







Imperial Parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—Monday, February 17.

The Earl of Eirell stated that her Majesty would receive the address on the marriage, voted on Friday, at Buckingham Palace, at two o'clock this day.

Lord Ellenborough (after having observed that he thought there ought to be afforded the fullest information regarding the regulations for the engagement of labourers from the East Indies to the troops of the war in the east, and expressed the opinion that thanks ought to be voted to the army for the victory at Kelat).

Lord Melbourne intimated that he also was of that opinion.

The Marquis of Londonderry said that he should offer his motion relating to the treaty of Bergara for a week, in consequence of the absence through illness of the Duke of Wellington. The Noble Marquis expressed a hope that his grace's health would be by that time restored.

The Bishop of Exeter asked Lord Melbourne whether in July last he received a letter from the Rev. and Dr. E. W. Patten, of Exeter, stating that he had been arrested in consequence of his having written a pamphlet in which he had attacked the Right Reverend Prelate with serious considerations. He should like to know from the Noble Viscount whether he had received the letter.

Lord Melbourne.—I did receive the letter.

The Bishop of Exeter.—Did the Noble Viscount consider that any steps were or were not necessary to be taken?

Viscount Melbourne rejoined. Now you see this will lead to an argument on the whole subject, into which I am very unwilling to enter; but certainly, in my opinion, it was not necessary to answer it.

Very much question the prudence of the course which this House has adopted with respect to that question.

The Earl of Aberdeen observed that the Marquis of Londonderry had refused to sign a motion for sending information, instead of favouring others with it.

Lord Melbourne declared that he was much obliged to the gentleman for his communication, but he had not intended it to be a motion for sending information, but a motion for the noble Viscount to take the subject into his serious consideration. He should like to know from the Noble Viscount whether he had received the letter.

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As he might be affected by the motions now proposed in relation to Messrs. Haasard.

Mr. Fox made a motion for, and after some conversation, obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the Constabulary Act of last session.

Mr. Leader deferred his motion regarding Frost, &c. for an address for free pardon till Thursday, hoping that, in the meantime, the prisoners would not be sent out of the country.

The thanks of the house were added to the perceptive vote, so as to include General Willshire, &c. for the victory of Kelat.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY, 22, 1840.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR PROSPECTS.

WHOEVER, having but the feelings of a man, looks abroad upon society, as we now have it, must sicken at the eye of observation turns from side to side.

The extremes of wealth and wretchedness strike to the heart; a gloomy feeling which blanches for humanity—which gazes on the present as it links upon the past, and sighs for the improvement of the age.

Improvement which, from a state of wholesome approximation to equality, has caused the millions to give forth their life's blood, gradually, in the fields and factories, for the advantage of a sordid few, who neither know mercy nor practise justice.

Our towns are piles of vice and poverty—mere accumulations of oppressive taxation and unrequited labour—the barns of tyranny; in which

Wealth accumulates and men decay—the charnel-houses in which living shadows of men, women, and children are, by whole generations, steamed into eternity, that the worshipper of wealth may point the foreigner to the huge piles of buildings in which the process goes on; and to the mansions, parks, and luxuries into which the sweat and blood of millions have been changed, as evidence of British greatness.

Pride and heartlessness fill the mansions of the bull-dog merchants; corresponding pride, and yet greater heartlessness, enshrouds themselves within the cramped houses and behind the compiers of their spawn and progeny, the mid-way, middle-class men; while want, and wickedness, and crime, the consequence of destitution and neglect, pervade the dwellings of the humble; crowd the poor man's hearth, and prowl about the streets to carry terror to the consciences of those by whom they have been driven to despair.

"God made the country; man the town." Never was sentiment more true than this of the poet. Man has made the towns, and the towns have nearly unmade him. They have left us for our contemplation but a monstrous form of mischief, growing hourly still more mis-shapen. And if this be true of towns, the country is just coming to a like condition.

The labourer who cultivates the soil is frequently less cared for, and less comfortable than the horse who shares his toil. The horse, when his day's work is over, has his stable, his corn, his hay, and his bed of clean straw; for it is his owner's interest to provide him well; that his capability for labour may not be diminished; there is no Poor Law for him; but the care-worn labourer, in whose toil alone the master has a beneficial interest, to the exclusion of his person, throws his weary limbs, with his hunger half unsatisfied, upon a bed of rags or a chaff pallet, and his children nestle round him as sleepless as himself for want of food.

And with this state of things it is likely that property can be safe, or that the people can be contented? How then is this state of things to be remedied? We answer, it never will or can be remedied until the laws which govern all shall be made by all, so that each may have his fair voice in the enacting of those measures by which his labour shall be exacted and appropriated. It never can or will be remedied until the great principles embodied in the People's Charter shall have been universally acknowledged and acted on. We would fain believe, in the excess of our charity, that those principles are not well apprehended by the "Liberals" who oppose them, while professing to be friends of justice. We have never seen them more clearly and so briefly expressed—plain language, than in a little pamphlet, lately published, under the title of

"What can the Charitists do? What have they done? What ought they to do?" In pity, therefore, to the obtuseness of intellect of the middle class "liberal" enemies of justice, we extract those plain words, that they may no longer have the plea of ignorance for their misrepresentations—

"The Charter is based upon the principle that 'Taxation without Representation is tyranny.' 1. Every man is taxed, and every man should therefore have a vote. Hence the necessity for Universal Suffrage.

2. In electing a representative a man is entitled to exercise his right of voting without fear of danger, penalty, or annoyance. Hence the necessity for secret ballot for the ballot.

3. If a representative does not do his duty, he ought to be quickly discharged from his trust. Hence the necessity for Annual Parliaments, at which good members would be re-elected with thanks, and bad ones kicked out with reproach.

4. A man having a right to elect a representative ought to elect whom he pleases. This he cannot do if a law says, you shall not elect any but a man with so much money. Hence the necessity for the abolition of all Property Qualification.

5. Men having a right to vote, have a right to exercise that vote with as little trouble to themselves as possible, and with full freedom from the influence of others. Hence the necessity of having Equal Voting Districts.

6. No man has a right to expect that any man will do anything for anybody for nothing. Men who do work for others, ought to be paid for it, and those who do not work for others, ought not to be paid. Hence the necessity for Payment of Members. Moreover, besides being just, it is politic, because the payer has the greater control over the paid. Unpaid legislators, and unpaid magistrates, have been cursed upon this head.

Neither Russell nor Lyndhurst, nor Stanley, nor Suggden, nor Muntz, nor any of them can deny, that if there is a principle in our Constitution, it is that "Taxation without representation is Tyranny." This is the great principle of the People's Charter. If any aristocrat, or bull-dog middleman can clap his perfumed finger upon the shoulder of any man, and prove to us that he is not taxed, we will agree that he shall not, and ought not to have a vote for the election of those who fix the taxes. In saying this we admit more than we ought; because, as legislators make laws affecting men's lives and liberties, as well as their purses, any man who is to be controlled by laws, ought to have a voice in the making of those laws; but this, notwithstanding, we again repeat—before the year, and in the same language, we repeat it—should a man who is not taxed, and we will consent to a system of franchise which denies him the right to vote. This concession hangs upon an IT. But this we know, that every man who eats, or drinks, or wears clothes, or walks, is taxed. Sleeping or waking—working or playing—eating or drinking—burying the dead or being buried—TAXATION, rapine, robbery, unequal taxation is the doom of every man. The poorer he is, the heavier is his burden. Every man, by the Constitution of the country, is to tax himself. How can he do this? Is it not a gross swindling humbug to say that he does this, when men whom he never saw what taxes he is to pay; and when, if he does not pay them they hand him over to the auctioneer, or the filthy debtor's prison?

These are the points of the Charter, which can gainay them? Can it be one thing, reason is another. Let no proud landlord or popular apostate deride the Charter. Let him show that it is bad, if he can; let him show something that is better, if he is able, but hard names will never alienate the people from what they believe, and know to be, the Charter of their rights.

Such then are the points of the Charter. They are worth labouring for—they are even worth dying for. When the people will be contented. To be free, a nation has only to will it. An effective demonstration of the people will, must, and cannot but succeed.

The only question is, how can our demonstration be made effective? We suppose that the maddest of the mad have rendered effective by the bullet or the pike as aggressive weapons in the people's hands. From the beginning of our whole career to this time, we have constantly urged the people to beware of this rock on which would give him an average

of 14,000, yet he is obliged to confess that upon the half-yearly return he is over-rated by nearly one thousand per week. The Mercury will, doubtless, say, "Why this division of the half-year into eight and eight weeks?" The answer is plain and simple. In the first place, because eighteen and eight make twenty-six; and, in the next place, because the four months of July, August, September, and October, and the first week in November, comprise eighteen weeks; and by no possibility whatever could the Mercury have used one single one of the 112,000 stamps delivered in the last two months in the preceding eighteen weeks.

And now for the proof. Saturday, the 2nd of November, was the first publishing day in the month; and, therefore, the stamps for that week must have been issued in October. The Mercury went to press on Thursday, the 31st of October, with the issue for Saturday, the 2nd of November, therefore the stamps must have been issued in October, except indeed, the Mercury holds, with the Attorney-General, that the 31st of October, and the 5th of November are "the same time." Friday was the 1st November; and stamps leaving Manchester by the quickest route would not be delivered in Leeds, until Monday, the 4th of November. Will Edward tell us that Stamps delivered on the 4th of November, would be wet down and prepared for use on Tuesday, the 29th of October, which, is the latest day at which it should be done?

Now is the Mercury either or will anything bether his thick skull? We have proved by the returns for the eighteen weeks, that the Mercury has only had 9,000 a week, and for the eight last weeks, the very dearest in the year, we allow him the same average; thus deducting 40,000 from the 112,000, and thereby leaving him 72,000, or 9,000 a week for the entire time. So far so good as relates to 9,000; but now, in mercy to the Mercury, we must deduct him still further, so as not to leave him an atom of tail for the Intelligencer to hang its charge upon.

The Mercury has tampered us with the sale of pictures—with the Star being sold at the low price of a penny, and so forth. Now, let us see how this matter stands. The Mercury made an attempt at a royal gallery of portraits for its readers; and so completely failed in the onset, that he was obliged to apologise for the bungle, and finally to abandon the project. Secondly, the Star is the only provincial paper in England which never has sent from its office one single copy upon sale or return; and not one single number of which has ever been sold under the usual price; while the Mercury agents, to our own knowledge, have received orders to sell the "gold pig" on Monday morning at twopenny, rather than return it to the stall. To all this, while there has not been expended upon the Star in general posting bills, or bills containing the "weekly contents," the sum of one pound during the whole twelve months, every spare corner of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and surrounding countries have been plastered over with the Mercury's lamentations.

Thus stands the account. Edward says that he has some stamps on hand. Why didn't he tell us the number. He had over 70,000 on hand at the close of the year; which, divided among the twenty-six weeks, would reduce his circulation to somewhere about 7,500 per week; while we assert, without fear of contradiction, that for the last half year, the Mercury's bona fide circulation has not averaged 5,000 per week.

All we know that money, to the part-proprietor of Chat Moss, is not worth more than five per cent; and therefore a stock of £1,000 worth of stamps would only be a loss of £50 a year; while the absence of that number from the returns would entail a loss of at least £20 a week in advertisements alone. Now, Edward says, the Star fell from 228,000 in July to 55,000 in December; but the stupid dolt must have known that we did not profess to publish in July at the rate of 54,000 per week; but our circulation being so enormous, we would take, and gladly take, 500,000 stamps at any moment they could be furnished to us. Let the Mercury take the fat and the lean—the fat of the last month of the return, and he will find that the 228,000 of July, and the 55,000 of December, will give us less than our weekly average for the six months.

It appears, then, that while the Mercury has been laying up stock at the end of the year, the Star has been clearing off; but as the Mercury takes his average from his position as regards the whole provincial press, with the single exception of the Northern Star, let us, throwing the Mercury and all into a general average, see how we stand. We shall take, without a single exception, the whole of the Manchester and Leeds papers for the last six months—

Manchester Guardian (one publication) 167,750  
Manchester Courier..... 116,000  
Manchester Times..... 72,000  
Manchester Chronicle..... 81,000  
Manchester and Salford Advertiser..... 80,000  
Leeds Mercury..... 274,000  
Leeds Intelligencer..... 86,000  
Leeds Times..... 60,000

From the above deduct 70,000 in the larger of the Mercury, and we have the total for these eight leading papers, for the six months, of 859,750 papers, being within that period 129,250 fewer for all these than the Northern Star has published. The Manchester Guardian, in a jealous squabble with two of its rival advertising contemporaries, very inconceivably says its sudden rise "is perfectly irreconcilable with anything in newspaper statistics that has ever come within our knowledge, except the alleged case of the Northern Star; we are not aware that the whole history of the country periodical press contains an instance of more extensive and rapid success than is supplied in the case of this Journal" (meaning the Star). So much for the leading provincial journalists; and now let us take the whole of the Radical press of England and

Scotland, Ireland has none—

Weekly True Sun..... 92,750  
Champion..... 57,000  
Charter..... 70,000  
Glasgow Patriot..... 43,000  
Leeds Times..... 60,000  
Northern Liberator..... 63,000  
True Scotsman..... 40,200

Total..... 425,950

which, being deducted from the circulation of the Star, (879,000) leaves a balance in favour of the Star of 458,000, or more than double the circulation of all the metropolitan and provincial papers, English and Scotch, that advocate the question of Universal Suffrage. The Star exceeds by about 100,000 in the six months, the whole issues of the London daily Sun and Courier. It has circulated nearly as much as the whole provincial press of Ireland within the last year; and, with the exception of Saunders's News Letter, and the Dublin General Advertiser, which are not newspapers, it has within the same period exceeded in circulation the whole of the Dublin press.

Now, Edward, are you satisfied? If not, what will please you. Hit you high or hit you low, there is no pleasing you. We tripped your heels, and hit you in the bothered-skull, and you were not satisfied; but now that we have hit you in the pocket, we have hit you on the raw, and shall often touch you upon the small fry again, and with them you may be a leviah; but when you venture into the "vasty deep," you are sure to be devoured by the larger fish.

We are,  
Dear Edward,  
Your obedient Servants,  
HALF-YEARLY THUNDERBOLT,  
AND  
EIGHT HUNDRED  
SEVENTY-NINE THOUSAND-FOURHUNDRED.

Total for the four months... 162,000  
which, divided by eighteen, the number of weeks comprised in the time when those stamps only could be used, leaves the Mercury a weekly average of 9,000. The Mercury says that their weekly average has not been as large as it is shown by the returns, and that at least the two concluding months of the year should constitute the best average.

Well, then, for the last two months; and our reason for taking one week of November in the average of the four previous months' returns—

July..... 45,000  
August..... 45,000  
September..... 35,000  
October..... 37,000

Total for the two months... 112,000  
The weekly average for the eight weeks is exactly 14,000. Thus, then, though the Mercury prefers the last two months, which would give him an average

of 14,000, yet he is obliged to confess that upon the half-yearly return he is over-rated by nearly one thousand per week. The Mercury will, doubtless, say, "Why this division of the half-year into eight and eight weeks?" The answer is plain and simple. In the first place, because eighteen and eight make twenty-six; and, in the next place, because the four months of July, August, September, and October, and the first week in November, comprise eighteen weeks; and by no possibility whatever could the Mercury have used one single one of the 112,000 stamps delivered in the last two months in the preceding eighteen weeks.

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MORE WHIG PERSECUTION.

TWO MORE INDICTMENTS FOR SEDITION AGAINST MR. VINCENT!

We informed our readers a few weeks ago, that Mr. Vincent had been served with a notice of trial in the Court of Queen's Bench, for attending public meetings in Monmouthshire; but we have since heard that his Whig persecutors have changed their minds, and that he now expects to be tried at the ensuing March Monmouth Assizes, and by a SPECIAL JURY. Mr. Vincent has been engaged in preparing for his trial; and one would have thought that the "liberal Whigs" would, at least, be satisfied with two prosecutions of one man for "spoken sedition." But it appears we were mistaken; for Mr. Vincent was served, on the 13th of this month, with COPIES OF TWO MORE INDICTMENTS FOR ATTENDING MEETINGS IN THE COUNTY OF WILTS. The charges contained in the indictments, now over a space of a year and a-half of time, and the indictments, contain a series of bare-faced falsehoods. This is persecution with a vengeance! Vincent is determined to stand his ground like a man. He is not to be intimidated by this heartless cruelty. ANY FRIENDS, WHO HAVE COLLECTED MONEY TO AID MR. VINCENT ON HIS TRIALS, ARE REQUESTED TO FORWARD IT TO MR. VINCENT IMMEDIATELY, ADDRESS TO MR. OWEN, SOLICITOR, MONMOUTH, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

There is not a man in the whole army of martyrs to the cause of freedom, who has devoted himself with more unflinching energy, and more honest and disinterested zeal to the cause of liberty than Vincent; nor is there one more talented, more virtuous, and more every way deserving of support than he is. If he then be sacrificed for the sake of a few words, at once conclude that there is little of that feeling in the English people, which ought ever to be their pride and glory; but we will not believe that this can be so until we have seen it.

In the meantime the people ought to know that he is now in close confinement: HIS TRIALS ARE RAPIDLY APPROACHING, AND HE HAS NO FUNDS. We need not say more.

THE FIENDS AND THEIR MODE OF DOING BUSINESS.

ALL'S-fish that comes to the oppressor's net. An oligarchy bent on mischief will, through its myriads, accomplish, by whatever means, the destruction of its victims; nor does its malice stop here; but the harmless wife and guileless children are not unfrequently compelled to drink the bitter cup. This has been strikingly exemplified at Sheffield, in the case of THOMAS PENFIELD, who is now a prisoner in York Castle, implicated by the hiring spy Thompson. The case of his comital is this—He was dragged from his bed in the dead of the night, from his family, and secured, as being JAMES MACKERRICK. The officers, right or wrong, had him; he was an object for political revenge. When brought before Thompson, he proved to be THOMAS PENFIELD, and he owned him by his proper name. PENFIELD knew nothing of MACKERRICK, who he was, or where he lived, any further than he might have seen such a person at the public meetings; but no matter: he was in custody, and though apprehended by mistake, the spy found no difficulty in so much hard swearing as was necessary for his implication. The poor fellow was committed, and being at the time in absolutely destitute circumstances with a large family, his wife was of course reduced to the last extremity. The miserable destitution of her wretched home, and of springing pining for want and sickness, has been described to us as truly horrifying. Two children at the point of death, and two more in a feeble state for want of the necessities of life; all the things in the house not worth eight shillings; their bed nothing but miserable rags on the floor; and this state of destitution not caused by want of management or industry either on her part or that of her husband, who is a poor journeyman shoemaker, and who, some time ago, was laid up nearly six months of a lame hand, and not being able to work (and other privations to endure) their things were sold up for rent, and he, and his family, were in the workhouse. It is not long since they came out, and not being able to procure proper necessities, or even tools, to complete the regular process of his business with, he has had to put up with the worst kind of work for making wages of, and support himself, wife, and four children.

Such was the condition of this poor family when his poor prop was sent to York to answer the offeuded dignity of the law for feeling this state of suffering like a man. After his comital, his wife applied to the overseers, relieving officer, &c. of the Union of Rotherham, and was ordered by them to go again to the benevolent CROSSLAND. She did so, telling him that his wish was now obtained, in so far as one of her unhappy children was concerned, and was soon likely to be realised as to another of them; that she wanted a coffin and burying fees. These he provided, but treated her with a harshness and brutality at which the mind sickens. Such is the treatment by the minions of power of those whom they have brought into the position of widows and orphans, by their infernal machinations. Our readers remember that we had a word on this case last week; we again beg to press it on our notice, and to implore that this family may not be lost.

ROBERT OWEN, ESQ., AND THE SOCIAL BISHOP.

Persecution, ever has been, and ever will be, the high-road to promotion in this and in every other country; and never, perhaps, was the truth of the assertion more fully proved than in the extension of Socialism, promoted in a brief period by the intended persecution with which the Right Rev. Father in God threatened the communicants of the Social creed.

The principal attack was upon that organ through which the Socialists have expressed their principles; and the result of that attack has been an increase in the circulation of the New Moral World, of at least 2,500 per week. Now, does the Right Rev. Prelate know, that to dam the water is the sure method of flooding the land? or was he not equally aware that public opinion would burst through any limits which he, in his wisdom, could prescribe to it? Did he imagine that a community so wealthy as to be enabled to give nearly £100,000 for land, when a suitable purchase should present itself—that a body which has, in the short space of one year, reared stupendous meeting houses throughout the land—that a body which had become lessees to every important place for holding public meetings throughout the country—and circulation of tracts than the whole of the Bible Societies put together; does the Right Reverend Prelate, we ask, imagine that the suppression of the New Moral World, and the dismissal of Mr. PARE from an insignificant office, will close the meeting-houses—will withhold the tracts—and stop the tongues of the Socialists? O, no! He has done more for them in one short order which they could have accomplished in centuries for themselves; and, more grateful than the Right Reverend Prelate, the Socialists have decided upon presenting him with a splendidly-wrought medal, representing the

Church in danger, and the Right Reverend Gentleman taking refuge in the arms of Robert Owen, Esquire.

The Socialists, further, intend to invite the Right Reverend Prelate to a magnificent entertainment at Manchester, upon which occasion Robert Owen, Esq. has promised to honour the Bishop by taking the chair; and upon the occasion of presenting this splendid medal, to install the Right Rev. Father in God as the highest dignitary of the Social Church, a new service is being written for the approval of the Social dignitary. Upon the cloth being removed, the Bishop will sing, non solum; after which, the ordination of several young gentlemen will take place; then, with the Prelate, the whole congregation will proceed to witness the consecration, by the Bishop, of the Social Cathedral, which is now nearly perfected.

We have never devoted one line







