

The French Constitution has at length come forth, and we are enabled to form an accurate idea of the intentions of the PRESIDENT of the French Republic. The result justifies our previously expressed views—it is a despotism under a very transparent disguise—a despotism, too, without any originality. After all the severe labour and the solitary study of which we have heard so much, LOUIS NAPOLEON has only risen to the height of parodying his uncle. He does not take any pains to conceal this. Indeed he avows it. He sets up as a model of the ideas which were the governing principles of the consulate—that consulate which led to empire.

Among the foremost and most constant of these ideas is that of centralisation of power; centralisation of responsibility. There are really only two principles of government; the one—authority centred in one; the other—responsibility centred in many. The one is a despotism, the other a Republic; and LOUIS NAPOLEON pins his faith and his fate to the former. The new old system which he has given to the world is the very antipode of English constitutionalism. Here we have a sovereign almost divested of power but equally freed from responsibility—there a ruler, without whom no act can either be done or begin to be done—taking to himself all the glory of his measures, or bearing all the blame. Absolute king never yet so realised the actuality of that phrase 'I am the State,' as the man who governs by the sword, and pretends to govern by votes. Without him the state is not, and all action is impossible. He is developing in practice the temporal phase of the religious doctrine of infallibility and omnipotence. Nothing but what he foreknew—nothing but what he judges to be right. No free thought, no independent action—all will be subordinated to his; all intellects leaning on his for support; all desires bowing down to his impulses. A new edition in short of popedom, with the temporal instead of the spiritual element predominating. If such a condition of political existence can be maintained, the people must lose all vestige of independent feeling—all high ambitions—all desire to control their own destinies, and sink into abject, soulless, spiritless slaves. If it cannot be maintained for any length of time, as is by far the more likely, the repression by virtue of which it continues, will let loose a fearful flood of pent-up passion upon the world. LOUIS NAPOLEON is like a man striving to dam up a mountain torrent springing from an ever-flowing fountain. He builds the wall which stops it for a time, but the dammed waters rise surely upward. He adds to the height of his bulwark—still rising the stream flows higher. The operation may be repeated again and again, but there is a point at which the pressure must of necessity cease; and when the longer it has continued, and the more stringent it has been, the greater is the destruction which follows.

That our readers may judge whether or not we are exaggerating the blackness and the ultimate folly of the policy of LOUIS NAPOLEON, we will briefly run over the leading features of his Constitution, as gathered from the more than Imperial proclamation which accompanies them. He there proclaims his adoption of the ideas of the Consulate. He traces all the progress of France to the administrative, military, judicial, religious, and financial systems which that era heralded in. To him that system of administration, which has overthrown every Government which endeavoured to support it, and alienated every generation which had the misfortune to live under it, is the *ne plus ultra* of power and contentment. That military system, which takes the peasant from the field of labour to initiate him in the field of arms—which rendered military conquest necessary, in order to preserve domestic peace—which served to keep up delusions of military glory among a great people—which has always made revolutions possible, if it has not rendered them necessary—cannot be surpassed by human wisdom. That judicial system which has made to the hands of rulers, willing auxiliaries of oppression—which has aided to crush freedom of thought, to put down liberty of opinion—and to annihilate the Press—is the highest embodiment of Justice. That religious system under which religion has become something worse than a name, and Atheism has grown up more steadily and surely than it could under the abhorred 'reign of reason'—the religious system which secretly or openly has fostered unscrupulous Jesuitism—is the purest development of worship from the creature to the Creator. And lastly, that financial system which has become dead to all aspirations for liberty and indifference to every other freedom than the freedom to make money; that financial system which makes usurers rich, and trading-gamblers powerful; that commercial system which has more than once brought the nation to the verge of bankruptcy—is the wisest economy by which the wealth produced by labour may be made auxiliary to the comfort and happiness of all. That is the foundation upon which LOUIS NAPOLEON builds the hideous structure of his government—these are the principles by which some thirty-five millions of human beings are to be moulded into a machine as little sentient as though its component parts were steel and iron, instead of heart and brain—destined to act, or cease to act, at the sole will of the one mind which presides over all. It is a stupendous experiment, and if it succeeds, those who have faith that the future is to be one of progress may well tremble for the truth of their creed.

Leaving the general ideas, and ascending to the details of the Constitution, we find that the head of the Government is to be at once responsible and free—the only free man in all wide France; for it is evident that his notions of his own freedom include the slavery of every other being. So he is to be the free ruler of millions of slaves, and responsible to whom? To the slaves? That would be an inversion of ideas—that would abolish his asserted freedom. The responsibility, as LOUIS NAPOLEON writes it, is a mere sham—an imperial mockery. It is a revival, in a bolder form, of that 'divine right of kings' which fell from the block with the gory head of the First CHARTISTS, and was forthwith buried. Responsible to God alone—that is what LOUIS NAPOLEON would write, if the words were not too plain to put before France, even hoodwinked as she is. And in that sense the responsibility of the PRESIDENT has a meaning more solemn than that which would be willing to attach to it. The great laws which govern all never let any man free from that responsibility, or answerability, which is the universal NEMEXES. Let despots shake off and deny their responsibility to law—to justice—to morality—to mercy—to truth—if they will, but their responsibility of their own nature and that of their fellow-clings to them like the poisoned garment of DEJANIRA. LOUIS NAPOLEON is right when he says he is responsible, but it is a responsibility he forgets—a responsibility to a power which the artillery cannot crush, nor bayonets pierce, nor terror gag, nor prisons hold—the power which brings about retribution even as it sent NAPOLEON to a rocky prison, and LOUIS PHILIPPE to a foreign grave. From that kind of responsibility, at least, we may congratulate ourselves that the usurper, the homicide, and the tyrant, is unable to free himself.

But there are to be other parts of the state machine besides its head. It says something against the principle of centralisation, something for the principle of association, that even LOUIS NAPOLEON is conscious of his inability to rule alone. He must have a ministry, or, more properly speaking, a Council of State, neither free nor responsible. Not free, because the mere reflex of him; not responsible, because deprived of the volition of free agents. The duties of this Council of State are to advise the head of the Government, in whom every vestige of initiative power seems to reside, and to act as the advocates of his policy with the other classes of the legislature. Then there is to be a Senate chosen, really by the PRESIDENT, not by the nation, for the wealth they have wrung out of the poor—the talents they have shown in supporting wrong—and the services they have rendered to the cause of absolute rule—and this Senate is neither to be free nor responsible. Certainly not free, because it may not discuss anything except that which the one free mind of France suffers them to discuss; certainly not responsible to the nation, for their deliberations are to be conducted with closed doors. Beyond the Senate there is to be a Legislative Assembly, chosen by the people without ballot, so that they may be responsible and sifted by the free of the Government, so that their choice may be free, and this Assembly is to act over and over again the part which the whole French nation has lately

# The Northern Star

## AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. XV. No. 741.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1852.

PRICE FIVEPENCE or Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter.

### Free Correspondence.

#### ON THE FORMATION OF A PEOPLE'S PARTY.

Mr. Editor.—The Chartist Executive is the counterpart of the Chartist Movement. For real good, both men and cause are impracticable. An organisation in such a desperate stage of phthisis required the immediate care of the most skillful of state physicians, instead of which, men have been called to the bedside of the patient, who, for experience and ability in the pathological part of the inquiry, are little short of veritable quacks. Certainly, in the group, there are four men of unquestionable talent in their own particular way; but even the literary merits of these members are neutralised by the unlettered and equivocal remainder. Such men, so called, never work together; and therefore I am heartily glad that the whole question of Chartist tactics must be at once given up, since it is quite impossible for the newly-elected Executive to move in any legislative direction. Out of nine, only five are left to act; Messrs. Jones, Linton, and Wheeler, having resigned; and Mr. O'Connor being unable to attend; so that the charge of the people's cause has fallen into the hands of Messrs. Arnold, Bax, Grashy, Shaw, and Holyoake. Now, without depreciating a single private or public merit possessed by these gentlemen, I ask any reasonable man if these are the persons who should be entrusted with the conduct of so important a movement? I confess I am ashamed of the fact, that so little discretion has been exercised, for better qualified men might have been chosen, even out of a list of thirty that contained names truly lamentable to read, knowing, as I do, how limited were the powers which such persons could bring to the duties they aspired to discharge. It is all of a piece, however, and but one remedy can be proposed to suit the exigency of the moment, viz.:—the resignation of the Executive, and the re-organisation of the entire party, the Executive taking the initiative of the change, and holding office until their successors are appointed.

The work of reconstruction is oftentimes more difficult than that of origination; and I think, in this case, it is far easier to dictate a CHARTER than successfully muster the scattered members of a once popular cause. If the difficulty be not exaggerated, then, more than usual ability is necessary, at this moment, to surmount it; for upon the preliminary proceedings subsequent success or failure will depend. The question consequently to be answered is, 'What should be the leading characteristics of the proposed reconstruction? I shall reply to this inquiry by pointing out some practical means suitable for such an end; and though they may pass unheeded, yet committing them to print must inevitably do something towards a more perfect solution of the problem before us.

I propose the abandonment of the terms Chartist and Chartists; and the establishment of an organisation, under the name of 'THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION,' formed to work out two alterations in the British Constitution—viz., the extension of political power to every man of twenty-one years of age, who is of sane mind, and not in the receipt of pauper pay, resident in a given place for the preceding twelve months; and the protection of the power so granted through the agency of secret voting, or the Ballot.

To introduce these principles to the country, a People's Party should be organised, for the purpose of making the voice of the people heard upon all questions affecting their political and social condition, concentrating the strength of the said Party to the effectual realisation of the measures above noticed, by petitioning Parliament, the publication of tracts and suitable articles in the Press, and by public meetings.

For the practical development of these intentions, two meetings should be convened, one in London and one in Manchester, for the purpose of receiving and adopting such propositions as the basis of the future movement. At each of these meetings, twelve persons should be selected to represent those assembled at a Delegate Meeting, to be held as soon as convenient, and to be made up of representatives named in the order of one delegate for every 150 members, or one for each locality or branch society. This meeting to be held in London; and, in order to give it an universal tone, representatives from any part of the country, appointed as before described, should be entitled to take part therein, in common with all assembled. The twelve persons appointed at the Manchester meeting to be considered as the temporary Executive of Manchester, who shall, if unable to attend the Delegate Meeting, as a whole, be represented by one or more of their numbers, and be required to commit their desires and opinions to paper, so that they may be considered as said meeting.

The business of this Delegate Meeting to consist in the settlement of the following propositions:—First.—Name and Objects of proposed Association. Secondly.—The best means of making the one known and the others acceptable to the country. Thirdly.—Appointing an Executive for one year, and determining the remuneration to be paid them; and Fourthly, fixing the minimum amount of annual subscription to be paid by members. I have already stated the name and the objects desired to be worked out by the proposed Society, and shall now only add, that I think a paid Executive of five, and a subscription of 1s. per year, or 3d., per quarter, would be suitable replies to give to clauses three and four. This being concluded, vacancies in the Executive, or election of a future Executive, might be filled up and perfected by a ballot of the Members, i.e., all who have paid their subscription of 1s. for the year in which said elections occur.

These proposals, Sir, I think, are so plainly put forth, that they do not require many explanatory sentences. The Manchester Meeting will be, probably, opposed, or thought unnecessary; but I think such an important town should speak out, upon so serious a matter; and as there are pecuniary difficulties in the way of convening men from all parts of the country, at the present time, the plan mentioned seeks to obtain the direct suffrages of the Manchester men; while the friends to the proposal resident elsewhere could meet and determine upon resolutions which the London Delegate Meeting would properly consider.

Of course I can anticipate many objections to the abandonment of the name of Chartist; and that men will confound the abnegation of it with the principles of the Charter. But no such consequence should, necessarily, be expected. A man can be in favour of six clauses, and co-operate with others who are struggling for but two of those six, without doing the least violence to the remaining four. It is a question of fact. The case stands thus: The entire six are objectionable to the majority; but Adult Suffrage and the Ballot are not so generally disliked. This being so, should we not assist in obtaining the latter, and feel a confidence within us that, in a few years, the other four will be adopted by the country, rather than run to extremes, and declare for the Charter or Unfranchisement, Political Liberty or Political Slavery, all or none? Surely, they are not reasoning and well-meaning men that will thus play into the hands of the foe, and perpetrate evil through the division of clauses. No; I repeat no point of the Charter, but I case to hold prominently before the public those clauses which the said public are deeply prejudiced against; with like they remain in abeyance—shelved, if you like, but placed within sight, so that they may be taken down and re-introduced at the fitting opportunity.

I do hope something will be done. I know the indebted Executive can scarcely move, but all hands are not so tied. What if a meeting were publicly called at one of the usual places? Would the Executive feel jealous at such a proceeding, or conclude that it was for a hostile purpose? I act with, not

against, them. Therefore, in order to avoid this, I call upon the Executive to consider the foregoing remarks, and their own reduced and insolvent condition; and I can assure them, that if they will take the initiative in the establishment of a national party, for the distinct purposes mentioned, they will be doing something worthy of their responsible appointments. But if they will persist in calling themselves the Chartist Executive, declare, for the adoption of the six points of the Charter they were appointed exclusively, and less than these they will never cease, as an Executive, to publicly agitate for; then I say, 'if you are so sensitive as to your obligations, resign your functions, for whilst you continue to hold them, society is laughing at your weakness, and our common enemy is rejoicing over your mis-directed fixity of purpose.' Do you desire to do good? Say that you do, have you the means of fulfilling your wishes, or the hope the distant hope—that such men as yourselves ever will be supported by any considerable numbers? The Chartist strength was said to be six thousand members, yet only nine hundred voted for the favourite candidate of the Executive. Where are the opinions of the remaining five thousand one hundred? The fact is, the Chartist movement is reduced to one thousand supporters, the majority of whom are resident in the provinces, who know but very little of the men selected by them to form their Executive, and who have more faith in their principles than knowledge of the public mind as to the probabilities of their political creed being accepted for many years to come. Positively, it is quite despairing to look over the auditors' Balance Sheet, dated January 7th, 1852.—Manchester, it find, contributes ten shillings in three months; Sheffield, four shillings and two pence; Stockport, ten shillings, in same time. Where is the gleam of hope, that the most sanguine member of the Executive can trace throughout the list, and point to as a redeeming item? Not thirty pounds have been directly paid, as members' subscriptions, in three months! Let the books be closed. Enough is presented to disgust and deter any man from alliance with such a pretended movement.

Away with the name of Chartist; it is offensive to both sight and taste. Let us build up a People's Party, and force the middle classes to join it, by showing them, that on the majority their future welfare depends—for the happiness of the producing classes is the truest possible indication of the contentment of the country generally. Rally, then, friends to Progress, under the banner of Male Adult Suffrage, protected by the Ballot, and show the discipline of your organisation, by a peaceful and dignified agitation in favour of political emancipation.

CENSOR.

Mr. J. Finch, senr., has forwarded a letter, addressed to Mrs. Rose, of New York, the elegant advocate of the Rights of Women, and which, after congratulating her upon the success of her efforts, Mr. Finch says:—

"Dear Mrs. Rose.—It gives me great pleasure on this side of the water to see the hearty manner in which you have received that wonderful man, Comstock.—To be enabled to deliver fifty long speeches in New York to men and women of all ranks, classes, colours, professions and pursuits, and of every variety of political, religious, and social opinion, to speak suitable words to each, without giving just cause of offence, is an acquired talent, that I should not find combined in any human being. I am happy to think that he has the best prospect of succeeding among his kind, and to send him away, well freighted with arms, money, and men, to fight the battles of liberty and independence."

"France has again succumbed under a most degrading and deplorable military despotism, under the faithless and perfidious Louis Napoleon. The French will this by seven and half millions of votes, and they must bear it for the present."

"But this French move raises the most serious questions for the liberty, independence—nay, for the very existence of Great Britain, as a separate state among the great nations of Europe. I fear, that unless we immediately form an alliance with its colonies in kind, offensive and defensive, with the government of the United States, and they send us at once ample means, in ships and men, to defend the extensive coasts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, we shall be invaded, overrun, and swallowed by the barbarian hordes of France, Austria, and Russia."

"It is a fact—a most lamentable fact,—that England, though she commands the mastery in all parts of the world, is the greatest empire the world ever saw, and so badly is governed, that at its centre it is one of the weakest and most vulnerable of any in Europe. Here we stand, the only advocates and champions of civil and religious liberty, the liberty of the press, and the asylum of the persecuted of Europe; and yet we are so badly governed, that we are unable to defend ourselves against the combined despotism of Europe, the midst of 350,000 well-disciplined French soldiers, the best at military tactics and the best officered in the world, close to our shores, bloody and going from wars and conquests, and with their eyes turned upon us, and panting for revenge upon us for their defeat at Waterloo, and whom Bonaparte must employ in some way to consolidate the power he has seized; but we have also 200,000 Prussians, 300,000 Austrians, and 500,000 Russians, none of whom would be inclined to give us any assistance, but would rather rejoice at our downfall, and the triumph of Napoleon."

"And what armed force have we to meet all this formidable array? Positively none to none at all. We have about 30,000 troops in Ireland; perhaps 20,000 more in England; and probably we might muster 20,000 marines at home. These are badly officered by men who have bought their commissions, and are not trained to war; their arms and accoutrements are bad, and they are nearly all without practical experience on the field. Our militia is very inefficient, seldom called out on duty, and comparatively few. They would be of very little value in case of invasion. Arms have been studiously and systematically kept out of the hands of our people; and no man is taught to use the gun, the sword, or the pike. We are thus left, in the consequence of all this, that for defence, in case of invasion, we are helpless, and should be driven like sheep to the slaughter by a comparatively few well-disciplined French soldiers."

"Submarines, railroads, and telegraphs, have rendered our insulated and isolated position of very little advantage in the way of protection. It is impossible for us to guard efficiently all our coasts—our marines are within a few hours sail of us; and steamers could land troops on almost any part of our coast; and our railroads and telegraphs would enable the French to march upon us in a few days, and in any other place where most wanted. We could not guard our railroads; and if we destroyed their works, it would be as disadvantageous to us as to them; for we have no roads and vehicles now to supply their place. In short, we are in a most deplorable position, at the centre of our government in London, that 50,000 well-armed soldiers of the French army, now in Paris, might march to London, revolutionise our government, take possession of the £17,000,000 of gold in the cellars of the Bank of England, and make the whole of the province of France, with less risk and trouble than the least step d'etat in Paris."

"There seems to me only two ways of avoiding this catastrophe; and one or both of these must be done immediately, if we wish to avoid the ruin that is impending over us."

"The first, for our government to pacify the mass of our people by giving them Universal Suffrage, and then immediately to train every man in the country to the use of arms, and to arm all the people; we could then defy the world in arms."

"The second is, to form an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the government of the United States of America, and immediately to dispatch American ships of war, steamers, and troops, to protect us whilst we were training our own people."

"But there is no time to waste in idle talk, what is to be done, must be done quickly. I wish you would immediately put this letter in the hands of the editor of the 'New York Tribune,' and let him take measures to make it as public as possible. Comstock ought to consider that. Your Ambassador ought to consider them. Your Government should prepare to take their part in the affairs of Europe; for your trade, your commerce, your national property, is vitally connected and dependent upon the political relations of Europe. Our government, however, is so thoroughly corrupt, both in Church and State,—both at home and in our Colonies—that I fear nothing but a complete revolution will ever place us in that strong position which will enable us to hold up our heads, and to maintain our rank among the greatest nations in the world. Our oligarchy will never give up their unjust powers and privileges till they are wrested out of their hands. If a bit of patriotism should come upon them, it will only be what it is to do."

"The year 1852 opens in blackness and darkness for the liberties of Europe. God only knows what we shall see before its close. In confirmation of the mean opinion I have of our regular troops, I may mention that most disastrous news has arrived to-day from the seat of war with the latter at the Cape of Good Hope; the London 'Times' says that about 5,000 of our troops there—which are some of

the picked regiments in the service—have been repulsed by about half the number of Kaffirs. The 'Times' says, that the accoutrements and want of experience of our troops causes their failure, and not the want of courage or discipline. Just so; and therefore what confidence can the peaceable people of England place in them for protection against a foreign foe well disciplined, accoutred, and experienced? None. You Americans need rigorous laws for your government and in your position,—your only weak point is your slavery. I hope to God you will soon get rid of it, by some means, or it will assuredly at some time swamp you. Why do not your Southern States at once declare, that every negro born after a certain date shall be free at twenty-one years of age? Surely no man has any right to claim as slaves generations yet unborn."

"I am, respectfully,  
"Dear Mrs. Rose,  
"Your Sincere Friend, and the Friend of  
Women's and all other Rights and Liberties in which are the Inalienable Rights of Man,  
"JOHN FINCH."

[The following appeared in our Second Edition of last week.]

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF THE AMAZON BY FIRE.

An investigation has been held at Southampton with a view of, if possible, ascertaining the cause of the conflagration. The evidence, with one or two slight exceptions, in accordance with the statements already given, in our seventh page. After all the evidence that has been heard, the court adjourned without expressing any opinion as to the cause of the fire.

From other accounts we make the following extracts:—Captain Symonds ordered no one to get into the boats. This order was obeyed until the people saw the flames over-whelming the ship. He was last seen with the mainmast wheel, ordering the helm to be put up, so as to keep the ship before the wind. His last words were, 'It is all over with her.'

Among the crew of the Amazon who was saved (writes our Southampton correspondent) is an able seaman, named James Maylin. He arrived at Southampton on Wednesday night. He belongs to Wisbech, in Cambridgeshire. He is an intelligent and apparently a trustworthy man. He states that soon after the ship left the Needles they stopped two hours off Portland to throw water on the engines; in about half an hour the fire broke out, and the ship was on watch on Saturday night on the look-out at the port-bow. Mowatt, another man who was saved, was looking out on the starboard bow. The second officer had charge of the watch. At a quarter to one on Sunday morning he heard the fire-bell, which was rung by the sailors, and other of those saved. On turning round and seeing whereabouts the ship was on fire, he immediately rushed to get at the wet swabs, which had been made ready the night before to clean the decks for Sunday prayers, and threw them on the foreparting close to the fore funnel. He then, with another man, held two trunks of dry verberd, which had taken fire. At that moment the captain came on deck in his shirt and trousers, and without shoes or stockings, and Maylin assisted him in throwing water down the forefunnel. The captain was perfectly calm and collected, and, though working laboriously, was giving orders to the various persons on board. A scene of indescribable terror and confusion ensued; and Maylin states that the despairing and agonised screams of the people, together with the cries of the tortured animals on board, seem yet to ring in his ears. He saw numbers of persons rush on deck, striving to get to the boats, which were terribly burnt. Some dropped down dead immediately, or swooned with fright and suffering. He remembers seeing a boy rush on deck in a Guernsey frock, with his face fiercely burnt. While getting the boat ready with his life escaped, a female passenger rushed on deck. She had on only her night gown, the bottom of which and her legs were much burnt. Three times she was placed in the boat, but she refused to remain. He heard several hurriedly say to her that they would soon give her plenty of clothing when she got away from the ship, but she proudly prevailed over the love of life, and she remained behind to perish. The last words Maylin heard Captain Symonds say were, 'It is all up with us—there is no hope, my men—get your coats ready. He then saw him for the last time as he went off towards the wheel. Maylin then almost immediately fell through the deck, and received a severe wound in his knee. What added much to the disastrous consequences of the fire was the fact that the engine-room, on account of the terrible heat in the engine-room, the speed at which she was going through the sea rendered it almost impossible to launch the boats, and they were almost all swamped. The boat in which the twenty-one who were most fortunately and singularly escaped swamping. After leaving the ship he saw no living thing on board—he thinks that all but himself and companions must have perished in the waves in attempting to escape, or must have been disabled or killed."

break of day before the Amazon went down. He saw her distinctly when her magazine blew up. A large number of rockets mounted up in the air at the time. The boat in which the twenty-one who were saved was rowed about twenty-five or thirty miles when they saw a barque. They hailed her with their united voices, when she was certainly not more than a quarter of a mile off. Maylin is confident some one on board the barque answered. He distinctly saw a lantern held outside the barque, as if to distinguish whereabouts the boat came from. As well as he could see the barque, he had close round her a small double ended main-top-sail, whole foresail, fore-top-sail, staysail. The barque, however, did not attempt to render the boat any assistance, although the captain of her crew have seen the burning Amazon, and must have suspected that the persons who hailed him were some of her crew or passengers."

The scene on deck is described as dreadful in the extreme. When the flames had approached the after companion, two male passengers came up from the saloon all in flames, and running aft, fell on the deck. A tall lady, supposed to be Mrs. Maclean, entreated some one to take care of her child, but she would not enter either of the boats. The stewardess, Mrs. Scott, with her bonnet and shawl on, and something in her hand, first asked Steer to put her into the dingy and then left for a larger boat. The scene of leaving some of those who yet lived were kneeling on the deck praying to God for mercy, while others, almost in a state of nudity, were running about screaming with horror. The water tower on board the Amazon, who was saved, describes the fire as most rapid and intense. It is confident that many of those forementioned could have got out of their beds before the fire overtook them."

We give the following extracts from a letter dated Drest, January 13th:—

"The Dutch vessel, Gertruida, Capt. Tunteler, entered the roads here to-day, with twenty-two shipwrecked persons, who escaped from a terrible catastrophe, of which it is a miracle that they are not the victims."

"The whole of the shipwrecked passengers and crew have been brought ashore in boats, and a more melancholy spectacle than they presented I never saw. The society among them are two ladies and a child; and by the society may be conceived from the fact that, besides all the other horrors they have gone through, they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather during nearly forty-eight hours, almost in a state of nudity."

THE ENGINEERS AND THEIR EMPLOYERS.

Yesterday Messrs. Middleton and Co., engineers, Lombard-street, Borough, closed their establishment, by which about 100 men are thrown out of work.

THE CO-OPERATIVE SYSTEM.—A meeting was last evening held at the Sun Tavern, Blackheath-hill, called by the Greenwich Co-operative Working Engineers' Association. The object of the meeting was to consider the propriety of establishing additional workshops under the co-operative principle—one shop having been opened by the society about a fortnight ago, in which a number of men have since been employed. Previous to last night the shares taken had been few, but the capital subscribed at the conclusion of the meeting amounted to £400, divided among 110 operatives. The co-operatives, who have already received orders to the amount of about £100, and have given tenders for work to the amount of £2,000.

MASCHEREN.—A meeting of the working classes engaged in the iron trades was held last evening at Carpenters'-hall, which was attended by about 3,000 persons, including operatives connected with the society and those not connected with it. The following resolutions were adopted:—

"That we, the members of the iron trades in Manchester, after serious consideration, are of opinion that the resolutions issued by the Manchester and Salford Co-operative Council for the discontinuance of overtime and piecework are absolutely necessary; and therefore we pledge ourselves to do all in our power peacefully, but firmly, to effect the abolition of those evils."

"That, inasmuch as our Executive Council does not agree with strikes, nor the removal of labour from planning, stotting, shaping, and drilling machines, this meeting seriously considers the course of our employers in this present dispute unwarrantably opposed to just principles, and inconsistent with truth and humanity."

"That in consequence of numerous accusations having been made against the officers of the various trade societies, relative to their being paid demagogues, communists, idlers, &c., we repudiate such as wholly untrue and un-called for."

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

THURSDAY, JAN. 15.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Parliament was this day further prorogued by Royal Commission to the 3d February next, then to meet for the dispatch of business.

The Lord Chancellor and the other Principal Commissioners named in the Commission having taken their seats on the Woolsack in the House of Lords, the Yeoman Usher of the Black Rod was directed to summon the Commons to the bar, and some of the officers of the House having answered to the summons, the Royal Commission was read by the clerk at the table.

The Lord Chancellor then declared the adjournment in the name of her Majesty, after the important words that it was the Royal will and pleasure that the Parliament should "assemble and be holden at the adjournment of this day for the dispatch of business and the important affairs," and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commission of shires and burghs of the House of Commons were quired and commanded to give their attendance accordingly at Westminster on Tuesday, the thirteenth of February next.

The proceedings were simply of one form, and occupy more than a few minutes.







**EMPLOYMENT OF RAGGED CHILDREN.**—The success of the juvenile "Shoe-black Brigade," and street sweepers stimulates the authors of the movement to propound fresh inventions, and to widen still further the means of livelihood for poor boys rescued from misery. The public, certainly, is not so easily satisfied as the ragged boys. The "Shoe-black Brigade" is fast becoming a thing of the past. After being named after the boy who will be known by the name of "Mercury," legibly inscribed upon a label. They had well to be the call of any shopkeeper within his district for the purpose of running errands, at the rate of 3d. a minute or 6d. an hour. The Society will aid this movement, by rendering itself responsible for the employment of such boys, at the rate of 1s. a week, and the value of £5. By procuring a small office where these capitalists have as much as £5 in the bank, it will, in fact, make the boy himself pay for the value of the property in case of theft. There then will arise among them "bosses," and their office to the public will be to keep the streets clean, to keep door-plates, signs, plates, knockers, and bell pulls in good order, and to be a billiardier. The Ragged Schools take a state of tremendous business, and the boys are employed in the streets, with a yearly from the streets, which is polite, and where the men are pulled. The public will cordially rejoice to find the plan goes on, and prospers; that boys by banding



## Trades' Intelligence.

## NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

T. S. DUNCAN, Esq., M.P., President.

"FIAT JUSTITIA."

"If it were possible for the working classes, by combining among themselves, to raise, or keep up the general rate of wages, it need hardly be said that this would be a thing not to be punished, but to be welcomed and rejoiced at."—STUART MILL.

The struggle for despotic ascendancy upon one hand, and for constitutional freedom on the other, assumes the rival interests—Capital and Labour—temperate and reasonable requirements of workmen are arrogantly denied them. In the very teeth of the law, and every attempt, by workmen, to fix and regulate the value or duration of their labour is pronounced and treated as an act of dictation to, or indeed an overt act of, rebellion against their high-mightiness, the 'Satraps of Capital'.

The disputes between the Engineers and their employers, which now occupies so large a portion of the public attention, will probably terminate in one of two results, either of them ultimately beneficial to the general interests of society. In the first case, the employers may find themselves unable to cope with the powerful organisation already opposed to them, strengthened as it will probably be, by thousands of the same or kindred trades, whom their attempted tyrannies will awaken from their customary apathy into energy and activity. It appears to us quite certain, that if the men of the Iron Trades are alive to their interests, and virtuous enough to dare the consequences of, perhaps, a protracted struggle, in defence of them, they must ultimately succeed, because it appears to us practically impossible that the attempted coup d'état of the Imperial Employers can succeed, from the want of cohesion. They can't all afford to stand still. It is very questionable whether the creditors of Messrs. Seward and Capel will be materially benefited by the position taken by that firm; that however is their business. But certainly, to the numerous minor establishments in London, Manchester, Hull, Bristol, &c. &c.; to the Cotton, Silk and Woollen Factories, the great Railway Establishments, the Mercantile Marine and Dockyard Establishments, a general cessation of business is much easier to recommend than to carry into practice.

It would amount to something very much like a National Holiday for Labour, which would bring the whole question to an issue in twenty-four hours. From the want, therefore, of its universality, we think the arbitrary policy of the Employers will fail, and the employed be left in the enjoyment of those constitutional rights secured to them by law, notwithstanding the foul bullying of the 'Times,' or the plausible sophistry of the Manchester philosophers, with their one-sided twaddle about the freedom of Labour, demand and supply, foreign competition, &c. &c.

The only other solution the question is susceptible of, is the unconditional submission of the Amalgamated Trades to the behests of their haughty employers; the absolute and unconditional surrender by themselves and every class of British workmen, of every vestige of control over their mental and physical energies, for the sole and especial benefit of those who monopolise capital, which is legitimately nothing but the savings of labour, but in its present artificial and illegitimate aspect, is the squeezing and spoliation of the labourer's share of the fruits of his own industry.

To this abject condition of vassalage we think the trades of Great Britain will not submit. Any attempt to force them to it, by governmental power, would inevitably lead to a social and political convulsion. The problem, whether a judicious combination of the now separate and antagonistic elements of capital and labour would not be nationally more beneficial, would speedily ripen for solution. The superiority now claimed by the mere capitalist over the hard-handed labourer, is entirely artificial. It is not in the internal elements of the man—it is neither in the mental or physical development, but in the conventional monopoly of a superior training by the one, over, and to the disadvantage of the other. But these mere artificial distinctions are rapidly wearing away. The beneficial influence of the roughly eloquent perambulating lecturer, so painfully offensive to those whose immediate and apparent interest it is to keep the labourer plunged deep in the mire of dissipation, and clouded in the thick veil of ignorance, and the widely spread circulation of a cheap literature is eating its way silently, but surely, into the strong holds of this hydra-headed monopoly. It will be soon discovered, to the general astonishment, that the veil that constitutes the difference of class, the process which metamorphosed the great railway impostor into the tolerated and fitting companion of nobles and princes, is susceptible of infinite multiplication. We shall have professors (à la Corsairs) teaching drawing-room manners and morals, in six easy lessons to the million. Let us then take heart, fellow workmen, our future looks brighter, if we look at it sufficiently steadily to penetrate the thin mist which somewhat obscures it.

The necessity of nationally organised labour will, we trust, be one of the general benefits arising from the present struggle. A national combination of trades for general purposes of mutual aid and protection is now the necessity of Europe. The art of scientific production is progressing with a fearful rapidity, fearful, because no means are adopted to secure to the labourer his share of the benefits derived from this irrevocable agency. That these altered conditions of production will necessitate and eventuate a change in our can, we think, question, because arrangements, no sane man, third of the civilised inhabitants of the globe can be, that would assever or paupers for the sole advantage of the other. The amount of suffering which may intervene during the progress of the change will very materially depend upon the state of preparedness now evinced by the Trades of England.

The position taken by the Amalgamated Trades, identical with that so long advocated by the Committee of the National Association, is the position which should be at once taken by all organised bodies. They should form a general defensive federation. We contend that the interests of all trades are identical. We contend that it is as much to the interest of the skilled mechanic that the wages of the Hammerman should be protected as his own. When we see machinery so rapidly invading the hitherto exclusive domain of the skilled artisan and mechanic, it appears to us a weak-knee to cherish or contend for any artificial superiority. Even the distinction between the skilled and unskilled labour is rapidly wearing away. All that will be left to any of us presently will be our common manhood and a common necessity for existence; and the only question which really concerns us as tolerable by our united efforts to protect each individual of the great family from undervalued and unprovoked oppression, or whether we are to surrender unprovoked and all that can sweeten and add comfort to our hard lot, to the insatiable avarice of those with whom accident and our own ignorance, has placed our destinies.

These are the principles which we have always advocated, and, to the last, shall continue to advocate. Collectively and unitedly, in prison or out of prison, our stereotyped cry has been, and is, "National Organisation," an effective remedy for National Grievances," and as surely as the continual dripping from the spring will cut its way into the hardest rock, so we must ultimately succeed in obtaining for our principle the common justice of a fair trial.

It is for the principle only that we contend. We care not a brass button who is to be entrusted with the honourable privilege of carrying it out. But in the name of common sense, let us not continue to fritter away our means and strength by isolated and piecemeal efforts, but concentrate our all of means, perseverance, and energy in one noble effort to ennoble our order.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

60, Tottenham-court-road.

## THE STRIKE.

On Saturday night, in accordance with the notice given to that effect a week ago, the principal engineering firms of the metropolis discharged their hands and closed their works, but several of the minor firms changed their intentions, as avowed, at the eleventh hour, and intimated to their men that they might return to their work, as usual, on Monday morning. The names of the firms referred to have not all been publicly given, but it is positively known that Mr. Horn, machinist, High-street, Whitechapel, who was among the foremost in the movement, has, on Saturday night, acquiesced unreservedly in the propositions of the Amalgamated Society, so as to become fully reconciled with his men. His establishment will therefore remain open, as no doubt will many others under similar circumstances.

In Manchester the closure of shops will, after all, be only partial, as many of the masters withdrew their notices as early as the 8th inst. It is nevertheless certain that the proprietor of a large concern in Manchester has offered to dispose of his premises, stock, and plans, to the Amalgamated Society, for the purpose of forming a co-operative association, upon condition of being allowed to remain a partner. It has not yet been decided whether this can be accepted or rejected. A similar offer has been made in London by the proprietor of an establishment employing about sixty hands, on the Surrey side of the river. As far as we could glean, the following may be taken as a tolerably accurate record of the names of the firms and principal factories in and about London: Maudslay and Field, Westminster-bridge-road, 800; John Penn and Co., Green

## To the Trades of London.

## THE JOURNEMEN HATTERS OF THE

Metropolis seeing the importance of the present juncture of political affairs, earnestly solicit the Council and Co-operation of all the other Trades, in order to give an explicit, deliberate avowal of their sentiments, and resolves on the Reform requisite for their welfare.

The Committee of Hatters meet every Wednesday evening at half past seven o'clock, at the 'Marquis of Granby' Union-street, where deputations are requested to attend, or applications to be made, to J. C. DUNCAN, Esq., Hon. Sec.

## CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

Instituted under Trust, to counteract the system of Adulteration and Fraud now prevailing in Trade, and to promote the principle of Co-operative Associations. Trustees—Edward Vassall, Esq., (founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq., (one of the contributors). Commercial Firm—Lechevalier, Wootton, Jones, and Co. Central Establishment—76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, London.

Branch Establishments—25, Great Marlborough-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester.

The Agency intends hereafter to undertake the execution of all orders for any kind of articles or to do their operations for the present are restricted to Groceries, Italian Articles, French Wines and Brandy.

A Catalogue has just been published, containing a detailed list of all articles with the retail prices affixed, with remarks on adulteration. Price 6d., or sent free by post for ten stamps. Also a wholesale price list for Co-operative Stores gratis, or by post for one stamp.

Particulars relating to the Central Co-operative Agency, with a digest of the Deed of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the central office of the Institution. Sent post free for three stamps. We can only assure our correspondents at large, that we desire the columns of the 'Star' to present a full and faithful record of the Democratic movement, in all its phases, and repeat our determination to give prominence to all proceedings connected with any movement for the obtaining of the People's Charter.

All communications to be addressed, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, to M. M. Lechevalier, Wootton, Jones, and Co.

## To Correspondents.

THOMAS RUM, Bookbinder, 16, Spring-garden, Bolton, desires to inform the members of the Iron Trades and his friends that they may have this journal sent to their homes by leaving their addresses with him, as above.

R. RITZ, Chelsea.—Next week, C. A. Stegny.—The statements referred to are totally without foundation, and are merely dictated by a feeling of revenge, because the writer made an application to be associated with the present proprietors of the 'Star,' which was rejected. The Chartist body, and the public generally, will know from this insight into the motive by which Mr. Ernest Jones is actuated, what to think of future attacks from the same source. We can only assure our correspondents at large, that we desire the columns of the 'Star' to present a full and faithful record of the Democratic movement, in all its phases, and repeat our determination to give prominence to all proceedings connected with any movement for the obtaining of the People's Charter.

T. G. LEE.—Received, on Friday morning, too late for the Country Post.

## THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 1885.

## THE MASTER'S STRIKE AGAINST THE ENGINEERS.

## WHAT IS AND IS TO BE.

Be firm and patient; that is the advice which the friends of the worker give to the worker, and never was attention to it more necessary than at this moment. The exercise of the two qualities will ensure a victory—such a victory as labour has never before gained. So far all has gone well, better far than could have been expected. The columns of the masters, the falsehoods of a capitalist Press, the vituperations of a paid literature, have all failed. Instead of public opinion being conclusively directed against the men, the balance of it is in their favour. The way they have come before the public on the platform, and in the Press, is without a parallel in labour agitations. It is a significant sign of the times that the voice of the operative has been heard in the columns of even adverse papers with as much force as that of the manufacturer. Their cause has assumed so much importance, that column after column of leading article type has been devoted to them. At first they were abused, then they were advised, and, lastly, they were urged with. Even the leading journal of Europe—the concentration of the greatest literary power of the day—condemned, at last, to descend from the pedestal of presumed superiority and reason with working men; and it was something for those who pray for the progress of the toilers to rejoice at, to hear, on the very day it appeared, an operative engineer take that same article, and, from the platform, oppose its folly, and lay bare its sophistry with such effect that the 'Thunderer' has passed over the castigation it received in silence.

As for the Masters' assumption, the Strike—their last resource—their ultimatum—has been among the most ridiculous of failures. In vain, by their Secretary, they vomited, through the columns of a liberal paper, in which such a man as W. J. Fox writes abuse worthy of an angry cabman. In vain they flung themselves into every firm denunciations of the vast conspiracy which was organised throughout the country to prevent the Capitalist from doing as he pleased with what was not his own, the person, time, and health of the worker. In vain they called upon all masters to 'arise! awake! or be for ever fallen.' In vain, parodying the sentiment of O'CONNELL's famous quotation, they shouted, 'Hereditary Masters, know ye, if ye would rule, 'tis time to strike a blow.' In vain they tried the ten-shilling-a-head pledge of allegiance; emphatically it would not do, notwithstanding talented Secretary, scientific attainments, and 'leading engineering firms,' lent their aid, they could not effect their object. Like a pageant on a wet day, the Strike came off but shabbily. They promised to turn out 12,000 men, and their promise is bankrupt. So far as the Amalgamated Society is concerned, they have turned out hardly more than a third of that number. They do swell the amount up to the threatened total, by 'protecting' their independent workmen, that is, by turning them out upon the world to starve. Those whom they acknowledge have done no wrong, they do not scruple to damage, but among classes where it was least expected, they have raised such a storm of indignation, and opened such sources of help, that they have materially damaged their own cause.

By the side of this conduct that of the members of the Amalgamated Society has presented a glorious contrast. The skilled workers capable of helping themselves, with enough of their fellow members left in employment to ward off distress from the intended victims, need not beg for themselves; for three or six months, or perhaps for a twelvemonth they can maintain their ground and keep the factories shut, but what they need not do for themselves they are doing for others. They have taken under their care the labourers whom the Masters with mingled cruelty and hypocrisy cast off under the pretence of serving. Those very labourers, who it was falsely said they wanted to force the Masters to discharge, find in the Amalgamated Society their best friends. On their behalf the Executive Council has put forth a stirring appeal to the philanthropy and good feeling of the public. In a series of places subscription lists are being opened for funds to support the unskilled labourers; and the result will be, in all probability, that the Society, instead of being broken up, will double and treble its numbers in consequence of the very measures taken to destroy it.

We do not reason now upon the matter; for, for the moment, the time for reasoning has gone by, and the time for action has arrived. There would be but little time or opportunity to frame plans now if they had not been already considered. Before the hosts join in battle the generals form their combinations, and in this case that has been done already. What we need now is courage, firmness, and patience to carry them out. Up to this moment all has gone gloriously, and we believe and trust, that the workers will not, by any departure from right, peril the triumph which is already within their grasp. In the first instance, the law must be obeyed. Whatever may be our opinion as to the laws relating to combination, while they remain upon the statute book they must be obeyed. In this struggle, the opponents of the people must not be allowed the opportunity of staining the cause with the imputation of criminality. The operative Engineers are not Luddites; there is no fear of their turning machine breakers. We question if any class would do that now, but at all events they will not. That measure of abstinence, however, is not sufficient. The whole machinery of the strikes of old must be discarded. There must be no picketing upon shops—no tampering with workmen under contract—no threats to deserters, apostates, and enemies—no intimidation, no foul words, no mobbing, no tumultuous assemblages, no blows. As the 'Operative' said a short time since, 'he who raises his hand against his fellow, or commits a single act of violence, is a traitor to his cause and a betrayer of his order.' This battle must be fought out as it has

been begun—with the weapons of intelligence; and even though the peaceable workmen are insulted as they have been by policemen being sent to their orderly meetings, the combined conspirators of Capital must not have the materials for a single indictment; leave them to rely upon their own resources, and they are already broken—and we rejoice that the Council of the Amalgamated Society have taken this view, and proffered similar advice to their members. That is—'What is, but so far as we are enabled to judge, 'What is to be' will be better still.

The Employers calculated on keeping their men idle, and thought, that after the funds they had accumulated as a provision against sickness, old age, accident, death, and want of employment, would be fruitlessly wasted—then they calculated on having the starving thousands prostrate at their feet, asking for leave to earn the right to live outside the walls of a workhouse. They basked in the thought that that would be their hour of absolute triumph. Through their agents in the Press, they drew appalling pictures of the misery they intended to make. They talked of hungry wives and starving children, as the result of the action of their association. But they were mistaken. The Engineers have learnt something of political economy as well as other classes. They have been taught, to some purpose, that labour is of as high a value as Capital, and the times eminently favour them. The creation of machinery in this country cannot stand still without every interest in the country suffering. It gives vitality to our industry. It is the very mainspring of our commercial eminence. Engines must be made; and who is to make them? That is the question the Engineers have asked the public, and they have been ready to supply the answer: Our masters, say they, in effect do not pay us. It is those who buy what we produce who pay both us and them. The Employers have hitherto found the capital, and we the skill. They have stood between the consumer and the producer, selling the result of labour, paying us part of the prices they received, and putting the best into their own pockets. They decline to do that any longer, because we will not allow them to monopolise every working hour of those they choose to keep at work, while others are without employment. Be it so. We will, if we must, take their place, and keep our own, too. We will do that work which the country must have done, and they refuse to do. We will realise our only capital, labour, without their aid. Thanks to the necessities of Commerce, capital always flows to where it can find a profitable investment. We can employ it profitably, and it will come to us. The Employers of Operative Engineers do not possess all the money or all the credit of the world. We have a portion of it, and with that we will begin, certain that when we show practically we are able to perform all that is needed, those who are interested in the production of wealth will not, for their own sakes, allow us to want the means for its accumulation.

That is at once a wise and a brave resolve—one worthy of men who have independent thoughts and hold hearts as well as strong arms. Men who seem to control adverse circumstances, instead of grovelling down to be crushed by them. 'From the nettle danger' such men will 'pluck the flower safety' from the midst of oppression, and by its means they will progress towards liberty, and the masters, already at their wit's end, will find, that unless they yield gracefully and in time, their 'occupation' will be where O'CONNELL's was—'gone.' The men have had plenty of warning, and a surfeit of advice of a certain sort held out to them. That is our warning to the employers, and our advice is—dismiss your secretary—meet your workmen fairly—let your disputes be settled by impartial arbitration, and then strive, by justice in the future, to atone for wrongs in the past and present.

We did intend to enter into the question of the probability of commercial success to the operatives, but we have already extended our remarks to such a length as to compel us to postpone that for another week; when we shall endeavour to show that, by taking the right means, the men may make better than the employers, sell cheaper, and meet them advantageously in the market of the world.

WHAT MUST BE DONE TO GET A RADICAL REFORM IN PARLIAMENT. In a fortnight Parliament will re-assemble, and it is now understood definitely, that Lord JOHN means to meet it with his present staff of imbecile and infirm colleagues. The result cannot be doubted. His opponents have only to select the time and the question on which he shall be defeated, and his resignation, or the dissolution of Parliament, must immediately follow.

Are the advocates of a Radical Reform in our representative system prepared for that contingency? Have they placed themselves in such a position, that they will be able to exercise over the public mind that power and influence which is due to the truth, justice, and importance of their cause? We fear the very contrary is the case, and that a favourable opportunity will pass by unimproved, in consequence of the lamentable apathy which has been exhibited in some quarters, and the selfish and degrading squabbles which have occupied attention in others.

If the advocates of Parliamentary Reform, whether by the enactment of the People's Charter, or the smaller measure of Mr. HUME, had been in earnest during the recess, they might now have been in a position to dictate terms to any future Ministry. They might have secured the return of such a number of members pledged to the principle of Representative Reform, and prepared to act in concert, as would have held the balance between the two rival aristocratic factions, who have hitherto tossed power from one to the other in the game of political battle and shuttlecock. That is the only practical way of making the question of Suffrage Reform a Parliamentary one with any chance of success. Until the friends of the cause outside see this fact clearly, and take care that its exponents in the House are organised effectively as a party, and pledged to act together, without reference to Ministerial exigencies, or other party combinations, there is not the slightest probability of our getting a real and substantial reform of the House of Commons.

But, we regret to say, that at the present moment we see scarcely any indication of such an organisation of the People's Party. The spirit we know exists, but the leader, at whose call it will come from the vasty deep, has not yet made his appearance. No man capable of succeeding to the vacant throne of Mr. O'CONNOR has yet arisen among the Chartist body, if such a body can be said to exist, when we keep in view the late abortive attempt to form an Executive. Year by year, the so-called Chartist party has become weaker, smaller, and more powerless, until at last we have the mockery of a few hundred votes recorded for the appointment of a National Executive. Supposing that the nine hundred who voted for the candidate at the top of the list were all bona fide voters, and represented even one penny a week to defray the expenses of a public movement, it would give us only £3 15s. weekly for that purpose. But there can be little doubt of the fact, that it does not signify even that amount of substantial support; and the conviction of the truth of that fact is apparent in the hot haste which has been in one case exhibited on various pretences, wide of the real reason, to retire from a position in which there is neither honour, profit, nor usefulness to be looked for.

It is of no use disguising the fact: the Chartist Party is an utter wreck as an organised party. Into the causes of this fatal and melancholy break-up it is not our intention to inquire. We have very decided opinions on the subject, which, however, we prefer to put in an affirmative shape. 'It is,' as they say in Lancashire, 'of no use crying over shed milk,' and the true use of past experience is not to stand idly quibbling as to the respective errors committed by each individual, or what amount of personal blame is ascribable to each, but to make that experience the basis of more comprehensive and more successful, because practical, action in future.

There is ample room and encouragement to make such an attempt; for it must not be for one moment supposed, that because the old organisation has dwindled to nothing, and the Executive been virtually dissolved, therefore Chartism is less an element of public opinion than it was in 1839 or 1848. On the contrary, we have the fullest conviction that the great bulk of the intelligent and industrious classes in this country are more closely wedded to, more thoroughly convinced than ever, of the truth and the importance of the principle embodied in Manhood Suffrage. It is the only just, and it therefore can be the only permanent settlement of the demands of the people. All expedients are temporary. Right alone is eternal. The business of the practical reformer and true statesman is to approximate, as rapidly and as beneficially as possible, to the Right, because it is then only that peace, law, and order—that Society, in fact, rests upon a safe and solid basis. Gradual progress is the law of humanity, individually and historically, and the measures immediately practical, must always be largely dependent upon the actual state of public opinion, and the general advance of the community. To accept a less measure of reform than that demanded by the full recognition of abstract principle is, therefore, not in itself an inconsistency or want of fidelity to the principle. There is quite as much mischief in legislating in advance of public opinion as in lagging behind it. What is wanted is to accurately determine the precise point to which the nation has advanced, and to act up to that mark in a progressive spirit,—that is to say, to take care that what we do to-day shall not prevent us from proceeding further in the same onward direction tomorrow.

Now, taking these general rules for our guide, we say that this country is prepared for the immediate adoption of Manhood Suffrage as the fundamental principle of any measure of Parliamentary Reform. We have again and again stated our reasons for that belief, and we have never yet seen them confuted. We admit that power in itself may be either mischievous or beneficial, according to the knowledge and dispositions of the persons who have to exercise it. A razor may be used to cut throats as well as to shave chins. But we contend, that during the last twenty years the industrious classes of this country have obtained such a practical every-day training and familiarity with the use of Constitutional forms of transacting public business, that there are no people in the world so well prepared for full and complete enfranchisement at the present moment. While admitting, therefore, the necessity for adapting measures to actual wants and capacities, and proceeding gradually, we say, at the same time, that the principle so applied in this country demands the concession of Manhood Suffrage, not only as a just, but a practical and expedient settlement of the question.

How are the advocates of this fundamental principle of Parliamentary Reform to obtain for it the popular support and influence which are due to it? Certainly not by abusing and maligning all who, either from conviction or constitutional timidity, stand aloof from it. People are not very likely to think kindly of those who attribute to them bad motives, and call them worse names. They are even apt to think that the cause which has such advocates must be in itself a bad and a vicious one when it produces such results. Hence it is that Chartism has of late years sunk in the nostrils of almost every intelligent man in the working and middle classes. They have been deterred from it by its coarse antagonism to every other popular movement—by its vituperation and abuse of all who presumed to differ from its self-constituted leaders and dictators, and by the quarrels between themselves, in which the worst Billingsgate was unparaphrasedly hurled at each other. Persons of well-regulated minds shrink from coming into contact with such an impracticable, disinclined, and intemperate party. We see the result. For want of the requisite intelligence, experience, and business habits, the movement has fallen off until only some nine hundred can be found to vote for a member of the National Executive.

We want to meet this state of things. For the last two years we have done our best to infuse a new spirit into the movement, with the full consent and concurrence of Mr. O'CONNOR, who, our readers will know, not only made a friendly appearance at the metropolitan meetings of the Middle Class Reformers, but also travelled as far north as Aberdeen, to show his own earnest conviction, that union among Reformers of all classes was preferable to division. For taking this course, we are now accused of pursuing an insidious and a reactionary policy, and of wishing to carry the Chartist Movement over to the middle classes. Our accuser knows that this charge is a false one, but with the fatal propensity to deal in mendacious, reckless, and unprincipled imputations, which has brought the Chartist body to death's door, he does not hesitate to print it, because it serves a sordid and selfish personal object. Even were the conductors of this paper actuated by such motives as are imputed to them, the most superficial observer must perceive that they would be the silliest of political geese, to place themselves in the position gratuitously assumed for them by their libeller. Of what value to the middle class movement would a body be which even its self-elected dictator is ashamed of, and has thrown overboard and abandoned? Such charges and falsehoods may, perhaps, for a short time, delude those who unfortunately place reliance on the veracity of the person who makes them, or help to sustain for a week or two longer, a periodical already at death's door, and to prolong whose feeble existence a mendacious appeal is made. But we have faith in truth, and in undeviating rectitude of principle and action. When the transient calumny has passed away, the masses will discover for themselves who are the true friends of the People's Cause.

This may seem irrelevant to the main topic of this article; but it is not. The great want of the time is a National Party. We are desirous of aiding in the formation of such a party; and in order to do so with effect, it is necessary to speak out as to the principles upon which we think it ought to be constructed, the spirit in which it should be conducted, and the objects it should pursue. In future articles we shall return to the subject. In the meantime, we congratulate all who feel interested in real progress, on the fact that no sham organisation, with an unreal, but pretentious nominal Executive, cumbrous the ground. There is room and opportunity for such genuine democrats as Mr. LINTON—whose admirable letter we published last week—and others of like stamp, to take up a firm, a dignified, and a powerful position, and to give to the unorganised Chartism of Great Britain such a form and shape as shall command attention and respect both in and out of Parliament.

## THE CHEAP AND NASTY SYSTEM.

The disclosures respecting the mass of putrid corruption and filthy garbage supplied to the Navy, which are just now exciting so much disgust and indignation, are, we fear, only indications of a widespread social disease. The Competitive System is no doubt cheap, but it is also dreadfully nasty. The soul of honour and honesty has been destroyed by it. Cheating in trade is allowable, though cheating at cards is not. For a thing to be done 'in the way of trade' means that it is opposed to morality and justice. In Commerce the great commandment of Christianity, 'Do unto others as ye would others should do unto you,' is translated, 'Do others and take care you are not done.' The whole system is what THOMAS CARLYLE would call a 'hugo unversity.' Nothing goes by its right name—nothing is what it seems. Sheffield manufacturers razors made to sell, and not to shave, and cutlery that won't cut, Leicester and Nottingham send out stockings as much fitted for Aldgate Pump as human legs, and which become like riddles with a week's wear. Yorkshire contributes its quota to the general stock of adulterations in the shape of 'shoddy' cloths, which resemble blotting sheets, more than anything else, in texture, and are about as wearable and durable. Manchester gives flour-paste instead of good cotton, and the first washing brings a sieve to light instead of a piece of stout and useful cloth. 'Brummagem' and 'sham' have long been synonymous. Cheap furniture markets invite customers to buy chairs that fall in pieces within the first month—sofas that are stuffed with hay, and often filthy vermin-breeding rubbish instead of horse hair—tables that won't stand—and bedsteads that become rickety as soon as they are put to use. Bakers poison us with lime and plaster of Paris. Grocers with a compound of disgusting substances ingeniously mixed up with almost every article they vend. The whole system is corrupt. 'From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, it is nothing but bruises and wounds and putrifying sores.'

The loss to the country involved in the necessary destruction of the mass of rotten carrion, furnished to the Admiralty, and the graver evils which the acceptance of such stores indicates in the shape of inefficient superintendence, or guilty collusion with the fraudulent contractor, sink into insignificance, when compared with the horrible demoralisation of which such facts are the index. If it continues to spread, it

will eat like a cancer into the very heart of society, and destroy all that is manly, honourable, or just in the nation. Such a deterioration of the national character would be the surest precursor to national destruction. A people that has lost the sense of justice has lost the very main spring of existence. The greater the powers in its possession the greater the rapidity with which it can accomplish its own ruin. Trick has to be met with trick—one 'cheap dodge' has to be found to beat another, until at length the true aim of all production and of all exchange is lost sight of, and society is converted into a vast gambling hell, and becomes a prey to the worst passions, with all their concomitant excitement and wretchedness.

It might be worth the while of some of the lucidators of our wonderful modern industrial and commercial system, to turn their attention occasionally to this phase of the subject. The morality of a nation is as important an element, in considering it as a whole, as the sum total of its exports and imports; and although legislation may be unable to put a stop to all fraud and deception in trading, still, much might be done in conjunction with an enlightened public opinion to discountenance and discourage it. At present we fear the only thing considered creditable in such infamous and unfair transactions is the 'being found out.' Had the affair escaped detection, it would have been considered rather a smart job, and 'all fair in trade.'

The social Reformers, whose theories are so violently assailed and derided by the competitive organs, may make many mistakes in their speculations as to the precise form in which the future will be moulded, but no one who has carefully and impartially read their works, can fail to perceive that they have, one and all, a clear insight into the real nature and destiny of man, and the true objects of society. They all seek to make the material, merely the instrument for promoting the intellectual and moral well being of the people at large. That many of their views, as to the mode of organising labour, distributing its products, and governing communities in their domestic and general arrangements, may be open to exception, and never likely to be realised, is but natural. But that constitutes no valid objection to the great principle on which they all take their stand. Had the first promoters of railways undertaken to prognosticate in detail all that was necessary to give full effect to the cardinal idea involved in their construction, they would have no doubt committed a great many errors, and excited, perhaps, a good deal of laughter by some ludicrous mistakes. It was better to leave these details to be developed as experience accumulated. So should it be with social progress. The first thing is to get the people at large to comprehend the primal idea embodied in these theories, and to become imbued with the spirit and desire to apply justly and fraternally the means at the command of society for the common benefit. All other good things would follow in due season. How much this new mental and moral training is needed—from what frightful misery and degradation it would save us. The horrible accumulation of putrefaction which has polluted the air in Clarence-yard, and all but poisoned the officials, may be accepted as a timely and an impressive lesson; and we are happy to learn that a league has just been formed, comprising some influential gentlemen, the main object of which is to collect and diffuse information on these subjects.

## ASSAULT ON AN ENGLISHMAN IN ITALY.

A letter, stated to be written by a gentleman of consideration, who has sent his name and card in verification of his assertions to the editor of the 'Daily News,' gives the following account of a most gross outrage lately committed on an Englishman. We extract the following passages from it:

"FLORENCE, NEW YEAR'S DAY.—It may interest some of your numerous readers to mention an incident which has just occurred here, and which strongly exemplifies the character of that 'parental rule' Austria is now extending over every country garisoned by her soldiers."

"A young Englishman, but a short time in Florence, had been listening to the band of an Austrian regiment at the hour of guard relieving in front of the Pitti Palace; and seeing the troops about to march off, he better to enjoy the music, proceeded to accompany them. While so doing, however, he reached one of the narrow streets that issue from the Piazza del Duomo; and partly to avoid a cart, and partly pushed by the crowd, he found himself compelled to walk in the space between the band and the head of the column. A smart blow from the flat of a sabre admonished him to move away, at which he turned quietly round, and, in such Italian as he could muster, asked what he had done, and why he was struck. An insulting reply—for so by its tone he judged it to be—was returned. He answered as angrily, on which he was struck in the face by a closed fist, and when reeling from the blow the officer cut him over the head with his sword, and left him weltering in his blood on the pavement, from whence by the humanity of the bystanders he was conveyed to the city hospital. The wound, which was fully a finger's length, severed a very thick felled hat, and divided the muscles of the scalp, cutting through the periosteum, and even slightly injuring the bone beneath; in fact, such a cut as might easily have produced a fracture in some cases, and in any was a highly dangerous one. The British Charge d'Affaires here, on learning the incident, immediately addressed a moderate but firm request for an inquiry into the circumstances, mentioning the names and addresses of several most respectable persons who witnessed the occurrence, and whose testimony substantiated in every point the statement made by the wounded man himself."

"To this demand a long and very evasive reply was returned, declining all investigation, and alleging, as one of the invariable rules of the imperial army, the order, that an officer, while on duty, was always to use his sword on—to kill even, if necessary—whomsoever offered any impediment to his functions, or in any way offended or impeded him; asserting that, in the present instance, the Englishman had actually threatened the officer, and was in the act of striking him when cut down. The reply proceeded to a perfect justification of the officer's conduct, and only found matter for reproach in the case of the blow by the fist, 'such being contrary to the rules of the service, which always enjoin the use of the sabre.'"

"It will probably be difficult to persuade your home readers that there is not one syllable of exaggeration or misstatement in the whole of this narrative, or that measures of such brutality as these are among the ordinary duties of any army of Europe. Very lately here a peasant was seen to laugh as an Austrian detachment was marching past. The officer in command saw the insulting demonstration, halted his party, placed the peasant against an adjoining wall, and then dealing him in his single file, ordered them to spit in the man's face as they marched past. The peasant may or may not have laughed—he may have intended to deride the imperial forces. Not a very likely thing, however, considering that they were a battalion one thousand strong, and he a single man. Take any view of the case you may, you can conceive a more brutal and disgusting outrage than the punishment inflicted? It is but right to add that the officer was subsequently reprimanded and transferred to another regiment; this being the penalty awarded, for what, in any other service in Christendom, would have rendered him unfit to wear a sword or associate with men of any honour or character."

"To the tender mercies of such as these Central Italy is now committed, and whatever may be the errors and shortcomings of the Italians it would be hard to say that this penalty is not above the offence. If, however, political considerations decide that the Wallach and the Dalmatian should hold sway in the country of Dante, Alfieri, and history should be but an Austrian guard house, I ask once more—What have we done that we must surrender every right of our nationality, and submit to the degrading tyranny which, according to all I hear, is the inevitable rule of the imperial service?"

## MONIES RECEIVED

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1885.

## NATIONAL CHARTER FUND.

Received by JAMES GRASSY.—A. J. Hill 6d.—Newcastle-upon-Tyne 10s. 9d.—Four Chartists, St. Andrews, Auckland, per J. Wilkinson 3s. 6d.—Arthur Trevelyan 11s.—Total £21 14s. 6d.

N.B.—The item in the Balance-sheet, inserted in last week's 'Star' as received from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was, by mistake of £1 17s. 6d.

THE PRESERVED MEAT FOR THE NAVY.—The examination of the preserved meat at Portsmouth, which has been going on for several days past, was more favourable to the contractor on Wednesday than it was on Tuesday. On Wednesday, 400 cases were opened, when the proportion of good to bad was about equal



holding of a public meeting. Messrs. J. Shaw, J. C. Stratton, Cooper, and others, took part in the proceedings.



3

**A MAN CRUSHED BY AN OX.**—On Tuesday afternoon a butcher, named John Willis, who is employed at

**The Provinces.**

**COLLISION AT LIVERPOOL.**—On Tuesday night a serious collision took place near the mouth of the Mersey, between the steam-ship Clarence and the ship Gladiator, which produced much injury to property, but no fatal result.

**Scotland.**

**GAROTTE ROBBERIES IN EDINBURGH.**—Within the last few days two robberies have taken place, by tightening a noose round the body and arms, and then rifling the pockets. Both the assaults referred to were committed about midnight, the one on the footpath through Bruntsfield Links, and the other on the public road near Merchiston Castle. In the one case a watch was stolen, and near the other some money. The highwaymen have not been apprehended.

**ANOTHER WINDFALL FOR THE WHIGS.**—A situation worth £700 a year has just become vacant by the death of Joseph Denis Mullen, Esq. The vacant situation is that of Marshal of the Four Courts Marshalsea; that is, the governor of a debtors' prison. Mr. Mullen, who was a good fellow in his way, owed his appointment to the late Mr.

EMIGRATION FROM DUBLIN.—The number of emigrants who have embarked from this port during the past year was 9,090 against 7,381 in 1850.

from fifty-eight to sixty days. The speed of the vessels is average eight knots, and their size will be about 700 tons. It is satisfactory to add also that they are to be constructed of iron.

sent of both parties, be elected Speaker of the House of Commons.—*Sunday Times*.

## The Provinces

**COLLISION AT LIVERPOOL.**—On Tuesday night a serious collision took place near the mouth of the Mersey, between the steam-ship Clarence and the ship Gladiator, which produced much injury to property, but no fatal result.

**EMIGRATION FROM DUBLIN.**—The number of emigrants who have embarked from this port during the past

miles, which, including stoppages, will be performed from fifty-eight to sixty days. The speed of the vessels is average eight knots, and their size will be about 1,000 tons.

THE NEW SPEAKER.—It is confidently asserted in the best informed political circles, that upon the assembling of a new parliament which must take place within a few

months at the farthest, Sir F. Thesiger will, by the consent of both parties, be elected Speaker of the House of Commons.—*Sunday Times*.







Printed by WILLIAM RIDER, of No. 5, Macclesfield-street, in parish of St. Anne, Westminster, at the printing-office, 16, Great Windmill-street, Haymarket, in the City of Westminster, for Proprietor, FEARGUS O'CONNOR, Esq., M.P., and published by the said WILLIAM RIDER, at the office in the same street and parish.—Saturday, January 7th, 1852.