

CLAYTON, the Chartist, has died in Northallerton madhouse! Whigery! where is thy sting? "Justice!" behold thy victory! We can scarcely trust ourselves with comment upon the fate of a poor but honest man...

Chartist Intelligence.

LEEDS.—NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—This society still continues to improve, and the number of members is weekly increasing...

REDFORD.—On Wednesday evening, the 29th ult., Messrs. Collins and Co. held a public meeting in the Association Room, at considerable length, to a crowded audience...

DEVONPORT.—On Tuesday, the first Chartist meeting ever held in this town, was held in Mr. Treweek's large school room, Spiller's Open, to memorialize the Queen and petition the King...

GATESHEAD.—The members of the National Charter Association met on Sunday, January 31st, at their place of meeting, Oakwell, Mr. Murray in the chair...

BIRMINGHAM.—PUBLIC MEETING.—From our own correspondent.—According to previous announcement, a numerous and spirited meeting was held on Monday evening, the 2nd inst., for the purpose of hearing an address from Mr. George White, of Leeds...

GLASGOW.—A meeting was held on the night of Friday week, in St. Ann's Church, to hear an address from Mr. McFarlane, introductory to a course of lectures to be delivered weekly by qualified persons...

he objected to allowing the middle class to remain their former position as leaders, he should feel glad if the well-to-do among them would assist the people in struggling for "the whole Charter and nothing less"...

WALSALL.—MORALITY AND PRIDE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS ELECTORS.—During Monday afternoon, this borough was in a state of great excitement. Mr. Wilkins, the barrister, Mr. Bassett Smith, Mr. Martin, Mr. Baines, Mr. Duddle, and several other gentlemen, addressed the electors on the Tory side, and some 50 delegates, with "Slippery Jimmy" at their head...

LEEDS.—WESTMINSTER NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—A meeting was held at the Commercial Coffee House, Great Marlborough-street, Grosvenor Square, on Sunday evening last, it was resolved...

HAULFAX.—NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—This Association held a council meeting in the afternoon of the 2nd inst., at the Commercial Coffee House, Haulfax, Yorkshire...

BARNLEY.—NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—There was a large attendance at the meeting of the Barnley Association, held on Monday evening, the 2nd inst., at the Commercial Coffee House, Barnley...

SHEFFIELD.—The Chartists had a meeting here, on Monday night, in the room in Porter-street, when the following resolutions were passed...

ROCHESTER.—The Council of the Birmingham Charter Association request the Committees of the various Associations in the district to forward to them, at their earliest convenience, an account of the progress of the cause...

OLDHAM.—Mr. Leech, the Chartist missionary lectured in the Chartist Association Room, Greaves-street, to a numerous audience, on Wednesday evening last, on the subject of the "whole Charter and nothing less"...

TURNOUT OF COLLIERS.—The colliers still refuse to resume their work, at the masters' prices. Throughout the neighbourhood of Oldham the inconvenience is already great, and must speedily become very serious...

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BLACKBURN.—A National Charter Association has been formed here; at present the meetings are held every Sunday night, at six o'clock, in a school room, Salter-street.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday evening, Mr. Smith, of Oldham, preached the most eloquent sermon in the Radical Association Room. A gentleman from Burnley also addressed the meeting, strongly urging the adoption of total abstinence...

MR. ANSEL HERWOOD exhibited a number of figures of the phantasmagoria, in the room, Tri-street, on Tuesday last. The charge of admission was a penny—the receipts to be devoted to the Victim Fund.

LECTURE BY MR. LEECH ON TRADES' UNIONS.—On Monday evening, a public meeting was convened in the Commercial Coffee House, for the purpose of hearing our talented friend, Mr. Leech, on this subject, which has caused great excitement among the Chartists, Trades' Unions, and the working men...

THE INCARCERATED VICTIMS.—The St. Marylebone Association of Victims, holding a public meeting at the Commercial Coffee House, on Thursday, Feb. 15th, for the benefit of the wives and families of the political victims. The concert, in which Messrs. Norton, and other vocalists will perform, is to be in two parts; the celebrated overture, "Tancredi" by Mr. Ambrose, and a comic melody dance by Mr. Norton...

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protection of the law—a protection they could never have had, had they been in the hands of the People's House of Commons, upon the principles contained in the People's Charter. Mr. Leech then sat down, amidst the most deafening cheers imaginable, having made an impression which can never be effaced from the minds of the many who heard that who'er might have anything to state, in opposition to what the lecturer had advanced, would come to the platform, when several gentlemen addressed the meeting, confirming the position of Mr. Leech...

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Chartist Intelligence.

PAISLEY.—Dr. McDonnell recently lectured here...

GLASGOW.—A numerous and spirited meeting was held here on the 22nd ult., consisting of the inhabitants of the Glasgow North West District...

NEWPORT.—Isaiah Wright. At a full meeting of the Working Men's Association, held on Tuesday evening, the 25th ult., the following resolution was adopted:—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the Chartist delegates from various places...

LOUGHBOROUGH.—A discussion was entered into at this place between Mr. Saxby, on the part of the Working Men's Association, and Mr. Skirving, on the part of the Chartist Association...

TILLCOUNTRY.—A notice was recently held here for the benefit of the wives and families of the imprisoned Chartists...

RENSINGTON.—CELEBRATION OF THOMAS PAINE'S NATAL DAY. The above event was celebrated by a supper on Friday last. The room was tastefully decorated with portraits of Paine, Frost, Collins, & McDonnell, Oastler, &c.

BERMINGTON.—On the evening of the 29th of January, the Democrats of this town assembled in their room, Mowbray-street, when upwards of forty persons of both sexes were present...

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STAFFORD.—A meeting of the friends of the Charter was held here on the 25th ult., when a National Charter Association was formed...

BRADFORD.—Daisy Hill.—The National Charter Association held their weekly meeting, at their usual place, the Old Cot, Mr. Thomas Mercer, in the chair...

BERMONDSEY.—The National Charter Association here met at Mr. Wootton's Temperance Coffee House, on Wednesday, the 27th ult., when the plan of organization laid down by the Executive of Manchester was listened to with attention...

LOUGHBOROUGH.—Tower Hamlets National Charter Association.—This body met on Sunday evening, the 27th ult., at the Brick Works, in Chesnut-street, Waterloo Town...

MIDDLETON.—A lecture was delivered here on Monday last week, by Mr. Leach, in room of Mr. Dainrow, who had been announced, but could not appear...

MR. HANNEY AND SCOTCH CHARTISM.—From a very lengthy communication forwarded to us by Mr. Hanney, we learn that he has visited the following places during the last fortnight, where meetings have been convened for the purpose of promoting the cause of Chartism...

BIRMINGHAM.—COUNCIL MEETING.—A special meeting of the Council of the Birmingham Charter Association, took place at Bill's Temperance Coffee House, Moore-street, on Tuesday evening last...

REMARKS.—We call upon you at this important crisis to come forth, and assist us in breaking the fetters which hold the industrious of all denominations in the miserable bondage of poverty and class legislation...

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It is for this reason I wish to address to you a few words, and put you on your guard against being led away by the cant of "good and cheap Government," which is echoed and re-echoed by Mr. Hume, and by good and representative Government, which can only be obtained by Universal Suffrage...

To illustrate the difference between the cant of "good and cheap Government" and the principle of "representative Government," I would just put it this way: If Mr. Hume, and the pseudo statesmen of his school, were to be offered, to-morrow, what they call "good and cheap Government," though at the expense of even narrowing the present conditions, they would, I am sure, take the offer under the self-same delusion that they know better what is good for you than you do yourselves...

Now, take the other side. Permit me, for a moment, to consider myself as your representative. I admit that I have my own ideas of good Government; but if it was proposed to me to carry out my views, without extending the franchise to the full principle of the Charter, I would say "No." I would say, "It is not to be my wish, or the wish of even thousands, that I should see the people of this country, and all of the millions, expressed by their representatives in Parliament assembled."

With respect to all those who now sit, or have sat in Parliament, with the sole and single exception of Robert Oastler, I have no objection to their carrying their own favourite projects in the primary object, the suffrage only secondary.

Even with respect to the different points of the Charter itself, you see with what different favour they are looked upon. Thus you will find that those which least concern your interests are dearest in the eyes of the middle-class leaders. The Ballot will find an advocate in Great—the Electoral Districts in Robert; but the suffrage—Universal Suffrage, never had a sincere friend in any of the M.P.'s or ex-M.P.'s, with the single exception (I repeat it again) of Feargus O'Connor.

Urging you, then, my friends, to keep united, to consolidate, and extend your organisation, I remain, Your sincere well-wisher, WILLIAM VILLIERS BARNEY.

THE CORDWAINERS AND TAILORS OF MANCHESTER, TO THEIR FELLOW ARTISANS AND OPERATIVES OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES.

FELLOW LABOURERS.—We call upon you at this important crisis to come forth, and assist us in breaking the fetters which hold the industrious of all denominations in the miserable bondage of poverty and class legislation...

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NEW ESTABLISHMENT. WILLIAM BYRNE & Co. BOOK AND PRINTSELLERS, STATIONERS, AND GENERAL NEWSPAPER AGENTS, No. 1, Cloth-Market, St. Nicholas Square, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Wm. BYRNE & Co. beg to inform the Public on Saturday, 31st February, 1841, with a general and well-assorted Stock of every Article in the Trade, of the best quality, at the Lowest Prices.

W. B. & Co. will supply all Subscribers to the Northern Star, with the Portraits, upon the same Terms as any other Agent of that excellent Journal.

NOTICE. A PUBLIC TEA MEETING and BALL, in aid of the Funds for the Relief of the Widows and Children of the Imprisoned Chartist Victims, will be held at the Social Institution, Hornsey's Buildings, opposite the Asylum, Westminster Road, on Monday, February 22nd, 1841.

OLD PARR'S PILLS. The following Letter from Mr. Noble, of Hull, is well worthy of perusal:— To the Proprietors of Parr's Infalible Life Pills.

Gentlemen.—Since I undertook the agency of this popular Medicine, I can with truth aver, that it has, in my own mind, inspired a very great confidence in the power of persons in this town and neighbourhood. Indeed, so numerous are the testimonials to the virtues of "PARR'S PILLS" in the cure of invertebrate disease, that many persons who had been quite hopeless of any relief, have obtained a permanent and perfect cure.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS PARR, who lived to be 152 years of age, (16 pages) may be had gratis of all agents.

44, ALBION STREET, LEEDS. IN CASES OF SECRECY consult the TREATISE ON every Stage and Symptom of the VENEREAL DISEASE, in its mild and most alarming forms, just published, by Messrs. PERRY and CO., Surgeons, No. 44, Albion-street, Leeds.

Perry's Purifying Specific Pills, price 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. per Box, containing a full description of the cure of the Venereal Disease, in its most alarming forms, and what is the best mode of preventing the different stages of this dreadful and often fatal disease, as well as the deplorable effects of Mercury, accompanied with plain and practical directions for an effectual and speedy cure, with ease, secrecy, and safety, without the aid of Medical assistance.

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POPULAR BLACK BOOK AND ALMANAC, FOR 1841. MR. RICHARDSON begs to state that the demand for his popular Black Book continues unabated, and has now reached higher in circulation than any other Almanac in the Kingdom...

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TESTIMONIALS OF BLINDNESS CURED. MR. BAXTER.—For the good of the Public, I beg to insert that I feel great pleasure in informing you that my eyes, which were afflicted with a violent inflammation, and swelled to a great size, is now quite perfect; and, at the same time, of returning you my grateful acknowledgments for your kind attention, and the high perfection to which you have brought my eyes, by the use of your medicine. Given in my own handwriting, this 21st day of December, 1840.

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Poetry.

O'CONNOR-CHARTIST SONG.

Oh! King the British seaman's praise... Ye care worn slaves of Britain's Isle...

Reviews.

THE PLEASURES AND ADVANTAGES OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY BRIEFLY ILLUSTRATED AND EXPLAINED.

No one of ordinary capacity will call in question the pleasures and advantages of literature and philosophy...

BENTLEY'S MISCELLANY.

"Merrie England in the Olden Time" exhibits an extensive and interesting collection of records and archives...

BLACKWOOD.

"Ten Thousand a Year" is a stirring and judiciously written article...

PARISIAN THIEVERY.

A few nights ago, about eleven o'clock, a great number of persons were attracted to the Pont du Carrousel...

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.—The Paris papers are still occupied with no topic but the fortification question...

PORTUGAL.—Lisbon, Jan. 25.—The "Senate" has at last mustered a sufficient number of Members to form a House...

SWEDEN.—The Constitutional Committee appointed by the Swedish Diet, made its report to the States in the early part of last month...

Local and General Intelligence.

HUDERSFIELD.—THE OASTLER FESTIVAL.—The Oastler Festival, which is held annually in this town...

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Local and General Intelligence.

A NEW PAVEMENT.—A patent has actually been taken out for paving the streets of London with India-rubber...

LONGEVITY.—A female pauper named Whiffen, aged on Friday, in the Workhouse of St. Luke's, Chelsea...

PHYSICAL FORCE.—It is currently reported that the Royal Marines—the first to be in the light, the last to be out of it—will be rendered still more efficient...

Local and General Intelligence.

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Local and General Intelligence.

BOY STREET, SATURDAY.—HENRY VINCENT.—John Minikin, the keeper of a coffee-house in Great Russell-street, Covent-garden, and Richard Cameron...

LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY.—The half-yearly meeting of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Company was held on Wednesday week at Liverpool...

REGULAR ECONOMY.—A letter has been addressed to the officers of the different courts of law, by J. R. McCulloch, Controller, stating that the Lords of the Treasury are desirous that the almanack...

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Foreign and Domestic.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

FRANCE.—The Paris papers of Sunday have reported on the amendments on the project of a law for fortifying Paris, and proposing to limit the works to detached forts, placed at 5,000 yards distance from the present wall, was rejected last Saturday, by 235 votes against 175. This is decisive of the law, which will no doubt pass, and M. Thiers and the King of the French will both have started their points of entering Paris within a circle of about twenty fortresses, connected by an entrenched wall.—Chronicle, Saturday.

NEW YORK.—The favourable winds have passed and gone without bringing any Colonial papers. It is the first time within our remembrance that a week has elapsed without a single paper being received. At second-hand we have a scrap of intelligence from Newfoundland; and one of the packets has brought some news from New York. The latter, though scanty, is not unimportant. A panic had been caused by the publication of a return which exhibited the affairs of the United States Bank in a worse light than ever; but the accounts which have reached this country are from a quarter hostile to the Bank.—Colonial Gazette.

The New York Herald of the 6th of January contains an account of the wreck of the fine packet-ship Garrick. She sailed from Liverpool for New York in December, with a valuable cargo of manufactured goods. On the night of the 6th, or the morning of the 7th January, she got aground about twenty-five miles south of the Cape of Good Hope, and was blown about as low as she got into that unfortunate situation had not been ascertained. When first seen, she lay about a quarter of a mile from the shore; the sea was making a breach over her midships; and the crew and passengers were seen to be struggling on the deck. The vessel was so low that she was thought to be on the point of striking the land, and was deemed extremely probable, from the fact that two or three hours after the first vessel had passed the wreck, a second also passed, when the crew and passengers were seen to be struggling on the deck. The vessel was so low that she was thought to be on the point of striking the land, and was deemed extremely probable, from the fact that two or three hours after the first vessel had passed the wreck, a second also passed, when the crew and passengers were seen to be struggling on the deck. The vessel was so low that she was thought to be on the point of striking the land, and was deemed extremely probable, from the fact that two or three hours after the first vessel had passed the wreck, a second also passed, when the crew and passengers were seen to be struggling on the deck.

Colonial and Provincial.

CANADA.—The detention of Mr. M'Leod, a Canadian, on the charge of having aided in the destruction of the Caroline, had given rise to various reports; it was said that the British Government had demanded his release, and had been "positively" refused by the American Government. No weight, however, can be attached to these reports, until they are confirmed on more explicit authority.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Governor's speech, on opening the Legislature of Newfoundland, represents that island as torn by electioneering dissensions. It is to be regretted that accounts from Newfoundland are frequently so imperfect, or so strongly tinged with party feeling, that the real merits of the case are difficult to be distinguished. The Governor intimates, that if the colonists persist in their violence, they will prove themselves to be still unprepared for the self-government which has been promised and submitted to them. But we have as yet only the accusation, without the defence which the colonists may have made to the Governor's aspersions.

A SUBSCRIPTION has been commenced for the purpose of relieving the poor of Stafford, many of whom are in distressed circumstances, owing to a scarcity of work. The subscription on Friday amounted to about £125.

RICHARD GOSNOL, Esq., M.P., has remitted the sum of 100 guineas to William Boycott, Esq., solicitor, of Kidderminster, for the relief of the poor of that borough during the present inclement season.

THE QUEEN DOWAGER has forwarded, through Lord Howe, £25 towards the fund for rebuilding the parish church of Boylston, Derbyshire.

THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY of the Stourbridge Literary and Scientific Institution was celebrated on Wednesday evening, by a public dinner at the Vine Inn; J. H. Foley, Esq., president of the institution, in the chair. The report of the progress and state of the institution, and the whole of the proceedings on the occasion, were read by the President. The President has given a donation of £20 to the funds, in addition to his usual annual subscription.

THE SOUTH SHESHPIRE YEOMANRY CAVALRY are expected to meet in Shrewsbury on the 4th of May next, and will be trained and exercised on the new race course.

THE DUKE of Sutherland and the Hon. Colonel Anson were, on Tuesday evening, elected Fellows of the Royal Botanical Society of London.

Miscellaneous.

TURN-OUT.—The colliers of Alkington and Tongue have turned out for more wages, their masters having reduced their wages. The colliers of Alkington are said that the colliers of Oldham, Ashton, Slatybridge, and Hyde have also left off work, and are for standing true one to another, until their wages are raised. The mechanics of Manchester have promised them their assistance, and their demands are expected to come forward and support them.

IMPARTIAL BENEVOLENCE.—Much distress prevailing among the poor in the neighbourhood of Burslem, a public subscription was recently set on foot in a village near that town, for the relief of the distressed, and the apportionment entrusted to the priest, a curate, who rejected the name of Elias. A correspondence was then set on foot, the application of one poor man for his due portion of this miserable substitute for more just arrangements of society, a book was referred to, in which the word "Wesleyan" was found written opposite to the applicant's name; whereon the man exclaimed, "I cannot do anything for you, I must consider my own flock, I cannot be a father to two flocks; open the door, and let him in!"

EXTENSIVE ROBBERY OF BANK OF ENGLAND NOTES.—On Tuesday, information was received by the police of the commission of a most daring robbery of notes and securities, to the value of £1,500 and £1,600. The robbery, it appears, occurred on the evening of Saturday last, about seven o'clock, when, as a gentleman, whose name has not transpired, was proceeding along Gill-street, in the town near the Pool-house Slip, about two men, of whom he is unable to give a description, who knocked him down, and while on the ground, robbed him of an old red pocket-book, containing Bank of England notes of the value of £750; with securities to the value of about £200, and with which they got clear off before he could raise an outcry or procure assistance. A reward of £100 has been offered for the apprehension and conviction of the thieves, and recovery of the property.

STRANGE SCENE.—On Sunday evening, five women converts to the ridiculous doctrine of the new sect, called Latter-day Saints, suffered themselves to be baptised, in a pool of water, near the well Hall, Oldham; their persons were entirely immersed, in the presence of a preacher of the sect and a few individuals.

MEMORANDA.—We understand the latter-day Saints' opinion is likely to answer well in this town, as far as the making of proselytes goes. A number of weak-minded females were "dipped" in the tide, according to the doctrine of the officiating Saint, on Thursday last, near the Pool-house Slip, about the time of high-water; and in the evening of the same day, we believe, some of the rougher sex were soured all over head and ears in the same element. The immersion of heads is to follow; and each day, after saying their prayers, they lay claim to inspiration. Mormon prophets are becoming as numerous in Douglas as the prophets of Baal were in the days of Elijah; and the former are as great impostors as the latter were;—besides, the Mormon sect are greater knaves.

THE DEATH OF A FAMILIAR.—The death of a familiar of the families paying the forfeit of their lives, for being guilty of such presumptuous folly as plunging into cold water at the present inclement season.—The *Stene Liberator*.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY.—GREAT CATHOLIC MEETING. A meeting, a great meeting was held in the spacious theatre of the Mechanic's Institution, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, in favour of the above principle of union; and the various sectional societies attended, and the building was crammed to overflowing. A large number of the influential members of the Catholic body. The speakers were the Reverend, J. Heame, J. M. P. Rayner, W. Waddell, C. Corran, W. Buckley, J. Callaghan, and J. F. O'Leary, (the Duke of Norfolk's steward). Resolutions were passed approving of total abstinence, and from the known influence of the parties in attendance, much good may be anticipated to result among the Irish part of the population of the metropolis.

FOURTH CLASS, NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—At the weekly meeting of this class, on Sunday last, at Mr. Hill's Coffee-rooms, Hornet-street, Marylebone, a vote of censure was passed unanimously, "in a forcible and unqualified manner," against the conduct of Mr. O'Connell, and the meeting pledged themselves to use their best efforts to carry out the glorious work of political redemption in his absence.

CO-OPERATION.—On Monday evening, Mr. Cameron delivered his promised lecture, at the rooms of the Finbury Working Men's Association, No. 9, Little White Lion-street, Long Acre, Mr. Davis in the chair. The lecturer showed, that, if labour were properly rewarded, the proceeds to be devoted to the benefit of the poor practical houses of legislators in Europe; and that, whatever evils exist in America, may be all traced to the competitive system; as, notwithstanding the federal constitution, the rights of labour, as compared with those of the capitalist, are not appreciated, and he showed the benefit to be derived from a system of co-operation. In Clerkenwell they have been trying the plan on a small scale, which has answered beyond expectation; they have dealt in beef, mutton, pork, bacon, butter, &c. &c. the system is being now planned in the West of England, and it will doubtless have, as it has already had, the effect of bringing some of the apathy to their senses. At the conclusion of the lecture, a committee was appointed for the purpose of furthering the plan laid down; a vote of thanks was then passed to the lecturer for his address, which being duly acknowledged, the meeting adjourned till Monday next, at the same hour and place.

CITY OF LONDON NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

SOCIAL MEETING FOR THE BENEFIT OF MESSRS. CARRIERS AND FEDDIE.

On Monday evening, a social entertainment took place at the Dispatch Coffee-house, Britto Lane, Fleet Street, the proceeds to be devoted to the benefit of the wives and families of the above-named victims. The room was neatly decorated with evergreens and banners, as also with portraits of Frost, O'Connell, Oastler, Collins, &c. &c. At eight o'clock, about fifty persons assembled in a grand hall, and on the conclusion of the feast, the following grace was said by Mr. Parker, the Chairman:—"Grant, O Lord, that the sons and daughters of toil may be speedily put in possession of their rights, in order that they may fully partake of the fruits of the earth; and on the removal of the cloth, and prior to the proposal of the first toast, Mr. C. Keen sang the *Marseillaise* Hymn with much taste, and was loudly applauded. The Chairman then rose to propose the first toast—"The Charter and the rights of all legitimate trades." They had met on this occasion as the advocates of universal right—the advocates of the fatherless, the poor, and the oppressed—and though giving up an hour or two to harmony, they would keep in view, that there were several hundred of their brethren now pining in the dungeons of the State, and that the bread of bitterness in exile (Hear.) Were the people in possession of their political rights—the Charter carried, there would be found intelligent men among the industrial classes of the country to operate on all the other classes, for the advancement of their social position, and the establishment of the true prosperity of the country. (Loud cheers.) He concluded by calling on them to respond to the toast, which was received with all the honours.

Citizen George, in an animated address, proposed the next toast:—"Frost, Williams, and Jones; and the speedy return of all political exiles and prisoners to the bosoms of their families." With characteristic energy, then (Loud cheering.) No cheering, my friends, said Mr. George; we must bury our feelings in our own breasts for the present. This toast must be drunk in solemn silence, to testify our respect to the objects of it; and we'll have the cheers when they are amongst us. The toast was accordingly received with an audible silence, the company upstanding. Song, by Mr. Tipper, "The Exile of Erin." The Chairman called for a bumper to the next toast, which was, "The Northern Star, and the rights of the Charter." The toast was continued cheering. The Chairman then said that the Northern Star was near to their hearts; and that though its noble originator, was as a caged lion at York, he was here spiritually present among them to-night. (Applause.) In an appropriate and persuasive address, the Chairman dilated on the various topics comprehended in the scope of the toast he proposed, and the company simultaneously rose to respond to it, by three times three.

The Correspondent of the Northern Star, briefly acknowledged the mark of respect to the proprietor and conductor of that paper, and expressed much pleasure in observing the lively and heart-stirring enthusiasm with which the name of Mr. O'Connell was hailed, by those for whom he had dared and endured the loss of liberty, fortune, and ease. It was the knowledge of his living in their memories that would cheer him in the dungeons of York Castle, and invigorate him to a fresh display of his powers, when the period of his imprisonment shall have expired. Cheers by Mr. Hodgins. With characteristic flags in his hand, the Chairman proposed, "This song was very much applauded, as being in anticipation of Mr. O'Connell's liberation in November next, and taken from Mr. Hick's book." The toast was proposed, "The Charter, and may it soon become the law of the land." Drunk with considerable cheer. A liberal collection was made for the victims and their families; the chairman formally resigned the chair, but was unanimously re-elected, for the purpose of "bearing the burden and heat of the day," and with strict good order, till "the iron tongue of midnight had tolled twelve."

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1841.

THE QUESTION OF DISSENT.

As often as we find ourselves called upon to open out a great question to the public view, so often do we feel the inadequacy of our space, and the unfrequency of our visits. If the question of the Suffrage, the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the Corn Laws, which are but units of the great whole, have been so complicated as to make us devote much space to their development, how much more as a loss must we be, in thus undertaking, in a weekly paper, a dissection of that question, which may (under the denomination "Church") be said to combine the whole material of political warfare!

We read our article "Dissent," because that is the name of the new hobby-horse; but our object is to consider the question of "the Church" at large, not a Protestant Church, but any Church which is the landlord of the State.

The Protestant Church is an accidental Church; for, had the Romish Church allowed HENRY the Eighth, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to commit lawfulness, incest, and adultery, without censure, the Reformation might have waited upon a less lucky accident.

The Protestant Church, as by law established, may be fairly dated from 1688, when the church became the feudal lord, and the state the vassal. They had, of course, their respective rights, but then the exercise of state rights depended much more upon clerical pleasure, than did the exercise of Church rights upon States' will, or any secular role. The Church was the active, the State the passive, organ of the whole.

"The Church,"—that is, let it always be understood, a Church as by law established, and by force maintained—means nothing more nor less than a strong political fetter, by which the party of that Church bind all; not only of their own creed, but of the nation.

"The Church" is ignorantly supposed to mean the congregation of those professing its tenets; but it is, in fact, not such simple or isolated thing. The Church must have its army, its navy, its landed influence, its ascendant secular power, in all cases, or it ceases to be "the Church." It is satisfied to derive its influence from the state, provided that influence extends to a legalized monopoly of all patronage, whether lay or clerical.

From the "Reformation" to the "glorious revolution" of 1688, the Church was struggling for an entirety of dominion, as well secular as ecclesiastical; and from 1688 till 1831 she held a complete ascendancy over the destinies of Europe. The Dissenters, as they were called—that is, those who found it impossible to hold political power without a spice of religious fanaticism—the dissenters—made many onslaughts upon the monopolising Church; but never did any party venture upon a purely political contest. Thus matters went on; the scenes now and then varied by the shedding of much human blood, and by cruelties and barbarisms the most revolting; until at length, the enormities of the Church, and especially of the Irish Church, so shook the whole framework of society, as to call for the reform of 1832.

RUSSELL, it appears, had enough of the Churchman about him to strengthen different portions of the outworks, yet he convinced the people that the abuses of the Church would be corrected along with all other abuses, but not those Church abuses which appertain to lay, or secular sections; and hence the trap into which the Noble Lord has fallen. He falsely imagined that he could let the Dissent flourish, and set its forces in full cry upon State Church abuses, while he acted the part of whipper-in, and drove the hounds from the scent of his own family possessions, as whippers drive them from their game than that in chase. He thought that "wars Woburn," and "go hark to Church rates," would intimidate the pack. But he began to learn, as early as the first session of the Reformed Parliament, that there was no means of considering the pence without lugging in some thought of the pounds; and then RUSSELL turns his back upon the Dissenters and says, the Reform Bill was intended as a Landlord's Bill; and every one knowing that the Landlord's Church is the Protestant Church, the new-light expectancies took fire, and, for several years, dissenters' wrath has been bottled, till now it is up, and must get vent, or burst.

Religionists never yet were satisfied, nor ever will be with equality. The most oppressed commence with begging for toleration, go on struggling for equality, and, at length, when they get strong enough, are ready to fight for ascendancy. From the declaration of RUSSELL, we may date the decline and fall of Whig power. The large newly-enfranchised towns, presented yearly, daily, the increasing signs of dissent, by the stupendous places of worship built for the accommodation of increasing proselytes; while, to supply the places of the absent, were in demand, to keep old Mother Church warm, in the latter end of her days. The old sentinels slept on their posts, and were seldom visited by the officer of the guard, while the new army of martyrs were ever on the alert, among their flocks, always at hand, and ever ready for attack or defence, and which well sustained by that all-powerful auxiliary called novelty. They opened new roads to spiritual comfort, and said to the travellers, "Behold what we have done is it not sinful that you should be journeying on this new, luxurious, cheap and pleasant thoroughfare, and yet compelled to pay toll upon, and keep in repair, those old, desolate, and unhealthy byways, which you use not?"

But when the new Reform, which was to represent these large towns in Parliament, had sufficiently taken political root, then would the dissent tree throw its fruits and foliage over all that great and mighty space which has been rendered sterile by the blighting influence of Mother Church. Then would she look for her army, her navy, her land, her patronage, and, in fact, for the fruits of her political ascendancy. Having blocked up the old road, and driven the opposition coach off, she would then say, "O, but we can't keep this road in repair 'without tolls,' and tolls as heavy as the old company ever charged would be put on."

Does any working man in England suppose that those who now so valiantly fight for the religious freedom of dissenters, would as valiantly (had they once the power) confer that freedom? No; the facility with which men reconcile these things is wonderful. Those who have been longest slaves are ever the greatest tyrants, when they achieve their freedom; and abuses, which they kicked against when subject to them, are easily reconciled when they come to administer them to others.

Let us first test the value of the present feat made by the old praise-God-bare-bones faction in favour of dissenters. Does any man suppose, for a moment, that Messrs. HUME, O'CONNELL, EASTHOPE, W. ELLIS, and others, care two-pence if BAINESS and THOROUGHGOOD were made into a Christmas pie, if such cooking of them would serve the political purposes of Whiggery better than dressing in a new and more approved style for the palate of faction? Is it their love of justice? If so, why not devote their overboiling patriotism to a redress of the more extensive abuses complained of by the Chartists, who are in truth suffering for conscience sake? Is there not a more noble spirit manifested by the poor working man, who, in defiance of all opposition to tyranny, refuses, without a struggle, to pay unjust taxes upon every mouthful he eats, and who, even after all, cannot get justice, than can be discovered in the refusal of a person to pay 5s. 6d. church-rates, well knowing that his will be well back in his obnoxious, and that his martyrdom will be converted into subsequent ease and influence?

In the war of the Chartists there is all honour and consistency, while in the case of JOHN THOROUGHGOOD we discover this striking inconsistency: he denied the authority and jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court, while he appealed to the jurisdiction of that very Court.

Again, if the object just now was not to give a freshness to fading Whig power, why were so many poor Irish Chartists allowed to pine in goal for sums varying from 4d. to two or three shillings, and increased to scores of pounds by costs? These poor fellows were, in truth, martyrs to the political and religious aggrandisement of others, and yet we heard but little about their sufferings, lest over-heated agitation, upon so tender a point, should not be as easily checked as roused, without producing some fruits, (which is not the intention of the jugglers,) for the use of the Dissenters.

We must never lose sight of the startling fact, that, as the period of the Reformation, out of nearly ten thousand ecclesiastics, not more than fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifty canons, and about eighty of the inferior clergy, held to the faith, and refused to barter the spirit for the flesh. And, in those days, the consciences of the churchmen were neither so fashionable nor so politically-pliant as they are now.

There is a great difference between men struggling for power, and men using that power. When the Whigs were in the former situation, they were looked upon as guardian angels, while in the latter, they have been the blackest devils.

It is, then, because we are not for another transfer from the gorged leech (who should get his sop of compensation to quit his grasp more gently) to the devils to meet—that we say to the Chartists—to those who look for the universality of civil liberty, in order to ensure the universality of religious freedom, stir not in the new crusade. It is humbug. The eighth humbug within a very short period.

Better keep the ill we have, Than fly to those we know not of.

We have met and conquered the H-o-u-s-e-h-old Suffrage mongers, the legality-mongers, the education-mongers, the emigration-mongers, the Corn Law-mongers, the white slave-mongers, and all the mongers; and now we meet the monster under his new and more seductive mask of a church-abuse-monger, come to try the last prank upon the political stage.

If the old hacks of Whiggery could have succeeded with any of their former professions, this new effort would have been wanting; and, if they could have sufficiently relied upon passive obedience and non-resistance, none of these shows of liberality would have been made. Let the Chartists, then, bear in mind that the Government, and the

Government hacks, are not agreed upon any one question, but that the one party is base enough to hold office upon the support of those who absolutely denounce them upon the public stage, as the best, and indeed the only way to court popular favour and preserve patronage for themselves. There never was such a union of LAMBS and tigers as that which our rulers and their bottle-holders present. If they proposed agreement upon any one question, it would inevitably prove their ruin; they could not stand a moment!

Our Ministers are a set of jaded old beasts, with the husings' old hacks, as drivers, promise (to the passengers) that they will make step out, if we only help them to find out the rascal.

Let us instance the terms, and show the features of this unnatural union. The Ministers refuse even to repeal the rate-paying clauses in the Reform Bill; while the hacks declare for H-o-u-s-e-h-old Suffrage, the Universality of the Suffrage, or any Suffrage. The Ministers consider a seven years' tenure of a fertile and productive Parliament too short; while the hacks are for triennial, biennial, or any other duration that will do to fish with.

The Ministers won't hear of even doubtful qualification for members; the hacks are for abolishing of qualifications.

The Ministers won't hear of the Ballot; the hacks are, above all, for "the honest Ballot."

The Ministers won't disfranchise three corrupt and rotten colleges, and give their representation to large districts; while the hacks are for equalizing electoral districts.

So much for coincidence of opinion upon the five points, and now for minor differences.

The Ministers won't hear of even a fixed duty upon corn, while the hacks are for a total repeal of the corn duty.

The Ministers won't relieve the Dissenters from payment of Church rates, while the hacks are for a total abolition of tithes, separation of Church and State, and God only knows what else.

The Ministers are determined to oppose a Repeal of the Union; to the death; while the great rough-riider of the hacks makes it a hustings sine qua non.

The Ministers declare war, while the hacks bellow "peace."

The Ministers cry, "give, oh, give," while the hacks bawl out for retrenchment.

The Ministers augment the army, while the hacks complain of a standing army.

The Ministers imprison Chartists for conscience sake; while the hacks cry "shame! give to all liberty of speech." In fact, upon no other question except "scratch me and I'll scratch you," are the hacks and their Ministry agreed; and yet these liberty-selling, juggling, humbugging rascals go about, denouncing the Ministers in the morning, and drinking their health and lauding them to the skies in the evening, as the only administration ever inclined to do justice.

We sincerely believe that some of the Ministers had an inclination to do justice, but that their good intentions have been frustrated by the vampires who live upon abuse and fatten on the State's misfortune. Don't our Ministers and their hacks, then, agree like Darby and Joan like fire and water? I like as and dog?

Perfect civil equality alone can insure perfect religious freedom. Let the Chartists, then, stick to the means, while the hacks and their Ministers ride on to the end.

It is because we are for the abolition of Church abuses, and all other abuses, that we look for the Charter as the only means of their correction. No more humbug.

WHO CAN TOUCH PITCH WITHOUT BEING DEFILED!

We find that COLLINS complains of being misrepresented in *Mother Goose*, and writes the following letter in explanation of what he did say:—

To the Editor of the Leeds Times.

SIR,—I have observed with some regret that an error has been made by your reporter, or some other person connected with your paper, and inserted in your supplement of Saturday last, in which I am reported to have said, "Let the middle classes promote any measure of popular benefit, and it should receive the support of the Chartists."

I entertain no such idea, nor did I utter such a sentence. Had I done so, the Chartists would have immediately disclaimed such a sentiment. You will recollect that I concluded my remarks by observing, that "no union would be effected without such a definition of the term Household Suffrage, as should include every man of mature age, and sound mind, etc., who had a residence in a house, or any part of a house; and further, that unless upon such terms, a union ought not, and if I could prevent it, should not take place."

By correcting this error, as soon as possible, you would oblige.

SIR, yours, &c.

JOHN COLLINS.

Birmingham, January 25, 1841.

As to this letter, we can only assure our good friend COLLINS that no definition which he or the most ingenious architect in Europe can give of the term H-o-u-s-e-h-old Suffrage, will ever take ten supporters from the ranks of the "mental qualification" Chartists.

We have as great an objection to hut, shed, or tent qualification, as we have to caste qualification, and upon the whole, as regards the social comfort and very abject of the poor, apart from its political significance, a greater objection.

Again, we ask those who have been all their lives struggling for more toleration, if they imagine that the old enemy, the long-possessed faction, who so well know the value of the Suffrage, will put a Parliamentary hat upon an equality with a lordly mansion? No, no.

Again, we say, so long as one man's property constitutes another man's title to vote, so long will the owner of that property have rent and vote, or it will remain untenanted; being, even in that condition, more profitable than if occupied by a man who used it to protect the one thing of which the capitalist makes his all—labour.

Does the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders not furnish precedent sufficiently strong for must we turn to the present debate, now pending upon STANLEY'S Bill, which has for its object a further disfranchisement of even those who hold a "beneficial interest"? And yet, a few hacks would persuade the people that a House of Commons which can carry such a sweeping measure of disfranchisement, can, with their assistance, be forced to put a hat upon a political equality with the most splendid mansion!

We beg leave to assure all our mason and carpenter friends, that if such a measure were to pass, leaving the landlords the "right to do what they please with their own," there would be an end to their trades for many years to come; as the poor would be all huddled into stables, in which, like travellers' horses, they could only claim a baiting residence.

COLLINS, we are sure, will, upon consideration, retract his hasty concurrence in a definition of Household Suffrage, which is precisely, *totidem verbis*, the very definition of Mr. STANFIELD, with this single exception, that Mr. STANFIELD requires no proof of residence; and this is the very principle which Mr. COLLINS was deputed, by the Chartists of Birmingham, to resist.

document, entitled "The People's Charter." Is it not "passing strange" that the very marplot-of-intellecting progression gentlemen should be the very staff selected to struggle their own bantling, when they began to develop a mind of its own? Is it not marvellous that these very heroes, who complain of the stand-still policy of the head of their party, should attempt such a retrograde movement themselves in the age of quick-step policy!

COLONEL THOMPSON AND OURSELVES.

WE GIVE the following extract from a letter of Colonel Thompson's, purporting to be a comment upon a portion of one of our leaders, in which we questioned the prudence of some of his observations in a former epistle. The Colonel says:—

"There is no doubt of these being everywhere the danger of being cheated. But everybody is not always cheated; careful and intelligent men sometimes avoid it. And even if cheated, the Chartists would be no worse than before. What they are determined to do without the middle classes now, and in some sort to do without them, they would only have to do without them afterwards, and with all the gain which would arise from the compunction of the honest portions of them. Supporting the cheat to be ever so boldly attempted, there can be no doubt that a portion of some kind or other would be inclined to stick to the compact; and by all these Chartists would be the better. It seems impossible to defend the policy of refusing to try, when all that can be said is, if the worst comes to the worst, we shall only be where we are at present."

In this paragraph the Gallant Colonel, so fond of old sayings, apophthegms, and maxims, sets all, even "POOR RICHARD," to one side. He appears to forget, when he speaks of only the "danger of being cheated," that past experience leads to a fair presumption of the CERTAINTY; and a burnt child dreads the fire." But this is not the portion of the paragraph with which we quarrel. What we object to is the provision against the "worst coming to the worst." Now, as the Colonel is a military man, and fond of military phrase, let us suppose the position of two armies, and the Colonel to be the historian. We give the following extract from his account of the middle class and Chartist campaign:—

"Although the force of the middle class was far inferior to that of the Chartists in point of humbug, this disadvantage was more than counterbalanced by recent success; while the Chartists, broken down by defeat, and weakened by disunion, became panic-stricken and fell an easy prey to their less numerous, but better disciplined and more united assailants. The effect of the victory is prodigious, and has so scattered and disheartened the Chartist army as to render it next to impossible to inspire them with any confidence in their own officers, to whose want of prudence they ascribe their defeat."

Now, we shall say not another word upon the subject, further than to observe, that if the most wily politician was paid for recommending the most effectual means of completely annihilating Chartism and disbarring the Chartist army, he could not, have hit upon any means more certain than that of recommending a union, the fruits of which were to be the "worst coming to the worst," by the Chartists being again—as they have always been before—"CHEATED." Let us ask the Colonel who, after that, would again undertake to restore them to the confident and commanding position they now occupy!

We are happy to perceive that we speak not our own sentiments alone on this matter. The letter of the people's friend, O'CONNOR, given elsewhere, and numerous resolutions of the people, recorded amongst our Chartist Intelligence of the week, cheer and invigorate us with the knowledge that the people are awake, and that their eyes need no rubbing.

THE TRIUMPH.

The enemy is vastly mistaken if he imagines that we intended such a dish—"a dish fit for the Gods"—to serve for one repeat. No, no; it was too sweet; and, as "the nearer the hone the sweeter the meat," we mean to pick it to the very bone.

Last week, in a summary of facts, fill then unknown to the public, we exposed the trick and chicanery practised by FOX STANFIELD and his party; but since then, we have arrived at the knowledge of more facts, which we now proceed to lay before our readers, from the columns of *Mother Goose* herself.

The following confab took place upon the Saturday after the battle, as it appears, at a "senatus consultum" of such fragments of the routed forces as could be got together. We give the thing as we find it. It is headed, "The Rotunda Meeting," and runs on thus:—

"A meeting of leading reformers, friends, and members of the Leeds Reform Association, took place yesterday week, at two o'clock, in the Rotunda of the Cloth Hall, for the purpose of devising the best means of carrying on the movement for further reform."

"Mr. Hume was called upon by the Chairman to state his opinions on what he considered to be the best means of producing a union of the middle and working classes, and carrying on the diffusion of knowledge upon political subjects. The public mind should be saturated with facts bearing on the present gross defects in the representation of the people."

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Varities.

JOHN BRILL'S idea of his Queen's partiality to foreigners... A DAILY contemporary says, "the appearance of Prince Albert, dressed as he was in a field-marshal's uniform, with the collar and star of the most noble order of the garter, was most imposing."

Spirit of the Press.

FURTHER REFORM: MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION AT LEEDS. "We look upon Universal Suffrage as a right which cannot be withheld from man; and we consider the question with regard to it as rapidly running itself to the consideration of these two points—how? and when?"

Whether the publication was a libel upon the Christian religion, although the libel had no reference whatever to that matter... THE CHAIRMAN commenced the proceedings by observing that the inhabitants were called upon to express their opinion on the proposed law.

A number of hands were again held up; Stott then said, "I am in favour of the law, and I am glad to see that the majority are in favour of it."... THE CHAIRMAN said, "I am in favour of the law, and I am glad to see that the majority are in favour of it."

THE LAW! THE LAW!—In the Court of Queen's Bench last week, Henry Mann, for a year of his life, obtained a mandamus to compel the Commissioners of the Navy to pay him the sum of £500... THE CHAIRMAN said, "I am in favour of the law, and I am glad to see that the majority are in favour of it."

Now, Sir, the charged Doctor is aware of all that he has raked his poor brain to devise... THE CHAIRMAN said, "I am in favour of the law, and I am glad to see that the majority are in favour of it."

Table with financial data: Balance Sheet, Receipts, Disbursements, and other accounts for the year ending 1841.



