

William Hewitt Publisher
340 Strand, London

HURRAH! FOR THE CHARTER!

"Onward, we conquer—backward, and we fall."

TO THE IMPERIAL CHARTISTS.

Mr. Beloved Friends.—This is Christmas-day,

but no holiday for me. However, the work that I

have to perform is of so cheering a nature, that I

consider it a valuable Christmas-box—more valuable

than anything you could have conferred upon me.

It is the work of praising you to yourselves. In

the outer, I wish you not many happy returns of

such a day as many of you will spend, but I wish you

may such happy Christmases as I hope and trust

are in store for you; and now to my subject. Have

you thought of the point where oppression and

tranny stopped Chartism in 1832? Have you

thought of the many who have since deserted us,

and who, to palliate their own treachery, have never

ceased their endeavour to sow confusion in our

rank? Have you thought of the intermediate

period—more properly than within the same

time was ever known in Britain? Have you thought

of your own apathy, caused by a roaring trade and

the law's intimidation? And have you, when

reflecting upon those things, ever thought that Char-

tism was dead? And when you learned that its his-

torious foes, the Whigs, had returned to office, did

your spirits shrink within you at the notion that it

was a visitation, a malediction, a curse upon your

heads, a triumph to mark your listlessness? And have

you read and heard of the miserable manner in which

Chartism, with all those odds and false appearances

against it, has risen from its slumber, and once more

knocked the presumptions' monster in the head? O,

mighty people! who, but one short fortnight

since, would have imagined that the slumbering

masses could have been so easily summoned to ac-

tion that wakeful and ever-grasping Toryism, that

watchful and ever-grasping Whiggism? Did you

not imagine that the machinery, so long unused,

had become rusty, and would require some time to

put it into working order? Who would have ever

thought, who could have ever thought, that in eight

and forty hours after writs were issued to thirty of

the most important Chartists towns, that the response

would have been a delegate from each, testifying the

resolution of their constituents to march onwards to

victory? Who, I ask, would have supposed that, in

the depth of winter, in the midst of apparent

apathy, such an event could have occurred? And yet

it is so! And I confess, candidly, that the magnitude

of the fact astounds me. It is, indeed, a "GREAT

FACT," that, while organised faction has been

brought together in ten days, a disorganised mul-

titude can meet in eight and forty hours.

My friends, deny it who can, if we were represented

by the press as factions and sections of all denomina-

tions, are this "great fact" would, of itself, be suf-

ficient to proclaim our superiority. See the meetings

which have taken place within the last fortnight of

the people's party, not a single notice by the

press, except a passing insinuation, such as that

of the *Manchester Guardian* upon the Rochdale

meeting, stating that it was but thinly attended.

Will not these present give the scribbler the lie?

Will not the fact, that £2 or £3 was collected by

voluntary subscription after the meeting, give the

scribbler the lie? Will not the fact, that the know-

ing was not only numerous but satisfied. You know

what it is to collect that amount of money. Again,

look at the spinners' dinner, another great fact.

The fact that, nearly the whole body had assembled

together in its might, to proclaim its undying resolu-

tion upon the object most dear to it. Look to the

fact that the *Times* newspaper had a special reporter

there from London, and a deputy from Manchester;

and look to the greater fact, that the *Times* NEVER

PUBLISHED ONE LINE OF THE PROCEED-

INGS! And why? Because to have omitted

reporting my speech that time would have been to

have performed *Hamlet*, leaving *Hamlet* out; and to

have reported my speech would have shown the

question to the world, not in the party garb in which

the *Times* would present it for party purposes, but

as a fact, and a veritable Chartist colour, as a

people's question, not as the stalking lion of fac-

tion. Again, look to the miserably meagre report

of the *Guardian*; again, look to the fact of thirty-

five delegates meeting at Manchester, and not

noticed by one single scribbler! Look to the

meetings we have had within the last ten days. Look

to the Land Conference sitting for a week, composed

of the very wisest of the working-class order, and not

The Chartist AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. X. NO. 424. LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1845.

PRICE FIVEPENCE or
Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter

pose of providing against scarcity, and that every
Chartist in the district attend as an army of obser-
vation—that in the event of the necessity of provid-
ing against famine, and the opening of the ports, as
the speediest and only means constituting the object
of the meeting, that the Chartist body, under their
committee, not only give no opposition, but having
decided upon the necessity, that they boldly carry out
the policy; but, if, upon the other hand, any wild
theorist, who should not be able to properly estimate
the toleration that, UNDER EXISTING CIRCUM-
STANCES, we accord to the League, should venture
upon that toleration to propose the principles of free
trade as a panacea for all our grievances, or as a
political principle at all, then in such case the
committee move the Charter as an amendment.

Now, the effect of this course will be, to keep the
League in the straight jacket that famine has im-
posed upon it; while it will keep our party together;
and this policy will always insure the ready atten-
dant of good officers, and a powerful army of obser-
vation; whereas, if we continued that opposition,
which, under other circumstances, was not only jus-
tifiable, but politic, we should disgust a number of
our staunchest friends, and give—not the League,
but the frightful apprehension of famine, which
would be put down to free trade strength—a triumph
over us.

My friends, I have now clearly and unmistakably
proposed a policy as clearly and length, and in con-
clusion I have only to observe, that it would have
gladdened the heart to see the spirit and unanimity
that was manifest throughout the whole proceedings
of the Convention; very different from the times
when rascals spoke for hire, and deserted us when
we had the means of paying for their patriotic en-
thusiasm. It took two days to discuss six resolutions,
and each and all, after a calm and earnest examina-
tion, were passed, not only unanimously, but cordially.
Let me tell an anecdote; one deserving to be recorded,
not more for the honour it evinces than for the name
it applies to. A fine, respectable, manly-looking
fellow, of the name of EMMETT, was delegated
from Keighley, and, upon settling accounts with the
delegates, I found that he had only mentioned his
travelling expenses, which he said had been paid by
his constituents. "But," said I, "the wages—the
as a day." "Oh, sir," said he, "I won't take that.
As I WAS OUT OF WORK, and I COULDN'T
BE BETTER EMPLOYED, and I am sure that my
own constituents will see to me honourably, with-
out imposing any more burden upon you." Now, my
friends, I have only to say, that if you approve of
the work done—that if you approve of agitating the
whole country for the restoration of Frost, Williams,
and Jones, and to enable us to let the voting Parlia-
ment see that they shall meet the spirit of our
patriotic ones upon the hustings—that if you wish
to see a dozen Chartist lecturers keeping our
ground and battling our foes—if you wish to see a
body of men prepared to take their places upon the
hustings at the next general election, you will sub-
scribe your name to pay for the past, and inspire me
with confidence in the future. I am determined
that poverty shall not stand in the way of the ad-
vance that may be taken of emergency, but, to con-
fess the truth, though I am willing and able to lead, I am
not able to guide. You have had the advantage of
my poor ability, and by next Saturday I hope, for
your honour, to be able to announce, not only the dis-
charge of the debt, but a surplus to carry on the war.

I feel confident in your honour; but if I lose the
money, it will not deter me from pursuing the same
course when YOUR principles are again endangered
from the assaults of prepared faction. Farewell, my
friends, and, again I say, think what a revival the
heaven-born principle has had.

Ever your faithful friend

and unrepentant servant,

FRANCIS O'CONNOR.

Canning, Wigmore.

P.S. I have earnestly to request that this letter be

read wherever the Chartists gather, and that a

collection be made immediately after to carry on the

Chartist war, and that the proceeds be instantly

transmitted to me, in order to enable the Executive

to see what strength they can enlist as expounders

of the Chartist faith.

F. O'C.

CHARTIST CONVENTION.

The extraordinary meeting of Chartist delegates

called together to consider the present "crisis," and

to adopt necessary measures thereon, commenced on

Monday last, December 22nd, 1845. The delegates

assembled in the Carpenter's Hall, Manchester.

Mr. Wild, of Mottum, in the absence of the presi-

dent, was called to the chair. Credentials were

received from—

Mr. G. W. Wheeler, Reading and Norwich.

—Robert Wild, Macclesfield, and Hyde.

—John Shaw, London.

Messrs. Donovan and Nuttall, Manchester.

—Canning, Wigmore.

—Marsden, Preston.

—Elms Hitchen, Hadden Bridge.

—Mooney, Tordoum.

—Sweet, Nottingham.

—John Deale, Birmingham.

—Richard Pilling, Ashton-under-Lyne.

—Mitchell, Rochdale.

—Pleace, Bolton.

—John Lawrence, Halifax, Lower Warley, Sowerby.

—Briggs, Sheffield.

—W. Bell, Heywood.

—Yardley, Oldham.

—Almond, Blackburn.

—Webb, Stockport.

—J. West, Macclesfield.

It was then resolved that the conference should

prudent, and then you need have no fear of flinching
or wavering. I think the virtuous stand and manly
struggle made by the Chartists in the depth of winter,
at Birmingham, and again at the Crown and Anchor,
should have banished all doubts from your mind as
to the honour and reverence in which the noble fol-
lows hold their principles. I had no doubt, as I
think I proved by testing their principles in the
presence of those leaders who sought to rob them of
their triumphs by depriving them of their leaders.

You say that you are cautious to move without the
consent of the leader who struggled for the
people while in prison and visited them in
their dungeons. The very confidence that the
people honour me with makes me more cau-
tious, as I am aware of the impossibility of
retrieving one false step. I most highly approve of
the policy of keeping the Chartist party distinct and
separate from all others, watching events and profit-
ing by change. I hold it to be an impossibility much
longer to govern the growing genius of this country,
by the very best choice or selection to be made from
the old political parties. I say, therefore, let not the
Chartist party—of which I have the proud boast of
being a member—disband, or retreat, or join any
other party whatever, while I think their immediate
policy should be to exhaust all available means to
insure as large a representation of their own prin-
ciples as possible in the next Parliament. This, in my
mind, should absorb all other considerations just now.
I highly approve of the representation of the work-
ing classes by their own delegates, I shall now con-
clude by charging you with the tender of my respects
and services to those delegates, and assure them, that
if every man in England deserted their principles,
that I, if I stood alone, should advocate them in my
place in Parliament, because I believe them just,
and because I feel assured that nothing short of
them would be considered as sufficient concession to
the popular will and national requirements.

Yours, very faithfully,

T. S. DUNCAN.

P.S.—At any time that my presence or council will

be of service to the working classes, I shall be happy

to assist them with either or both, while I do not

think them in need of either just now, added to

the fact that my presence here would preclude me

from taking any further part in the Convention.

Yours, &c.,

T. S. D.

The reading of this letter was received with several

rounds of applause.

Mr. O'Connor then read the following resolutions

as embodying the line of policy laid down by the Ex-

ecutive of the National Chartist Association—

That the Chartist party remain a distinct and sepa-

rate body, not agitating for any measure short of the

people's Charter, and whole entire.

That the Chartist party shall be prepared with a

national petition, embodying our principles, to be pre-

sented to the House of Commons, by Thomas S. Duncan, Esq.,

after a general election shall have constituted a

new representation.

That in the event of a general election taking place, it

will be the duty of the Chartist party, not only to elect

representatives to the House of Commons, but to elect

candidates who have pledged themselves to support the

people's Charter in the House of Commons, and in the

event of no Chartist candidate being in the field, in such

case, preference shall be given to those who will pledge

themselves to vote for the repeal of the Corn Laws, a repeal of

the Poor Law Amendment Act, and the restoration of Frost,

Williams, Jones, and Ellis.

That while the present scarcity would place the Char-

list party in a false position, if they continued their

policy, to render their present position, and, nevertheless,

having no faith whatever in the efficacy of that measure,

as a means of bettering the condition of the working

classes, that we abstain from taking any part calculated

to make our approval of the principles of free trade,

and the second resolution proposed by Mr. Sweet,

people to make the change a national, instead of a class

benefit.

That, in order to carry out the spirit of the fourth re-

solution, the movement of these resolutions shall consist

from taking any part in free trade meetings that are held

for the purpose of repealing the Corn Laws; and that, as

a party, we shall tender our strength only to those whose

measures are best calculated to advance the principles of

the people's Charter.

That in the event of public meetings being called to

test public opinion, it will be the bounden duty of the

Chartist party to move their principles, as an amendment,

upon any proposition calculated to lead to the notion that

Chartism has been merged in any less measure.

Mr. O'Connor said, he expected this quick response,

on the part of the country, to direct their policy for this

convention; a convention representing fully the state

of feeling of the whole Chartist body; and he had no

doubt but they would agree to the resolutions he had

read. He had submitted them to the public at Man-

chester, and they had been warmly received. He was

alive, and which this convention would raise into a

Mr. Tattersall would support the resolution, if it

would include, getting up petitions for the release of

the exiles.

Messrs. Yardley and Hitchen took the same view.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Resolution then moved by Mr. Yardley, and

seconded by Mr. Mitchell, who stated, that the men of

Rochdale were decidedly in favour of this resolution.

Mr. O'Connor: A Ten Hours' Bill is a kind of

Chartism in the making. It is a kind of day, there is

little doubt but they would devote it to the cause of

liberty.

Mr. Nuttall: What course should they adopt if no

such candidate came forward?

Mr. O'Connor: No such candidate was to be found,

then, of course, it was the duty of the Chartist body

to put up a candidate of their own, to give expression

to their own principles.

Mr. Donovan wished to know what they should do

if they were to support him, as he was a member of

Manchester, who is opposed to the Ten Hours' Bill,

though he has voted for the Charter, and is a Corn

Law repealer.

Mr. O'Connor: Mr. Donovan is a Corn Law

repealer, yet we always support him, as he is a

Chartist. If they will support the Charter they

should receive our support.

Mr. Tattersall: How are we to get Chartist can-

didates? At the last election I was nominated,

but the Mayor would not let me speak without pro-

ducing my qualification and paying £25.

Mr. O'Connor explained the law, and showed that

the mayor acted illegally.

Mr. Nuttall thought, with his colleague, that Mr.

Gibson was not of their support.

Mr. Doyle: In all cases prefer a man who will go

for the Charter.

Mr. Mitchell supported the resolution, and stated,

that the men of Rochdale were decidedly in favour of

the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. O'Connor introduced the fourth resolution, in

a speech of great force and eloquence.

The resolution was moved by Mr. Shaw. His

constituents were determined to oppose the

League with reason and discussion, whenever they

could get a chance; but it was well known that they

were afraid to give them the opportunity in London.

Mr. O'Connor second

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at satisfaction. Mr. Conquest moved, and Mr. Ker seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Sherrington for

very efficient manner in which he had discharged his
as their delegate. Carried by acclamation. The
meeting of members will be held in the same place,
Tuesday evening next, 30th inst.

DUNDEE.
The annual soiree of the Christian Chartist

ch was held in the Thistle Hall, on the evening Tuesday the 16th inst., Archibald McDonald in the chair. The hall was crowded to excess, there being a goodly number of the fair sex present. The men were hung round, with a profusion of portraits and other emblems. After tea, the chairman rose and gave the following sentiments:—
“I am very happy to see you here, and I trust your sympathy to the Chartist cause; may we continue to unite to promote the principles of truth and justice, and cease to do that, may she cease to exist.”
The people—their right, and no less; and may time speedily come when both the black slaves in America, and the white slaves of Britain, shall be

ch was held in the Thistle Hall, on the evening Tuesday the 16th inst., Archibald McDonald in chair. The hall was crowded to excess, there being a goodly number of the fair sex present. The men were hung round, with a profusion of portraits and other emblems. After tea, the chairman rose and gave the following sentiments:—“I am happy to see the friends of the Cause assembled here to-day; may we continue to unite in the same principles and aims, and, when we cease to do that, may she cease to exist.” He then said, “The people—their right, and no less; and may time speedily come when both the black slaves in America, and the white slaves of Britain, shall be

fully and fully emancipated from the yoke of their unhealed oppressors, and enjoy the blessings of the rights of citizenship. Mr. Adams, in his address, in fact, in substance, responded to this sentiment in an able and enthusiastic speech, in the course of which he pointed out the manifold evils resulting from the state of our country, and the necessity that exists for a change in the present system, and said the only means by which that change could be accomplished was by the Charter. The next day, at a meeting of the same Association, Mr. Adams, in his turn, responded to this sentiment, and said, in substance, that the only means by which that change could be accomplished was by the Charter. The next day, at a meeting of the same Association, Mr. Adams, in his turn, responded to this sentiment, and said, in substance, that the only means by which that change could be accomplished was by the Charter. The next day, at a meeting of the same Association, Mr. Adams, in his turn, responded to this sentiment, and said, in substance, that the only means by which that change could be accomplished was by the Charter.

warm was his youthful enthusiasm—which old men had not yet cooled—that he actually proposed a secession. However, all that he could accomplish: was to obtain one approving smile from the patriot, as he cheered him for the good cause for which he was suffering. After the speeches came the soul-exalting music. "Come Liberty, come," "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," and "The People's Anthem," were received with rapturous applause. Mr. M'Crea gave—O'Connor's welcome to Scotland, which was fervently applauded. "The Exile of Erin," by Messrs. Young and High; the "Flower of Dumfries," by Mr. Rabb; "Loud roared the People's thunder," and "Will ye come to the Bower," &c.,

was exceeded in any scientific beyond the
on. On the 10th inst. the meeting was
followed in rapid succession, while the intervals were
filled up by Mr. Kidd, on his organ. After-
wards, it was one of the most brilliant soirees we
yet seen, and augurs well for our cause. The
company of the evening was the most that we were
this hour about the wall," after giving votes
thanks to the chairman, Mr. Cree, from Perth, and
other contributors to the hilarity of the evening.
The refreshments were provided by Mr. Robertson,
the Railway Coffee-house, Dundee, and it is
difficult to say whether the evening was the most
satisfactory to add, gave general satisfaction.

BIRMINGHAM.

A meeting was held at the Ship, Steelhouse-lane,
on the 21st inst. Mr. David Titts in the chair, when
the Executive's message, and Mr. O'Connor's letter
to the Chartists, were read, and gave great satisfac-
tion. Walter Thorne read a letter he had received
from Mr. Manly, Mr. Thorne then read a letter
from the Birmingham Chartists. It was then resolved,
after some discussion, in which Messrs. Fussell,
Cartwright, Goodwin, Chapman, Davidson, Renshaw,
&c. took part, "That we think it necessary,
in the absence of the proposed delegates, to
appoint a committee to draw up a resolution to be
presented." Carried unanimously. Proposed by
Mr. Thorne, seconded by Alfred Fussell, "That
Mr. John Beale be the delegate." Carried. Pro-
posed by Mr. J. Porter, seconded by Mr. Carter, and

thors, "That the best thanks of this meeting are, and, given, to our old and long-tried friend, James O'Connor, Esq., for his kind offer to bear the charges of the delegates appointed to the conference of the Friends of the Cause, on the 22nd inst.; and that the delegates of Birmingham be, and be desired, to defray the expenses of their representatives, and hope that the Chartist throughout the country will not upon the same principle, and not allow our country to expend one penny on their behalf." Carried unanimously.

Resolved, That Mr. Love, of Birmingham, be, and be desired, to carry out the above resolution, seconded by Mr. Lowe. "That our delegate be authorised by this meeting to invite Mr. O'Connor to attend a meeting at Birmingham, at his own convenience, to adopt a memorial to the Government, signed by the Friends of the Cause; Jones, Ellis, Roberts, and all sufferers in the cause." Carried unanimously. A subscription was entered into to defray the expenses of the delegates, which amounted to £12s. Thanks being given to the friends of the Cause, the meeting adjourned till Sunday next, at seven o'clock, when all friends are requested attend.

SALFORD.

At a meeting of the members of the National Trade Association, in the district of Salford, held on Sunday last, the 10th inst., the following resolu-

was agreed to unanimously:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that so long as class legislation exists there will always be an enormous amount of taxation required to support class interest; and, as the amount of taxation required will always be in proportion to the amount of class legislation, in whatever shape it is expended, whether upon the land, or in the manufacture, will have to pay the taxes. We, therefore, pledge ourselves, that we will use every energy in our power to revive the cause of Chartistism, and to secure the repeal of the laws which protect the property of the few, and oppress the many. We will until we have a government based upon the interests of the People's Charter." It was also resolved at the above resolution be sent to the *Northern Echo*, requesting its publication.

The intelligence by the present mail is somewhat different in extent, and though not wholly devoid of important announcements, yet less interesting than the last. The Governor-General has left Agra, on his way to Shimla and Delhi, which latter place it is expected he will reach on the 23rd or 24th inst. There is no variation in the threatening attitude assumed by the British authorities, and the efficient soldierly troops are still in the field. The report now is, that the rebellion is to be delayed, and that hostilities will not be resorted to this year. Affairs in the Panjab wear a more tranquil aspect than usual. No news having as yet dated to step into the shoes of the late Jwalahr Singh and his numerous predecessors, the state is at present without a minister, and the

airs of the administration are conducted by the Prince or Queen Mother, and her favourite and supposed paramour, Rajah Lal Singh. Rajah Goolab Singh and Sirdar Peth Singh (the ex-governor of Sindh) have alike declined the perilous office, and though the troops have declared their intention of supporting the Prince, the feeling that the Prince is very ready to believe that the great will remain constant for a considerable period. The fate of Peshora Singh is still a matter of speculation.

The intelligence from Scinde is extremely limited. There is little sickness at Sukkur, Hyderabad, or the rest of government, but the troops composing the posts have, it is said, suffered severely.

Intelligence from Cabool to the 19th of September

come to hand, but the facts detailed are few and important. A conspiracy against the British is said to have been discovered at Gwalior, but it is at present doubtful whether the presumed plot is a mere fabrication, or not. The view of injuring the British is shared by a large number of persons, Raja Bae and her party. The Nizam is said to continue in an unsettled state, and it is supposed that he may now look every day for intelligence of the severe interference of the British authorities to remove him from his country to order, and give a character of responsibility to the Government. In other parts of India there is a general excitement. Our local authorities are endeavouring to prevent the outbreak, but they have the particulars of a most shocking catastrophe—the native town—a Manilla sailor, under the influence of some horrible excitement, having “run a black” crease in hand, and killed five and wounded seven or seventeen individuals.

A letter from Rome of the 6th, in the *Argus* gazette, states that some of the refugees from Rimini, in the states of the Papacy, have been detected in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the line, and endow it with it into the Roman States. Twenty soldiers had been seduced by the conspirators have fled, and avoid punishment.

