

"Onward and we conquer!
Backward and we fall!"
THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER AND NO
SURRENDER!"

TO THE OLD GUARDS.

LOVED AND HONOURED COMRADES,
You will no doubt read the discussion upon
the motion of Mr. Hume with no ordinary
satisfaction, not derived from the small
minority—although the snowball increases in
its onward course—but from the speeches of
Mr. HUME, Mr. BRIGHT, and Mr. LOCKING,
which cannot of course be reported at
full length in the "Northern Star." Nevertheless,
I can analyse them for you. They are
one and all—and especially that of Mr.
BRIGHT—what in the "good old Tory times,"
would have been designated as little short of
treason; and it was from the substance of
those speeches, rather than from the terms of
the motion, that I gleaned no slight satisfaction.
But although I voted for that motion
rather than be stigmatised as an obstructive
impeding and standing in the way of
progress; yet nevertheless, I must call
your attention to the fact, that even with
Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, Vote
by Ballot, and Equal Electoral Districts, it
would not be in the power of that constituency
to return a member for a county if he did not
possess £600 a year; or a member for
a borough, if he did not possess £300 a year.
And further, that if even Property Qualification
was dispensed with, an intelligent man
of your order, capable of representing you, and
possessing your confidence, would not be likely
to abandon trade or profession, if deprived of
the means of existence. And believe me, Old
Guards, when I tell you, that the interest of
the labouring classes will not, and cannot be
represented in Parliament, except by labourers.
That is, by a sufficient number of intelligent
working men to enlighten those who are
wholly ignorant of the Labour Question.

Old Guards, take experience from the past
and recollect that Sir GEORGE GREY taunted
Mr. HUME with the absence of petitions, are
not let him taunt me with the same popular
apathy, when, in this racing season, I give
the animal its gallop. As I instructed you
you will send those petitions to the member
of the respective districts from which the
come, and you will report to the Executive
the number of those petitions, and to whom
sent; while I confess that I should derive
little pleasure from receiving a LITTLE
MONSTER from Manchester, Birmingham,
Sheffield, Leeds, Newcastle, Bristol, and a
small towns of England; and from Glas-
gow and the smaller towns of Scotland; and
from patriotic Merthyr Tydfil, and the small
towns of Wales. Lord JOHN RUSSELL has
boasted of your loyalty and your satisfaction
based upon your silence. Show him that you
are loyal to your principles, and that you will
only be satisfied by their adoption.

Old Guards, you have now ample time for
action, and let me implore of you not to throw
it away, inasmuch as upon your firm resolve
will depend the new Reform the PRIME
MINISTER has promised, and which is en-
gaged by the "Times." The Government, to es-
tablish itself upon a firm basis, must hence-
forth recruit its forces from the Liberal, and
not from the Tory ranks, and upon the firm-
ness of the people will depend its RECRUIT-
ING CRY! The more we ask for, if it is
legitimate, and not an extension of our former
demands, the more we shall get; while, upon
the other hand, the less we ask for, the less
will be offered to us.

Old Guards: "To be forewarned is to be
forearmed," and let me again forewarn you. The
policy of the English Government will
now mainly depend upon the state of foreign
nations, and especially the state of France.
Take warning by the past. The French revo-
lution of 1789 compelled the English Govern-
ment to promise the Irish Catholics a large
relaxation of the penal code, but circumstance
changed, and they changed with them. The
French revolution of the "three glorious
days," as they are called, of 1830, consider-
ably expedited the Reform Bill, and the pas-
sing occurrences in other countries must even-
tually quicken the march of progress in this
country. But let me forewarn you of your
danger and oligarchical reliance. You may
not uphold their monopoly of power with the
concurrent of the representation of the mind
of France, they will have recourse to phys-
ical power, as a means of resisting the
progress of mind if its wise development and
legitimate representation promises to the
working classes a fair and legitimate remu-
neration for their labour. Now, mind that
and never lose sight of it, and bear in mind
that this, and all other countries, have for
centuries been governed by foreign, and not by
domestic policy. In short, that there has
existed a LEAGUE OF KINGS against the
LEAGUE OF PEOPLE, and that the voice
of knowledge has hitherto been stifled by the
cannon's roar. But it is now your own fault
if you allow this policy to be continued, which
may be destroyed by the proper direction of
that mind, which has been industriously
created, and judiciously organised, in the
country.

Old Guards, my hands have been so full
this week that I have not time for more, and
shall conclude by again imploring of you to be
watchful, resolute, and discreet; to destroy
the Minister's taunt of there being no petition
for the Charter, and to let the House of Com-
mons, the Press, the country, and the world
understand that there is a force in the organ-
ised LABOUR-MIND of England, which no
battery can assail, no bayonet can stab, no
sword can cut down, or "Gagging Bill" in
timidate. Let them understand, that the
"ARTFUL AND DESIGNING DEMA-
GOUE," alluded to by the artful and de-
signing Minister, has plucked the poison
arrow from his quiver, upon which he was won-
to rely for the accomplishment of his artful
designing, malicious, liberty-slaying assault
upon English industry and liberty.

Your faithful Friend and Representative
FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

"A true labourer carrieth many a load
weary; owes no man hate; envies no man's hap-
piness; glad of other men's good; content under
his own privations; and his chief pride is in the
allest comforts of his condition."—Shakspeare.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN
RUSSELL.

My Lord.—It will be ten years on the
13th of next month, since I addressed you in
the "Northern Star," upon the then position
of your party, and the probable result of your
policy generally; and it is two years since
addressed four letters to you in the "Lad-
borer," upon the Irish famine, the probable
use you would make of it, and what the inevi-
table effect of your policy would lead to.

My Lord, I am perfectly aware that such
appeals from one wholly unconnected with pri-
vileged party, to one who owes his position
and power to the caprice of privileged faction
and to which he must defer, is "throwing
pearls before swine." However, as I—though
perhaps presumptuously—speak the warning
voice of millions, I consider it my duty to them
to you, and to myself, to forewarn you.

My Lord, men are impelled by various
motives to become politicians, and none are
stronger than those which are based upon di-
rect necessity, and in this age, when prudence,
economy, justice, and all other considerations
are merged in political pre-eminence, those
who see an utter absence of prudent
economy and justice, arising from political
monopoly, very naturally abandon all other
hope, save that which is now based upon
participation in political power.

This is the beginning
of the 1st department.
It has no gothic
header but it always
begins here. It should
be baleed with its
given header in the
TOC.

This is the dateline.
It is divided from
other content by
double lines but
should not be
entered into the
TOC as a
department

AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

UL. XII. NO. 607.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1849.

PRICE FIVEPENCE OR
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professions for a just and fair development of
industry, economy, and justice, but having a
large gained wisdom and experience from the
last, they have prudently adopted the motto
that "WHAT IS TO BE DONE FOR THE
PEOPLE, MUST BE DONE BY THE
PEOPLE;" and from this resolve no bairn
in them, no threat can intimidate them,
no vengeance can affright them. That, my
Lord, is the POPULAR RESOLVE
used upon Whig betrayal of POPULAR
CONFIDENCE.

My Lord, self-interest is the basis of hu-
man action, and political power unfortunately
constitutes the ladder by which many raise
themselves to comfort, eminence, and no-
bility, all thought of honour, generosity, and
justice is merged in the hope of acquiring the
rester, because more profitable, prize—and
the people, finding that none but themselves
can convert the prize to their own use, befose
and benefit, have resolved never again to be
deceived from the soul, until the nation
shall declare that the winners. My Lord,
these are actuated by different motives, though
quest of a similar object—some are moved
by ambition, some by avarice, some by love of
splendour, some by hope of achieving a
competency, and many of the poor are induced
lecture for the acquisition of the darling
object of others, in the hope of saving them-
selves and their families from beggary and
aravation. All these, my Lord, are very
powerful influences, and are calculated to
influence and to sway the mass of the popu-
lation, to reduce the rents of his one hundred
and fifty thousand pounds capital, impose
them, then to employ one thousand
and with an idle competitive reserve, forced
to subdue those at work, and suppose him,
in consequence, to reduce the wages of his
hundreds more than FOURPENCE a day;
he would, by such a reduction, make profit,
and above fair speculation, but simply by
the reduction of FIVE THOUSAND TWO
HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND
POUNDS; and as money is to the one just
that land is to the other, let me portray the
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the

NOTH.

"As right a stand as e'er was made, since heavy time had birth."
By its own avowal, the Russian government had stirred up a fratricidal war, only to subjugate Hungary, and to obtain her future peace at the price of her independence. If that measure had succeeded, Hungary was erased from the list of independent nations!—*Cont. Tele-News* "Case of Hungary stated."

Great Lord of Liberty and Truth, I now thine aid invoke;
To shield my noble HUNGARY—that rent the Austrian eagle.
To tell how great people, like a spring 'midst desert sand,
Have shed refreshing Hope's bright light upon a desolate land.
Oh! let us all our voices lend, in heart-upholding praise;
To the nation, that 'midst grannie, dared Freedom's head-prise!
That waved her glorious flag across grim Despotism's face,
And proved that in the Eastern world, there dwelt one noble race!

* * * * *

Pray, O! HUNGARY! thou may'st make thy cannon-voled foemen!

Then o'er thy lion-hearted land a haleyon time may come!

That thy true peasantry may show, thy noble nobles how,

In much-loved peace—as in dread war—real grati-

tude they know!

Right well thoughful LANDOR said, for good to all on earth,
That glorious ROSSMUR and brave BEAUMONTE million men are worth!

If not within my country's heart—in mine thy wrongs have place;

And it thins with hope for thee—thou noble Easter-ern race!

Oh! ne'er may "freedom shriek," as when great KOSKUSKO fell!

Oh! ne'er may future history have such dismal woe to tell,

A lone in hiring liars all—out, out upon the Time!

It hath humanity's deep curse, winged up from all earth's climes.

If we would right and justice aid—true as God's rain-dan-

sun!

If we would aid the march of truth—the way of error-shun!

If we would serve our very God, who smileth in His grace,

Up, up, and O free-born men, that noble Easter-ern race!

When hallow'd rights three centuries old, in blood may be blot out,

Such outrage to Humanity should meet resistance stout.

To see! hundred long long years, robb'd of all good to man;

To flames of indignation high, all honest hearts must fan!

All glory to the race that shall the CONDOXOR's talon clip,

And thus prevent her ruthlessly in bravemen's blood to dip.

If we would serve our very God, who smileth in His grace!

We must save that land of heroes, that noble Easter-ern race!

May 16th, 1849. HUMANITAS.

Reviews.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANCIS RENE, VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBRIAND, Vol. II. London: Simms and M'Intyre, Paternoster-row.

The close of the first volume of these memoirs left the author on his exploring expedition through the wilds of North America. The volume before us introduces him to his readers in the company of English, French, and Dutch settlers, Indians and half-castes, including two swarthy goddesses who combined all the graces of Spanish and Indian beauty. The poor traveller's head was well nigh turned, whilst in the company of his bewitching companions. Fortunately, he was philosopher enough to withstand temptation; otherwise his adventures would, in all likelihood, have been short by the tomahawk and the scalping-knife. We extract our autobiographer's account of his visit to:

NICARAGUA.
I have seen the cascades of the Alps with their grandeur, and those of the Pyrenees, with their grandeur. I have not ascended the Nile high enough to meet with its cataracts which then degenerate into rapids. I speak not of the zones of Terni and Tivoli, the elegant drapery of ruins, or the subjects of the poet's song—

Et preceps Ario at Tiburum lucis.

And the rapid Ario and the sacred wood of Tibur."

Nicaragua equalled them all.

I was holding my horse's bridle twined around my arm, when a rattle-snake rustled among the brushwood. The terrified animal reared up and was coiled in the direction of the fall. I was about to disengage my arm from the reins, and the horse becoming every moment more agitated, dragged me after him. Arthur in his fear had lost the earth. Leaped over the margin of the abyss, he was dashed to pieces falling only by the pressure of the stones. It was all over with me, when the animal astonished himself at his new danger, wheeled round with a pounce. If I had quitted the world in the midst of Canadian forests, would my soul have carried to the supreme tribunal, the sacrifices, the good works, and the virtues of the father Jouries and Lallemand, only vacant days and miserable chimerae?

This was not the only danger I encountered at Nicaragua. A ladder of wind-break served the savages for descending into the lower basin. It was at that period broken. Wishing to see the eatables from below, I ventured, notwithstanding the representations of my guide, upon the edge of an almost perpendicular rock. Notwithstanding the force of the water which held above, I retained my steadiness of head, and reached within forty feet of the rock, where the naked and vertical rock no longer offered me any support. I remained suspended by one hand from the last root which I met, with feeling my fingers every moment given way from the weight of my body. There are few men who have spent during their life two months such as I then reckoned. My hand, which at last stroke let go of hold, and I fell, By an unexpected stroke of a good fortune, I found myself on the slope of a rock on which I could have imagined I must be dashed to pieces, and did not feel much injured. I was within half a foot of the edge of the abyss, and had not rolled over; but when the cold and the damp began to penetrate my clothing, I had perceived that I had not got off so cheaply. My guide was gazing at me from the top of the path, made signs of distress, and came to summon the savages, who had been made by the others, and transported me to their village. I had only a simple fracture, two splints, a bandage, and a sling sufficed for my recovery.

At the farm-house of an American, CHATEAUBRIAND obtained sight of an English newspaper, in which he read the account of the attempted escape of Louis XVI., and his arrest at Varennes. This news decided him to interrupt his travels and return forthwith to Europe. He did so, and had a narrow escape of shipwreck on the shores of Brittany. Shortly after his return to France he married, or rather was married, for he appears to have been the most passive of mortals that ever has come a party to the tying of the indissoluble knot of matrimony. His account of the affair though not intended to excite laughter, is probably ludicrous.

Within a few months of his marriage, CHATEAUBRIAND quitted Madame, and along with his brother joined the loyalist emigrants in Germany. His descriptions of his comrades, show the contemptible character of the brigand aristocrats. He appears to have had indifferent health, with which to meet the toils and dangers of the life of a soldier in active service. After taking part in a little

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JUNE 9, 1849.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

pated. There is no valid reason whatever that can be given for this proposal, because, if you enfranchise, say two million and a half of the five, you will only have made the chains of the unenfranchised slaves more galling and more unendurable than before. But, in fact, all the arguments of the supporters of Mr. HUME's four-point Charter carry them beyond the point where they arbitrarily take their stand. Mr. HUME's elaborate exposition of the inequalities of the franchise and his demonstration that a small minority of the nation, in consequence of that unequal distribution, return the majority of Parliament, is a direct and conclusive argument in favour of Equal Electoral Districts. Mr. HUME, however, half continues from the manner, if the demand previous page Suffrage be based upon the principle that taxation is tyranny, and by the theory of our Constitution that the people to be represented in Parliament must see why Mr. HUME and his friends should stop at Householders; why not adopt a Manhood, instead of brick, plaster and wood Suffrage? It is, however, an immense advantage to Chartism to have their principles and objects thus discussed, by the intervention of a "respectable" half-and-half party. The House is so constituted, at present, that a debate on the Charter itself would be difficult to raise. Either the House would be "counted out," or the motion shelved by a contemptuous and unresounding majority, after a few brief words. But the motion of Tuesday night, while it failed in its immediate object, helped on immensely the Chartist movement. These repeated failures will make the middle-class Reformers more in earnest with their own agitation, and prove to them not only the strength of the resisting forces which they have to overcome, but, at the same time, that in order to succeed there must be a national movement. That can never be obtained until all patterning and compromising with principles are utterly abandoned, and a stand taken upon a broad, definite, and intelligible foundation. Sir G. Grey and Lord J. Russell did their best to drive Mr. HUME and his friends into this position. They plainly indicated that they regarded the motion as identical with the Charter, and gave the latter the preference, as being the most plain, honest, and straightforward proposition of the two; and we trust that mature reflection will convince the supporters of the new Reform movement, that their true policy in future is, to abandon their temporising policy, and come out boldly for a *just* Electoral system. Any change which excludes a single man of full age, sound mind, and untainted by crime will leave the injustice which taints the present system untouched, and its continuance we firmly believe the people of this country have resolved not to permit. Every debate and division in Parliament hastens the time when a monopoly of votes must follow in the train of other social blessings already destroyed. This period is not distant, and may be inferred from the two articles that appeared in the Ministerial organ since the division on Tuesday night. Echoing Lord J. Russell in the first, it endeavoured to show that there was no economical ground for change, amending as this year the estimates for the naval, military, and other services are about £900,000 less than last, and the total amount of expenses of the State is now £10,000,000 less than it was in 1837. The article to oppose the progress of constitutional Reform. For this task he is every way fitted. As years pass over his head, his "finality" propensities develop themselves more and more. The speech he delivered on Tuesday was a slavish copy of those in which CANNING and PEREIRA opposed him, when he was a Reformer. The same old rusty substitutes for arguments were brought forth, with this difference; that whereas CANNING had wit, talent, and intellect, Lord J. Russell has only *influence* and insinuation which he couped up on the occasion. Mr. OSWYNSE truly designated it "a melancholy exhibition," and with equal truth drew the character of the Whig aristocracy as having been at all times more anti-liberal than the real aristocracy of the realm. In the words of SWIFT, they

"Forget the dunghill where they grew,
And think them fit who the Lord knows who."

But the speech uttered incautiously and半blind vision of Lord J. Russell discerns in the political hemisphere the signs of approaching changes, and therefore a cold hesitating and vague way, he intimated that, if the pressure became very strong, he might perhaps favour the country at some indefinite period with some small changes. We thank the little lord—little in all senses—cordially for nothing.

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favour of the working classes. The people of the country, he observed, had no animosity against aristocracy, which, on the contrary, had a strong hold upon their opinions and affections. The aristocracy of to-day was the democracy of fifty years ago, and he lamented that, upon such a subject as this, Mr. Bright and his party exhibited a narrowness of mind. He then showed that, in addition to measures of great public utility passed by the former Parliament, a large number of taxes had been imposed, of which pressed mainly upon the working classes. With regard to the first of a motion to admit every male of full age to a vote, frankly avowed that he objected to the proposition because, although he gave credit to the great bulk of the working classes for virtue and integrity, he believed that the suffrage might from time to time be enlarged, he thought it apparent they would be liable to be misled by artful and designing workmen, and a House so composed could not conduce to the welfare or good government of the country. His motion was carried. So far as I see, the aristocracy of these great countries which appear stand each according to its constitution, in a firm and unmoved position—the one who is a democracy, namely, the United States, will note where it is evident that the cause of Russia, which is opposed to us, is the cause of Russia, which item is itself the sole will of the monarch, whose power is preserved and general security for the property afforded under the strict means by the supreme authority; the third is the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain—(cheered so far as I can see, the people of this country much attached to the constitutional monarchy, the people of any country, however, who are attached to the form of government of their own state. My belief is, that it is the form of government suited to the people. My belief is, that is not a balance of force, but a combination of powers brought about by a monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy acting together, produce much of liberty and happiness, a great development of talent, as great encouragement in the practice of religious and moral duty, as any system of government can produce.) My belief is, that if you adopted the scheme of the hon. member for Montrouge, as it is explained by the hon. member for Manchester (Mr. Bright), you would risk all these blessings. (Cheers.) I do not think that you, the House of Commons chosen by Universal Suffrage, in equal or near equal districts, would long have peace in this House, and, if you had peace in this House, by an overwhelming majority carry measures of a democratic nature, you could not bring them with you to the other states. In framing and proposing the Reform Bill, as I stated at the commencement, what we wished was to adapt the representation of this House to the other powers of the state, and keep it in harmony with the constitution. The object, I think, after seventeen years' trial, we have attained. We have obtained a gradual progress of measures of reform within the constitution, without risk. I have gone in the same course, other measures will be adopted by Parliament, other measures which, being in harmony with the opinions of the people, will pass into law in a constitutional manner, and without interrupting to that constitution. I pray you, therefore, in the name of that constitution, not to adopt the measure now before the House, but to give it a decided negative. I believe you will be consulting the interests, and I am firmly convinced you will be consulting the wishes and opinions of the people. (Cheers.)

Mr. Osborne thought it could not have escaped the observation of the House and would not of itself, that the opposition to the motion had come with one exception, not from the hereditary enemies of reform on the other side, but from the gentlemen who now occupied the Treasury bench. This had enabled him to power over the Monarchs and those who had been stigmatized as men of narrow and confined minds. It was time that those who expressed so narrow and confined ideas should be thrown over by those whom they stigmatized. The most remarkable speech of the evening was that made from the vicinity of the red box by the hon. member for Cambridge. His whole argument was drawn, like a special constable's, from the 10th April. The risk of a civil war, he said, if the bill were passed, was imminent, a majority of twenty-two were for the third reading. The bill was read a third time. On the motion that the bill do pass, Mr. Law persisted in again dividing the House. The numbers were—For the motion, 77; against it, 73; majority for, 55; majority against, 10. The bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Wednesday next.

AFFIRMATION BILL.—The debate on the third reading of this bill was resumed by Mr. Law, and a majority of twenty-two were for the third reading. The bill was read a third time. On the motion that the bill do pass, Mr. Law persisted in again dividing the House. The numbers were—For the motion, 77; against it, 73; majority for, 55; majority against, 10. The bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Wednesday next.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—INSOLVENT AND BANKRUPT MEMBERS BILL.—Mr. MORFITT moved the second reading of the Bankrupt and Insolvent Members Bill. Mr. MacKenzie supported the motion. Sir W. CLAY moved, and Mr. BERNAL seconded, that the bill be read a second time.

AGLONIAN BILL.—After a short division, the bill was read a second time, and there was a majority of twenty-five in favour of the second reading. The bill was read accordingly.

MR. MACKINNON then moved the second reading of the Smoke Prohibition Bill.—Mr. WILLIAMS moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. A brief conversation ensued, after which the House divided, and the numbers were—For the amendment, 37; against it, 72; majority against, 35; majority in favour, 15.

WEXFORD BILL.—Mr. AOLSTON, in the absence of Mr. Thomas Duncombe, obtained leave to introduce a bill to provide for the better ventilation of mines and collieries, for the protection of the lives of the persons employed in and about the same, and to make other provisions relating thereto.

The House adjourned a few minutes before six o'clock.

THURSDAY, JUNE 7.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—THE BANKRUPT LAW CONSOLIDATION BILL.—The bill was read a third time, on the motion of Lord Brougham. Certain amendments were brought up and added to the bill, which was then passed and ordered to be sent to the House of Commons.

THE BILL FOR THE PROTECTION OF WORKS passed through committee on the motion of the Bishop of Oxford, and the third reading was fixed for Thursday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.— Only thirty-four members being present at four o'clock, it stood necessarily adjourned to this day.

(From our Third Edition of last week.)

FRIDAY, JUNE 1.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—ALLEGED CASE OF CANNIBALISM IN IRELAND.—Lord JOHN RUSSELL then referred to a statement which had been alluded to before the recess by Mr. H. Herbert, to the effect that the noble lord, while in Ireland, had seen a tribe of savages who had cannibalized with respect to his own government, was so confident that he could point to Ireland and say that at present it was not a state of siege? The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the Alien Act had been renewed and at this moment there were actually more soldiers in Ireland than voters. Was it not notorious that four prosecutions had been instituted against one newspaper, and that the attorney-general, one of the lords, was a weak instrument in reality than those who avowedly opposed liberal principles. If the words of Swift, they

"Forget the dunghill where they grew,

And think themselves the Lord knows who."

(A laugh.) The noble lord said—and the right hon. member for Tunbridge, cheered him, that the last half century of Europe had been in a state of siege. Was the noble lord so satisfied with respect to his own government, was so confident that he could point to Ireland and say that at present it was not a state of siege?

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