSEX AND SUFFOLK.

The above are the principles and objects of the National Land Company and National Charter Association, and it is to promote these two national institutions that the Essex and Suffolk Land and Chartist Union has been formed. We, the delegates appointed by the branches of those two associations, in the different towns of Essex and Suffolk, in calling your attention to the above principles, suggest, that the operation of those principles will be beneficial to all classes of the community, from the 'bauble on the throne' (more to be pitied for the mockery of her position than reviled for the extravagance of her income,) up to the industrious artisans whose skill and ingenuity have raised England above other nations of the earth, and whose determined and united efforts to uproot injustice—to destroy Kingcraft, Priestcraft, and Corruption, will raise the nation in the scale of moral dignity and grandeur—will cause it to be, not an object of fear and hate, but an object of love and admiration, the great teacher of religion and morality—of arts and sciences—a model country, encouraging all that is good and excellent in principle and practice, the civiliser, not the conqueror of the world.

This most numerous and important class would be benefited because they would be permitted to enjoy the rights of citizenship. Being themselves practical men they would choose men of moral and intellectual qualifications, whether rich or poor, for legislators. The next important class—the shopkeepers and honest tradesmen, would be benefited, because the social condition of the masses being improved, a much larger demand for the necessaries, comforts, and even ornaments of life, would be the consequence, and the burdens of poor and county rates would be proportionably lightened. The lowest—because least useful, least moral and least intellectual—the aristocratical class, would be benefited, because by stopping their wholesale plunder of the other two classes, their means of dissipation and profligacy, which is rendering them miserable, puny, selfish beings, whose gratification is at the gambling house or the brothel, and whose lives are passed in the most burdensome frivolity, impeding the progress of the country which they disgrace; yes, by curtailing the incomes of these miserable creatures, they would be in a better position to receive those truths which accompany the declaration, 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter the kingdom of heaven.'

Rally, then, men and women of Essex and Suffolk, be not behind those of other countries in the struggle of national independence, national prosperity, and national virtue. Let every one who pants for freedom, and who is tired of slavery—the slavery of class legislation—immediately communicate with the secretary to the branch in the neighbourhood, whose name is attached—unite with your own order in this great national movement. Obtain by your peaceable efforts, what France has been struggling for in blood, and tears; remember that united honesty, intelligence, and industry, is more powerful than a combination of fraud, profligacy, and indolence; though the first may be clothed in fustian and rags, and fare moderately, and the latter covered in broad cloth and 'fine linen and fare sumptuously every day.'

Signed on behalf of the Essex and Suffolk Land and Chartist Union. H. S. Clubb, Secretary.

The Colchester branch of the National Land Company and of the National Charter Association, meet every Monday evening, at eight o'clock, at No. 12, St John-street, where new members to both are enrolled. Secretary to the Land Company, Mr H. S. Clubb, 51, North-street; Financial secretary to the Charter Association, Mr W. J. Nickels, 165, Magdalen-street, Colchester.

Longton, Staffordshire Potteries.—There were two glorious meetings held in the Working-man's Hall of this town, on Wednesday and Thursday, March 29th and 30th, when Mr Donovan, of Manchester, delivered two noble and patriotic lectures on 'The Charter, and the means to obtain it.' All is life here, anxiously waiting for the result of the presentation of the petition. Mr Donovan at the close of his last lecture strongly recommended the people to be very watchful of the Police and specials, and see that they kept the peace, as he said they—the police—were the parties, in nine cases out of ten, to break the peace. It has been since seen that our noble lecturer is right, as only two days subsequently one of the most blood-thirsty outbreaks took place by the police and specials, on the public, in the Market-place. On Saturday night last, between five and six o'clock, a murderous onslaught was made by the police, first on a poor 'navvie,' and then on the people generally. The people repelled the assault with stones and brickbats, and the police were glad to take refuge in the shops. Considerable excitement continued throughout the evening.

Devonport.—At a meeting of a few friends favourable to the principles of the People's Charter, held at Mr Earl's, 34, Granby-street, on the 21st March, a branch of the National Charter Association was formed. Thomas Abrahams was elected secretary, John Jin treasurer, and a committee of three appointed to carry out the principle of the association.

Exeter.—Since Mr T. Clark's lecture on Monday week several have joined the National Charter Association; we have distributed through the city over 1 000 tracts, 'What is a Chartist.' We have got many thousands printed. In future, the members of the National Charter Association will meet every Monday evening, at eight o'clock, at O'Brien's, 49, Holloway-street, where all who are interested in the progression of liberty are requested to attend.

Charterville.—At a public meeting of the occupants, held in the School Room of the Minster Estate, near Witney, on Wednesday evening, March 29th; Mr John Gathard, in the chair. A letter was read from Mr Doyle offering his assistance in the work of co-operation. The following resolutions were passed unanimously. On the motion of Mr Edmund Stallwood, from London, seconded by Mr Jackson, from Manchester:—'That as a lasting memento of the glorious principles that called those industrial free labour fields into existence, this estate shall henceforth be known and called Charterville.' On the motion of Mr Benson, from Manchester, seconded by Mr Dunford, from London:—'That it is desirable that each and every allottee should co-operate for the better and cheaper obtainment of coals, flour, &c., and that we hereby pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to support measures to that end.' In order to carry the second resolution into practical effect, the following persons were appointed committees:—Coal.—Messrs Pickersgill, Dyson, and Knight. Flour and Corn.—Messrs Gathard, Benson, and Dunford. Tea, Sugar &c.—Messrs. Stallwood, Williams, and Barnes. Potatoes.—Messrs Dyson, Dunford, and Bubb. The corn committee, since its formation, resolved on the purchase of a rick of wheat, thus forming at once bread stuffs for the family, and meal for the pigs, &c., as bran, pollard, &c. The coal committee also resolved on getting several boat loads of coals from Staffordshire by canal. The tea committee, not less active, resolved to have a wholesale supply of tea, &c., from London. The best spirit appears to prevail amongst the allottees. It is determined to apply to the postal authorities to have a post-office on the estate. Also, as soon as the school-house shall be finished, to have a public library for the mutual advantage of the allottees and friends visiting the estate. God speed Charterville!

Blackburn.—A meeting of the Chartists and Land members will be held at Nurton's Commercial Coffee-house, Back-lane, on Monday next, the 10th instant, at eight o'clock in the evening.

Worcester.—On Thursday evening last, a large public meeting was held in the Guildhall (granted by the Mayor,) when Mr Doyle, one of the Executive, delivered a most splendid address, which excited the utmost enthusiasm. On Friday, a public meeting was held for the election of a delegate to the Convention, when Mr Edward Walters was elected. An address to the noble people of France was unanimously adopted.

The Special West Riding Delegate Meeting was held at Dewsbury on Sunday last. Delegates present—Dewsbury, Mr Watson; Halifax, Mr Culpan; Leeds, Mr Harris; Bradford, Mr Clark; Keighley, Mr Emmott; Wakefield, Mr Mennell; Littletown, Mr Schofield; Huddersfield, Mr Sykes; Holmfirth, Mr Marsden; Hebden Bridge, Mr Hitchen; Queenshead, Mr Shackleton; Sowerby, Mr Leaver; Lower Warley, Mr Wood; Bradshaw-lane, Mr Hope and Mr Summersgill; Ovenden, Mr Kershaw; Mill Bridge, Mr Sheppard; Heckmondwike, Mr Hatfield. Mr Hatfield in the chair. It was resolved,—'That a West Riding demonstration be held on Skirtcoat Moor, on Good Friday; the chair to be taken at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.' 'That the members of the Chartist Association, at Halifax, be the committee of management to arrange for the election of hustings, bills, &c., for the above meeting.' Mr Shackleton then submitted to the delegates a requisition to the Lord Lieutenant of the Riding to call the meeting. Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., having already promised to attend the demonstration, it was resolved that the following gentlemen be invited:—'Ernest Jones, Esq., W. P. Roberts, Esq., the People's Attorney-General; R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., Colonel Thompson, Esq., M.P., Mr Joseph Barker, and that a letter be sent to the Confederates Council, Dublin, for a deputation from that body.' That the Chartists of Halifax draw up resolutions for the the demonstration and submit them to a delegate meeting, to be held at Nicholls's Temperance Hotel, Broad-street, Halifax, on Good Friday, April 21st. Business to commence at nine o'clock in the forenoon.' That Mr Harris be proposed to the chair at the demonstration.' 'That Mr John Culpan, jun., Union-st., be secretary for the demonstration committee.' There has not been such a great number of delegates meeting together in this part for a long time, and the unanimity that prevailed shows that Yorkshire is up to the mark, and that she is determined to make another effort to crush that Hydra-headed monster, class legislation.

Chartism in Fife.—Important Meeting at St. Andrews.—At length aroused, by the stirring events which are daily passing around us, from the apathy which has too long disgraced this locality, as well as Scotland generally, in reference to the great movement in behalf of the people's rights, a number of the 'Old Guards' recently resolved to attempt a revival of the good old cause in this city, and, as a first step, having procured copies of the National Petition from the Executive, called a public meeting of the inhabitants on the evening of Wednesday, the 29th ult., for the purpose of adopting the same. The City Hall, which had been kindly granted by the magistrates, was by eight o'clock well filled by a numerous audience of all classes of the community, and before the proceedings were well commenced, was crowded to the door. Mr George Berwick (cabinet-maker,) having been unanimously called to the chair, briefly opened the proceedings, exhorting 'Peace, Law, and Order,' thereby evincing the people's fitness for the franchise. Resolutions declaring the opinion of the meeting that the time had now come for the destruction of class-legislation—the institution of a new policy, suited to the times, by our legislators—approving of the People's Charter—of the National Petition—and the taking immediate vigorous steps for obtaining signatures thereto, were moved, seconded, and carried by acclamation. The resolutions were supported in able and stirring speeches by Messrs T. G. Murtarde, and Charles Stewart, mason. After awarding thanks to the Chairman, as well as to the magistrates for the gratis use of the City Hall, the meeting quietly broke up. A considerable number of signatures were, thereafter, obtained to the sheets, among whom we were happy to observe several of the students attending the University. The provisional committee, with a number of other volunteers, having divided the city into convenient districts, have set to work canvassing, and, we believe, notwithstanding the shortness of the time allowed, we shall be able to send the most numerously signed petition that ever emanated from this hitherto priest-ridden place. Immediate steps are, we understand, to be taken to re-organise the Chartist body here.

Triumphant Demonstration.—Union of Chartists and Repealers in Macclesfield.—On Saturday morning last a bill was posted, announcing that a meeting would take place in the afternoon, on Parsonage Green, for the following objects: To give a public demonstration of the good feeling and cordial union existing between the Charter and Repeal Associations—to adopt an Address of Congratulation to the brave French people—and to appoint a delegate to the National Convention in conjunction with Stockport. When the hour of meeting (five o'clock in the evening) arrived, being only about ten hours after the announcement was issued, at least five thousand people had assembled, and at least ten thousand were present before the close of the proceedings. The magistrates were busy during the whole of the day swearing in 'specials,' the only duty for which some of them are fitted. Mr Thomas Leech was unanimously voted to the chair, and called upon Mr Bowles to propose the first resolution, which was as follows:—'That in the opinion of this meeting the present deplorable condition of the working classes of the United Kingdom is mainly to be attributed to their want of union, and we hail with heartfelt pleasure the resolve of the Irish Repealers to unite with the English Chartists, which union, we confidently hope, will ultimately give England to the English, and Ireland to the Irish.' The resolution was seconded by Mr White, and supported in an effective speech by Mr Nixon, of Manchester.—Mr Balfe proposed the second resolution, as follows:—'That we are of opinion that the present representative system is an outrage on common sense and common xhonesty, inasmuch as it excludes six-sevenths of the male adult population of this empire from all participation in the election of members of parliament, and that we pledge ourselves with a firm determination to use all the powers with which God and nature have endowed us, to cause the People's Charter to be made the basis of British legislation.' Mr James Leach, of Manchester, seconded the resolution in an excellent speech, which was frequently interrupted by the plaudits of the meeting. He said he was fully convinced that something more than speech making, passing resolutions, and getting up petitions, would be necessary, before the working men of this country obtained their rights. When he saw the House of Commons treating the people with such insolence and contempt—when he saw them laughing at popular principles, and sneering at the advocates of those principles, he could not help believing that its days were numbered.—Mr William Massey proposed the next resolution:—'That we pledge ourselves to assist the Repealers in their exertions to obtain a Repeal of the Union, which, in the words of Chief Justice Bushe, 'was carried by the basest corruption and artifice;' all the worst passions of the human heart were entered into that service, and the most depraved ingenuity was tortured, to devise new contrivances to effect it.'—Mr Hargreaves seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr Treanor, of Stalybridge. He contended strongly that the Irish people had a perfect right to govern themselves, and pointed out some of the atrocities that had marked the conduct of the British government towards Ireland. Mr Treanor's speech was renewed throughout with the utmost enthusiasm.—Mr John West was then called on to move the adoption of an address to the French people. Mr West was received with the most enthusiastic applause. After an expression that Mr John West was a fit and proper person to represent Macclesfield in the Convention, and having given hearty and enthusiastic cheers for the Charter, the Convention, O'Connor, &c., the meeting broke up in the most peaceable manner. The meeting would have been much larger, but for the numbers kept away to be sworn in special constables. The excitement in Macclesfield is raised to the highest pitch—everybody is asking—'What will the house do with the petition? Will they dare to treat it with contempt?

Bradford.—On Sunday a Chartist camp meeting was held on Wilsey Slack, near Shelf and Bradford, at two o'clock in the afternoon. The morning was beautifully clear, and the sun shone out in splendour, when about twelve o'clock the atmosphere suddenly lowered, and a storm of thunder, rain, and hailstone commenced, such as had not been witnessed for many years. Several trees in the neighbourhood were struck with the electric fluid. In one of the dissenting chapels the sexton was knocked down, and the forms were thrown about, but no serious damage was done. Many of the good Sabbath going folks declared that the infidelity of the Chartists in holding a camp meeting on the Sunday, was the cause of the storm, and the anger of Providence was observable in the elementary war. On the Chartists' side, it was declared they were the chosen band, for many thousands of them were out amid the storm, and not a hair of their heads was touched, while their voices resounded amid the rolling thunders of Heaven—'That Britons never shall be slaves.' When the storm subsided, a waggon was procured for the speakers, and Mr Frith was called to the chair. The spectacle was a grand one—not less than 20,000 persons had assembled to declare they would have the Charter. Messrs Hurly, Webber, Smyth, Glissett, Roberts, and Leghtowler, addressed the meeting. Resolutions were adopted for the Charter, and to support and abide by the decision of the Convention. A vote of thanks was tendered to the Chairman, and the meeting marched off the common with a tricoloured flag before them in the most peaceable manner.—On Sunday evening, the Chartists of Little Herton, met at Squire Barker's, Yorkshire Divan, and formed a locality of the Chartist Association, when forty members were enrolled.—The Chartists of Great Herton met on Sunday evening, to form a locality, when above fifty persons enrolled their names.—On Monday evening, a meeting was held at New Leeds, when a number enrolled their names to form a locality of the Chartist Association.—Meetings were also held at Bowling, Manningham, and Wapping for the same object. The organisation is rapidly progressing in Bradford.

Chorley.—The Chartists and Land members of this town met for the first time in their new meeting room, in Market-street, behind the Rope-market, on the 2nd inst. Meetings will be held every Sunday afternoon, at two o'clock, for the purpose of reading and discussion, and at six o'clock in the evening for receiving subscriptions, and enrolling members. At the above meeting subscriptions were entered into for the purpose of taking in the United Irishman, and other valuable journals supporting Land and Chartist principles; and as a demonstrative proof of the progress of Chartism in this town, the Northern Star, along with other democratic newspapers, has been proposed to be taken in by the Chorley Mechanics' Institution, which is about to be re-established. A meeting of Chartist and Land members will take place on the 9 h inst.

Birmingham.—A most enthusiastic meeting took place in the People's Hall, on Sunday last, when addresses were delivered by Messrs James Leach of Manchester, John Mason of Birmingham, and the delegates from Wigan, Bolton, and Paisley. Sixty new members joined the Association.

Stockport.—Two excellent addresses were delivered here on Sunday last by Mr John West. Mr Rankin of Manchester, also addressed the evening meeting. Both gentlemen gave the greatest satisfaction, and were warmly cheered by their delighted audience.

Stalybridge.—There was a public meeting in this town, held in the open air, at which there were 10,000 persons present, to memorialise the government to recall John Frost, Zephaniah Williams, and William Jones, and all political offenders. A delegate meeting was immediately held, to arrange for a camp meeting, on Sunday the 9th of this month, to be held in this district, to take into consideration the proceedings of the Convention, and to act accordingly.

Merthyr Tydvil.—A public meeting was held in this town last Saturday, to adopt a petition for the liberation of Frost, Williams, and Jones, and was signed by several thousands on Sunday. A public meeting will take place on Monday, the 10th inst., at twelve at noon. There are public meetings held here every evening, and they are well attended, and a noble spirit manifested by all.

Cheltenham.—The secretaries of the National Charter Association of the towns of Cirencester, Winchcombe, and other localities in the Cheltenham district, who have not yet communicated with us, wishing to be represented in the Convention, are requested to correspond with Clement W Frames, 6, Bath-street, Cambray, Cheltenham, secretary pro tem. of the Cheltenham branch. A county delegate meeting is in contemplation.

Barnstaple.—A Democratic library has been established in this town, at which the Northern Star and other Democratic publications are taken in.

Stroud.—A public meeting was held in the Victoria rooms, on Tuesday evening, March 28 h, to adopt the National Petition; more than 500 were present, including a great number of the tradesmen of the town, and one or two manufacturers.—Mr J W. Hatton occupied the chair.—Mr J. Sidaway moved and the Rev. Mr Parsons, the author of the 'Tracts to the Smock Frocks and Fustian Jackets,' seconded the first resolution, pledging the meeting to the Six Points of the Charter.—Mr James Newman moved, and Mr Sidaway seconded, the petition, and after speaking at great length, the Rev. B. Parsons supported the petition, which with the resolution were both carried unanimously.—Mr Joseph Partridge, one of our leading manufacturers, spoke in favour of the Charter.—The meeting was considered the best ever held in Stroud upon the question of the Charter. Signatures to the petition are hourly increasing, and we hope by Saturday to number 3,000. On Monday evening the members met at seven o'clock, at the Coffee-rooms and Temperance Hotel of Mr Rowland, Swan yard, Stroud, when the following persons were appointed as the Council:—Messrs H. Pritchard, G. Fowles, F Pant, F. Mayo, J. Newman; Mr G. Rowland, treasurer; Mr Samuel Cliswold, secretary. A meeting will be held every Monday evening, at seven o'clock, at Mr Rowland's Coffee-rooms, Swan-yard, Stroud, when the Council will be happy to receive the name of any person wishing to be a member of the Association.

Revival of Chartism in Newport, Monmouthshire.—A requisition was presented to the Mayor, signed by fifty-four of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, among whom were three Town-Councillors, to call a meeting for the adoption of the National Petition. The Mayor said he had no personal objection to call the meeting, but he had received a communication from the Home Office, and therefore wished for time to consult the two borough magistrates. He did so, and the consequence was that he refused to call the meeting or grant the use of the Town Hall, consequently the requisitionists, on their own account, called a public meeting for Wednesday evening, March 29th, in the large room, Old Bush Inn, Commercial-street. The room was crowded almost to suffocation, many hundreds had to go away unable to gain admittance. The resolution and petition were carried amidst the greatest enthusiasm.—Mr Thomas Clark, of the Executive, made a splendid speech. A branch of the National Charter Association was established.

Aberdeen, March 31st.—A public meeting was held this evening in the Union Hall, Blackfriars-street, for the purpose of electing a delegate to represent the city and environs, in a Convention of the working classes which is to sit in London. Mr W. Lindsay jun., was called to the chair. The chairman called upon Mr George Smart, who moved a variety of instructions to be observed by the delegate when at the Convention. Mr John Smart seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously. The secretary reported the state of the funds, which were encouraging, and intimated that already within the city the number which had signed the petition was about 15,000. The secretary then read a draft of a letter he had prepared by order of the committee, to Captain Fordyce, R.N., the city member, which letter met a hearty approval. The meeting then proceeded with the election of the delegate, when Messrs Archibald M'Donald, A. B. Kenny, and James Shirron, were put in nomination, and ably supported by the movers and seconders. Mr James Shirron proved the successful candidate by a sweeping majority. The meeting ordered the necessary funds to cover the delegate's expenses, and requested the secretary to furnish him with legal documents for admission to the Convention. Three cheers were then given to encourage the men of England, three for Old Ireland, three for the Star and the Express, three for the father of the Chartist family, namely—Mr O'Connor—and finally, three to the chairman; the meeting then dissolved.

Barnsley.—All paid-up members of No. 1 branch of the National Land Company, are requested to attend at Mr George Uttley's, on Monday night, the 10th inst., at seven o'clock, and pay their local expenses.

Rochdale.—On Sunday last, the 2nd of April, a public meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Rochdale, was held in the Chartist room, Yorkshire-street, to adopt a petition in favour of the restoration of Frost, Williams, and Jones, and all other political offenders.

Blackburn.—A glorious meeting numbering between three and four thousand of the men of Blackburn, took place in the Old Size House, Chapel-street, on Monday evening last. George Cowell, a working man, being unanimously voted to the chair, opened the meeting in a neat and impressive speech, and called upon Mr Marsden to propose the adoption of the National Petition, which was seconded by Mr W. Smith one of the Old Guards. Mr S. Kydd then followed, and supported the motion in a brilliant speech of nearly an hour and a half duration; which during the delivery received repeated bursts of applause, and sat down amidst the most enthusiastic plaudits. Mr Marsden was chosen unanimously to represent Blackburn at the forthcoming Convention. After a vote of thanks to Mr Kydd, the chairman and others, the meeting quietly dispersed.

City and Finsbury Locality.—Saffron-hill.—March 26th, 1848.—Mr T. Salmon in the chair. Mr Fennell reported from the Metropolitan Delegate Committee. Report received. Mr Nobbs moved, and Mr Gover seconded:—'That three delegates be sent from this locality to assist the Delegate Committee.' Carried. Messrs Cater, Blake, and Bagnall were appointed. Mr Gover moved, and Mr Fennell seconded, the following resolution:—'That this meeting learn, with feelings of indignation, that subscriptions have been opened at Messrs Drummond's Bank, at Charing Cross, to reward the police for the part they took at the late meeting in Trafalgar-square, being of opinion that such a course of conduct is calculated to stimulate the brutality of behaviour, so universal among that body. We, therefore, call upon every person, who values the right of public meeting, to protest against such subscriptions.' Supported by Messrs E. Nobbs, Cater, and Overton. Carried unanimously. Mr Gover moved, and Mr Cater seconded, the following resolution:—'That the previous resolution, in connexion with the one lately passed, repudiating all connexion with the Trafalgar-square meeting, and the subsequent disturbances, be sent to Messrs Drummonds, and to the Secretary for the Home Department, with a request that he would put a stop to such an unconstitutional proceeding.' Carried unanimously. Mr Nobbs moved, and Mr Gover seconded, the following resolution:—'That this meeting return their sincere thanks to those working men who have been compelled to serve as special constables, for their noble resolution to fraternise with the people, if a brutal government attempt to suppress public opinion.' Carried unanimously. Mr Fennell moved, and Mr Nobbs seconded, the following resolution:—'That we view the prosecution of Messrs W. Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel, and T. F. Meagher, by the Whig government, as a fresh proof of their determination to govern Ireland by force of arms, and not by justice; and as a fresh proof of their blundering incapacity for legislation; and regard this base attempt to stifle public opinion as calling especially for the strongest reprobation and sterrest opposition of the Chartists of this country. We hereby express our warmest sympathy with those gentlemen, with the Irish Confederates, and Repealers, holding their principles, and also assure them of our firm determination to obtain the Charter for England and Repeal for Ireland.' Supported by Messrs Cater, Gover, and Overton. Carried unanimously. The voting for the delegates was then taken, and the meeting adjourned to April 2nd, at seven o'clock in the evening. Several new members were enrolled at the close of the meeting.

Ireland.

(From our own Correspondent.)

Dublin, 3rd April, 1848.

Now, whilst the tide of revolution is careering over Europe, and whilst changes are being effected and events occurring which will mark one of the most memorable epochs in the history of Christendom, it is a proud reflection for Irishmen, that their long-oppressed land is not destitute of the ways and means, and hearts and souls, adequate to a glorious struggle for that nationality and liberty, to which for many a gloomy century she has been a stranger. A proud reflection it is, I say, for Irishmen. Only that Ireland has a voice within her the Saxon tyrant might still smile on at the political earthquake which this moment shakes Europe to its centre; and only that Ireland has nursed heroes, the blood-dyed flag of Britain would still sweep land and sea, and slaves would pine on hopelessly, and cowards lick the dust beneath its shadow. But Ireland swears that such no longer shall be the case. Ireland arouses, in her anger, and in her wildness, and in her yearnings for revenge, and vows that she no longer will be held in 'durance vile' by those she hates, and who have long centuries ago deserved the bloodiest retribution which a maddened nation could bestow. And it is remarkable—too—in the highest degree remarkable,—that not alone on their 'native soil' are Irishmen taking John Bull by the beard, but even in his own land—in the very heart of London—a son of the Emerald Isle taunts him with his villany, and swears that his threats, or his bullying, shall not save him from the consequence of his misdeeds—that he will lead millions of Englishmen to the battle, and be their general in the campaign against robbery, and corruption, and misrule. Yes, it is, indeed, a proud boast for this country, that an Irishman—Mr Feargus O'Connor—should prove, in the very stronghold of British sway—the very focus of British power—one of the 'chief difficulties' of British government; and not only be found fearlessly expressing his own daring sentiments, but actually combining, and organising, and concentrating in the bosom of England, the most formidable and indefatigable and effective 'opposition' which ever rose against tyranny and misconduct. It looks rather more like some ordination of a just Providence, than one of the mere accidents of time, or chance, or circumstances. God is just, and it is not the first occasion when Heaven chose 'the weak things of this world to confound the strong.'

I often predicted that the day would soon arrive when the name of Mr O'Connor would be a credit to Ireland, and his conduct meet the applause and approval of his countrymen. And I was right. That time has come already. Already is the great Chartist leader identified with the leaders of our 'movement' in Ireland; and at every assembly, and club, and meeting, cheers for Feargus O'Connor and the English Chartists are coupled with those for Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel, and our other genuine patriots. The stale slanders against O'Connor are uttered no more. His old enemies are silent; and those who, not six months ago, were prejudiced against that gentleman, and looked on Chartism with disgust, now view the former with a feeling of national pride, and the latter a something, which, though not exactly suited to Irish wants, may still be very good for English labour and industry; something which will open a pathway to British independence and British prosperity.

The last letter of Mr O'Connor to the English Chartists, exhibits that chivalrous gentleman in a bolder light than years of speeching, or agitating, or dodging, could create. He there tells what he intends. He does not cry 'To your tents, oh, England!' but he says, he will lead his 'Old Guards' to the very nose of the chafed lion, and his bellowings shall not frighten him from his duty; nor threats, nor bullyings, nor the prospect of death itself, deter him from prosecuting his scheme in a bold, fearless, but quiet, steady, and constitutional manner. This is the way to speak. Such language as this alone is suited to the obtuse faculties and stiff-necked doggedness of John Bull. This is the tone for every slave to adopt. Whinery, and begging, and petitioning, never did anything good; and never will, and never can, do good. Let men speak like MEN; and then, if they find that warning, and remonstrance, and 'challenge,' are unheeded - why, then, in God's name, let them DO, or DIE like MEN.

And this doctrine is gaining ground quickly in Ireland. The people of this country, forgetful of last year's famine and fever, and braving the destitution and desolation which, even at this moment, prevail over the land, are shaking off their old cowardly prejudices, and are determined TO BE FREE.

This is a season of anxiety and suspense in Dublin. No man knows what to do. Many still cling to the O'Connell policy, but the overwhelming masses are bent for the adoption of 'the Paris fashions for February!' The Paddy-go-easy system is

confidence in their rulers, by such a return to the ancient constitution of this realm, as will, at least, secure to the Irish people their former exclusive power of taxing themselves for their local purposes, and of regulating and administering their local affairs, through their Sovereign, Lords, and Commons, in an Irish parliament.

The DROGHEDA JOURNAL states, that several highly influential Protestant gentlemen of that town and neighbourhood, hitherto determined *anti Repealers*, have recently declared themselves favourable to a Repeal of the Union. The same paper contains the following paragraph:—

On Saturday last the unprecedented sum of £6,000 was withdrawn from the savings' bank of this town. The lower and middle orders must be aware of some threatened danger else they would not run on an institution which they considered heretofore so secure.

GREAT MEETING ON KENNINGTON COMMON.

(From the *Morning Chronicle*.)

A public meeting was held on Sunday afternoon on Kennington Common. At half-past three the speakers arrived, and the table hitherto used for the reception of the signatures to the petition was converted into a temporary tribune. There were several thousands then present, and the new-comers were of a more respectable grade. Some gentleman, whose name we are not able to hand down to posterity, was called upon to preside, and the proceedings of the meeting commenced.

Mr FUSSELL (one of the members of the 'National Convention,') addressed the meeting in a speech of considerable length, in the course of which he said that the object of the Chartists was to maintain order—that all property should be respected. The Bank of England, he considered, was an unjust and oppressive monopoly; the profits now netted by the shareholders ought to go to the State. The clergy he designated as the most bloodthirsty interest that ever surrounded the throne, and the Chartists claimed that the Church lands should be forfeited to the State, and applied to the support and moral instruction of the poor. He concluded by moving a resolution in accordance with the principles of the People's Charter,—Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, No Property Qualification, Annual Parliaments, Payment of Members, and Equal Electoral Districts.

Mr ERNEST JONES (also a member of the 'National Convention,') supported the resolution, not that he thought they were likely to get what they asked for at the hands of the present House of Commons. They must first become their own parliament, their own legislature, and their own executive. (Cheers.) If they succeeded in getting redress for their wrongs by referring to Parliament, it would not be by the love which Parliament bore them, but by the fear in which it held them. (Hear, hear.) The preceding speaker had told them that the physical force of the country was certainly against them. That he (Mr Jones) emphatically denied. They were the millions—their oppressors were the few (Hear, hear.) The bludgeon-men might be against them, but they were only few in number. (Hear, hear.) He would never believe that another great portion of the physical force of the country—he meant the soldiers—was against them. (Cheers.) The soldiers were the friends of the working classes; they sprang from and belonged to the same order as themselves. The Charter would be the finest thing in the world for the soldier. Under the Charter he would not be entrapped into the service by the pitiful cheat of giving him a shilling while in a state of intoxication. (Hear, hear.) It would do away with his compulsory period of service; and as every soldier was enlisted in the service of the throne and the altar, the throne and the altar could be made to give him his reward in the shape of a cottage and four acres of crown land or church land whenever he quitted the service in credit to himself. (Cheers.) Those cheers told him he was not wrong in the recommendations he had published on the subject. Finally, the Charter would not restrict all promotion to the dandy aristocracy. (Hear, and cheers.) Under it the soldiers might arrive at the highest appointment in the army—he might be placed on a par with Field-Marshal *Prince Albert*. (Laughter and cheers.) The working classes of England had reduced the number of lashes to fifty, and would soon do away with the cruel practice of flogging altogether. (Hear.) He verily believed that towards the honest working men of England the army had a friendly feeling, and that they would not separate from them in the hour of danger. (Great cheering.) The present was the last humble petition the working men would ever present to the house of Commons. The 10th day of the present month was the last day of grace the Chartists would give the Whigs. (Cheers.) They would carry their petition to the house orderly, and they would depart peacefully and quietly; but if they had to go to the house a second time, they would then go in arms. (Cheers, and sensation.) Their friend the Attorney-General would caution them to beware of him. *But he would tell the Attorney-General* that he had more reason to be afraid of the people. The very laws under which government could indict them were as rotten as the threads of a worn-out cable. Let the Attorney-General look to Ireland (Hear.) Let him grind down the spirit of an O'Brien, the heart of a Meagher, and the soul of a Mitchel, before he interfered with the Chartists of England. (Cheers.) Let the government and Parliament have their day of grace and if they were such political madmen and such social maniacs as to refuse the people's prayer, then, as political lunatics, the people must confine them in their political Bedlam. (Hear, and cheers.) Let the government not try the game of physical force, lest physical force be turned against them. (Hear, hear.) The people only asked for the Charter; but the less the government were willing to grant, the more the people would be inclined to ask. (Cheers.) If they refused the Charter, the people would next ask for a republic. (Tremendous cheers.) The men of London were as good as the men of Paris, the men of Milan, or the men of Berlin. (Hear.) By showing a bold physical front, they would prevent the necessity for physical action. He did not believe it would be necessary for them to strike a single blow. But they must be prepared for the worst. They must march in divisions, with military precision. They must have their captains and their officers. *With discipline the people would be an army; without discipline they are a mob.* (Cheers.) If the Attorney-General prevented them from so organising themselves, he must prevent somebody else besides. The worshipful the body of shopkeepers had established bodies of volunteers, over which they had their captains and lieutenants, with ribbons on their arms and badges on their breasts. (Laughter.) They were not specials, but voluntary specials (Renewed laughter.) If it were legal for the shopkeepers, *it would be equally legal for the Chartists.* (Hear, hear.) *God speed the Irish patriots—might they throw off the yoke of foreign dominion!* The English working classes joined in the prayer for Irish emancipation. (Cheers.) The cause of the English working classes is the cause of the Irish people. The Irish resident in this country, *by joining the* ranks of the Chartists, would carry the war into the enemy's camp—every blow struck in the metropolis or provinces of England would have double the effect of a blow struck in Ireland. He could tell them that the Chartists of England were eager to charge down from the hills of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the vales of Northamptonshire, and plant the green flag of liberty in Downing-street. (Rapturous cheering.) He lately told them that the men of London were ready to act, and the men of the Midlands, the manufacturers of Nottingham and Lancashire, and the agriculturists of the rural districts replied that, whatever the result might be, they were prepared to aid the men of London. (Cheers.) All they asked for was the signal. When the brilliant rocket shot star-like into the heavens, the bold and brave of their country *would rise, and the corrupt of every class* would sink. (Cheers. After remarking at some length on an *extract from the* PRESSE newspaper, which had been distributed throughout the metropolis, in the shape of a *placard, Mr Jones concluded* by calling upon his hearers to be prepared, to be brave and prudent, and they must be victorious.

Several other members followed.

The proceedings terminated about five o'clock.

BRISTOL.—AN ANECDOTE OF BRANDON HILL.—On last Monday week, rumours, and fears, and alarms, were very prevalent among the *old ladies and some others in this city.* The dreadful Chartists were going to hold a meeting on Brandon Hill; it was very clear that the public knew much more about it than we did. Indeed, our sapient magistrates were so *certain of our treasonable intentions*, that they crammed the police station at the foot of the hill with the blue coated gentlemen, ready primed for an explosion. I should mention that one of our town councillors, considered by some a very scientific man, some time ago alarmed our quiet citizens by announcing that Brandon Hill was the remains of an extinct volcano. Something was going to happen on that day, nobody could tell what; some of the timid stood and watched afar off, others more bold actually walked over the hill, and as the day wore on, increased numbers assembled. They felt sure that the mountain was in labour, and so it was, for soon after the sun was set it brought forth a—mouse. Notwithstanding this, there were many fears and misgivings down to Friday night last, when the Chartist committee issued their peaceful address, announcing the glorious meeting of Tuesday.

THE DELEGATE to the Convention from Worcester, Mr EDWARD WALTER, is a son of one of the most respectable tradesmen of the place, and brother-in law to the mayor of Worcester. Besides being a Chartist, he is an earnest and conscientious advocate for the organisation of labour.

Two Irish traders, outward bound, on Friday, hoisted the Irish national flag at the masthead, when a few miles out in the Channel, but as quickly answered them *upon chase being given by her Majesty's* mail tender Ringdove.

THE CHARTER, AND REPEAL IN THE CITY.

In consequence of the city aldermen having withdrawn Mr Cartwright's billiard license, simply because Chartist and Repeal meetings were held at his house, the Chartists and Confederates resolved to meet persecution by an act of increased patronage, and a benefit in the shape of a *soiree* and ball was the result. The large room in Redcross street, was, on Monday evening, densely crowded; the room was handsomely decorated with caps of liberty, figures of liberty, American banners, *and a French tricoloured flag* floated from the window.

Mr CLANCY was unanimously called to the chair, and said he looked on the present time as an epoch in the historic records of liberty's struggle, and in the fullness of his soul prayed for the time when Ireland should be a nation, and England in the full enjoyment of her liberties. (Loud cheers.) The authorities seemed to think that by persecuting Mr Cartwright they could trample on our glorious principles, but he trusted that the Irish Confederation would convince Lord John that they were made of sterner stuff than to be put down by little men in black coats—(loud cheers)—and by their support of Mr Cartwright, show that they duly appreciated his efforts in their behalf. Mr Cartwright had done more for 'the men of no property' than any other citizen—he had much pleasure in submitting the following sentiment:—'Our upright, honest, and sincere Chartist friend, John Cartwright—may he live to vanquish all his enemies, and trample persecution under his feet.'

Mr A. SHARP and Mr WILLIAMS, the Chartist baker, supported it in speeches that were warmly greeted.

Mr CHARLES M'CARTHY rose to submit the second resolution, and the cheering from without announced the arrival of Feargus O'Connor, M.P., who, on his entering the room, was most enthusiastically greeted. Mr M'Carthy said, as their friend and advocate had arrived, he would merely say that he trusted that the people would band themselves together, like the lictors' rods, before him, and then they would soon obtain their just rights. (Loud cheers.) He heartily congratulated the people on the union between the Chartists and the Repealers. (Great applause.) He thought they might thank Mr O'Connor for that. (Hear, hear.) He further rejoiced that the Young Irelanders had resolved on having Ireland for the Irish, and he hoped the Chartists would follow their example, and resolve on having England for the English. (Loud cheers.) He had much pleasure in giving the following sentiment:—'A cordial union and success to the democracies of all nations.'

The CHAIRMAN said, the hour had now arrived for which he had long sighed. They now had their president amongst them. (Loud cheers.) And he had great pleasure in introducing Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., to speak to the next sentiment, as follows:—'The Irish Confederation—may it speedily free Ireland from tyranny and oppression, and give her people such institutions as shall accord with their free and unbiassed opinion.'

On Mr O'CONNOR rising, he was greeted with prolonged cheering, which having subsided, he said he had just arrived from the House of Commons, where they were discussing the rights of a dispersed people, the Jews. Now he thought his countrymen were as much a dispersed and a more oppressed people than the Jews—and hence he had given up a short portion of his time to run down there, and advocate their cause. (Loud cheers.) He had heard one of their friends allude to moral and physical force. Now, those were subjects on which he did not give an opinion, except from his place in Parliament. (Laughter.) But he did know that the *Americans* had prayed their good King George III., of blessed memory, and that he took no notice of their prayer. In 1832, when he was returned for his native county, Cork, forty members were returned, pledged to accept neither place nor pension—until they had achieved their rights—and he could not help thinking the Irish people were to blame for sending such a cringing lot to Parliament, as was found there at the present day, after the brilliant example to which he had alluded—had they kept up to that mark—and stood firm, oppression would have crumbled into dust, even as thrones were now crumbling. (Loud cheers.) Notwithstanding all the persecution, jeers, and taunts to which he had been subjected, he was pleased to think he had stood forward the firm advocate of the rights of Ireland. *He had told the House* of Commons plainly his sentiments—that the Irish people were murdered, and interred like dogs, 'unhouselled, unappointed, and unanealed;' that Ireland was their Poland—'that the air of Poland was redolent of the fresh smelling blood of the martyrs slain in battle, whilst the putrid atmosphere of Ireland *stinks from the effluvia of the wasted bodies of* famished slaves'—(*loud cheers*)—*and he asked*, could they restore to life the millions slain by gaunt famine? The Scripture said, 'It was better to die by the sword than to perish of hunger.' (Great applause. I only quote Scripture—and surely the Bible is far better than Lord John Russell's logic! (Loud cheers.) He never could agree that Ireland should go in quest of land abroad, when she had plenty at home—(loud cheers)—and his blood boiled when he thought of an archbishop begging for the means for his countrymen to live. (Hear, hear.) He had told the House of Commons, that it was wrong that such things should be, and they give a clergyman, at the same time, £2,000 per annum, the same clergyman getting a journeyman to do his work for £75; but Irishmen did not mind paying their own clergyman fair and moderate sums; but it was too bad to call upon Paddy to pay for his Catholic doctor and the Protestant doctor as well. (Loud cheers.) As regards the Union, it was *accomplished by English* gold and Irish treachery, and at a time too when Ireland was mourning the loss of many of her patriot sons. (Hear, hear.) His father was prosecuted, and his uncle banished. Eight years ago, he had advised the council of three hundred to meet and show the Saxon, what they could do in the shape of law making; but then, coming from him, it was nonsense—but now, coming from others, it was good sense; for his part, he did not ask repeal but separation. (Hear, hear.) He could not see what England had to do with Ireland at all. (Loud cheers.) He did not know if they had as much Milesian blood in their veins as he had; *if they had, he thought they would* agree that the connexion had existed too long. (Great applause.) His family had a long account to settle, they had endured more persecution and prosecution than any other family. (Hear, hear.) Catholics had thoughtlessly gone on under Protestant rulers, although they were only allowed to fill the office of a common soldier, and be shot at for one shilling a day. True, it was said that Paddy was too ignorant to be trusted with the franchise, but it was not your ignorance, but your intelligence, they dreaded. *If you had the power of electing M.P.'s*, there would be no tithes, you would be free of them the next day, *and you would learn to build your own castles on your* own free labour fields. (Loud cheers.) He was satisfied that every Irishman loved his country. At the Birmingham station he had met with an Irishman, who was an overseer, and he (Mr O'Connor) said—'You are an Irishman,' and asked him 'Did he ever think of Ireland?' 'Ay,' he responded, 'ay, blood and wounds, sure 'tis always thinking of her I am—(laughter)—and, sure, if I was going to die, I would rather swim across than die here.' (Loud cheers.) But be heard that the young gentlemen were stirring, and he hoped they would do something soon. Now, he (Mr O'Connor) had said—'Paddy, 'tis Sunday; I will preach you a sermon—'God always helps those who help themselves.' (Loud cheers.) And, therefore, you must not look to Mitchel, O'Brien, Meagher, O'Gorman, or Doheny, but must put your own shoulder to the wheel.' (Great applause.) He had been for the last twenty-five years an advocate for Ireland. Now, on Monday next, he was to present a petition for the Charter, which, he trusted, would be signed by five or six millions of souls. (Loud cheers.) And, in the Convention to-morrow, he would move that a prayer for the Repeal of the Union be added. (Loud cheers.) This was the wedding night of Chartism and Repeal in London, and he would drink, in a bumper of cold water, 'Success to their union, and bad luck to the union between England and Ireland.' (Tremendous cheers, during which Mr O'Connor left the room.)

Mr ERNEST JONES rose warmly greeted, and in allusion to the ball about to be held, said: He hoped when next they met it would be at a ball of a different description. (Cheers.) Balls were not very appropriate *before a revolution, much more appropriate* after. Polignac, in reply to Charles X., once said: 'A ball was pleasing because his majesty was dancing over a volcano.' They were about to dance on the brink of one. (Cheers.) Moral and physical force had been talked of of late—now, he was happy to have the sanction of their great chief, to the doctrine 'God helps those who help themselves.' (Loud cheers.) We have already frightened the enemy; they already show their signals of distress. Now, he thought these would prove the fog signals, as he fondly hoped did the people once begin to surge, that they would surge everywhere at once. (Cheers.) He would beg the favour of one of the ladies' hands for a dance, not to-night, but when the Charter was gained, which he hoped would be speedily after the *10th of April. (Loud cheers.) In conclusion he would* give 'Confusion to the politics of all knavish legislators' (Loud cheering.)

Mr SMYTH, in a most brilliant speech, which was received with loud applause, gave the following:—'The just rights of the people as contained in the Charter, and may they speedily be enacted as law.'

Mr CARTWRIGHT acknowledged the honour done him.

Three cheers were given for the French Republic, three for the coming British revolution, three groans for the Aldermen who took away the license, and this interesting meeting dispersed.

GREAT CHARTIST MEETING AT JOHN STREET INSTITUTION.

On Tuesday evening, April 4th, the Literary Institution was densely crowded in every part, almost to suffocation. Mr JOHN FUSSELL was unanimously called to the chair, and said, they had again met to make another moral demonstration in favour of their just rights. (Cheers.) The press had falsely told *them that the revolution* in France had produced anarchy and confusion, but he repeated it was false. Sir George Grey had said the government had set their faces against granting concession either to trades or political bodies, hence the necessity of making the demonstration on Monday, peaceable, but so numerous that there could be no mistake as to this being a national movement. (Great cheering.)

Mr JONES, of Liverpool, came forward amidst tremendous cheering to address the meeting, and said: Would he could take them to view the haunts of wretchedness in Liverpool, and show them men who formerly earned from two to three pounds a week, reduced to go to a soup kitchen for food to stay the pangs of hunger; and the middle classes were fast following them. Could it be surprising that such men should be prepared to demand their rights in a voice of thunder. (Loud cheers.) He asked, should such a state of things be continued? ('No, No;' and great applause.) Was it not better that they should rush forward and save their falling country, even from the very brink of ruin? He was both a Chartist and a Confederalist. (Great applause.) The French were making theirs not only a political but a social revolution—(loud cheers)—and the doctrine of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' had frightened old mother TIMES, and other journals—(hear, hear)—but the TIMES had recently discovered broken-hearted navigators with four pounds in their pockets and a bill on the provisional government. (Laughter.) He invoked them all to be peaceable and orderly on Monday, as that would be the *finale* of moral force agitation. (Tremendous cheering.)

Mr THOMAS CLARK came forward loudly applauded, and in a most caustic speech held an inquest on the remains of Whiggery, which had laid violent hands on itself—he supposed to save the people the trouble of doing so. (Loud cheers.) They wished a peaceable demonstration on Monday, and he had no doubt their numbers would ensure it—(great cheering)—they had resolved at all events that aggression, if it did come, should come from the government, and if they were unwise enough to give it, on their heads be the consequence. (Tremendous cheering.) He moved the following resolution:—'That whereas the exercise of usurped political power has been productive of the most direful results, both physical and moral, to the mass of the British people; and whereas submission to usurpation is not only injurious, but a most criminal abasement of humanity, be it therefore resolved, that we struggle with our brethren throughout the empire, for those civil and social rights which God ordained for the enjoyment of man.

Mr TATTERSALL, of Burnley, came forward amid hearty cheers, to second the motion, and said: He trusted that fine enthusiastic feeling he witnessed was not mere froth and pop but a genuine reality. The recent events in France had doubtlessly gladdened their hearts, *not simply because a tyrant was* hurled from the throne, but because France was now the Polar star of liberty to Britain. (Tremendous cheering.) Lord John Russell seemed, since 1832, to have forgotten that man was a progressive being, he now resembled a mile-stone stopping behind to show man how much he had progressed (Hear, hear.)—But ministers and legislators must go with the tide, or the stream will overwhelm them. (Tremendous cheering.) The Whigs were trying their hands at prosecution; they might arrest O'Brien, Meagher, and Mitchel; they might take their heads off and string them up to castle walls; but for every drop of blood that should be shed, a thousand patriots would arise to avenge the bloody deed. (Tremendous applause, again and again repeated, succeeded by waving of hats, handkerchiefs, clapping of *hands, and every conceivable mode of* testifying applause.) Englishmen had hitherto been found heroes at Waterloo, the Nile, and Trafalgar, but had proved the basest of slaves at home. (Hear, hear.) However, the men of Lancashire had now resolved to have their rights; and what were they? Simply, political equality with the middle and upper classes; and was *there anything unreasonable in this?* anything unjust? ('No, no,' and loud cheers.) No, but there was in the present system, which took from all the wealth their industry and ingenuity created, and sent them to feed on skilly and find a pauper's grave in the cold bastile. (Hear, hear.) Would they longer submit to such a state of things? ('No, no,' and loud cheers.) Mr Tattersall next showed the fearful extent of the National Debt, the burden *borne by Britons to support the set of German pauper princes, &c.* (Loud cheers.) You say you will not longer endure it; then by the noble example set by France and Germany—by your exiled patriots Frost, Williams, and Jones—by the sacred ties of truth, justice, humanity and liberty—press forward, never stopping until you shall have achieved a glorious democracy. (Enthusiastic and long continued cheering.)

Mr LEACH, of Manchester, came forward warmly greeted, and said they had now got the steam up pretty high, and he was not disposed to get it higher—reason was as important as enthusiasm. In Manchester tens of thousands had calmly resolved to have the Charter, come weal, come woe. (Loud cheers.) Well, in Manchester they were swearing in special constables, but even the middle classes had convened a meeting for the purpose of telling the magistrates they would do nothing that would prevent the people from obtaining their liberty. (Loud cheers.) He thought that the aristocracy, by their cruelty and rapacity, had shown their unfitness to legislate for them, and that the *people should take their affairs into their own hands.* (Loud cheers.) *The system* by its own weight was falling, but you must direct its downward course to prevent it burying you in the ruins. (Loud cheers.) Government had now got itself into a fix—the deluders were nomore—tricksters were gone—there was no playing off the working men of one country against the other. Now, the working men of Ireland had taken Englishmen by the hand. (Great cheering.) Mr Leach gave a heart-rending description of the condition of the Irish people. Ah! said the speaker, it was blasphemously asserted that a famine had prevailed in Ireland. It was false—plenty prevailed — the aristocracy were wallowing in luxury—and consequently instead of famine—it was murder perpetrated on the democracy by the aristocracy. (Loud cheers.) He, like the other speakers, called on the people to conduct themselves like men on Monday, not giving offence even to the child; and should the prayer of the petition be refused, he should then say, send an address to her Majesty. (Tremendous cheering.)

The resolution was carried unanimously, amidst rapturous applause.

Mr CHARLES BOLWELL, *from Bath*, declared himself a moral force Reformer, and said, he should be sorry to see unarmed men opposed to armed men, or the spilling of a single drop of blood. (Hear, hear.) They were about, on Monday next, to present their last petition. (Loud cheers.) Whilst he told them he was a moral force Chartist, he must, at the same time, tell them, he never would allow any man to lay violent hands on him without returning it. (Tremendous cheering.) He was sent to London, leaving a comfortable and a happy home, that nothing but his hope of liberty would cause him to leave, and which he hoped to see again. His opinion was materially changed since his arrival in London. He had seen such an enthusiasm that he had not expected to witness. (Loud cheers.) He expected that the Petition would be rejected; but the Convention would be in London, the working men of England would be in London, in the person of their representatives; and their next step would be still more terrible than the National Petition; and should the base Whigs drive them to take their liberties, they might take something more than the Charter. (Great applause.) He then moved the following resolution:—'That this meeting resolves to support the Convention in its endeavours to make the People's Charter the law of the land.'

Mr JOSEPH LINNEY, of Bilston, in an energetic speech, seconded the motion, and, like the former speakers, called upon the people to attend the procession in their millions, and never rest satisfied until they had obtained the Charter. (Loud cheers.)

Mr DANIEL DONOVAN said, they had been told that a dinner, that was to have taken place at Highbury Barn, on Monday, could not take place, because the magistrates had threatened the landlord with the loss of his licence if he allowed it. But, had they a place of their own, it could not have been prevented by any magistrate. (Loud cheers.) He said, if the *government should attack an unarmed people on* Monday, it would be the duty of not only the people of London, but of England, to declare that government should not stand another hour. (Tremendous cheering.) And, on the other hand, should men hired by the government, step out of the ranks and strike or shoot a policeman, that they would give the traitors into the hands of justice, and let them bear the brunt of their own treason. Now, *he had given* them both sides of the question. (Loud cheers.)

Mr ERNEST JONES came forward, loudly applauded, and said, we stand in the position of debtor and creditor to the government—they were our debtors for our murdered children and the banishment of our exiled friends. Well, on Monday we go to demand the bill, long since due, and protested again and again; they now demand the principal, but if that was not settled they would demand both interest and principal—(loud cheers)—if their petition was rejected then it would be their duty to try Queen Victoria, and if her mercy should not be moved, why, then would be the time to adopt the plan he had so often spoken of. (Tremendous cheering.) It was said the government was about to commence prosecution in England; he said, let them do it. (Great cheering.) They had tried it in Ireland in the persons of Messrs Mitchel, O'Brien, and Meagher. He adopted their sedition, every word of it. (Great and enthusiastic cheering.) Well, then, that meeting also adopted it—then let them prosecute that meeting. He had news for them; the men of Halifax had held glorious meetings, and they formed in procession and marched into Halifax, the soldiers came out of the barracks and cheered, and cheered again. (Tremendous cheering.) The Whigs, at Halifax, thought it a bad sign, and the government *ordered the regiment to Ireland. The people had* formed a procession to escort them out and cheer the soldiers which was responded to by cheers from the guards. (Great applause and three cheers for the guards, given by the meeting most enthusiastically.) In conclusion, he wished Lord John joy with his new regiment for Ireland. (Tremendous *cheering.*) *Resolution carried unanimously.*

Mr VERNON then came forward and said a few words relative to a letter that appeared in the TIMES of to-day, and some words that appeared in the STAR of Saturday last, and was cordially greeted by the meeting. His declaration that he had not been more violent than others elicited warm applause.

Mr CLARK having said a few words, Mr Vernon cordially shook hands with the executive, amidst enthusiastic cheering.

A vote of thanks was carried, by acclamation, to the chairman, who, in responding, read the following letter relative to Frost, Williams, and Jones.

Chambers, Bedford-street, Strand.

Sir,—I am directed by Mr Wakley, M.P., to state, that he has made inquiry of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether it is the intention of government to pardon, liberate, and restore to their country, Frost, Williams, and Jones, and that he received for answer, that no such intention was at present entertained by the government.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
G. L. HUTCHINSON.

Three cheers were then given for the Convention—three for the Union between the Irish and English working classes—three for the Charter, and the meeting separated.

There was a dense crowd of people at the doors who could not obtain admission.

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER, AND FROST, WILLIAMS, AND JONES.

On Wednesday evening last, a public meeting was convened in the St. Pancras Vestry Rooms, which were densely crowded.

Mr HENRY HETHERINGTON was unanimously called to the chair, who spoke of John Frost as being a most estimable man; and as the continental governments had liberated their political victims, and as even England had liberated her Canadian subjects, so, in common justice, should Frost, Williams, and Jones, be restored? (Loud cheers.)

Mr WATSON, delegate in the Convention for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, rose to move the first resolution, and said, he thought the people would, on the present occasion, show such a bold, peaceful, yet energetic front, as to convince the government they were determined to have, and worthy of, the Charter. The coming procession would be worthy of the working classes. Mr Watson then read a resolution in favour of the People's Charter, and said, of such a character was the resolution he was asked to move, that he should like to see the men who could bring forward a vestige of an argument against it. He contended, that it was the right of every man of twenty-one years of age to have a voice in electing those who made the laws. They all had to pay taxes, and they ought to have a voice in the appropriation of them. Was it not time that we got rid of such a system? The people of the north were determined that they should be admitted to vote, or that the minister should go off. (Loud cheers.) The proposition brought before them said, that seven-eighths of the people 'were voteless, degraded slaves;' *and the question was so closely connected with labour that, from their not having the protection of the vote*, capitalists got their labour for just *what they pleased; and it would not be gainsayed when* he asserted that the labour of the working man was his capital; and feeling this, the people had resolved never to give up until they got the Charter. (Great cheering.) Well, then, will you give us some assistance? ('Yes, yes!') Will you attend the procession, and let your will be known? ('Yes, yes;' and loud cheers.) With a bold front, and a nerved soul, and a firm determination, they could achieve their rights. He thought, when he returned to Newcastle, he might tell them they had determined to put their wills in action, and cause the Charter to become the law. (Loud cheering.)

Mr ROBERT WILD, of Mottram, rose amidst much cheering, to second the motion. It give him great pleasure to find that the people of London were alive to their own interest, and from such very numerous, intelligent, and enthusiastic meetings he thought the time was not far distant when they should have the Charter. King Solomon said there was a time for all things; the time for speaking had gone, and he thought this was the time for action. He was in the House of Commons last night, and heard a member talking of ecclesiastic revenues, who said upwards of one hundred working clergymen had not more than one hundred a year, and were without houses to live in; he thought there were many working men who had not £20 per annum, and not so much ground as their thumbs would cover; ay, had you the Charter you would not find the House of Commons sympathising with clergymen in possession of two pounds per week, and utterly forgetting the wealth producers who perished for want, amidst heaps of wealth. Every people, every nation, was demanding freedom, and shall the petition of a skilful, ingenious, and industrious people? be treated with contumely, and rejected. Then prepare for the procession on Monday, and be prepared for the worst—the rejection of the petition. (Cries of 'We are prepared.') He cordially supported the resolution. (Loud cheers.)

Mr WALTER, of Worcester, in an energetic speech, supported the motion amidst the loudest applause, and concluded by inviting all to attend the procession and keep peace, good order, and firmness. (Great cheering.) The resolution was put and carried unanimously, amidst rapturous applause.

Mr JOHN ARNOTT then came forward and read a Petition in favour of the People's Charter, and moved its adoption.

Mr SAMUEL KYDD, amid the loudest applause, came forward to second it. He said there was one portion of that petition which said, 'Labour was the source of all wealth and should be the foundation of all government.' France was often pointed to as this juncture of European progress; the young blood of France had proved more powerful than the blood of all the Bourbons. (Hear, hear.) *The provisional government, as represented in* the persons of Albert and Louis Blanc, understood this question of labour, and would solve the problem so long in abeyance, and, as regards England, the principles of the *first resolution* must be worked out before labour would meet with its due reward. (Cheers.) He contended that the labourer should be the consumer and 'He who would not work neither should he eat'—(great cheering); in any revolution that took place here, he would not be satisfied to take anything less than the People's Charter for its basis. (*Tremendous cheering.*) But before he took a dangerous position he must be assured that he risked not his life for a phantom, but, that the veritable people of England willed the change. He alluded to the effective scene produced by the simple recital of Richard Marsden, in the Convention this day—amid cheers—and asked, 'Were the people prepared to march on? (Loud cries of 'Yes, yes.') Do not say 'Yes,' and mean 'No;' again, I say, 'Are you prepared to march onward? (Loud shouts of 'Yes, yes.') Then *he was prepared to go with them for Equality for all,*

'The king can mak a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, an a' that,
But an honest man's aboon his might.'

(Tremendous cheering.)

Mr J. WEST then moved the adoption of a resolution in favour of the liberation of Frost, Williams, and Jones. He moved this to exhibit his sympathy with those men, *although he thought it a secondary question just now—the question of primary importance being the Charter.* (Loud cheers.) There now was a war against usurpation; Irishmen and Englishmen must unite, and should Irishmen be treated with brute force, it would be our duty to look to it. (Tremendous cheering.) He alluded to the case of Kirwan, the Irish spy, and Colonel Brown, who had instigated Kirwan to go and get men to make pikes, thus entrapping them into illegal acts. Did not this prove the Whigs to be a bloody government? (Loud cheers.) But Colonel Brown came *forward and avowed that he had employed Kirwan*, and what then? Why the magistrate let Kirwan off. (Hear, hear.) Irishmen and women were perishing for want, and Lord John said he would put Ireland down. Why, for better would it be that Ireland should be deluged with blood from end to end, than such a state of things should continue. (Rapturous cheering.) Peace, law, and order he said—if it was for all—but if it did not reign through plenty in the cottages, there should be no peace in the castle. (Great applause.) Some time ago he was charged with being a revolutionist — he was so, he avowed it—he wanted a change—he wished the men who produced to be the first partaker of the fruits. This *was reversing the present order of things*, and consequently was] *revolutionary, and very necessary*, and very beneficial, ay, and a revolution that must be had. (Tremendous cheering.) He should like to be one of a deputation to go to Lord John Russell, and point out the robberies inflicted on labour; but he really believed the only remedy was the Charter, and he thought the way to obtain it, was by making the sitting of the Convention permanent, and resolve not to separate, until the Charter became the law of the land. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr GLENNISTER of Cheltenham, said he had sincere pleasure in seconding the motion for the restoration of those good men, Frost, Williams, and Jones, but he did not expect to see them until the Charter became the law of the land. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr ERNEST JONES came forward amidst tremendous cheering, to support the resolution, and said we had good news from Rome, from France, from Italy, and Germany, and from the splendid meetings he nightly saw, *he believed we should soon have good events.* In fact, we were teaching the government French, and they would soon have to repeat the lesson:—Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; and in a brilliant speech, pointed out the several things moving on the political board, and the mode of moving on to success—alluded to the appearance of several special reporters at the conference, and the plaudits by which their appearance was hailed, and the bold speaking of the delegates assembled—suggested, in the event of the petition being rejected, simul*taneous meetings and memorials to the Queen; if those failed, then it would be time for moral means to* cease; at any rate not to desist, or allow the Convention to separate until the Charter was obtained. (Great applause, long continued.) The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr JOHN FUSSELL came forward and moved the adoption of a petition to the House of Commons, calling on that house to address her Majesty for the restoration of Frost, Williams, and Jones; he supported it in an energetic speech, which was much applauded.

Mr HUMPHRIES seconded the adoption of the petition, which was carried unanimously.

Mr HINTON moved that the petition for the Charter be signed by the chairman, and forwarded to Lord Dudley Stuart, and the one in favour of Frost, Williams, and Jones, to Sir B. Hall. Carried unanimously.

Mr LUCAS moved a vote of thanks to the vestrymen for the use of the rooms on the occasion.

Mr AUSTIN seconded, and it was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks was awarded to the chairman, and the meeting was dissolved, after giving three tremendous cheers for the People's Charter.

National Association of United Trades.

'Union for the Million.'

FRIENDS,—We cannot help again adverting to the great and important changes which are taking place in these eventful times. The present age is pregnant with momentous alterations. Everything wears the most encouraging aspect—the wrongs and cruelties so long practised upon the people, appear to be doomed. The long injuries the masses have sustained, are at length moving them to vigorous action, and we anticipate that ere long they will, with the rapidity of an electric shock, sweep away and crush for ever the black atrocities inflicted upon them, and claim the rights and privileges of men.

In noble France—the pattern of free institutions—the restorer of liberty to the oppressed and enslaved of every nation. France, we say, is now teaching us the true relationship of labour and capital, and we trust will practically and beneficially demonstrate the easy fulfilment of their respective duties, and show *to the world that these two elements in a nation's* greatness (labour and capital) can operate and co-operate together for the national good, under the guidance and control of an enlightened and popular legislature. This great problem has been looked upon by the intelligent capitalists of this country, as the most complicated of subjects, and the most difficult of solution, and in which government could not interfere, but which problem France—the head of nations—will now for ever confute, and prove that the state should take care of, and make provision for, the creators of all wealth—the producing classes. But *before the government of this country will make such provision for the industrious classes, they must possess* a voice in the Elective Franchise. We unhesitatingly declare that if ever labour must be properly provided for by the State, labour's sons must possess their legitimate portion of political power. Our friends must excuse us for offering these remarks, but when we see and hear that the present House of Commons is a composition of capitalists and employers, and cold political ecomists, we cannot help but speak out. For they it is who have largely contributed to our *present misery and degradation.* They have gulled us by their fascinating delusions. They have inspired us with burning hopes of social emancipation; but having accomplished their sinister purposes, they dash the cup of plenty from our hands; they insult us with fiendish pleasure, and crush us to the earth for our credulity. These are the men who are now our employers, our magistrates, and our statesmen. They deluded us with their sophistry; they have goaded us to madness by their cruelties; and then consign us to Poor-law bastiles, or to utter starvation, if we have but the moral courage to stand up in defence of our right. These are startling and painful truths—truths which many of our individual members are now sorrowfully experiencing—being the systematically made victims of these heartless tyrants, for the purpose of detering others from moving in an onward direction. But such monstrous atrocities must be brought to a speedy termination.

The enlightened mind of the working class is being disgusted with the present arrangement and estrangement of labour and capital, and the popular *will longs to throw off, and to give to the winds*, the chains of cruel despotism, that now press so heavily upon the people, which, like a devouring vulture, feast upon the victims it has made.

Let every individual member of this Association, apply the above remarks to himself. Ask yourselves whether you are not now deprived of more than one half of your earnings? Are not the products of your labour appropriated to the aggrandisement of others while you are left to starve? *Do you see any hopes for future amendment? Do you anticipate the* taunts of a pitiless parish overseer, when your physical strength is exhausted in making others rich?

The last is most decidedly your *future prospect*, unless you move with the age. The day of blackness—of injustice—and of tyranny may be brought to a speedy close if you unite and act together; mingle your sympathies—your voices—your energies with ours, and freedom will be quickly won. Friends, awaken from your lethargy, sleep not on the watch-tower, *nor remain indifferent to the inviting signs of the times, that will propel you onward* (if you will not stop it) with the flowing, restless, swelling, powerful tide of long-sought emancipation. Be up, then, and doing, lay your shoulders to the chariot wheel—*help the movement onward and freedom will the more speedily come.*

You are not asked to use violence. We do not call upon you to injure the property or person of any, *but simply to swell the ranks of our organisation*, and in the fulness of your moral power, proclaim and defend your independence. Now is the time for action. The whole world is on the move. Every *people, and nation, and tongue, are struggling to be* free, and we must not be the last, not the least, to declare and vindicate our most cherished rights. Remember the knell of despotism and tyranny has already been sounded on the free soil of France. Its sound is deep, loud, and long. It has aroused the slumbering energies of oppressed nations, broken the spell of slavery, and now reverberates through the hills and dales of British power, through hearts and souls of British subject, and with a voice louder than ten thousand thunders, commands us onward to liberty, or to cease our operations, and die despised slaves, crushed by our own apathy, and for ever ruined by a *fatal indifference to our individual welfare, to our* national honour and glory.

Rem

shoes and boots, being obviously the most profitable part of the work. These men found the work diminishing, and the cause was, the large quantity of boots and shoes imported into Inverness from other places—the effect of which, if continued, would prove ruinous to the operatives here, who would, in consequence, be limited in their employment to the mending merely. Now, in this emergency, the journeymen make a perfectly civil and respectful intimation to the masters, and say that, if the importation is continued, after sufficient time is given to dispose of the stock on hand, we will mend no more shoes or boots that you get made out of Inverness.' The journeymen did not threaten any consequences but the withdrawal of their services;—and was it to be said that they were not entitled to make this very reasonable and proper stipulation as a condition of their future engagement? All the masters agreed in this—that no journeyman is engaged longer than he takes to finish the piece then on hand. All that was threatened was what was conceded by the learned counsel to be the right of his clients—to refuse to take further employment after the piece-work on hand at the time was finished. The purpose of the pannels in this threat of refusal is, however, said to render the threat illegal. Now, could any one doubt the sole and exclusive purpose to be to protect their own rights and prevent utter ruin to themselves and their families. The other branch of the case referred to Polson, who was taken into Macqueens' shop as a cutter and for smaller jobs. There was an understanding in the trade, and a rule established among the journeymen, which was known to be perfectly well known to the Macqueens at the time they employed Polson, that no cutter gets the work of a journeyman inside the shop; and that if such work be given, the men working for that shop will quit. Macqueen not only knew this rule to be established among the journeymen, but by his emploment of them in the knowledge of the rule, he must be held to have sanctioned it, and to have engaged them upon that understanding. Now, what had happened in the case of Polson? that, although only engaged as a cutter, he gets the closing of boots, the most profitable branch of the whole work, and the men employed on the faith of the understanding to which he was referred, get the drudgery to do merely. Was it not natural, upon this breach of faith on the part of the master, and his breach of contract with his own cutter, for the men to have remonstrated with Macqueen, and in the event of his not implementing the rule, had they not a perfect right to intimate that their services would be withdrawn! This was all they threatened to do. Their intimations were conveyed in a quiet, civil, business-like way, and no violence was threatened. The existence of a purpose, even assuming it to be illegal, was not cognisable under the statute, unless such purpose were enforced by illegal means; and, with deference, he (Mr D.) demurred to the opposite proposition laid down by the learned counsel on this subject. After citing several authorities and going over the evidence at some length, Mr Dallas concluded an able address by calling upon the Court, on every principle of equity and freedom of action, to acquit his clients.

We need scarcely add that judge-jury sheriff, Colquhoun pronounced the pannel guilty, and sentenced four of them to two months' imprisonment, and the fifth to one month.

Comment on this farce is unnecessary. An appeal against the conviction is entered, and will be discussed in Edinburgh, in the course of the present month. These poor men must be rescued from the fangs of their vampire persecutors. The opinion of the best lawyers of Edinburgh, is that the conviction is bad, and will be overruled by the superior court. The money must be found to pay the costs. The trades of England will not suffer their fellow-slaves to pine in a dungeon for lack of £50. One halfpenny each from 25,000 individuals will be more than sufficient. We therefore confidently appeal to the trades for their assistance in behalf of these men, and at the same time to re-affirm their determination to defend their rights of association from all aggression.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

(Continued from the First Page.)

Mr Thomas Clark, in rising to submit a programme, said, they had not taken steps as regarding ulterior measures; feeling that they were the Executive not the legislative body, one individual might from a platform offer a recommendation, and be alone responsible for such a recommendation, but had the Executive done so, the whole body would have been involved. The National Petition would show the numbers desirous of being represented, and then it was for the country to say what next steps should be taken; and perhaps you would wish to know what steps we (the Executive Committee) would recommend. The House of Commons was only one of the estates of the realm, and hence we should recommend that a memorial be presented to the Queen, praying her to dissolve the House of Commons, and call to her councils men who would make the Charter a Cabinet measure, urging that one out of seven have no right to tax the other six. They first then appealed to the Commons, the representatives of one seventh of the people. We could not recognise the Lords, hence we pass them by, and go to the monarch; and let them, like the Americans, issue a manifesto, giving the representatives of one-seventh the opportunity of wiping off the stain and stigma that now rest upon them. They proposed that this memorial should be adopted at simultaneous meetings to be held on Good Friday; and he hoped they would make a good day's work of it. (Loud cheers.) They proposed that delegates should present those memorials to the Queen, and then he hoped to see a delegation of at least 500 persons. They wished to see quiet, determined, and earnest measures taken, as this was better than enthusiasm. The Executive Committee would not shrink from any responsibility this course might entail. The Executive Committee thought the sitting of the present body should not be permanent, but that in the interim the country should be agitated from one end to the other—(hear, hear)—and that another Convention be held to carry out the measures now recommended. (Loud cheers.)

Mr O'Brien gave notice that he would submit a motion to the effect—'That this Convention do perform its legitimate duty of presenting the petition, and that being the representative of a small fraction, that a body representing the whole people shall be summoned to take ulterior measures to carry the Charter.'

Mr T. Clark then formerly moved the first proposition on his programme.

Mr G. J. Harney said, he thought it would be advisable to get the programme and Mr O'Brien's motion printed, and put in the hands of the members, and the discussion take place thereon to-morrow. They were so important, that he conceived this should be done, so that each member might understand them.

Mr Clark assented to the suggestion.

Mr Kydd rose to submit a motion relative to the issuing an address. He was aware that many commissions were in existence, but he thought that if Lord John Russell, really knew the state of the people, he could not treat them in the way he did. He would move the following resolution:—'That an address expressive of the condition of the people be drawn up and submitted to the people.'

Mr Cummings seconded the motion.

Mr T. M. Wheeler suggested that the motion should stand over until the programme was considered and settled.

Mr John West said, the question was a very important one, and he could not but think the government and the middle classes were ignorant of the 'State of England question;' they ran away with the idea, that we wanted the elective franchise for power's sake, instead of as a protection for our industry.

Mr Wild said, he wanted an address as much as any one—but thought it premature; he wished a slight delay—say two days—he would move an amendment to that effect.

Mr Aston seconded the amendment.

It being now five o'clock the Convention adjourned

THURSDAY MORNING—April 6th.

As on previous occasions, the galleries were crowded, and hundreds assembled around the doors of the hall.

Mr M'Grath took the chair at nine o'clock.

Mr Kydd, in resuming the adjourned debate, said, Mr Wheeler thought his motion premature, whilst he thought, if anything, it had been delayed too long.

Several delegates here rose, and expressed a wish to speak on the subject.

Mr Kydd waved his reply for a time.

Mr Wheeler requested Mr Kydd to withdraw.

Mr Kydd declined.

Mr J. A. Fussell said, the address proposed would give great satisfaction to his constituents, and he believed it was well calculated to do a great deal of good, showing the real state of the operatives.

Mr Aston said, although he thought that the general distress of the operatives was well known, but, as ignorance was pleaded, and as it was calculated to do much good, he, therefore, cordially supported the motion.

Mr Cuffay opposed the address as being entirely uncalled-for and unnecessary. The working classes knew that distress prevailed—the middle classes knew that distress prevailed, too—it was but telling them what they knew already; and besides, the money of the Convention should be dealt charily with.

Mr Frank Mirfield said, he thought an address should be issued, although he thought the distress was known, and hence, he wished the address to recommend simultaneous meetings on Monday next, and he wished that some such sentiment should be contained therein as—'that it was necessary that the whole country should be up when the Petition was presented.'

Mr M'Carthy said, he supported the amendment as being best calculated to cause the provinces to be acquainted with the metropolis, and *vice versa*.

Mr Stevens said, the country would expect some address, but, for himself, he thought the time for bringing it forward was rather premature. As to expense, he believed the people would sacrifice one meal of porridge cheerfully, to defray the expense of this delegation.

Mr Ernest Jones said, he rose to support the motion of the delegate for Oldham. The delegate for London had said it was useless to draw up this address, because the working classes were aware of the misery they felt themselves—granted. The middle classes were aware of it also—granted. But they ought to be told, that the Convention was aware of it, too, and meant to make it one of their chief considerations. (Cheers.) Here was the great strength of the Convention—that they were not merely political innovators, but social reformers as well. (Loud cheers.) It was, therefore, necessary one of the first acts should be to prove this to the world. (Hear, hear.) A delegate had said, after Monday was time enough. It was not; for this very address might influence many who would fear to join us on Monday. As to expense, let not the Convention fear. The country's work was about to be done, and they would be ready to supply the means, now talk had changed to work. (Cheers.)

Mr Cochrane said, he would advise Mr Kydd to withdraw his motion until the other subjects were discussed.

Mr E Jones rose to support Mr Kydd's motion, and said, he believed that they should present such a mass of matter, disclosing such an amount of human suffering, as the men of the metropolis were in entire ignorance of. (Hear, hear.)

Mr T. Clark said, the only exception he took was, that Mr Kydd's motion had not been the very first business introduced; he was sure it would materially strengthen any proceeding we might ultimately take, and hence, he had much pleasure in supporting Mr Kydd's motion.

Mr E. Jones begged to read a letter he had just received, bearing on the point, strongly recommending some such address.

Mr Glennister had much pleasure in supporting Mr Kydd's motion.

Mr Hitchin said, he never had greater pleasure in supporting any motion, and believed, if the real condition of the people were known that many of the middle and upper classes would be induced to render their support in the movement for their enfranchisement.

Mr O'Connor, at this moment, entered, and was received with great cheering. The amendments were, with consent, withdrawn.

Mr Petrie said, he believed the motion was calculated to do an incalculable amount of good. (Hear.) Mr Cobden had recommended that expenditure should be confined to the limits of income. The government had commenced at the wrong end, reducing clerks and leaving the comfortable officers untouched. A meeting had been held in Plymouth, to congratulate the Queen on the birth of a princess, when the working classes had attended, and reminded the Mayor that poor women had not the means of getting a sufficiency of water-gruel.

The motion was then put and carried unanimously, and a resolution that a committee of seven be appointed to carry out the same.

[Messrs Kydd, West, Adams, Wild, Graham, Marsden, and Leach, were appointed.]

Mr O'Connor moved that a petition be drawn up by a committee, and signed by every member of the Convention, in favour of Frost, Williams, Jones, and all political offenders.

Carried unanimously.

A committee, consisting of Mr Dixon, G. W. M. Reynolds, and B. O'Brien, were appointed for that purpose.

Mr T. Clark then rose to submit the programme of the Executive Council:—

Programme of business submitted by the Executive Committee to the National Convention.

1st.—That, in the event of the National Petition being rejected by the House of Commons, that this Convention prepare a National Memorial to the Queen to dissolve the present Parliament, and call to her council such ministers only as will make the People's Charter a cabinet measure.

2nd.—This Convention agree to the convocation of a National Assembly, to consist of delegates appointed at public meetings, for the purpose of presenting the National Memorial to the Queen; and adopting such other steps as they may deem advisable to secure the immediate establishment of the People's Charter.

3rd.—This Convention call upon the country to hold simultaneous meetings on Good Friday, April 21st, for the purpose of adopting the National Memorial, and electing delegates for the National Assembly.

4th.—That the National Assembly meet in London, on Monday, May 1st, 1848.

Mr Clark, having read the above, moved the first paragraph on behalf of the Executive Committee.

Mr O'Connor was opposed to addressing the electoral body, and thought the programme had better be discussed as a whole.

Mr O'Brien took a similar objection.

Mr Clark took his seat as delegate for Bristol.

Mr Wheeler seconded Mr Clark's motion for a memorial to the Queen.

Mr Adams thought no arrangements of this sort should take place before the arrangements were made relative to the presentation of the Petition. He wished to go with the majority, and was prepared to do so, even to the scaffold—(cheers)—and moved an amendment in accordance with his speech.

Mr Cuffay, as chairman of the Demonstration Committee, said, all and every preparation was made for the procession, and presentation of the Petition on Monday next.

Mr O'Connor reported that a carriage was prepared at Snig's End, for the conveyance of the Petition, and another for the delegates, so that the inconvenience of persons carrying the Petition, experienced on the last occasion, would be obviated. (Loud cheers.)

Mr Adams withdrew, with consent, his amendment.

Mr T. M. Wheeler proposed that an address be issued to the shopkeepers of London, stating that they had no danger to apprehend from the procession on Monday; that they were in favour of, and determined to protect life and property; and that they had no intention of a collision with the constituted authorities.

This was seconded, and, after a few words from several delegates, it was carried, with only two dissentients.

The discussion on the programme was again resumed.

Mr Clark presumed, that if any delegate had amendments to move against the propositions embraced in the programme of the Executive, this was the time to move them.

Mr Cuffay said, he considered the programme one of serious import, and wished to submit an amendment, to the effect, 'That as the programme had not yet been printed, it should be done prior to a discussion taking place thereon.' Mr Clark again stated that he could not get it printed in time. Mr Cuffay's amendment not being seconded,

Mr G. W. M. Reynolds said, he did not rise to give a factious opposition to the Executive Committee, but must confess he was astonished when he heard the programme read—as many had expressed a determination to have the Charter before the Convention broke up—and on hearing Mr O'Connor's magnificent speech yesterday, he mentally exclaimed 'Thank God, we shall have no more temporising.' Yet we had the temporising policy of the programme. Why, appealing to the Queen, was like appealing first to the Lord Chancellor on the bench, then to the same Lord in Privy Council; and the Queen had been applied to on behalf of starving Spitalfields Weavers, and her answer was she had no funds. What? no funds out of £360,000 per annum. He was sick of procrastination, and he repeated that such rejection would be a declaration of war. Mr Reynolds moved: 'That in the event of the rejection, the Convention declare its sitting permanent, and declare the Charter the law of the land.'

Mr William Cuffay seconded the amendment, he should take the rejection as a declaration of war, and be prepared to go to war accordingly, and the Executive should be prepared to lead on to liberty or to death.

Mr J. B. O'Brien said, at the risk of any unpopularity he should venture to oppose both programme and amendment. He was opposed to any further petition, or memorial; but he thought before they declared the sitting of an assembly permanent, they should have the sanction of the great mass of the people, instead of a fraction, as now; thus, for instance, he was elected by some two thousand out of two millions of persons in this metropolis. And it should be known, that there were many Chartists, and others, going for the principles, that were not represented here, having no confidence in either himself or Mr O'Connor; he would therefore move an amendment, to the effect that the present Convention confine itself to presenting the petition, and that a National Assembly be called instead; then, come what may, it should declare its sittings permanent, and go on, come weal come woe.

Mr Lowery seconded the amendment, as his constituents were not yet in favour of violent ulterior measures.

Mr O Connor said Mr Cuffay was a good Chartist, but he emphatically denied that he or the Executive wished, by any means, to impede the movement. He came now to the most important of all questions. And here let him repeat, that whatever this Convention agreed on, he was prepared to do. (Loud cheers.) It was nonsense to tell him that the Executive was shrinking from risk; they had communication with all parts of the country, and understood the mind of the country. He had never failed to meet danger, and now declared, in the presence of the government reporter, so help him God, he would rather die a martyr than live a slave. (Tremendous cheering.) But, he said, appeal to the people before you declare the sittings permanent—organise the trades, and others—and meet again on an early day, and then he cared not whether they memorialised or not; ay, and on that occasion, in despite of the Convention Act, he would ask the Irish to send delegates to it. (Great applause.) He did not like the idea of making annual parliaments into septennial ones, and he implored them not to damage their righteous cause by precipitation. Have a National Assembly, all being represented, and he would be prepared to do its bidding. (Long continued cheering from the galleries and body of the hall.)

Mr Henry Child said, he rose to move an amendment to both questions before the house, at the same time he repudiated the observations made by a former speaker, that the Convention only represented a few. He would move:—'That the question under consideration should be adjourned until after Monday next;' which was seconded.

Mr O'Connor said, the Executive would abandon the Memorial.

Mr Donovan said, that he did not think the Conference should abandon the Memorial. (Hear! hear!)

Mr Clark said, although the Executive abandoned it, he as a member did not, and hence it still remained before them.

Mr Donovan said, Mr Reynolds had spoken strongly on making the sitting permanent; but he should like to know what power they had of doing so? it would be an act of despotism. His constituents were desirous of having every step taken, and would stand by the decision of the Convention, be it what it may. (Loud cheers.)

Mr Tattersall said, this was the most important question yet submitted; it was simply this, were we for war, and if so, had we the means of supporting it. In opposition to what had fallen from Mr O'Brien, he contended that they were the virtual representatives of the people, and he feared were such a Convention to assemble, its time would be lost in squabbling. (Hear! hear!) He recommended simultaneous meetings. If the question were left to the lads of Lancashire, they would say, 'We will fight for it.' (Loud cheers.) He would move—'That simultaneous meetings be held on the 12th of April next, and that such meetings shall decide what shall be the future steps of the Convention.

Mr Joseph Linney seconded the amendment.

Mr E. Jones moved a further amendment, as follows:—'Be it resolved that, in the event of the National Petition being rejected by the House of Commons, a memorial adopted at simultaneous meetings of the people shall be addressed to the Queen, demanding the dissolution of Parliament, and the dismissal of her ministerial advisers; and further, that the said simultaneous meetings shall elect delegates to a new Convention, instructed to sit permanently until the Charter is made the law of the land, and that the present Convention continue sitting until the meeting of the National Convention.' and said, he held it absolutely necessary that in the present crisis no backward step should be taken. If they wanted more members in their Convention, that was a reason not to dismiss those they had. (Cheers.) He was surprised at one of the delegates for London saying they represented small constituencies; their constituency was the five and a half millions who had signed the National Petition. (Loud cheers.) He was also surprised at the delegate introducing party names. The time was come for measures, not men. He (Mr Jones) was neither an O'Connorite nor a Sturgite, he recognised no 'ites'—he only recognised two classes—the oppressor and the oppressed. (Protracted cheering from hall and galleries.) The London delegate had said the recent movement on St Patrick's day had failed because the leading men had not amalgamated, but he (Mr Jones) said it had failed because the people had looked too much to 'leading men' instead of building on themselves. (Loud cheers.) If this Convention does not shrink from its duty—we shall have a St Patrick's day in England—for all the vermin will be driven out. (Cheers.) He moved this amendment because he thought it necessary to memorialise the Queen—not that he expected her compliance—but history must never have to say the Chartists took in good, that which they might have gained in peace. (Loud cheers.) That memorial would give time for better organisation—it would show that we were temperate, and the third step should show that we were brave. (Great applause.) He moved the amendment, because it was absolutely necessary the organisation should go on instead of going back—grow larger instead of smaller—and the nucleus must be kept in London. The Convention must be kept sitting—and while they ought to be acting in the capital, they might be only electing in the provinces. (Protracted cheering.)

Mr Clark seconded the amendment proposed by Mr Ernest Jones.

Mr Stevenson supported the amendment of Mr Ernest Jones.

Mr Lund said, the great question was what should be the ultimate steps on a certain contingency arising; for his part he thought they might as well consider what was to be done if the memorial was rejected; he thought the best way was to appeal to their constituents.

Mr J. A. Fussell supported the memorial to the Queen, such memorial to be presented by a National Assembly. A large meeting held in the Birmingham Town Hall, had decided that all means should be taken to secure the object in view. In reply to Mr Tattersall, he said, the Conference in Birmingham was held for a different purpose from that which the meeting in question had been held, such a meeting as that proposed had never previously been held.

Mr Edmund Jones rose to support the amendment of Mr Ernest Jones. He thought that the best calculated to secure the object they all had at heart; he could not say he represented the middle classes of the port of Liverpool: but the down trodden oppressed working classes.

Mr Shirron said, he supported the amendment of Mr Ernest Jones, and he thought Mr O'Brien would see its force. Here would be the simultaneous meetings, and the opportunity of such a National Assembly as he (Mr O'Brien) desired. He should like Mr O'Brien to withdraw in favour of the amendment of Mr Ernest Jones.

Mr Aston also supported Mr E. Jones, as regarded simultaneous meetings. He should be justified in voting for making the sittings permanent, as his constituents had given him instructions to that effect; he should, therefore, support Mr Jones's amendment.

Mr Adams said he would, with confidence, appeal to the people, and should have no fear of such an event as that of 1842. He should like to have a body called, in which the Irish would be represented; he did not wish to gain the Charter by physical force, if it could be obtained otherwise; he would support Mr Clark's motion.

Mr Wilkinson said, it appeared to him they had not the power of constituting themselves a permanent body. 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' So much had been said about physical ulterior measures, he had told them that the people of Exeter were a peaceable people. He fell in with the idea that they should have a more extended constituency. He should certainly like to have Ireland represented, and he believed that if proper steps were taken, that many more than five millions of signatures could be obtained to the memorial. He should return, after the presentation of the petition to receive fresh instructions.

Mr T. M. Wheeler said, he did not see much difference of feeling, so far as the memorial was concerned, and, as regarded other matters, he thought the amendment proposed by Mr Jones was the best, and he did not like the idea of breaking up until a fresh body was elected. It would be wrong to leave the post of honour in the hour of danger. (Great cheering) He thought, from appearance a unanimous conclusion would be arrived at. (Loud cheers.)

Mr Buckby said, his instructions were, not to leave until the Charter was the law of the land. His constituents were so poor that they were not, on the average, in the receipt of five shillings per week. He had once been deceived by the middle classes, and would not be again; the people had sent him there with strict instructions not to return without the Charter, and they had accompanied him on leaving the town by a procession of 20,000 persons to the railway. At the station, amid waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the last words that still rung in his ears were, 'Do not return without the Charter.' (Tremendous cheering.) He supported Mr Jones's amendment.

Mr Glennister also supported Mr Jones's amendment.

Mr David Thomas said, his constituents had desired him to remain until the Charter was gained, and had sent him for that purpose; and although they were moral force men now they would soon be converted into physical force men. (Loud cheers.)

Mr M'Carthy said, he could not see why another assembly should be called, when the present could effect the object; he represented the Irish Confederates residing in Ireland, who were to a man Chartists. (Loud cheers.) He thought that five or six millions were a fair representation of the will of the nation; and he argued the rejection of that will's expression, was a declaration of war, which he and his constituents were prepared to accept. (Great applause.)

The time for adjournment having arrived,

Mr Harney read the following letter:—

Gosport, April 4th, 1848.

Sir,—I was informed by a friend of mine, last evening, and who is a carpenter working in Her Majesty's dockyard, Portsmouth, that an order was received by the officers there, that they are to furnish, by Saturday next, 1,000 truncheons, made of African oak, to be forwarded to London. The men in the joiners' shop were at work on them yesterday. It is imagined that they are for the specials on Monday next, to be used against the Chartists for demanding their just rights. I thought it my duty to send you this communication that the 'lads' might be prepared on Monday.

(Cheers of derision from hall and gallery.)

The Convention then adjourned.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

Mr M'Grath resumed the chair at half-past two o'clock.

Mr Doyle brought up the report and read the petition of the committee appointed to draw up the petition in favour of Frost, Williams, and Jones, and all other political offenders; also, the address to the shopkeepers of the metropolis.

Mr Dixon moved.—'That the report be received.' Agreed to unanimously.

ASSUMPTION OF DEBATE ON THE PROGRAMME.

Mr Christopher Doyle said, he had an address to propose, but before he did so, he would, in reference to what fell from Mr Reynolds say, as regards being tired of agitation, he had been an agitator since 1836, and endured four imprisonments in the cause of the Charter, and, therefore, he might say, he wished the agitation concluded, but before it was, he wished to have it terminated successfully. (Cheers.) But allow him to say, that he was not afraid of fighting, he defied any one to say that Christopher Doyle, was ever afraid of an enemy. (Hear, hear.) He differed with the idea of those who would make this a permanent body, and he thought the addendum he was about to propose would meet the approbation of Mr Ernest Jones. The addendum was—'That this Convention agree to a provisional committee, consisting of thirteen of its members, to remain in London until such time as the National Assembly were elected.'

Mr Cuffay objected to the addendum, on the ground that it did not emanate from the Executive in their collective capacity.

Mr Ernest Jones declined withdrawing his amendment, being equally opposed to the amended proposition.

Mr Doyle said, four out of five of the Executive had agreed to it.

Mr Wilkinson said, when he heard some persons talk of guns, pikes, and swords, with such coolness, his blood chilled within his veins. (Laughter.) Was it nothing for the father's hand to be raised against the son, and the son's raised against the father? He highly approved of the addendum of the Executive

Julian Harney, delegate from Nottingham, said he equally dreaded rashness and weakness; and he believed he would but steer clear of both by giving his hearty support to Mr Ernest Jones's amendment. He thought they were bound to memorialise the Queen, not that he anticipated the demand contained in the memorial would be granted, but because they would thereby put their enemies still further in the wrong. (Applause.) If they were refused admission to the presence of the Queen, the people would not fail to contrast the cold front of Buckingham Palace with the open doors of the Hotel de Ville, where the deputations of the working men were received at any hour of the day by the truly national government of France. He agreed with those who desired a fuller representation of the people. He wished the men who had the confidence of the trades of England to have seats in the People's Parliament. The elections to the National Assembly taking place at the simultaneous meetings, would prevent the election of any but known patriots—thorough Chartists. He wanted a fuller representation of the industrious classes, but cared nothing for any other class. He desired that the new Assembly should be instructed to declare itself permanent. (Cheers.) He was instructed to vote for the permanency of the present Convention; but he thought that the plan proposed in the amendment was the best. It had been said that a permanent Convention was a dictatorship, but in times of revolution a dictatorship was often necessary. They would have all the advantages of a permanent Convention by the present assembly continuing its sittings until the National Assembly met. If the Petition was rejected, the Convention should on Tuesday next, appoint commissioners to proceed to the country to prepare the people for the simultaneous meetings. Two or three delegates should be sent to Scotland, one to the border counties, one to Lancashire and Yorkshire, one to the midland counties, two or three to the south and west of England, and two or three to Ireland. (Loud cheers.) When the simultaneous meetings approached, the Convention might, if necessary, adjourn for forty-eight hours, to enable the delegates to attend those meetings. There should be no breaking up of this Convention until the Assembly met. The Convention must remain in London, and take advantage of every favourable circumstance to obtain the Charter with the least possible delay. (Great cheering)

Mr Walter said he would not willingly consent to a dissolution of this assembly until another was elected. He was sent here to obtain the People's Charter, and he would do so, even at the sacrifice of his life, if necessary. (Cheers.)

Mr Wm. Dixon said he was pleased to find that the memorial to her Majesty was likely to be adopted. Even the Americans had tried that step as a last resort; and we could not justly say her Majesty would not grant the prayer, until such times as they had made the attempt. (Hear.) He thought the addendum proposed by Mr Doyle a wise one. Were we to vote our sittings permanent, we should be as great a set of usurpers as were those members of parliament who were elected for three years, and made their sittings septennial—(hear, hear)—and hence he was for the addendum, and would act in accordance with what they were sent here to perform.

Mr James Watson said he rose to support Mr Ernest Jones's amendment, and was satisfied their constituents would not warrant them in taking rash steps, and Mr Jones's amendmen, while it was determined and fair, at the same time avoided rashness. (Cheers.)

Mr Graham said, as he understood Mr Jones's amendment, it did not make the sitting of this body permanent. (No, no.) Some delegates were pledged not to return until the Charter became the law of the land; and he could not see how they could support Mr Jones's amendment. He thought they had better return to their constituents for instruction.

Mr R. Wild said, with most of the things before the Convention he agreed, as they appeared all to be aiming at one thing. Now he recognised no interest save that of the people, and he contended, that in the world at large no interest but that of the whole people should be recognised, and therefore he trusted that, in calling a new National Assembly, they would not appeal to middle, or any other classes, but to the people at large. (Loud cheers.) He did not think that a Convention of five hundred was as likely to do so much good as a smaller one, consisting of honest hearts and clean hands. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) He should on a division vote for the amendment of Mr Jones. (Cheers)

Mr Cochrane said, there was such a similarity between the two motions, that he did hope one would be withdrawn, to prevent a division on the subject. He had been for twenty years an advocate of the people's cause, and had often gained disapprobation by advocating moral force—and, of course, were a revolution to take place, the brunt, in a great measure, would fall on the men of London. The men in Paisley were constrained to live on a penny a day—(shame!)—and really he could not help thinking in pity it would be better that a few should die by the sword, than that millions should perish of famine. (Great cheering.)

Mr Hitchin would support Mr Jones's amendment.

Mr Kydd said, if they adopted the addendum proposed by the Executive, they would be admitting the right of the body to control the election of any assembly that might be called; and surely, they had as much right to make their sitting permanent as they had to elect a provisional committee—and as this Convention had given members permission to go into the country to address public meetings, this too, would apply to either of the subjects proposed. Mr Cochrane had asked, how men from a distance were to know the feelings of the men in London? He (Mr Kydd) said, remain in London, and you will learn it. (Loud cheers.) The question was, shall we remain, and have fresh blood added, or shall we break up, and allow a new nucleus to be formed? Mr Wilkinson had expressed his regret that war should take place; he also regretted it, but it was better to war with wrong than remain until they were compelled to war with each other for the means of living. (Tremendous cheering)

Messrs Tattersall and Child, with permission, withdrew their amendments, in favour of that of Mr Jones.

Mr Cummings said, if the Petition was rejected, the feeling would rise so high that he would not be responsible for the consequences. He should support Mr Jones.

Mr Francis supported Mr Jones's amendment.

Mr Bolwell said, he was not pledged to take the Charter back with him—nevertheless, his constituents were resolved to do their duty, and, like others, were of opinion that petitions were becoming useless. (Hear, hear.) They would support a memorial, and send up a delegate to back it. He had no fear in an appeal to the country; he believed the same persons would be again returned with an addition of the same stamp to back them.

Mr Smith said, he was happy to see such a unity of feeling; he had no positive instructions, but had the privilege of voting for what he thought would best serve the cause. He should support Mr Ernest Jones's proposition, and he believed the Irish people were anxiously looking to this Convention. He knew the Irish residents in Liverpool were watching it with intense anxiety, 'These were the times to try men's souls.' When he came here he made up his mind 'Come weal come woe' to carry out the resolve of this Convention.

Mr Clark (of the Executive) having conferred with Messrs. Jones and Harney, stated, that the Executive consented to Mr Jones's amendment, as also to his suggestions for altering the date of the meeting of the National Assembly, from the 1st of May to the 24th of April, and for declaring the sitting of the Assembly permanent till the obtainment of the Charter. He therefore submitted the programme as amended thus:—

1st.—That in the event of the National Petition being rejected by the House of Commons, this Convention prepare a National Memorial to the Queen to dissolve the present Parliament, and call to her council such ministers only as will make the People's Charter a cabinet measure.

2nd.—That this Convention agree to the convocation of a National Assembly, to consist of delegates appointed at public meetings, to present the National Memorial to the Queen; and to continue permanently sitting until the Charter is the law of this land.

3rd.—That this Convention call upon the country to hold simultaneous meetings on Good Friday, April 21, for the purpose of adopting the National Memorial, and electing delegates to the National Assembly.

4th.—That the National Assembly meet in London on Monday, April 24th.

5th.—That the present Convention shall continue its sittings until the meeting of the National Assembly.

Mr Ernest Jones rose to second the programme as amended. He was proud of the unanimity in that Convention. The government reporters would have bad news for their masters. They would tell them that personalities had died; that self glorification had ceased; that every man in that Convention was willing to be in the rear rank in the day of triumph, but eager to be in the front rank, in the hour of danger.

Mr Leach said, during the day severe denunciation had been hurled at the heads of the middle classes; now, that they had deceived the working classes was true, at the same time they had deceived themselves; in the new assembly he hoped to have many of them with us, the screw was fast bringing them over, and if appealed to, a great number would be on our side. In respect to Ireland, it had been suggested that you should send delegates there; he hoped to God they would. (Loud cheers.) The announcement that you had resolved to send me there, to aid and assist in effecting the rights and liberties of both nations, would be received with heartfelt gladness. (Great applause.)

Mr O'Brien said, he rose to withdraw his amendment in favour of Mr Jones.

Dr Hunter delivered some general remarks, and expressed himself in favour of the proposition contained in Mr Jones's amendment.

Mr Frank Mirfield hoped Mr Reynolds would withdraw his amendment.

Mr Reynolds said, he was not the man to cause division and he would at once withdraw his amendment, protesting against the memorial to the Queen.

The programme as amended was then put—and carried unanimously. The delegates and people rising and cheering simultaneously.

The sittings of the Convention, have now excited such an intense sensation, that the hall is crowded to excess by strangers to listen to the proceedings, so much that the hall has all the appearance of a crowded public meeting.

The Convention adjourned at half-past five o'clock.

FRIDAY MORNING—April 7th.

Mr M'Grath took the chair at nine o'clock.

Mr T. M. Wheeler moved that the Convention should issue a proclamation declaring their determination to hold the meeting on Monday next, notwithstanding the foolish proclamation of the government and notice of the police.

Mr Cuffay seconded the motion, and asked that all applause should subside, and that all steps should be taken coolly and deliberately.

Mr J. West supported the motion, and said, that police notices or proclamations were not law. A law must emanate from the three estates of the realm—kings, Lords, and Commons—and hence, he set at defiance the police notice. He contended that people had a right to live. They were willing to work and live; but they were not willing to work and starve. Neither would they.

Mr Child also supported the motion. Their intentions were peaceable, and if disorder ensued, the consequence must fall on those who created it.

Mr Adams said, he felt it his duty, as the representative of a large body, to support the motion, and should the government break the law, it would be the duty of the people to uphold it. He said this as the representative of half a million of people.

Mr J Shaw said, he also represented a large constituency, and he must confess he was rather pleased at government prosecution than otherwise. ('No, no,' from Mr West.) He said yes—as he believed it was calculated to bring the question to an issue.

Mr Stevenson said, he must support the motion. They had been deputed to perform a duty; and were the whole members of this Convention destroyed on Monday, it would not be the first sacrifice made to class legislation. They, the delegates, had as great a stake—their wives and children—as Lord John Russell, or Lord Clarendon. (Hear, hear.)

Mr R. Cochrane also supported the motion.

Mr West said the police notice said only ten persons should carry a petition; why, their petition would be carried by horses. (Laughter.)

Mr Bolwell said, the people did not wish to play at soldiers, but they wished to make a peaceable, moral, and vigorous demonstration; but, should the government resist, it would be for the people to say what steps should be then taken.

Mr Watson said, when he came here he counted the cost, and he found it his duty to support the motion. He would go to that demonstration let the consequence be what it may. (Cheers.)

Mr Wilkinson repeated the opinions he had given utterance to yesterday. He was deemed weak yesterday, and to-day he declared his determination to act with them, and attend the procession; and if any gentleman had any doubts about him, why let them put him into the front rank.

Mr O'Connor here arrived, and was greeted with loud cheering.

Mr O'Connor, in reply to a question from Mr Cuffay, said no motion for an adjournment over the Easter holidays had been made in the house; on the contrary, they would have plenty to do. (Hear, hear.) He looked to their discretion and prudence; and, although he had told them yesterday he had great private and public business, he had put that aside to attend to the more important business of this Convention, and he should attend the procession on Monday. He had told them in the house, last night, of the precedents for processions—the Reform Bill, Dorchester Labourers, and the Seamen, and in reply he was taunted with the expressions used out of this Convention. He was pleased to learn that they had agreed to continue their sitting until such time as another Convention was elected. (Hear, hear.) He had been taunted with turning the agitation to pecuniary account. From this day forward he put at their disposal the whole profits arising from the Northern Star, which was no mean weekly amount now. (Tremendous cheering.) He alluded to the motion for Frost, Williams, and Jones, and said, the numbers were less than on a former occasion, when the same motion was submitted by Mr Duncombe. He had received a letter from Mr Duncombe, setting forth the necessity of taking care that he was not prevented on Monday from submitting his motion. He found the government had placed no order on the papers for Monday; but, however, he would take the earliest opportunity to bring it forward. (Hear.) Sir G. Grey had given notice that he would submit a motion to the house to-night to strengthen the government. He believed it was for closely allying sedition with treason. He should be in his place to-night to meet it. (Cheers.) It was our duty to be determined, prudent, and courageous. (Great cheering.) There was in this day's *Morning Chronicle* an article stating what a general officer said to Lord George Gordon, about running his sword into his heart. Of course this was intended for him and others who stood up in that house for the people. And in that same article they alluded to a speech of his delivered in this hall, relative to the land as a means of employment, should the Charter be obtained. Was it too much to say that the land would afford the people a support three times as large as that obtained per week by the weaver, who could not obtain more than 5s. 6d. per week. (Cheers) He anticipated a stormy debate on Sir G. Grey's motion to-night. He, at any rate, should be found its opponent. (Cheers.) He had been taunted with not being up to the mark, but this morning, prior to coming here, he had caused a letter, signed by his own name, to be printed, announcing his determination to be present on Monday; and, come what may, he would not abandon the people. (Cheers.)

Leave of absence was then given to Mr Doyle, who had to proceed to Snig's End and Charterville, to pay the mechanics, and labourers, &c., engaged at those places. Mr Doyle assured the Convention he would be back on Monday.

Mr Kydd said, the Chartists were a quietly disposed people, but when, as he knew, hundreds of thousands of able-bodied men were starving in the manufacturing districts, he wondered not that a state of great excitement prevailed, or that some strong language might be used. (Hear, hear.) Respecting the talking of 'carrying arms' on Monday, he could say, he had attended two large meetings, and had heard no such statements made, and consequently no such statements responded to, but on the contrary, he had heard starving people say:—'we will keep the peace. (Loud cheers.) He knew the Chartist feeling better than Sir George Grey or any other minister. (Loud cheers.)

Mr O'Connor read a letter he had received from a person who had been a spy in the employ of the government, and who had placed a petition in his hand, demanding remuneration for his services. He (Mr O'Connor) was about to present that petition. (Hear, hear.)

Mr Ernest Jones said, he felt indeed proud of being a member of the Convention. For his part he begged the Convention to dismiss from their minds the thought of an attack—that proclamation was a mere device to frighten them. With regard to strong language, he had lately attended more meetings in London than most of those present, and the language he had used and heard used was—'Keep peace and order—march back quietly—and only defend yourselves, if you are attacked.' Those words every delegate, he believed, was ready to carry into effect.

Mr Charles M'Carthy said, that the body he represented would attend the procession on Monday; they had no intention to go armed, they certainly wished peace, but were determined to proceed, and proceed peaceably. (Cheers.)

Mr Francis said, his constituents wished no violence to be used. He should go to the procession, and if the police interfered allow himself to be dragged off.

Mr G. W. M. Reynol