

We, for once, feel an interest, though by no means a pleasurable one, in referring our readers to the sayings of the middle-class House of Representatives. We have given elsewhere a full report of the debate on Mr. Duncombe's motion, and the most valuable debate that has occurred in that House during our time—valuable, as evincing, if further evidence had been necessary, the real character of the middle-class advocates for liberty, and the true prospects and only resource of the people. Consider, for the present, is out of the question; we reserve what we may have to say till we shall have more space, and till a week's reflection shall have prepared the people to receive and estimate it without excitement. Meantime, we entreat them not to permit the contumely of their oppressors to exhaust their patience; it would but give the wretches too much pleasure to see endurance, having reached its limit, burst the bond of prudence. We have never expected, nor encouraged the people to expect, any better result from this motion. We give here the names of those who voted for Mr. Duncombe's motion as we find them in the *Sun*.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, &c.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Petitioners who signed the National Petition be heard at the Bar of the House, by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, in support of the allegations in their Petition." The House divided:—

MINORITY—AYES 49.

Blake, Sir Valentine  
Blewitt, Reginald  
Bodkin, J.  
Bowering, Dr.  
Burton, J.  
Burton, J.  
Cobden, Richard  
Collins, W.  
Crawford, W. S.  
Dalrymple, Captain  
Dashwood, G. H.  
Duncam, Lord  
Eustace, Sir John  
Farnham, J.  
Elphinston, Howard  
Fildes, J.  
Hall, Sir B.  
Hollands, Robert  
Hume, Joseph  
Jervis, J.  
Johnstone, Alex.  
Mantz, G. J.  
Maurice, P. S.  
O'Brien, J.  
O'Connell, Daniel  
O'Connell, Maurice

TELLERS.

Duncombe, T.  
Leader, J. T.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION  
DELEGATES.

We have given a report of the proceedings attending on the presentation of the Petition, as copies as could be made, to those attendants on the dinner at White Conduit House, where above six hundred sat down, the tickets being half-a-crown. The chair was taken by Dr. Peter M. McDonnell, the vice-chair by Mr. Leach. On the right of the Chairman sat Thomas Duncombe, Esq.; on the left, J. T. Leader, Esq., and Feargus O'Connell, Esq. The head table was occupied chiefly by Members of the Convention. Amongst them Mr. Duncan, (President of the Convention), and Messrs. Moir, Roberts, O'Brien, Lowry, Leach, Doyle, Mason, McPherson, Philip, Williams, Bainbridge, Ridley, &c. &c.

The Convention sittings we have been compelled to reserve.

We give below the letter of Mr. O'Connell, in which some reference is made to one subject of the deliberation of that body, and upon which we may hereafter have a word to say; for the present the petition, its presentation, and reception, are the great masters of attention.

THAT PETITION, signed by Three-and-a-half Millions of People! has sealed the doom of faction, and made sure the foundation of the People's triumph!!!

TO THE IMPERIAL CHARTISTS.

MY BELOVED FRIENDS—I really know not how I am to commence my communications of this week; it has been so full of Chartism!

On Monday morning all was bustle and excitement in the neighbourhood of "Our House"—each man viking with his fellow in rendering all the assistance in his power to make our demonstration as powerful as possible. At ten minutes past twelve the BEAUTIFUL THING was ready for hoisting upon the shoulders of the Trades' Delegates, who had been selected as bearers of the muster roll of the nation's will to the House of Commons. Sixteen good men and true were just able to move under the names of

317,752!!!

We marched from our Convention Room to Lincoln's-in-laws, where all was life and bustle. The hive was full. I cannot attempt any description of the enthusiasm!

The life that animated one animated all. We were as one man. Our procession took one hour and ten minutes to pass one spot. Procession did I say? we had no procession! it was a dense mass of streets full! Procession means a number of persons marshalled four or five abreast, but our numbers could not have been marshalled. The Times allows us £5,000. Now you may safely multiply that by 10. It was acknowledged by all that it was the largest, the very largest gathering of people that ever was seen in London.

Our Petition smashed the door frames of the narrow House—it broke them in pieces—it took forty or fifty men to carry in the fragments. I took a famous lump on my shoulder to the table of the House. Bessley also had a share of it. Not one drunken man was to be seen in London on the 2nd May, 1842. Was I then wrong in my opinion of the Chartists of London? Our dinner was as glorious as our demonstration. But what I esteem as to myself—the greatest triumph is this: after mutual explanation, and a rather angry debate, I had the pleasure, and the most rapturous applause, to talk the wily and disappoint the artful, by shaking hands with James Brontier O'Brien; and bury for ever all hope of our enemies' triumph through our disunion.

No, my beloved friends, no private feelings of my own shall ever enter into your councils. I will always surrender private feeling to public duty. But, mark me, I have no feelings—I never had any feelings but those of affection, regard, and love for O'Brien. But it is now done; and, therefore, my friends, let it be announced to the world that disunion of your friends shall not injure your cause. Well, I attended in the House last night, to hear the debate on your Petition. The first hour was spent in private business, church business, and enclosure of poor men's land business. For that hour the House was too small to hold "our representatives"; but the moment our champion, Duncombe, was called upon to state your case, then, by degrees, the House thinned, till it was reduced to 18 on the Tory and 30 on the Whig benches.

You will have seen "The Petition Debate." I shall not comment on the vile speeches of Macaulay and Roebeck: I shall leave them to their constituencies. I am now but one of many; and shall not therefore say one word as to your future course, as that will be pointed out by your Convention. Suffice it to say, my friends, that what your Convention decrees, I, as one, will sacrifice my life, if necessary, to carry out.

Nothing can equal the bravery, the decision, and unanimity of your delegates. Not one word of disunion; but all, on the contrary, endeavouring to soothe down anger and heal differences. O, how different from the middle-class Convention of Attwoodes, Cobbettines, and Londonites! No deserter! no two objects! no big words and little actions!

I am going this evening to Brighton, to stand for the Whig and Tory at the election, for the purpose of placing the true light of Chartism between

# The Northern Star, AND LEEDS GENERAL ADVERTISER.

VOL. V. NO. 234.

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1842.

PRICE FOURPENCE HALFPENNY, or  
Five Shillings per Quarter.

## Forthcoming Chartist Meetings.

LEEDS.—Mr. Longstaff will lecture in the Association Room to-morrow (Sunday) evening, at half-past six o'clock.

HOLBEC.—Mr. George Hobson will lecture here to-morrow night, at half-past six o'clock.

WOODHOUSE.—Mr. Longstaff will lecture here on Tuesday night, at eight o'clock.

ARMLEY.—Messrs. Fraser and Newhill will lecture here on Monday night, at eight o'clock.

## CHAR. NOTICES.

The following are brief notices of the Chartist correspondence which reached us on Thursday morning. The extended report which we have given of the debate in what ought to be the People's House, on the 2nd May, will be found in the *Northern Star*.—T. M. Wheeler, 7, Mills Buildings, Knightbridge, Manchester.—W. Griffin, 34, Lonsdale-street, Bank Top, Birmingham.—George White, 29, Broad-grove-street, Newcastle.—Mr. J. Sinclair, Gateshead, Sunderland.—Mr. J. Williams, Messrs. Williams and Binns, booksellers, Sheffield.—Mr. G. J. M. Bartlett, 13, Cambridge-place, Westminster.—John Campbell, 18, Adelbury-street, Shaw's Brow, Manchester. *Chartist Blacking Manufacturer*—Mr. Roger Pinder, Edward-square, Edward-place, Potters, Hull. *Secretary to the Frost, Wilkinsons, and Jones Restoration Committee*—Mr. W. 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munity—points on which he would not now enter; but above all, he was satisfied that the subversion of all the great establishments of the country must inevitably ensue, and that to grant the prayer of these petitioners would in itself tend more particularly to the disadvantage, poverty, and suffering of this class more than any other remedy that could be proposed. Entertaining these opinions—having expressed them by his vote on a former evening—seeing that nothing had since occurred to induce him to doubt the soundness of the conclusions to which he had then arrived—differing from the Hon. Member for Leicester, he should to-night adhere to the course he had then taken, and, however, reluctantly, firmly but decidedly resist the motion of the Hon. Member for Finsbury. He (Sir J. Graham) was satisfied the concession would produce the most disastrous results to the working people; one of which would be the making them believe that doubt and hesitation existed within those walls with respect to the remedies they in their petition proposed. He was satisfied, that so far from affording a remedy, they would be found to be disastrous in the extreme; and, entertaining that opinion, it would be his duty certainly to resist the motion of the Hon. Member for Finsbury.

Sir J. EASTHOUPE rose to explain. He had been quite misunderstood by the Right Hon. Baronet the Secretary of the Home Department. He (Sir J. Easthope) thought that he had guarded himself against misconception by stating, that on a former occasion he had felt that if he voted with the Hon. Member for Rochdale he should have approved those propositions in the Charter to which he was opposed, but that on the present occasion he considered that he was asked to permit the petitioners to expound their own prayer, and to show its relevancy to their own distress. If he were called upon, as the Right Hon. Baronet assumed, now to affirm any of the sentiments contained in the Charter, he should have adhered to the course which he had taken before.

words on the present occasion, as he was not present in his place when a similar motion had come before the House, when he was aware that the absence of many gentlemen connected with the late Administration had been stated to be the result of design. Now, he could answer for himself that he was absent on that occasion in consequence of indisposition. His Noble Friend, whose absence he now again deplored, was, by accident, not in his place; and he (Mr. Macaulay) thought he could with confidence say that not a single member of the late Government, who was present, withheld the expression of their sentiments from any unworthy motive whatever—(hear, hear.) He should attempt to imitate, as far as he could, the proper temper shewn by the Right Hon. Gentleman who had just sat down; and if he (Mr. Macaulay) should be betrayed for a moment into any departure from that temper, no person who knew him would, he was sure, attribute it to any want of kindness or good feeling towards those millions whose petition was now under the consideration of the House. He could not sanction, by his vote, the motion of the Hon. Member for Finsbury—(hear, hear.) The Hon. Member had shaped his motion with very considerable skill, he had shaped it in such a manner as to give him (Mr. Macaulay) a very fair plea so to vote for it, if he wished to evade the discharge of his duty), and yet to be able to say to his Conservative constituents, “I never said a word in favour of Universal Suffrage, or those other changes for which the petitioners called;” and at the same time the Hon. Member for Finsbury had so shaped his motion as to offer him (Mr. Macaulay) an opportunity of saying to a large assembly of Chartist, “On that occasion, when your petition was before the House of Commons, and the motion was made that you be called in and be heard at the bar, and when that motion was opposed by the Government, I voted with you.” But he (Mr. Macaulay) thought this question so important that he should not discharge his duty if he had recourse

which had been made to-night ought to be substantiated and proved before the House, he for one would not oppose it; nay, he would vote for it. But he contended, that when he found a petition demanding a particular law to be passed immediately "without alteration, deduction, or addition," and then to represent it as merely desiring an inquiry into the public distress, was really paltering with the question—(hear). Now he might, much more easily than any other gentleman in the House, consent to give his support to the motion of the Hon. Member for Finsbury, for there were parts of the Charter to which he was favourable; in truth, out of all its six points there was only one to which he had an extreme and unmitigated hostility. He had already voted in favour of the ballot, and as to the property qualification of members to serve in Parliament, he most cordially concurred with the petitioners. He had always thought, that while there was a property qualification required to form a constituent body, a property qualification for a representative was superfluous. He could not understand why it was that the members for Edinburgh and Glasgow were not required to have a property qualification, and those for Marylebone and Manchester were required to have a property qualification; if the principle were sound, it ought to be universal—if unsound, it ought to be abandoned.—(hear, hear.) Neither did he think any Hon. Member could stand up in favour of that on Conservative grounds. It was no part of the old constitution—it was not a part of the reforms made at the time of the Revolution, but long after the Revolution it had been introduced by a bad Government, and passed by a bad Parliament, for the distinct purpose of defeating the Revolution, and for the exclusion of the Protestant succession to the throne—(hear, hear.) He was against annual Parliaments, but at the same time he was ready to agree, to a certain extent, to meet the wishes of the people by limiting the duration of Parliaments. He did not go to the minor points contained in the petition, because there was one point so important—a point which, in his judgment formed the very essence of the Charter—which, if withheld, would have the effect of creating agitation, and which, if granted, mattered not one straw whether the others were granted or not; and that point was Universal Suffrage, without any qualification of property at all. Having a decided opinion that such a change as the concession of Universal Suffrage would be utterly fatal to the best interests of the country at large, he felt it his duty manfully to declare he could not consent to hold out the least hope that he could ever, under any circumstances, support such a change—(hear, hear).—The reasons upon which he entertained that opinion he would state as shortly as he could. He thought, in the first place, that the proposed inquiry, constituted a presumption against the change which was produced by the Reform Bill—he did not say this on the ground of finality—he entertained no opinion of that

ground of finality—he entertained no opinion of that sort. He admitted that violent and frequent changes were not desirable; but at the same time he must say, that every change proposed must be judged by its own merits. He was bound by no tie, and he was ready to pass any legislative reform which he believed would conduce to the public interest. He thought it was a misstated argument against a change of this sort on the part of those who contented themselves with saying that they considered the change would be inconsistent with the continued existence of the monarchy and the House of Lords. Although a faithful and loyal subject of her Majesty, and favourable to admixture of the aristocratic element in the constitution of the country, still he must consider that the monarchy and the aristocracy were not the ends, but the means of government—hear, hear. He had known governments in countries where neither the monarchy was hereditary nor the aristocracy hereditary, and yet those countries had prospered; but he believed that Universal Suffrage would be fatal to all the objects for which a monarchy existed, or even a well-ordered republic existed, and that it was incapable of coexisting with the extension of civilization. He conceived that civilization rested upon the security of the Government. It could not be necessary in an assembly like that for him to go through arguments in support of that proposition, or to allude to the vast experience which led to that result. Everybody well knew, that where property was insecure it was not in the power of the finest soil, of the finest climate, of the most moral and intellectual constitution of the people, to prevent a country sinking into barbarism—while, on the other hand, where property was secure, it was scarcely in the power of any Government to prevent a nation going on prosperously. If these evils had been found in the Government of the country, the stronger was the argument made out for progress which this country had made in the midst of all the misgovernment to which she had from time to time exposed, showed how irresistible was the power of the great principle of security, to property. However the Minister might have squandered the public revenues, still with security to property, the labour, industry, and enterprise of the country found resource. Whatever might be the cost of war, the

ous  
or could destroy, and if that were the fact, all  
had the deepest interest in the security of pro-  
and the labouring classes had that interest in  
nest degree. Following that principle, he con-  
the supreme government of the country could  
be intrusted to any class, with regard to which  
d not exist the moral certainty that they never  
commit any great or systematic violation of  
erty of property—(hear, hear). Had he that  
ce with respect to the petitioners was the ques-  
(Mr. Macaulay) now asked? Had he the assur-  
it if the Government were placed in the hands  
majority of the people of this country, without  
y qualification, they would respect the sanctity  
erty?—(hear, hear). He thought not; and if  
compelled to give a reason, he would, without  
with any severity the indecorous language it  
ed, take the petition which his Hon. Friend the  
or for Finsbury had caused to be printed with  
ea. And what was that petition? It was signed  
y 3,500,000 of the people, and must be con-  
as the declaration of the intentions of that  
y which, if the Charter were passed, would  
the sovereign of the country—as a decla-  
f the intention of those who would then, in all

the intention of those who would then, in all probability, return the majority of the representatives to that House. Now, if he was so to consider this, it was impossible to look without considerable alarm on such passages as these:—"Your petitioners in that they are enormously taxed to pay the interest of what is termed the National Debt—a debt amounting at present to £500,000,000, being only a small portion of the enormous amount expended in cruel and protracted wars, for the suppression of all liberty, by men not authorised by the people, and who, consequently, had no right to tax posterity for the outrages committed by them upon mankind." ("Hear, hear," said Mr. Hume, Mr. Duncombe, and others.) Was he (Macaulay) really to understand that cheer as an expression of an opinion that there was no right in the creditors? Was he to take it as an expression

creditor? Was he to take it as an expression  
tion that national bankruptcy would be just and  
? If he was not so to understand it, he was  
at a loss to comprehend what the passage meant.  
own part, he conceived it was impossible to  
distinction between the right of the fundholder  
lends and the right of the landed proprietors in  
. It appeared, however, that the petitioners  
no such distinction, for they declared against the  
y of land. It was impossible to misunderstand  
ning of these words in the petition—" That your  
ers deeply deplore the existence of any kind of  
y in this nation ; and, whilst they unequivocal-  
ly condemn the levying of any tax upon the neces-  
sary of life, and upon those articles principally required  
by the labouring classes, they are also sensible that the  
n of any one monopoly will never unshackle  
from its misery, until the people possess  
ower under which all monopoly and op-  
er must cease. The petitioners respectfully  
call the existing monopolies of land." Was  
was it not, intended to mean landed property;  
not, in fact, following up the declaration before  
s to the funds by a declaration that land pro-  
ught to cease to exist? They then went on to  
a of the monopolies of patents, and the monop-  
which they conceived to arise from the fixed  
of a man in the machinery of his mill, or in a  
e of his own invention. They then mentioned  
monopolies in travelling and transit; and he firmly  
held their meaning to be the confiscation of all  
s and canals. It was hardly necessary for him  
urther, for, if he understood the petition right,  
eved it to be a declaration that the remedies for  
evil under which this country suffered were  
ound in a great and sweeping confiscation of all  
y—(hear, hear.) Now, believing that to be the  
e was firmly convinced that the effect of any  
measure would be not only to ruin the rich, but

as would be not only to ruin the rich, but  
the poor still poorer; and that such a result  
press more heavily on the labouring than upon  
the class in the community. While he cen-  
tred the doctrines contained in the petition, he had no  
intention to bring against the great body of persons who  
had signed it: so far from speaking or thinking ill of  
conduct, he did not blame them in any degree—  
and acted as it was natural they should act. The  
there was a sort of cry of existing distress, which  
the men had put into a bad and pernicious form  
If so, was the House to go out of its ordinary  
of proceeding, in order to give this petition a  
recognition of peculiar distinction? Let it be re-  
membered, that Hon. Members of that House had  
the advantages of education, and were very  
tryed by calamities half as severe as the pe-  
ople had, it was admitted, undergone.  
Hon. Members had hardly observed the  
actions of their own minds, when they had suf-  
fered from sickness, from vexations of any kind,  
pecuniary difficulties, or other forms of ad-  
versity which happened to everybody, and they  
ought to remember how unreasonable such things  
were to them, and how ready they were to catch at  
any thing they could hardly hope would relieve,  
them from a greater evil for the sake of present  
immediate indulgence; therefore, he could not  
but consider it a strange thing that the poor man, whose  
wife grow thinner every day—who heard  
his children cry for food he could not give them,  
ought to embrace that which he was taught to believe  
ought to give him relief. Such a man would easily  
be imposed upon from the want of education, owing  
partly to his own condition, and partly to the ne-  
glect (Mr. Macaulay) must say, of the Govern-  
ment of this country. (Hear, hear.) To those gen-  
tlemen

of this country. (Hear, hear.) To those gentlemen who cried "Hear," he would say, "Granting education would remedy these evils, shall we wait until education is given—shall we not wait to see whether education will make them understand that the preservation of the sanctity of property was just as important to them as to the man in the country, or shall we put into lands the power not only to ruin ourselves but themselves?" (Hear, hear, hear.) Nothing is more natural than that, when looking at the quality of stations in this country, their minds should be excited, and that when they were told by such men that if they had the power in their hands they might at any time save themselves from all the calamities to which they were now exposed by going to the lands, to the funds, to monopoly, to railroads, and to all those things which were all monopoly, but which he (Mr. Macaulay) considered property, it was natural they should be excited. He bore to them no more unkind feeling than he did to a sick man, who in the height of fever asked him for a draught of cold water, which would be fatal to him at the outset—he had no more regard towards them than he had to those who, when he was in India during a scarcity, desired the gates to be thrown open to them. However much the suffering in the one case or the distress in the other, he would not administer the cold water, but would he give the key of the granaries to a starved population, because in the first case it would be fatal, and in the other it would only give temporary and delusive relief, to be followed by an enormous increase of evil. No person here could seriously entertain a doubt that such a spoliation of property as that to which the petition pointed would be a serious evil to the people, and an addition to their other calamities. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, these were the things for the sake of which they asked for the Charter, upon what principle was it that they should consent to put into their hands the power to effect all these evils to the country and to themselves? The only arguments to be used in the House entertaining the proposition would be, that really when the power came into their hands they would use it with greater caution. That would be, in the first place, a very strong reason for treating this petition with suspicion, because it did not contain the deliberate wish of those who sent it; and, in the second place, it was contrary to human nature that persons asking for concessions should put their demand in a form less acceptable to those who had the power to withhold it; that they made their demand more ridiculous than, if they obtained it, their practice would be found to be; that they pointed out to us the consequences that would follow from granting their demand, which evil consequences would follow in reality, and which they never meditated.

But, it might be said, their power would not be used. How was it possible to doubt that in the hands of such men would be used for evil? See what had been held out to them. Every who heard him must be aware of the kind of which had been used. There had been a system attempted to represent the Government to do for the working classes that which no man ever had been or would be able to do; such no wise Government ever would attempt that which if any Government did attempt they would do less than their duty; the working classes had been reasoned with as if the Government was so situated that instead of the people supporting the Government, the Government were bound to support the people; as if the Government had some sort of never failing supply at their command—a vast fund of wealth with which to dispel poverty from the land; as if, like the rulers of ancient times, the Government could compel waters from the rocks to pour down bread from heaven, or as if they could call over again at pleasure the miraculous phenomenon of the self-multiplying loaves—(hear, hear). As the people were in these doctrines, was it to be believed that the moment Parliament gave them absolute supreme power—for let it be observed this was what was asked for—that moment the people would forsake and forget their doctrines and principles? The petitioners and those who supported their views in the House of Commons talked of legislation at the very time they were for one class exclusive absolute power. The grant of granting the petition would be to put all the people in every city, in every village, in every part of the country at the feet of the labouring class. What was the effect, in this point of view, of agreeing to the proposition for Universal Suffrage. The Hon. Members for Bath and Montrose, (Mr. Roebuck and Mr. C. H. Smith), though they agreed on the principle of Universal Suffrage, would oppose, he was confident, any bill that should himself, a national bankruptcy or alienation of national property, if it should be passed. What would be the effect of that? The people talked of the disappointment that had arisen

it of the Reform Bill; what would be the disappointment of the petitioners with the first Parliament which should assemble after the concession of universal Suffrage, if they were to be told by Hon. Members and others in answer to their demands, "No, the interest of the National Debt must be paid. You shall lay your hands on no portion of the land; the railways must not be touched, machinery shall remain in the hands of those who hold it." Then with respect to the demands as to wages; he ventured to say that if there were any notion among the petitioners that the wages of labour could be increased by means of measures to be adopted contemporaneously with the points of their petition, the conclusion was most gross, because the moment of the adoption of those points would be the very moment when they were frightening from the country all that by which alone the wages of labour could exist. But was it possible that the 3,000,000 of petitioners should think of this when they had got power in their hands? No; they would complain bitterly that they had been deluded by those who taught the working classes to consider them as their friends. Ever since the passing of the Reform Bill the House had heard from a great many persons who had expected to derive greater fruits from it. "You said

ected to derive greater fruits from it, " You said that we should have the 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill,' and, in fact, we have got nothing but the bill' by reform," and did they think that these persons upon getting power into their own hands would allow the same result to occur again? But if the people were not to be disappointed, and the £700,000,000 or £800,000,000 of capital in this country were to be taken from the present holders—if, in short, they could imagine this country given up to spoliation, he defied any man from any acquaintance with ancient or modern history to picture to himself anything like the amount of misery that would be caused. But would it end with one spoliation? How should it? The distress caused by the first spoliation would be doubled and trebled by the still stronger measures of spoliation which must come on after the first; and where would be the bulwarks to resist? The very Government would stand by spoliation. Now, how was it possible to believe that the people who had once broken through such a prescription as that with which the rights of property and all our institutions were surrounded in this country, would be found favourable to the principle of appropriation? How this would operate, they had no experience to enable them to guess; the only way in which he could conceive a parallel to the condition the country would be in was by imagining that it would be something more cruel and harder than the condition of a besieged city, only extending over a greater space and embracing a greater community—a community of 6,000,000 or 27,000,000, a large portion of them depending upon a trade with all the ends of the world. Was it not possible that famine—such a famine as had never been known in Europe—famine joined with pestilence—would come in the train of all this? It was sad to look beyond this; but he must say that the further one looked forward through such a scene as this, the very best thing that he could expect—the House would think what it must be for any English public man to say so—would be, that a strong military despotism—(hear)—should be established, which might give some sort of security to the fragments of property which might be left us. But if the country should think that after this they would ever again see those institutions under which we are now living they would be mistaken. (Hear, hear.) They would never see them again, and they would deserve never to see them again (hear, hear), and foreign nations could ask with interest, what had been the conduct of this country to her people with respect to those institutions, and the story told them would be, England had institutions which were great and

England had institutions which were great and glorious—*institutions which were certainly not free from imperfections, but which contained within themselves all the means of legally and constitutionally remedying those imperfections—*institutions which, with but little alteration, had continued for 50 years together; those institutions she threw antonly away, for no other reason but that she was told to do so by persons who told her at the same time that they would use the power she gave them to ruin her. She gave that power; she has been ruined, and she deserved to be ruined.”**

(Hear, hear)

These were the reasons which had determined him to vote against the motion of his Hon. Friend, and he must say, that if any Hon. Gentleman was disposed to grant Universal Suffrage, he (Mr. Macaulay) thought that gentleman would do quite consistently to vote for the inquiry, but he must say that he found with some pain that his Hon. Friend, the Member for Leicester, (Sir J. Easthope) though agreeing with him (Mr. Macaulay) as the Hon. Baronet seemed to do in a great degree, nevertheless was about to vote for the petitioners coming to the bar to advance the principles of this petition.

Sir J. EASTHOPE.—To expound them.

Mr. MACAULAY resumed.—He could find those principles quite enough expounded in the petition itself; but, however that might be, he was so much opposed to several of those principles that he could not so far violate truth as to pretend to feel any great respect for the petition. He should therefore vote against it, and in doing so he should give the petitioners much more reason for content than those who voted for them now with the determination to vote against them hereafter. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ROEBUCK said, that the Right Hon. Gen-

Mr. ROEBUCK said, that the Right Hon. Gentleman had begun by professing great kindness for the working classes, but he had ended with a description of the results which he said would follow, Parliament gave power to those laborious, industrious, pains-taking, long suffering classes, which showed that the Right Hon. Gentleman at bottom entertained no great kindness for those classes. There was one grand proposition on which the Right Hon. Gentleman's speech was based, and that proposition he (Mr. Roebuck) had seen elsewhere; he had seen it elaborated in a form which left no doubt of its parentage in the shape of a discussion of Parliamentary Reform in the *Edinburgh Review*. (Hear, hear.) The proposition of the Right Hon. Gentleman was this,—"I am not willing to give the people power till I am assured that they will not misuse it." (Hear.) And the Right Hon. Gentleman appealed to the petition itself to prove that he sought not to grant the prayer of it. Now, he (Mr. Roebuck) might answer this in various ways, and first, he might deny the Right Hon. Gentleman's premises altogether—(hear, hear)—but, mounting much higher up, and asking on what principle the House of Commons was armed, he was prepared to maintain that the same principle, if carried, would bring together the whole body of the people to confer on public affairs in that place. There was a natural desire in every man to profit by another's labour. The object of Government was to prevent that desire from breaking out into action. In a state of nature, if he (Mr. Roebuck) was strong, he obtained that which he desired; as men advanced they met together and formed societies. In this country the people had hit upon the principle of delegation to a few to do that which former times was done in the market-place by the whole body of the people. The House of Commons then sat there to prevent the desire that each man has of profiting by another's labour from coming into action; they were put over the people to watch for them; but, then, that being the case, who was to watch them—to watch the watchers?—(hear.) That could only be done with effect by making the House of Commons responsible to the people; and the charge against the House of Commons on the part of the people was, that they delegated to a small section the power of enforcing this responsibility, and that that small section had joined with the House of Commons to oppress the remainder of the people, and that they did oppress the remainder of the people—(hear, hear.) The Right Hon. Gentleman, holding the petition in his hands, had said, that the petitioners made a demand for the establishment of a minimum of wages; if this were so, then he (Mr. Roebuck) asked Hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House whether they did not make a demand of exactly the same principle in the Corn Laws?—(hear.) The Right Hon. Gentleman said, "I am willing to give the

the principle in the Corn Laws? (hear.) The Right Hon. Gentleman said, "I am not willing to give the people power because they demand a *minimum* of wages;" but he (Mr. Roebuck) said to the House "remember, you have given power to the landed interest, and given them that power notwithstanding they asked for a *maximum* of prices." In principle there was the difference? But all this was bad political economy, said some Hon Member; this was bad economy, said the *Edinburgh Review*. But, be bad political economy or good, the poor man would come forward and say, "You have given me power, now I demand a *minimum* of wages"—(hear, hear). How often, when the Poor Laws were before the House, had they been told that there were very many of the miseries of the people that were entirely beyond the control of the House? he agreed that at present it was so; but if the people had a voice here, would it long be so? The Right Hon. Gentleman said that parts of the petition contained propositions adverse to the security of property. Let him (Mr. Roebuck) point to the great organ of the Conservative party—*The Times* newspaper—and ask did it not every day bring out projects and assertions quite as extravagant, quite as fierce, quite directly and pointedly against the security of property as those contained in that extremely unwise, and, he would say, extremely foolish, petition? (hear, hear). But were those who signed this petition really unfit to govern themselves? Separate the people of this country into classes, and they would see which of them were against property; the classes who had a share in education were not against—the enlightened mechanics, they were not against property. The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that if any one class was dependent on property and the security of property, that class was the labouring class, and yet wished to make out that this class was so blind to their real interests and to all that prudence would dictate, that it was that class of all others which would be willing to reduce the country to the condition of a desert. Now, he (Mr. Roebuck) judged the people of England otherwise; he did not judge the words of the foolish, malignant, cowardly

magogue who had written that petition. He (Mr. Peacock) knew where to put his finger upon the man, and he was convinced it was not that man who was entitled to stand forward as the representative of the labouring classes. He would ask those Hon. Members who had borne witness to the long-suffering of the industrious classes, amidst the privations and distresses to which they had been exposed, and which they were yet daily suffering, what was the character of his fellow-countrymen? Yes, it was from those sufferings that he judged of his fellow-countrymen, and not from the trashy doctrine contained in the petition, which would be of itself ridiculous but for the grandeur of the multitude of names appended to it. What they asked was, for the power which they saw their fellow-citizens enlisting. What they complained of was, that their fellow-citizens, whom they knew to be made by nature no better than themselves, were selected as the repositories of power. That was a distinction which was peculiarly galling to them. But he did not believe, speaking from the knowledge which he had of his fellow-citizens, and it had been his fortune to mix much with them, that their belief was general at the great accidents that regulate the happiness of their lives, were within the power of the Government.

their lives were within the power of the Government. In fact, he believed that the class to which referred was as enlightened as the present electoral body—(hear.) Well then, if they were as enlightened as the present electoral body, let the House consider that this country had wealth, and security for property under the present electoral body. Why then should the country not have the same under the labouring classes? If they were as worthy to be electors as the present body, why was (Mr. Roebuck) to conclude that under them the country would be involved in that anarchy which had been painted by the somewhat terrific pencil of the Right Hon. Gentleman? That was not his (Mr. Roebuck's) judgment of the people of England. If he was wrong, what kept them from displaying their real character? He affirmed that the Government had not physical force adequate to keep them down. If they were to rise as one man, they might do, the Executive had nothing but that was but as a rush to keep them down with. What then kept them down? They kept quiet from knowing that the advantages which they and their ancestors had derived from obedience to the law were not to be thrown away slightly, and that was their only feeling in the matter. And if he were to be asked by what his countrymen were peculiarly distinguished from other nations of Europe, and from the people of all other countries that he knew, he should say the distinguishing feature in their character was obedience to the law.—(hear, hear.) had happened to himself and many other Hon. Members to travel in other countries; he asked those Hon. Members what was the case there? On the Continent it was said *la force* was everywhere—here it was obedience to the law. The feeble unstable without any question took the offender to custody solely from the moral feeling of the people. It was not physical force, but law, that gave sway here, and this it was that made him believe that if the whole body of the people ruled the country he should walk home just as quietly as he should that evening—(hear.) Such was his confidence in his fellow-countrymen—(hear, hear.) He believed that if ever there had been a libel spoken he did not say so in any sense that could be painful to the right Hon. Gentleman,—but if ever there was a libel spoken upon his patient, his forbearing, his industrious fellow-countrymen, it was that idle claiming which said that they were unable to govern themselves. Why, it was they who have given everything for this country—upon them rested the whole fabric of English prosperity and greatness, and now the very fact of this peaceful organization for the attainment of what they believed to be their

the attainment of what they believed to be their natural and political rights was a lesson which the world had never seen before. The Right Hon. Gentleman himself was learned in the history of the world—could he point his finger to a single event in history, that in its nature was like that which they had seen yesterday upon the floor of that house? What was that event of yesterday? It was the peaceful act of 3,500,000 people, who had all joined together throughout the length and breadth of the land—in the open markets and in the crowded towns in the by-ways and in the highways—who had assembled in peace, and fully relied on the security of the law, and had signed the document which was then laid before the House, in which they asked by petition for the indulgence of a right which they in their hearts believed to belong to them. (Hear.) They had not risen up as an armed band; they had not banded together against the law; they had conducted themselves peacefully, calmly, sedately, forbearingly; they had come and called on the House to hear them; and yet, with that document to point at, the Right Hon. Gentleman included that so striking an example and so extraordinary an incident in the history of man was to be thrown aside as nothing, and that he was justified in fixing his critically acrimonious eye upon the turning of sentences, his almost grammarianlike sagacity in insight into language, while he altogether forgot the larger and more striking features of an act by which 3,000,000 of his fellow-countrymen who were not now admitted within the pale of the constitution had come to that House, and in so entirely peaceable a manner petitioned for that as an indulgence which they fully believed to be their own as a right. (Hear.) Now, let it not be supposed that he (Mr. Schuckub) agreed with one hundredth part of the

Roebuck) agreed with one hundredth part of the opositions contained in that petition. (Hear.) What he did ask for the petitioners was, simply that they should be heard. (Hear.) He wanted noibble to help him out of the difficulty. The Hon. Member for Rochdale had, on a former evening, asked for the very same thing, and how had heen met by the Hon. Baronet the Member for Leicester? He now saw something that he did not see before. (Hear.) What that something might be was not for him (Mr. Roebuck) to say—(a laugh from the Opposition benches)—but now, forsooth, though the demand was precisely the same as that made by the Hon. Member for Rochdale—(hear)—the Hon. Member for Leicester took a different course. Inquiry! "To propound their opinions; state why they thought their evils arose from bad legislation," said the Hon. Member for Leicester; why, that was exactly the proposition of the Hon. Member for Rochdale on the former night, and yet, though the Hon. Baronet then voted against the motion, he now came down, and, having some special light on the subject, said he should vote for the 3,000,000 of petitioners. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Roebuck) did not want to do that sort of thing. He wanted no excuse for the vote which he should give on the present occasion. He had voted for the Hon. Member for Rochdale on the former occasion, and he should vote with the Hon. Member for Finsbury now, not for the petition as a whole, not for everything contained in the petition, but for what is called the Charter—for that was the way to put it. He should vote for the Charter, because he believed that the people ought to be admitted into the pale of the constitution, and because, from what study he had been able to give to the history of mankind, and from what consideration he had had of man's nature, he believed that the best government that could be got for any people, whether looking to the necessities of instruction, the interests of health, or to any of the peculiar circumstances affecting particular nations—that the best government that could be got was that which proceeded from the whole; and it did strike him, that if tomorrow they could transform, by legislative means, it by any violent revolution, that House into a complete representation of the people of England, there would not be one iota of difference as to all the interests and tendencies of property in this country. With this simple, peculiar, and advantageous exception, that every man in that case would have the proceeds of his own labour, with only so much taken from it as would form his fair share of contribution to the state—(hear). That was not the case now, and at it was not was the evil of which the people complained. They did not assert that all the evils with which they were afflicted were attributable to the government under which they had lived, but that a large portion of the evils they were suffering under might fairly be attributed to the

that a large portion of the people were  
pouring under might fairly be attributed to the  
mode in which that House was constituted. They  
declared that, being unrepresented, they paid more  
largely towards the expences of the state than  
they ought to do with reference to their condition  
and numbers. The cause of this they asserted to  
be their want of power in that House, and, rea-  
soning from the acts of the majority of that House  
at present constituted, they felt that they had  
been, and were, unfairly dealt with. Therefore  
the long-suffering, patient people, now at last  
asked for a share in the government of the country  
(hear). Now, compare the picture that had been  
drawn by the Right Hon. Gentleman with the  
events that had occurred in that House during the  
present year. They had been told of the necessity  
of placing the government in the hands of the arist-  
ocracy only; now, what had been their experience  
a few months working of that description of  
government? The people being in a state of distress,  
finding food scanty and dear, asked the governing  
body of the country, when they met, to lessen that  
distress by lowering the price of food. What was  
the answer? Why, the aristocracy most vehem-  
ently, most decisively, most completely, declared  
that they would do no such thing. Upon the argu-  
ments that had been used against the claims of the  
working classes by the Right Hon. Gentleman he  
(Mr. Roebuck) would be entitled at once to say, that  
a spirit of rapine prevailed with that aristocratically  
body. Taking this instance, not of wild language  
(hear), but of determined resistance to the cry of the  
whole suffering population, he was entitled to say,  
that the principle laid down by the Right Hon. Gen-  
tleman, that the aristocracy in that House were  
governed by a spirit of rapine. ("No.") Let him  
not be misunderstood. He had borne very patiently  
with the counter argument, and he hoped they  
would listen patiently to him—(hear.) He main-  
tained that he would be fairly entitled, in accordance  
with the argument of the Right Hon. Gentleman, to  
say that the Government which could act so was  
governed by a spirit of rapine and plunder, and only  
brought the people down by the power they possessed

having the arms in their hands. Going a little  
farther, however, he would say that the existing  
power in that House, having the power in their  
hands, and not feeling the pressure of misery upon  
them, had no means of knowing what that distress  
was, and that, therefore, they would be doing, not  
only the poor, but the rich, a benefit by sending into  
the House those who would be elected by the  
people themselves, and would be able to shew them  
that the evils were that had been created by their  
own legislation. And let them not suppose that by  
submitting the labouring classes to a share in the  
representation of the country the power of electing  
representatives would not be borne still by the whole  
population. Were they to suppose that wealth and  
intelligence would cease to exercise their natural  
influence? Did they imagine that only the wild, the  
intelligent, would govern the country in that  
case? No; it would be the rich and the intelligent  
who would still, by force of their position and  
education, govern the country. No people were  
ever yet governed by the ignorant, or by any but  
those which might be called the thinking and  
more classes. The only effect of creating such  
a government as the petitioners desired would be,  
that they would still have wealth exercising

they would still have wealth exercising due and legitimate influence with the aid of intelligence, whereas the influence now exercised was a malignant influence, doing mischief and working out instead of good. The difference between the Right Hon. Gentleman and himself was, that he had a full faith in the good feeling, patience, and virtue of fellow-countrymen, which the Right Hon. Gentleman seemed to doubt, believing as he did that they ought not to be trusted with power; and his opinion, as he did, from the petition which had been laid upon the table of the House, and setting his eyes to the experience which he ought to have had while journeying through this large country, he must have had of the constant forbearance of his fellow-countrymen;—the Right Hon. Gentleman, shutting his eyes to all this experience, judging only by the paper on the table, declared that the labouring classes were unworthy of the trust which it was sought to repose in them—that they would be cruel and take delight in rapine and wanton spoil and bloodshed—that when they found peace they would make war, that of this cultivated land they would make a desert, and that that great country which they themselves had almost entirely raised to present prosperity and greatness, they, if in power, would be the first to reduce to one wild scene of bloodshed, anarchy, and confusion; for this reason it was that the Right Hon. Gentleman declared that as long as he held a seat in that House he would resist the demand of the people for a share in the representation. He (Mr. Roebuck) could not follow the Right Hon. Gentleman in that course. On his own part, what little ability he had should be devoted to the service of those classes upon whom the opinion of the Right Hon. Gentleman cast such a stigma. He believed that he should be best doing in service by speaking of them with calmness, consideration, and affection, and by endeavouring to do for them that which they had a right to expect from his hands. He would endeavour to the best of his power to render them equal in point of political privileges with any of those who now sent members to that House, by not allowing any servile class to remain, believing as he did that property would be best secure when his labouring fellow-countrymen had the most power in the country.—(hear.)

Lord F. EGERTON said, ably and ingeniously the Hon. and Learned Member for Bath usually conducted his arguments, he had on the present occasion more than ever applied the ingenuity of the orator to the question at issue. The Hon. and Learned Member had carefully avoided the real question before the House. The Right Hon. Gentleman the member for Edinburgh had, with his usual

He was sorry to find any single Member of one of the newly-enfranchised metropolitan boroughs prepared to vote against so reasonable and just a proposition as that under consideration—("oh! oh!") When the metropolitan boroughs were enfranchised, it was feared that through their means some very troublesome Members would obtain admission into that House—(hear, hear)—Members whose principles were as objectionable to the majority opposite, as the sentiments contained in the petition on the table. He thought, however, that the House had little reason to complain of such annoyance, and certainly they would have still less if all the Members for those boroughs were to take a political lesson from the book of reform as it was read by the Hon. Member for Lambeth. That book was a large volume, but he thought he might search it through in vain to find the page which contained the specific principles of that Hon. Gentleman. If, however, he was surprised at his speech, he was equally, if not more surprised, at the silence preserved by Members on the Ministerial Benches. He had expected on a question affecting the rights and interests of the working classes, that the eloquence of Hon. Gentlemen opposite, which had been so kindly exerted on the subject in other places, and which had been followed by successive rounds of Kentish fire, would have been heard in their favour on the present occasion—(hear, hear.) He had entertained some hope that those who were so loud in their denunciations of the Whigs for neglecting the interests of the people, would not, in this instance, have forgotten their former advocacy. Though no voice on the other side has yet been raised for that purpose, he hoped that before the debate concluded, they would come to the aid of the people, and never could they do so with better effect—(cheers and laughter.) The discussion of this question had in his opinion taken too wide a range. The proposition before the House was a simple one, and its statement might be comprised in a nutshell. It was merely this—3,300,000 of their fellow-countrymen asked permission to state their grievances at the Bar of the House, and the reply to be given to it was "yes," or "no." That was the simple question stripped of all disguise, and the answer to be given would show whether the people were still to entertain a hope of justice from that House, or whether the reply would fill with disappointment and indignation upwards of 3,000,000 of their fellow-countrymen. Even the very hesitation of the House to answer in the affirmative showed the justice of the request made by the petitioners—(hear, hear, hear.) 3,300,000 petitioners sought an opportunity of stating their grievances at the bar of the House, and the House hesitated to answer their just demand. The

the member for Edinburgh had, with his usual energy and manliness, made a declaration of his opinion on certain points, for which he was perfectly satisfied in looking to the petition itself. For from that petition, which the Hon. and Learned Member designated as trashy and contemptible, he was enabled to show what were the opinions of the 90,000 of petitioners on the subject of Universal suffrage and of the use they would make of the power it would give them. They had no reason whatever for believing that the petitioners were not sincere, or that the Right Hon. Gentleman, drawing his inferences from the statements in their petition, had over-estimated the consequences which might be expected to follow such an extension of the suffrage as was contemplated by the petitioners. It is, therefore, not quite fair in the Hon. and Learned Member for Bath to draw, as he had done, their attention away from the petition itself, which formed the question before them, to those abstract political subjects which he had brought under their consideration. The Hon. Member for Bath seemed to expect the new Atlantics or Utopia to arise, in which everything would be conducted upon principles of strictest justice; but he (Lord F. Egerstein) agreed with the Right Hon. Gentleman in thinking that it was much more probable that the bad man would arise. They had never seen an Utopia in any country, but they had seen a Cromwell in this country, and that too under circumstances of less urgent necessity than those which could doubtless arise were the state of things contemplated by this petition to take place. Agreeing he did in almost all that had fallen from the Right Hon. Gentleman the member for Edinburgh, and thinking that the Hon. and Learned Member had not fully met the question, throwing aside the petition, House hesitated to answer their just demand. The petitioners at the outset alleged that they were unrepresented in that assembly. Then why not yield to their request, and allow them in their own way to make their candid and honest statement?—(hear). Could that be considered a land of liberty or justice where so fair a request was refused?—(hear, hear). Was it not only fair, after what had fallen from an eminent Whig leader, to see these men, to hear their statements, and permit them to show that they were not the turbulent and sanguinary beings that they had been represented?—(cheers). For his own part, he was surprised to hear a gentleman of such lively imagination, of such comprehensive judgment, and such extensive intellectual powers, give such an appalling description of the character of the people of England—(loud cheers). Why, where did the Right Hon. Gentleman reside?—how did he pass his time?—(cheers). With whom did he associate?—(hear, hear)—what books had he read?—(cheers and laughter)—or where could he find aught which would warrant or justify the description which he had given of upwards of 3,000,000 of Englishmen. Where would the Right Hon. Gentleman select his specimens to prove the truth of his description? Would he find them in the navy? Were the sailors of Great Britain mutinous, cowardly, or treacherous?—(hear, hear). Were the soldiers of this country mutinous, pusillanimous, or disobedient?—(hear, hear). What was the character of our merchants, of our professions, of our trades?—(hear, hear). Was it not too bad to make such sweeping assertions, and condemn a whole people in the mass? Let the Right Hon. Gentleman, if he could, point out a single class to whom the description would apply. Would he say the carpenters? Would he

ly met the question, throwing aside the petition he had done altogether, he preferred to give a speech which he had no doubt would expose him to popularity, but the consequences of which he was not prepared to meet.

Mr. HAWES thought the representatives of larger constituencies were bound to express their opinion on a question of this sort, in order that there might be no doubt as to their views. Any difficulty which (Mr. Hawes) might have in voting on this occasion had been removed by the speech of the Hon. and learned Gentleman the member for Bath, who, with the manliness and straightforwardness that had always distinguished him in that House, had declared that it was not for the petition that he was about to vote, but for the Charter. On that sole ground he (Mr. Hawes) differed with his Hon. Friend. He did not concur with him in supposing that to grant universal suffrage would be either safe or prudent, but on the other hand he utterly disclaimed any want of trust, regard, respect, or affection for the people. He thought he was at least in a position to resist the general and abstract views of reform contained in the Charter, for when had he ever resisted any measure of practical reform or the gradual and progressive extension of the political rights of the people? He believed that the adoption of the measures demanded by this petition would aggravate the evils complained of. For all practical projects of improvement he was, as he ever had been, disposed sincerely to vote; but, as to the present proposal, he could not see it consistent with a due regard for the public interest to lend it his support. (Hear.)

Mr. HUME regretted the course taken by some of his Hon. Friends. Nor did he deem their reasoning at all valid. It was said, for instance, that the Chartist petition contained intemperate expressions. But was it fair to brand a whole body—and an immensely large body—of fellow-countrymen with such sentiments as the imprudence of a few might give expression to? Would it be fair to apply this rule to the party opposite, and to charge them with the responsibility of the language used in one of their great periodicals—"that England would flourish to-morrow if the manufactures were engulfed!" [Sir R. Peel here said, "I know nothing of that language."]. Then the Right Hon. Gentleman knew nothing of the expression of public opinion. (Laughter.) But the substance of the Chartist case was well stated in their petition, the arguments of which no one could controvert. (Oh, and laughter.) No honest man could deny them. (Renewed laughter, and a cry of, "The national faith.") It was very unfair to charge the Chartist with an intention to destroy the debt, or to impair the credit of the nation. ("Read the petition...") Read it yourself (said the Hon. Member, with great laughter.) Let the arguments of the petition be examined. (The Hon. Member went through them one by one.) Were not all

apply. Would he say the carpenters? Would he say the smiths? Would he say the shoemakers? The circumstances were such as to demand something more tangible and specific than the Right Hon. Gentleman had favoured the House with—(hear, hear). He (Mr. Wakley) was not so favourable to the petition as the Hon. Member for Edinburgh had represented himself to be. On the contrary, there were many points in it in which he did not concur, and if any member in the House was bound more than another for supporting the motion that the petitioners should be heard at the bar, it was the Right Hon. Member for Edinburgh, seeing what an aptitude and readiness he exhibited in showing his progress as a scholar in the school of reform—(cheers and laughter). It was only ten years since that he was opposed to such an extension of the suffrage, and he was still opposed to that point; but he had since then come round to the five other points of the Charter—(hear). It was to be presumed, therefore, that when the Right Hon. Gentleman had heard the arguments which might be urged in its favour, it would be possible to bring him to a favourable reception of the sixth. Though the Right Hon. Gentleman has declared his determination to resist Universal Suffrage, yet as he had made no finality resolution, it might be possible to induce him to make some approach to it. He (Mr. Wakley) hoped the House would not, by deciding against the motion, excite dissatisfaction and discontent among upwards of 3,000,000 people. He was aware it might be urged that the vote upon the question would be construed into saying "Aye" or "No" as to the Charter, but he denied in *toto* that it was capable of such construction. He, for his part, was not an advocate for Annual Parliaments, being of the opinion that Triennial Parliaments would work much better. He disclaimed the question as being one which involved the adoption or rejection of the Charter. It was simply whether, as he had said before, 3,300,000 of their fellow-countrymen would or would not be permitted, with their own tongues, to state their grievances, in their own language, at the bar of the House—(hear, hear.) Was the House he would ask, determined, at all hazard, to stand by the present system of representation? Was the £1 constituency so pure and incorruptible as to be the best which could be selected? Look to the disclosures made in the Committees respecting the gross corruption which characterised the last election. Was that corruption practised by the working people—by those mechanics who had been so described by the Right Hon. Gentleman? No; it was the work of the very electors whom that House had chosen as the very basis of a constituency—(hear, hear.) Nothing could be more dangerous to the constitution of the country than the practices which had been exposed in the late inquiry. They unhinged all reliance upon our social institutions, and created an astonishment in the public mind to think that such

astonishment in the public mind to think that such abuses and corruptions should be so openly practised. The working people attributed the fault to the legislature. They demanded to be admitted within the pale of the constitution, that they might endeavour to cleanse the foul stream of corruption, and, in his opinion, their request was a reasonable one. He had seen much of the working people of this country—indeed, few had seen more. He had also seen much of the working people in other countries, and he could confidently say, that he never witnessed more honest sincerity, or more real and sterling worth, than the working men of England exhibited—(loud cheers). He was glad to hear that opinion cheered by Hon. Gentlemen opposite. How then could they reconcile it to themselves to retain those people in the position of a servile class? How could they say that the inhabitant of a £10 house was better or more trustworthy than he who inhabited a £5 house? In what did the superiority exist? Was it in the brick and mortar—was it in the furniture or attire—or was it in feeling and intellect—in head and heart!—(hear.) Before the New Poor Law was enacted there was little necessity in the country for bolt or bar; no rural police were required; but now the people felt the injustice of the enactments levelled against them; and when the Right Hon. Gentleman the member for Edinburgh asked what would be the character of the laws if they were enacted by the people! he should remember that none could be more cruel or sanguinary than the New Poor Law. When it was considered how it pressed upon the widow and the orphan and the aged octogenarian, he would fearlessly ask what law could be more cruel in its operation, and he would add that the working people could never enact a law against the aristocracy of a more severe nature. Under the circumstances in which this country was placed, and considering the distress which prevailed, he thought it incumbent on the House to listen to the tale of the petitioners and hear the statement of their grievances; and he should therefore, considering that they were unrepresented in the House, give his most cordial support to the motion. (Hear, hear.)

(Continued in our eighth page.)

(Continued on the original page.)



WATKINS'S LEGACY TO THE CHARTISTS.

## LECTURE II.

*"Do unto others as you would be done by."*

St. Luke, chap. vi.

Of course! that is fair, and the English are said to love fair play.

This rule would make each man his own standard—the measure of justice to himself. For what is that we would have done to ourselves? Is it not when we try to be fed—when naked to be clothed—when sick or in prison to be visited—when strangers to be taken in?—in a word, would we not with our wants to be relieved and our woes comforted? Yes, nature itself, in all these cases, cries out for succour and for sympathy. Then, since this is what we would have done to ourselves, our very nature teaches us to do it to others, and justice says that unless we do it to others we do not deserve to live.

Now, by going unto others, as we would they should do unto us, what is that we do but teach them what we would have done? "One good turn deserves another." The likeliest method of bringing others to do unto us as we would they should do, is for us to do so in our strike, for gratitude, or at least pride, would not suffer them to be behindhand with us, or beholden to us. But, on the contrary, when we do unto others not as we would be done by, we teach them, we provoke them to do unto us. We force them to do unto us what we would not have done by ourselves. In this instance we raise man's better nature to be our friend. In the latter we rouse his evil nature to be our enemy. We, as we were, give the injured party a right to wrong us. And what have we to trust but his forgiveness, his forbearance, or his powerlessness? Are, it is to the powerless, to those whom we fear not, from whom we think we are in no danger of retribution, retaliation, or retribution, that we commonly do evil. But, none are so powerless as not to have it in their power to be a friend or an enemy.

When we do unto others not as we would be done by, we do but teach "bloody instructions" which bring death, return to us the "injury" we do. Mr. Philaris who invented an engine of torture in the shape of a bull, and was the first man on whom its efficacy was proved—the first victim who suffered by it. "Curse it is said, "come home to roost." The maxim holds good both ways—if we would have good done to us, we shall do it to others, and if we would not have evil done, we shall not do it.

There are good men certainly who will not revenge an injury except by forgiveness, which is the noblest revenge. Truly, these are the men to whom it is given to be good. But, there are others who, in injury because he calculates upon vengeance, is surely the very wiles of offenders, the most mean. I have attempted to shew that we are not to calculate upon the present powerlessness of the party to whom we do an injury, nor upon his forgiving disposition, for an unprovoked injury is the most likely to provoke one, although a good or a wise man will not suffer himself to be provoked, and it should be on care not to give an evil man that excuse.

Shylock, when Shakspeare introduced him into the drama, was the most abominable character in the play, and he was a poor, despised, and unfortunate man.

But, alas! 'tis a common observation, and the time gives it proof, that those to whom fortune has been the most favourable, when Providence has been most bountiful to are the most niggardly—he who has the means means to do good, generally does the least—the fairest, the most amiable, the most suffering, the most sympathetic we feel for it—the higher we are placed above it, the more we scorn it—the greater our ability to do good, the less our inclination, and thus it is that the poor have to keep the poor.

*(To be continued in our next.)*

Such men would be content to have evil rather than forgive the vindictive satisfaction of individual wrong, for they are fools; for we are so constituted, our nature is such, that we cannot injure others without at the same time injuring ourselves. If the party we injure be not in a situation to make us feel what we have made him feel, yet our consciences make us feel it, and our consciences make us feel it all the more if the party have the power to punish but forgives. Conscience will balance account with us, and vengeance will be repaid, if not by the hand of God, then by those whom we injure.

Man is not naturally man's enemy. It is too much his own friend for that; but the present competitive system is turning friends to foes, and relatives into opponents. It operates thus by degrees, first making us selfish, then sordid, then selfish, because we are taught to believe that God has not provided enough for all; sordid, because selfishness itself degenerates into sordidness, when it has accumulated more than its due share, and broods over it; and savage, because we yet fear that those who in consequence of our overplus have to give up, will make us afraid of giving up, and of dispossessing our own.

Hence laws are made to fence the avançade of property, founded on the wrongs of man—artificial rights, to which man's natural rights have been sacrificed. Men are first robbed, then killed—that is, when the case of restitution seeks reparation. Would this be the case if all did to each, as would be done by?—would it be the case if he who has enough of this world's goods and to spare, and knows that his lacking brother is not equally fortunate, and yet, in the name of God, gives him nothing?—would this be the case, I say, if he who has more than enough, were to strip himself of the undue advantages which the world, and the world's law, have given him, and place himself upon an equal footing with them and their families had for a long period been subject to them?—would this be the case, if we, who are the most poor—punished for making known his wants—starred and despised by law, and then murdered him under the mask of justice?

But, alas! 'tis a common observation, and the time gives it proof, that those to whom fortune has been the most favourable, when Providence has been most bountiful to are the most niggardly—he who has the means means to do good, generally does the least—the fairest, the most amiable, the most suffering, the most sympathetic we feel for it—the higher we are placed above it, the more we scorn it—the greater our ability to do good, the less our inclination, and thus it is that the poor have to keep the poor.

## CIRCULAR OF THE OPERATIVE STONE-MASONS.

"Sydney, New South Wales,  
October 25th, 1842.*"At a meeting of delegates of all the trades, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, George-street, Sydney, on the 21st of October, 1841, it was unanimously agreed that emigrants had been deluded to this colony by the various agents holding out such prospects to them so as to induce many to emigrate here who are now in a state of great distress, more particularly in other trades than in our own."**"There were not less than thirty out of employ, during the last six months, out of five hundred masons. Our trade is not so brisk at present, owing to the Government public works being done by prison labour, which was formerly done by Government emigrants. But since emigrants have come out in bounties, they have not been employed in Government works, but the day after their arrival they are left to perish in the streets, in want of labour—would have been attacked; and as this has placed an extra burden on us, we hope that we shall receive a little extra means to enable us to bear it."**"We, therefore, beg of all the Trades' Union to petition some Member of Parliament, to cause emigrants to come out in Government ships, as on their arrival they are employed by Government, and provided with houses to live in until they obtain other employment. Beware of bounty emigration, for it is only a delusion. Employment is scarce, house rents high; and provisions dear, as you hear it every day and every hour of the day. We experience it continually: it has made us what we are, wretches of want, and woe, and wickedness, victims and victimizers: there is not one of us but it may be said of him as of Ishmael—"His hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him." But see, how unequal are the odds—millions against one! What wonder then we suffer so much—what wonder we are so much in debt to this hostile world—that we writh like worm under it?**"There are doubtless many who wish to do unto others as they would be done by, who wish it for the sake of others or for the sake of increasing the little good that is in this evil world; but what avails it if the good wishes of a few are frustrated by the evil wishes of the many? They have to strive against a stream of corruption, which either sweeps them away or overthrows them. But could they succeed in turning the stream, making it purify itself, and flow more smoothly, what a task!—it might sweep over us, and we might be lost. They wish to act on the principle of doing unto others as they would be done by, and by acting on it themselves they pursue the likeliest means of inducing others to act on it, for example makes more converts than precept. May that little community go on increasing like the cloud at first appeared just above the horizon, and was the size only of a man's hand; but root and spread until it formed a canopy over the heavens!—Charism is the precursor of salvation; and "St. Paul" says, "Charism is preparing the way for Socialism; it is the dawn of a better day—the harbinger of a newer, a more moral, and consequently a happier world."**"Do unto others as you would be done by. What can be plainer? What can be more equitable? What can be more conducive to our welfare? Let us see what we should gain if all acted upon this principle, why each would do good to himself, each would have the other for his friend, his assistant, his servant. We should number and reciprocally benefit each other. No man could be so blind as to do this for himself, that he could do it for all. All that he could not do for himself would be done for him, and with others. One man would have all men for his helpers; his associates. We should be twice blessed—blessed in receiving but more blessed in giving, for it is more blessed to hand to hand in a never-ceasing round of joy. We should be like the fairies that have all they wish for with a wish. How delightful would it be to live among those who lived for each other—who lived in love, and who died for each other—who made the other more happy than himself, and each enjoying the happiness of all. What if it would make this Pandemonium become a Paradise? yes, this golden rule would restore the golden age; the earth and all things in it would again become as good as when God first made and blessed it. But what do I talk of? a mere Utopia—an ideal world that cannot be realized? Cannot? It might; but we can do much pain to assist one another as they do to thwart one another—the thing would be done, and much better would it be for us all; how much comfort we should have where we have care; how much joy we should have where we have sorrow; how much happiness instead of misery, how much a judgment of this life, and what an increased hope of joy in the life to come. There would be no poverty with crime—no want with vice—no sin with suffering—soul be turned into pleasure and we should all go in concert like a party of haymakers working or rather playing in the sun. Blessed world! in which the only rivity, the only competition would be who could best please,—could most serve the other. Talk of self-love! this would be true self-love."**"I remain yours,  
WILLIAM GOODALL, Secretary.**"Society of Operative Stonemasons,  
Mr. Baker's, Crown and Anchor, George-street,  
Sydney."**"To Thomas Short, Secretary of English  
Society of Masons."**"THE STONE MASON'S ON STRIKE,*

THOMAS SHORT, Sec.

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IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.—TUESDAY.  
(Continued from our fifth page.)

Lord J. RUSSELL.—Considering the importance of the petition presented to the house, and the great number of signatures attached, I could not do my duty but not come down to the bar for the purpose of expressing my respect to the petitioners, and at the same time, denouncing the abhorrence of the doctrines set forth in the petition. Let me, however, in the outset at once meet a charge which has, I think, most unfairly, been imputed to those who are prepared to vote against the present motion. I deny that I and others who are opposed to it are amenable to the charge of want of sympathy with the suffering and privations of the working classes. (Hear, hear.) We know how many thousands of our fellow-countrymen are subjected to the most severe privations. We'll be compensated for our sufferings, and at the same time, we denounce the fortitude and forbearance with which those sufferings are endured. (Cheers.) But when we are asked to comply with the motion, it seems to be taken for granted and assumed that we can thereby relieve the distress. This, however, I must be permitted to deny. My right hon. friend near me has met the question on that ground. The hon. member for Bath said, that if the institutions of the empire were to be taken down, and the empire itself be dissolved, we should be compelled to grant the franchise to all men of adult age. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. THOS. DUNCOMBE.—Look at the previous paragraph.

Lord J. RUSSELL.—The words are, "If your Honourable House will be pleased to grant your petitioners a hearing by representatives of your petitioners will be enabled to unfold a tale of wrong and suffering, and so forth. Well, but

the hon. member for Bath, in his speech, has not said that he would be compelled to grant the franchise to all men of adult age. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE.—They mean if their first prayer is refused. (Order, order.)

Lord J. RUSSELL.—And they say that in making this demand they are exercising a just and constitutional right. (Hear, hear.) They may ask to be allowed a further explanation of those evils of which they complain, but they ask it with a view of establishing the Charter. Sir, I cannot believe that any counsel or agent standing at that bar would persuade me to grant the six points of the Charter, should I give my vote in favour of it. If you think that you are possessed of power, now have the means of exercising it, and you are a degraded and cowardly race if you do not enforce your own terms! (Cheers.)

I do not believe they would at once yield to such delusions; but what security can the hon. and Learned Gentleman give, that, having been deluded once, the petitioners would not be deluded again? (Cheers.) I understand the Right Hon. Member for Edinburgh to state that the people of this country were of a sanguinary disposition; and that if we admitted them to power, spoliation of property would be the result, but that there would be great danger if they consented to the prayer of this petition, so prepared by a designing and cowardly demagogue, adopting the description of the hon. and Learned Gentleman—(cheers)—or, if this be not the case, to the petitioners, how can the hon. and Learned Gentleman maintain that those who have been party to a petition so full of trash and delusion, and I have no doubt, immediately afterwards with the same speech, to other instances fail to be a designing and cowardly demagogue? (Hear, hear.)

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Sir P. REEL.—Sir, I hope I should have been exposed to no misconception if I had remained silent, even from the course which this debate has taken, I have not been able to make out any case for the people of any intent to plunder. The hon. and Learned Member for Bath, perhaps for his own argument, but not very fairly as regards my right hon. friend, called this a trumpery petition, drawn up by a person who styled, I think, a malignant and cowardly demagogue. (Mr. R. asserted.) It was these words that the hon. Gentleman described the character of the petition and the character of its author. Has he not then fully made out an accusation against the 3,300,000 persons who signed the petition, which he thus describes as a palpable draw-up by a cowardly and malignant demagogue? If the hon. member denies that he has done so, how can he accuse my honourable friend of aspersing the petitioners? My hon. friend said that the petition contained certain allegations. This hon. member for Bath admitted, but he said, let us throw them aside. Now, might not the persons who were misled into appending their signatures to such a petition equally mislead in the choice of the persons whom they were to represent? Let us come back to that. (Hear, hear.) The hon. and Learned Gentleman said that in modern times we were supposed to have made a great discovery when we hit upon the mode of enacting our laws by delegation instead of adhering to the ancient mode of taking the vote in the market-place. I, for one, think it an admirable contrivance; but if in the choice of their representatives, the people can be so deceived as to give their suffrages in favour of a person such as the hon. Member for Bath, described the framer of the petition to be, it would be carrying into effect the destruction of private property and the subversion of our institutions, at the same time, that the representatives of which the hon. Gentleman so truly praised as a characteristic of our countrymen, would, when they were in the hands of designing and plundering leaders, only induce an obedience to the measures which would enable these latter to carry more completely into effect those revolutions to which the people themselves might be opposed. (Loud cheers.)

It is clear that the person, whoever he may be, by whom the petition has been drawn up, would apply his influence to the spouse of the National Debt. That person, I believe, will be the hon. Member for Bath, on the contrary, so to call it, has but a pretence, and that it might with justice be swept away. Now, for my part, I believe that if you could gather together in the market-place all the adult males in the country, and show to them that the obligation by which the public faith was bound to the present national creditor was a legal and a just obligation, and that a breach of it would operate with great injustice and cruelty, by sending to want and misery every person who had hitherto relied upon it as a means of comfortable subsistence, the people would renounce the possessive and inquisitive, and would to a man refuse to participate in so cruel a spoliation. (Loud cheers.)

But, then, I am not so confident that those by whom the petition was signed might not be misled by the cry of the moment in the choice of the persons whom they were to represent. (Hear, hear.)

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