

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

Valiant friends and comrades! It has been my delight to remind you, that, whenever our banner has been struck down by tyranny, we have watched our opportunity again to march onward from that spot which tyrants intended as our grave; and if ever our glorious cause did make rapid advance, it has been since Monday the 10th, when, armed with the constitution, we laid tyranny prostrate at our feet, and, guided by prudence, we threw the shield of protection over our battalions and their children.

Old Guards, it was intended that London should have been an untroubled slaughterhouse, and that tyranny should have its last feast upon the remains of constitutional liberty—but they were foiled. Mark, when I use the word tyranny, I do so in a more comprehensive sense than is applicable to the mere government of the country. I apply it to the pressure of faction upon the Government. Always speak of communities, not of individuals, and in justice to Sir George Grey, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, I unhesitatingly assert, that no living man would more regret a single act of unnecessary cruelty, than would Sir G. Grey. A more tender-hearted man breathes not; but, as I have often said, MEN WILL COMMIT ACTS AS A BODY, WHICH THE BASEST AMONG THEM WOULD BLUSH TO ACKNOWLEDGE AS AN INDIVIDUAL.

However, it is consoling to me, and must be cheering to all, that I have received communications from all parts of the United Empire, expressing the highest thanks and gratitude for my conduct on Monday, the 10th, while we have even disarmed the Press of the factions; and now, as I predicted, the Charter fills every mouth, and is the one topic which interests all classes.

Having, therefore, secured this triumph, and having increased your confidence in my judgment and resolution, it becomes my bounden duty to improve the advantage that oppression has given us.

Old Guards, without selfishness, or without looking for too much sympathy—having made up my mind to brave the battle and the breeze—I think I may exultingly call your attention to the manner in which, despite of the preconcerted plan to damage my fame and overawe my resolution, I have sustained myself against the howl of faction and the taunting jeers of rampant tyranny.

My veracity was assailed upon two points. Firstly—Upon the number of signatures, and the description of signatures, attached to the National Petition; and, secondly—as to the numbers that congregated upon Kennington Common.

Now, I will divide the first subject under two heads:—Firstly, as to my own responsibility; and, secondly, as to the conduct of the Government; and then I shall make a few general observations upon those two points.

As to my own responsibility—it was, as I stated in Parliament, morally and physically impossible that I, or any other man, could critically scrutinise the signatures to a great National Petition, and if it had been possible for me to do so, I would have struck out every oppressor's name, and every obscene word, as, in my knowledge of those forgeries could be presumed, I would hold myself unworthy the name of man if I allowed the constitutional appeal of a virtuous people to be thus defiled.

Secondly, as to the conduct of the Government, I charge the Government, upon the most perfect circumstantial evidence, of having conspired to damage your cause, by throwing an unjust, ungenerous, and unjustifiable disrepute upon your Petition.

Now, mark, how I apply the evidence in support of this charge. The forms of the House require that fourteen days' notice shall be given of any motion that is submitted to it—that is, that no motion can embrace a longer period. Aware of this fact, I denied myself the pleasure of witnessing the (to me) gratifying spectacle of seeing the occupants taking possession of their castles and free labour fields on Monday, the 27th of March. I was in my place upon that day, to have the first chance of bringing on the motion on the 10th, as an amendment upon supply—Monday being, in general, devoted to the voting of taxes out of your pockets; but, as no question of supply had been entered upon the order book, I was debarred, and purposely debarred, of this opportunity; meantime, with a hypocritical magnanimity, characteristic of the hypocritical Whiggery, Lord John Russell would not give me a word of notice, but pompously conceded the following Friday, for the mere purpose, as I stated in Parliament, of discovering and bringing to light those obscenities and forgeries, which had been practised by spies, as I shall presently prove.

On Thursday evening, it was announced to the House by the Chairman of the Petition Committee, that the signatures to the petition were only one million nine hundred thousand four hundred and fifty-two, and there was evidence of a most critical review evinced in the fact that the Inspectors of the Petitions had discovered the several repetitions of different names, as well as the different ridiculous names and obscene words. This, I say, proves a very critical inspection, and yet we are told that thirteen law-stationers' clerks counted the whole of the signatures, and discovered the whole of the forgeries and obscene names, in the space of seventeen hours. Now, I repeat to figures in relation to this assertion, and I find that each clerk, before his critical inspection of names, must have counted about 147,170 names, in round numbers, within the prescribed time; each clerk must have counted 8,660 within the hour, or 150 names in every minute, for seventeen consecutive hours, or two names and a half in each second, for that period of time. This calculation only applies to the number of signatures stated by the law clerks; and my position cannot be disturbed, or my argument refuted, by the rejoinder, that they counted them in sheets; and for this reason, because the sheets were not uniform, even from any one town in the kingdom, while the minute inspection which I have made of the forged and obscene names, establishes, firstly, the impossibility of performing the work with that time; and secondly, the certainty that those names were inserted by the enemy. If they pervaded the whole petition, to twenty, nay, thirty times, the number of clerks could not have performed the work within the time; while, if those forgeries and obscenities were confined to few sheets to which immediate attention was directed by the perpetrators, was it fair—was it just, or honourable, to cast reproach upon the National Appeal for justice upon so weak, so disreputable, and so disgraceful a subterfuge.

Old Guards, keep the threat of this argument before you—it is, that thirteen law stationers, for seventeen consecutive hours, counted two and a half names in every second, and critically inspected 147,170 names within that period. Now, I ask, if there is a sane man in England who believes such an assertion? And then, mark the period of time within which those seventeen hours were devoted to the work. I presented the Petition at five o'clock on Monday, and at twelve o'clock on Wednesday a member of the Government—as I stated in the House of Commons—made a discovery; that is, within forty-three hours after I presented the Petition, as the amendment was made to the House on Thursday evening, amid such yells and groans as I never before heard in my life in the midst of all I neither lost my resolution nor my presence of mind, because I was sustained by my own consciousness of innocence, and the guilt of the Government, as I wholly

exonerate the House and the Petition Committee, the latter merely making the report which they had received from the Clerks, and the former receiving it as proof of my negligence, or an attempt to practise a delusion, time not being allowed upon the spur of the moment, to calculate the impossibility of arriving at the conclusion stated to the House.

Well, then, I ask, whether or not Friday was pompously given up by the noble Lord for the purpose of making a parade of this hidden treasure, and thus affording an opportunity to many mock supporters of the principle to creep out of the dilemma? So much for the signatures; and now for the numbers assembled on Kennington Common. I confess that the marvellous coincidence of opinion that pervaded the whole Press on Tuesday morning, led me to the inevitable conclusion that some extraordinary influences had been operating upon their dreams on Monday night; but, without a single comment of my own, I give the following letter, as proof of the genius by which this coincidence was produced. Read the following letter, Old Guards. It comes from one of the most efficient short-hand writers, who is in the habit of attending public meetings, and was in the car upon the 10th:—

DEAR SIR.—A fact has just come to my knowledge, which may perhaps be interesting to you, and which will in some measure explain how all the daily papers on Tuesday stated that there were only 15,000 persons present at the meeting on Monday last; which somewhat surprised me, as I am certain there were upwards of 200,000.

The Commissioners of Police on Monday evening last sent round to the papers a document marked private, requesting them to state that there were only 15,000 persons present at the meeting. Now, I think you ought to ask the Home Secretary, whether the police are paid for the purpose of supplying the newspapers with lies. Of course I do not mean to insinuate that any man in connection with the matter, but you may place the greatest reliance upon my information.

I am, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

To Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P.

Now, then, what say you to the virtue of your government, and the justice of your Press? I leave those two disgusting subjects of the petition and the assembly with this single observation; namely, that there never has been a large petition presented to the House of Commons in which fraud has not been practised in a tenfold degree to that stated to have occurred in the case of your Petition; and I am aware of the fact myself, that parties were employed by the day to affix signatures to Petitions both for and against Catholic Emancipation. A charge of a similar nature was made against the League, and against those who got up petitions for the admission of Jews into Parliament; but at those assertions the Government sneered as they were in favour of the cause they espoused.

Old Guards, I now leave this disgusting subject, and I come to the consideration of a matter of paramount importance, namely—

THE DEATH OF LIBERTY.

On Saturday next the corpse of the Constitution will come in funeral attire to the House of Lords, to lie in state for a few moments, and thence to be conveyed to the sepulchre where the remains of the Lord William Russell now lies, and there will the friend of liberty and liberty itself, rest entombed until the loud voice of an indignant people shall proclaim the honour of the one and the joyful resurrection of the other.

Old Guards, I never addressed you at so critical a period in my life. I have carried you successfully through the turmoil of '39 and '40, of '42 and '43, and have piloted the ship of state, safely on the 10th of April, '48, through the range of our ancient assailants; but the voice of knowledge silenced the cannon's roar, and the vessel with her crew came safe to harbour.

Then, Old Guards, at whom do you think the present stab that killed liberty is aimed? Can you doubt that it is at the pilot who has so often steered the vessel between the shoals and the quicksands, and who has stood foremost in the battle, and received the lion's share of persecution. I have suffered for the fully and indiscretion of others, but I have ever kept with firm footing upon the constitution, and within the limits of the law—narrow and limited as they were—and now, Old Guards, will you allow folly or indiscretion to drive me from my vantage ground. I hear you respond, "No!"

A THOUSAND TIMES "NO!"

Hear me, then, and if you are valiant be discreet. The National Assembly proposes to violate the law, as the law only permits an assembly of forty-nine persons to sit as a Convention; and if that assembly meets, it will not only strengthen our opponents, but will deter the thousands—yes, millions—who are now preparing to join us from entering into our ranks.

bore, and without a murmur, the indiscretion of the folly of some members of the late Convention, and my reward was the payment of 150*l.* towards their expenses, and insults, contumely, and reproach in the House of Commons for their every act of indiscretion.

Will you just imagine men getting up at public meetings, in London, and announcing that they were prepared for battle! You remember how Parson Stevens was prepared. How Peter Bussey was prepared; and you know what has become of these valiant heroes.

Now I tell you, with more courage than they possessed, that I am not ready to "tuck up my sleeves and go at it;" but I tell you what I have done. I have suffered more in health and constitution within the last three weeks than I have within the ten years previous, and still I am more ready and prepared to "go at it," in the right way, than any one of our invulnerable heroes. You are aware that I have already told you that the existence of three parties in a state was incompatible with the existence of peace, law, and order—that we would drive Peel and Russell to unite; and having thus reduced parties to their proper dimensions—the oppressor and oppressed—that the voice of the multitude brought to bear upon the votes of the representatives, would overwhelm and finally overthrow tyranny.

Well, notwithstanding the boasted triumph of Whiggery, its pointed cannon and "specials," on Monday, the 10th inst., so rarely great is our victory manifest in our consummate courage, judgment, and skill, that one half of my time since has been devoted to leading the most kindly and affectionate leaders from shopkeepers, tradesmen, and others of the middle classes, tendering their hearty co-operation to the popular cause, and expressing their determination to assume a bold and manly position after Easter, and to propound measures which, six months ago, they would have scoffed at.

Old Guards, have I not always told you that the shopkeepers would fraternise with you when they understood their real interests; and now that we have won them by our prudence, our judgment, and our courage, shall we repulse them by our folly, our indiscretion, and our madness?

Old Guards, have not I always been in front of the battle, and will you allow the madness of the intemperate to balk us of the service of those recruits, and once more throw them into more deadly hostility?

One week after Easter will test the sincerity of the Opposition. Upon my banner shall remain,

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER AND NO SURRENDER!

AND

NO SURRENDER!

But in the name of God! in the name of Justice! of Liberty and of Common Sense! let us wing the foe, and not scare the friend. Not only from all parts of the kingdom, but in the House of Commons, I have received assurance that the People's Charter will be the adopted principle of the Opposition; and the landed aristocracy of this country having proved themselves the greatest enemies of liberty, a prompt assault will be made upon their unconstitutional and worn-out privileges.

Old Guards, you are not aware of the appliances at the disposal of Government, especially in London; but I will give you one significant proof of the fact, it is this—as I was leaving London on Saturday the 8th, to discharge my duties as your bailiff, a man watched me, and followed me from John-street to the Bank. He ran after the cab, and he observed

"What does that fellow, dressed like a 'nervy,' mean by running after us?" When I came out of the Bank, he addressed me thus—"You honour, you don't know me now, but my name is —, and you got me into the police when you were member for Cork, and for God Almighty's sake take care of yourself on Monday, for there's orders to shoot you; and you should know that half of the devils that's cheering in the gallery in John-street is sent there by the Commissioners; and could Wellington (had luck to his soul) be the same Commander-in-Chief on Monday?"

Now, Old Guards, I did not require this statement to convince me of the fact that spies were sent to John-street; and for this reason—having a sharp eye and a sensible ear, I always found that the most ridiculous and violent speeches were cheered by those who were in sheep's clothing, while the sensitive working-class-looking men shook their heads and hung them down.

Old Guards, there is another class who have recently joined us—I mean the Irish Repealers—but you must never lose sight of the fact, that not many months ago the then leading organ of that party designated the Six Points of the Charter as an abomination—the editor, Mr. Duffy, declaring that his study should be "to widen the breach between the English and the Irish, and that he would be the last to bridge the gulf." He has only recently become a convert to the "abominations," and would now proclaim a very unequal division of labour—assigning to the ABOMINABLES the duty of fighting, and to himself the more easy task of shouting "about it." The champion of liberty is not quite satisfied with the result of our Demonstration of the 10th; but you will read in another part of the paper, a very different opinion, given by the editor of the Freeman's Journal upon the subject, and to whom I invite your attention. Add to this the fact, that all the pure Republican French papers declare that valiant Chartism had a noble triumph over armed tyranny on the 10th; but, what is more gratifying than all, while oppressed with sickness, with rheumatism, and debility, reflection tells me that the gathering upon Kennington Common was the recruiting service of Chartism.

Thus, I show you that the middle classes, the shopkeepers, and Irish Repealers, are but recent converts to our principles, and that, thus augmented in force, it is our bounden duty to try by present means the House.

If you doubt the present temper of the former supporters of Whiggery, you should have been in the House on Friday night last, when every member of the Government, as well as the Attorney General, was received as he rose, with the hootings, the howlings, and the yells of their former supporters, though not one word of it is reported by the Press, although they were actually hooted down every time they rose.

Old Guards, I assure you that declining trade, failing manufactures, empty tills, increasing armaments, increased taxation, additional placemen and pensioners, increased pauperism, and growing insolence on the part of the Government, has taken the gilt off the Free Trade gingerbread; and that the former advocates of that measure are the most strenuous opponents of the Government.

In conclusion, then, what I have to implore of you, is to postpone your National Assembly, whose enthusiasm may be operated upon by spies, until you see the effect of this new combination of disappointed hope, when arrayed against an intolerant liberty-slaving Government. You who have followed me so long, and whom I have served so faithfully, will not, I am convinced, for the gratification of any passion, refuse obedience to my advice, and should its following fall, then command me, and I will follow you.

Your faithful and devoted friend

and servant,

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

THE KENNINGTON COMMON MEETING.

THE (DUBLIN) WEEKLY FREEMAN'S JOURNAL of Saturday last contains an excellent article on the Chartism demonstration, from which we give the following extracts.

We have heard the result of this movement elicited by the advocates of oligarchic domination as a triumph over the people. We hold that the triumph is on the other side. The people contemplated an immediate revolution by force of arms; then, indeed, might the oligarchy claim a victory in the result, but the hard-working, honest people contemplated no such thing; and, in the fact of their holding the meeting, regardless of threats, but still more in the fact of their refusing to be dragged into giving battle where they meant no force, and where even an armed enemy would have to force positions such as few ever succeeded in forcing, they have won a signal triumph for themselves and for constitutional agitation.

MR O'CONNOR'S VISIT TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

NOTTINGHAM.—F. O'Connor, Esq., M.P., will make a public entry into Nottingham on Easter Monday, on which day a tea party and ball will be held, to celebrate the triumph gained by him over the faction that presented a petition against his return to Parliament. Mr O'Connor will enter the town from the railway station precisely at twelve o'clock at noon, and the people will assemble in the Market-place, at half-past four o'clock that morning, to start at seven o'clock, and proceed down Wheeler-gate, Albert-street, Lister-gate, and Carlingford-street, to the railway station, where the procession will await Mr O'Connor's arrival. The route from the station will be along the Leen-side, Bridge-street, Fisher-gate, Carter-gate, St. John's-street, Flockley, Goose-gate, Broad-street, Parliament-street, Chapel-bar, round the Market-place, where Mr O'Connor will address the people. The tea party and ball will be held in the Exchange Hall. Doors to be open at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon. Tea to be commenced at five o'clock, and dancing at nine. Tickets to be had of Mr W. H. Mott, Goose-gate; Mr Downe, Carrington; Mr Saunders, Radford; and Mr Thornton, Lyson-green.

HEWSON.—Mr Clark Cropper, of Manchester, will deliver a lecture in the Chartism-room, in Frieriey-street, on Sunday evening, the 29th inst. Chair to be taken at 8 o'clock.

HILL GATE.—Mr Clark, of the Executive, will attend the camp meeting on Sunday afternoon, at two o'clock; and the Smeaton meeting at six o'clock.

ST. HELEN'S.—The members of this locality are requested to attend their weekly meeting on Sunday, April 23rd.

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THE CHARTER AND NO SURRENDER.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

ry. Unless the pikemen are well disciplined, or less a good prize is to be won, such as a park of artillery, or baggage, or ammunition wagons, selected by cavalry, a charge on the latter should seldom be hazarded. If they are fools enough to sit cock-still on their horses, and wait for you, charge them at once, as on infantry; with this difference, the ranks of the pikemen should close up—the fronts of the front rank should be elevated to the level of the necks of the horse, or the breasts of the horse—the points of the second rank should be pushed forward on a level with the chests of the horses—and the points of the third rank should be thrust between

He did not regret that the Orangemen (though many appear a paradox) were arming, and that Sergeant Warren's call was being responded to. He also hoped that the formation of a National Guard, by means of which his colleagues of the deputation had taken part

shouts for Irish independence and an Irish
It was a gratifying spectacle—nay, it was sub-
I may say that now there is an end to all rival-
tween Repealers in Dublin. Particular indivi-
may still hold on the old ground; self interest
operate, in some few instances, against a unit

had acted very foolishly in not waiting till it was as then he could have done the business effectually. He did not state what had induced him to attempt upon his life. Mr Steele formerly possessed a good estate in Ireland, but has latterly been reduced by various circumstances.

...ld be more than king, but they should see these
...r CHURCH supported the motion. They had to see
...er their countrymen would submit to live in
...ry or be brave enough to fight for their rights.
...was told there was another alternative, namely,
...was transported. Now, he did not recommend
...ing, but he would rather be hung or transported
... above, if he found, however, that he was
... by the country, he would not go for
... Harner wished to ask if they had the

ATTENTED SUICIDE OF TOM STEEL, "THE PACIFICATOR."—On Wednesday evening, an attempt was made on Waterloo bridge by Mr. Steel, known as "Tom Steel," O'Connell's "big brother." It appears that the unfortunate gentleman had been drinking heavily, and was in a bad frame of mind. He intended to plunge head foremost from the arch into the river, but a waterman, crossing the river in a boat, succeeded in saving him. He was immediately taken to Bow street station, and from thence to King's College hospital. When he arrived at the hospital he expressed a wish to move to Peel's Office-house. He also said

THE COMMERCIAL CLASSES AND THE CHARTISTS.

HOMAGE TO TRUTH,

All powerful truth, thy followers oft have been
Exposed to tortures cruel, dire and keen,
Hampton and Sydney, Frym and Russell, fell,
And Emmet, whose pure worth no tongue can tell
Thou hast made of thy subject, who in former times
Told thy virtues of the brave and valiant sages;
For them the dungeons opened their iron jaws;
They suffered much, but won the world's applause
When bold O'Connor his bright flag unfurled,
And showed the Charter to a wondering world,
Around him soon a band of patriots rose,
Who saved the lives of their country's foes.
But soon the dungeons were again filled;
And human blood by hired assassins spilled;
While others in the strong prison bound,
Heaved their last sigh when no relief was found
While o'er the waves in felon's chains were sent,
The noblest spirits of the age and land;
Frost, Williams, James; last of the patriot band,
Now destined to wander on a foreign strand—
For us they suffered, and for us must bear,
The bonds of guilt their tyrants ought to wear.
Time with its inward presence fails to heal
The wounds that rankle deep, nor can the seal
Of forgetfulness be pressed upon the scars;
On hearts thus bruised whose wrongs are unredressed
Arise, ye giant minds, that long have slept;
Be cautious right now no longer kept;
Hut thunder in your grim oppressors' ears,
That justice asks some tribute to her tears,
Rogue again let patience tamely wear,
That justice may be seen to tread the air;
But by the memory of our former sires,
On each cold altar kindle freedom's fires;
And as the upward flames to heaven ascend,
Send grateful tidings to our patriot friends,
And bid these mark our efforts as we strive,
To free the sacred cause of truth and love;
That cause for service which procured their doom
Shall see us victors, or beneath the tomb.

THE POLICE AND THE 'TIMES'.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you the copy of letter the Times refused to insert, showing the particular manner they deal with matters likely to bring the names of the people into disrepute. The editors continue in that letter, "can prove by respectable witnesses, that you think it is serving the cause of right against might by publishing my statement in the Star you are at liberty to do so."

I am, sir, your obedient
M. P. LEB.

A subscriber from the commencement,
TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR,—I observe you allow a person signing himself E. T. C., to express his satisfaction at the conduct of the police, on Monday, at Blackfriars-bridge; permit me through the same medium, to express condemnation of the orders given to stop the people from going over the

in giving political instruction, and in printing hundreds of thousands of tracts, and selling and gratuitously distributing them in districts where needed, and particularly in the mill-lane and small parlours of other boroughs, where they are much required by the ignorant state of the people, and particularly the working classes.

I have, within a few weeks past, asked many of the working class in this part of the country questions respecting the Charter. Some of them had not heard it, others asked if the Chartists were some sect of Religious, and not one of them knew anything of the principles of the Charter. And yet some of them live in a parliamentary borough.

Lady.—Let me say to the Convention, to Mr O'Connor, and to every patriot, one and all—be temperate, prudent, be cautious. We cannot spare one for imprisonment, or transportation, or death. We must say that we have—we want every one of them, for life and active service, and we want ten thousand more.

SIR.—It is with feelings of pleasure that I have

PEITIONING.

HOW TO GAIN THE CHARTER.

In order to secure this desirable object, let competent persons be employed to lecture on Democracy, and induce as many as possible to give orders to the local news-vendors for the supply of these papers, and the regular weekly newspaper of the party—the *NORTHERN STAR*. Let a large circulation of all of them be secured, and the speedy triumph of the good cause is perfectly certain.

A DEMOCRAT.

THE CHRONICLE.

TO DA LINDLEY, THE EDITOR OF THE GARDENERS' CHRONICLE.

SIR,—From the frequent denunciations which have issued from your pen against Irishmen as Irishmen, a fulsome adulation, which for some unknown reason you heap on Scotchmen, as Scotchmen, I deduce, that in the assurance—namely, that I will treat my communications as if they were from a Scotchman, you will treat me as a Scotchman, which you have, perhaps, been advisedly led to mistake. I demand no consideration at your hands. Your true character is well known to many of the most fortunate class whose loyalty you so much extol. My character, either public or private, is not affected by your insinuations of "scourged Irish." Allow me, then, to profess myself an Irish journeyman gardener, and such, hated by you. Allow me, further, to state, that, as employed in Kew Gardens, I though I do not know how long I may continue there. I have committed single not to justify my dismissal, or I should have no reason been dismissed, as there is little encouragement here for those "scourged Irish." I have further to state that I wish to be part and parcel of its system of oppression and intimidation, which is carried on against us. Since you have become a recipient of government bounty ("Potato Commission") you must uphold some same—and, no doubt, how to sit one day in the director's chair of this establishment, to the great annoyance of the public and those employed. I look, therefore, up your plumed ear to the Editor of the GARDENERS' CHRONICLE, to uphold your parish's prayer for the preservation of this abominable system of class legislation—both the vocal offerings of paid clerics. You preach no

* Dr Lindley lately recommended the dismissal

the state of Kew Gardens.

their neighbours' property, they have done what was perfectly right, and what the Constables, I presume, would be very far from condemning: but it is to be feared that a large majority of the special constables have much worse designs, and that their object is to put down, by the force of numbers, the feelings of justice which the general, any expression of political feeling hostile to the government. That this would be the case with the Constables in and about London, there can be no doubt. Their baseness and servility of shopkeepers to those whom they think above them, is only to be equalled by their violence and tyranny to those whom they suppose beneath them.

the Bank, the Custom House, the Excise Office, Somerset House &c. to the poorer class, let me ask if it can be thought, that workmen attached to the Italian Opera House, and many large establishments that might be mentioned, were free agents? One young man in this class, owned to me that he had expected to be paid so, no doubt, did many more; not excepting the coach-whippers, with whose devoted loyalty the Honourable House of Commons appeared to be so enraptured week or two ago.

a number of universal constables; but that the lying press has
 taken from this point most audaciously, is evident. The greivous
 Sir of all, the Times, says there were 150,000 just of
 constables, and only 10,000 Chartists! I will just open
 as you, that living in Kennington, as you will by my
 enclosed card, and witnessing all that passed during the
 whole of the 10th of April, I hesitate not to affirm, that
 a more insidious falsehood than that of the Times, was
 never published. My calculation (and I am not a Chartist
 just yet, though approving the Charter), would be that
 there were 190,000 Chartists, and if I err, for I am a

am sure that my error is in under and not over calculation. As to the special constables, I was told by a medical gentleman, who was himself one, that in the whole district (that of the very place of meeting), there were but 408. We may judge by this of the 150,000, and so on.

If a collision had unfortunately taken place, I leave it to any one to say what the physical strength of shop-keepers and clerks is, in comparison with that of mechanics and labourers; were I to guess, it would be that one of the latter class would beat five of the former; and the hands that have been used to living by the palm

against those accustomed to much heavier articles of
The Great Lion also says, that the count-nances of the
women and children at the windows were full of alarm.
My son, aged sixteen, was on the Common, and one
my daughters, twelve years of age, was delighted to see
company an elder sister to the road, to see the process
sion, where they met many of the ladies and children
the neighbourhood.

ZETA,

CASE OF TYRANNY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

SIR,—You would oblige me very much by the publication of this short letter, a copy of which I sent to Thomas Cubitt, after discharging me, because I refused to be sworn as a special constable. He has not replied to it, and for this reason, I think I am justified in making it public with a few remarks upon it. You will see by the letter, that I had several conversations with him and his foremen, on the day of sweating in. One of them, Mr Porter, engineer, said to me, that he was given to understand that I was continually agitating and inflaming the rest of the men in the employ, which he said ought not to do. Told him that I was only doing duty, and that, whenever I had an opportunity, I would do so still until all men were acknowledged citizens. And other noted men how I got my living, and who employed me. He said, "Mr. Cubitt, I told you, sir, I said, he does Mr Cubitt got capital to employ men with it." So men as the one you are talking with, create the capital for him. Another commenced an attack upon me, for I asked me what was wanted. I told him that we ought to have a greater share of what we produced. He said, "I thought thirty shillings per week was capital required." I said, sir, "I was talking of the value of the work, not of the thing, as it were, delivered at my shop, like a carrier does the horse, deficient of a work." Does not my child require a good coat, many victuals, we good education, and as good a home to live in as you? I asked him why all this difference, and his reply was, that this was foreign to the question. I said, it was the very soul of the question. I fairly told him, and he gave it up. There is one thing I want to remark, before I conclude this letter, and that

THE CAUSE OF DIARRHÆA

TO JOSEPH RUME, ESQ., M.P.
SIR—It is defective legislation, that the

country to the present peculiar but critical predicament. It is the extravagance and bad management of the crown, the insolence and tyrannical rule of the rulers, which have raised a spirit of discontent, and have produced a rebellion, which, if not promptly suppressed, attended to, by timely concessions, will, in the end, be the overthrow of monarchy itself. It is the presence of avarice and arbitrary laws of which the millions of the poor are the victims, that is the cause of the present distress. It is the want of a fair representation in the Commons of England, and of disproportionate taxation, at which the working classes chiefly feel aggrieved. It is the consequence of civil is always chaotic, and never ceases to be so, that the present state of confusion and anarchy, which is the effect of the overthrow of the crown, will endure their share of suffering, though the working class will be the least affected, though the working class have the least to suffer in the present period. There are tens of thousands in the present empire who are peacefully plying away their miserable existence by the dint of miracle and the withering effects of unnatural laws passed by the influence of the ruling class. It is heart-rending to see the amount of human wretchedness, which our large cities and towns in the present moment present. Men willing to work to be able to support their families, their wives, their children, and their aged parents, are to be seen in the streets, lanes, and alleys, and in the bowels of our manufacturing towns, and in the remotest parts of the country, beyond human description. This is more remarkable, as it happens in the midst of plenty, and in a land so fertile, to be the most humane and Christian in the world, to see these individuals in their sad extremity, are compelled by vicious legislation, to pay so much for the ordinary necessities of life, as the richest in the land. The principles of justice, which may be human law, but it is not the law of philosophy. It is not the law of reason, nor is it the law of nature. It is the law of man, and it is the law of the present, in conformity with the law of nature, that the poor are only from such men as you that the people can expect redress of their injuries, for the corrupt party in the state have no sympathy with their wants or tellings, and they seem infatuated before their fall, for they will not

What an amount of human perjury is presented to the public, by almost every act of these destroyers of human family. A poor man may pine, hunger, and die while the sons of the aristocracy are pensioned upon the public, and the earth, the property of the Great Creator, appropriated for the benefit of a few, who misappropriate its proceed in deeds of folly, or squander it in superfluity or vice. And is it to be wondered that God should visit for these things? No! for he hath declared, "I will proceed to do a marvellous work among the people, even a marvellous work and a wonder, &c."

the understanding of ones thought prudent shall be his
Thus, in every age, perish the workers of iniquity. The
comes suddenly the retributive justice of God.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

APOLKOROMAI,

THE WAY TO GET THE CHARTER.

Birmingham, April 19th.

Sir,—As I have seen hints from different correspondents in the STAR as to the best means of obtaining a

this—as our noble chief, Mr P. O'Connor, has cemented the union between the English Chartists and the Irish Confederates and Repeaters; I would propose that a card of union be struck, bearing the Chartist and Confederation motto, or whatever emblem the National Assembly may think fit. That each member of the United Chartists and Confederates take this card of membership, for which they shall pay one shilling. Each card shall be numbered, and each man's name and address taken, as by the National Chartist Association. The proceeds to be at the disposal of the National Assembly. I feel no doubt in my mind that this will be the best plan for cementing the union between the English Chartists and the Irish Confederates and Repeaters.

mine, that" it calls is carried out with spirit, it would
 secure ample funds to support the National Assembly.
 Yours, truly,
 One of the Old Guards,
 265, Bradford Street. EDWIN MURLESS.

OPERA PALMERSTONII,
 QUE SUPERSUNT (!) OMNIA.

(From a German Correspondent.)
 The rumored intention of the British Government to

protest against the *mau affar* by Sarainia to the em-
 bodiment Lombardo-Venetians, offers a good opportunity
 for reviewing shortly the works of the above noble diplo-
 matist. Well may we think, Italy say to this pro-
 test what *Motternich* is reported to have said to that enter-
 prise by England against the incorporation of *Gracow*—
 "I am not and be d—d!" However, the thing bears a re-
 muneable character, and we shall treat it as such.
 That no treaty provides for, and authorities such as
 procedure has been shown by others. But let us ex-
 amine the morale of the affair. It was certainly *Lo-*
Palmerston, who, on a recent late occasion

house of Commons, the wisdom and prudence of Austria.' What could a gentleman like Mr. de Metternich do less, in return for such a compliment, than to pay Lord Palmerston a visit in London? A visit to and similar tirades, his lordship's own personal performances were rather restricted of late, Mr Robert Peel, Switzerland, Sir Robert Seymour at Lisbon, Lord Clarendon at Madrid, and a Cabinet Minister in Italy—consequently he was considered superfluous to the person of a Foreign Office, headed by Lord Palmerston, since the tenor of the activity of the above diplomats was either non interference, or interference for the Liberal

It is not a party, a clique of conspirators, or even a mob, who flee Austria from Italy, it is the NATION—freedom of the population. And is it the province of free England to back a pack of most sanguinary, stolid tyrants and oppressors? Since Pius IX. gave a press to Italy, now nearly two years ago, a host of journals have sprung up over the whole surface of the peninsula. Was there any one of them—was there ever a single article written in favour of Austrian rule in that nation. As long as the journals of Austria are

geons, causers, the *carrocci auro*, spies, and asphyxants was paramount, the nation was silent—the moment at least was given to national sentiment, the people broke the Imperial ensigns, not only in Milan and Venice but at Rome and Florence; at the latter place even Baron Neumann, formerly Austrian Minister at London, who induced the British government to violate the secrecy of the letters of brothers Bandiera to Mazzini, among others, which led them to the scaffold! Thirty-three years (a mysterious number) Austria has ruled over Italy, but ask how? The shout of raising and despairing people has sufficient answer.

It becomes an oppressive task to write the story, at such times, of such misdeeds as Austria has been guilty of late. But let Britain stand aloof of a catastrophe has neither provoked, nor encouraged. The flood-gates of fire and punishment are open; let none intercede but soothingly and wildly in such concerns, the dramatic correspondence found in the Rue des Capucins, Milan, and elsewhere, will be soon printed. We that Lord Palmerston's articles will occupy some of the columns of this JOURNAL OF MOND. We appeal to sense and humanity of the people of these Isles.

STREET, 11th April.—Irritation is continuing on the increase. The workmen and townspeople assume a most hostile appearance one toward another—the former partisans of a republic, the latter of a constitutional monarchy. *Serious* riots have occurred, and blood has flowed.

Don-street, Walworth, in the parish of St. Mary, New-
ington, in the County of Surrey, at the Office, No. 16,
Great Windmill-street Haymarket, in the City of West-
minster.—Saturday April, 22nd, 1848.