

CHANGE OF PROPRIETORSHIP OF THE
'NORTHERN STAR.'

TO THE CHARTISTS OF GREAT BRITAIN,
TRADES UNIONS, CO-OPERATIVE
SOCIETIES, AND THE PUBLIC.

The proprietorship of this journal has passed from
Feargus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., and now belongs to
the Editor and Printer, by whom it will be car-
ried on in future.

In making this announcement, it is necessary to
accompany it with a brief statement of the causes
that have led to the change, the circumstances
under which it has taken place, and the spirit in
which the new proprietors purpose to conduct it. If,
in the performance of this duty, explanations of a
personal character have to be offered, it is solely to
prevent misapprehension or misrepresentation at the
outset; and we trust that as it is the first, so it will
be the last occasion, we shall have to refer to such
matters in our columns under the new management.

Since 1848, many causes have conspired to lower the
formerly high circulation of the 'Northern Star.' Apart
from the natural reflux after a period of high
public excitement—which was certain to fall upon it—
differences of opinion, perhaps we should say of
principle, arose between the late proprietor and
some of the most active and influential men connected
with the Chartist body. These differences led, first
to the secession of Mr. Ernest Jones, and then to that
of the late editor, Mr. G. J. Harney, and to the com-
mencement of periodicals, which appeared to
advocate, with less restraint, what appeared to
them the true principles of Democracy, and the best
course of action for the Democratic party, than they
could do in this Journal.

They were naturally followed and supported by
those who held the same views, and who thought the
course of action they advised was the best.

In the meantime, two other newspapers came into the
field; one conducted by a gentleman extremely popu-
lar and active, and sold at little more than half the
price of the 'Northern Star'; the other backed by
large capital, and by a combination of talent, learn-
ing, and social and literary influence, which may be
fairly said to have had no parallel in the ultra-Democratic
press of England.

Add to this list of influences, adverse to the
prosperity of this Journal, the failure of the
National Land Company, in which Mr. O'Connor
held so prominent a place, and the consequent with-
drawal of a large body of readers and subscribers
who formerly supported the paper as being the
official organ of that Company, and it will be seen
that within the last two or three years the 'Northern
Star' has had to encounter a continuous succession
of no ordinary difficulties.

Unfortunately the late Proprietor was so situated as
to prevent him from meeting this combination of ad-
verse circumstances in the only practical way, namely
—by a liberal expenditure to improve the paper, and
to keep it before the public. His own means had
been exhausted, or worked up, in the operations of the
Land Company, and the diminished revenue of the
Journal would not permit of the outlay necessary to
counteract the influences which operated so in-
jurious upon it. At length it became a source of
continuous loss to Mr. O'Connor, and he came to the
resolution to offer it for sale.

This was done about two months ago, but without
securing any desirable or even likely purchaser; and the
extinction of a Journal, which has for fourteen years
advocated without flinching or wavering the political
and social claims of the industrial millions, seemed to
be inevitable, as it was impossible that Mr.
O'Connor could longer incur the weekly loss conse-
quent upon its publication.

In these circumstances, after consulting with some
tried friends of the popular cause, and receiving
assurances of their support, an offer was made, which
was dictated rather by a sincere regard for Mr.
O'Connor's past services, and a desire to aid him in
the midst of difficulties, than the result of a business-
like estimate. That offer was accepted; and two
weeks ago the copyright of the paper was formally
and legally transferred to the new proprietors.

It is not without full and mature consideration they
have placed themselves in this responsible position;
nor do they enter upon their onerous task without
having fully counted the cost, and prepared them-
selves to make such efforts as are requisite at the
present stage of the Popular Movement in this country,
on the part of a Journal aiming at the honour of
representing the Party of Progress. Time will show
whether they have mis-calculated their means and
strength in this respect or not. In the meantime,
they briefly present the grounds which induce them
to hope for success.

In the first place, the 'Star' will continue to
afford to the Chartist body, exclusively, the advantage
of detailed reports of the proceedings in their various
localities, and to the Chartist Executive the insertion
of all its official communications in full. In this
respect the 'Star' will be all it has ever been to the
Chartists of Great Britain; with, we hope, the
superadded advantage of a more careful literary
supervision, and the utmost impartiality with respect
to any difference of opinion which may arise among
those actively engaged in the Movement. Where
these differences may require public expression, the
Editor will stipulate simply that they shall be stated
in a courteous and gentlemanly manner, and be kept
within such limits as the other demands upon the
space of a weekly paper necessarily prescribe.

We are fully aware of the nature and extent of the
claims of our Democratic contemporaries; but, in this
respect, none of them either occupy, or care to occupy,
the ground hitherto held by the 'Star,' and which
it will continue to maintain.

The numerous correspondents in all parts of the
country who have hitherto reported proceedings in
their various localities, will still have a common
centre to which information can be communicated,
and from which it will radiate in all directions. Spe-
cially devoted to this department, special support
may be naturally expected and asked for. The
'Star' will still do what it first did for Chartism. It
will present it before the nation as a NATIONAL ques-
tion; it will aim at making the Chartists a NATIONAL
party, by giving them the means of weekly com-
municating with each other, and of learning the exact
position and actual progress of all, through the
medium of what we wish them to retain as the official
organ of Chartism.

As to the spirit which will characterise the editorial
advocacy of the Charter, we have only to refer to
the editorial columns for the last two or three years.
When we first accepted a position on the literary
staff of the 'Star' it was a departmental one, and
did not involve the necessity for writing on special
political topics, or taking any share in the active dis-
cussion of Chartist policy. Year by year, at Mr.
O'Connor's request, we gradually increased the
quantity of 'leader' matter, and extended the range
of subjects, until at length, at the close of the session
of 1849, at his urgent and earnest solicitation, we
undertook the duty of writing all the leading articles.
Since August, 1850, the paper has been entirely
under our control; and we may therefore presume
that the readers of the 'Star' are no strangers to our
views, and need no assurances from us as to the spirit
in which we shall treat public questions. We owe it
to the late proprietor to state, that he left us entirely
untrammelled and independent in this respect; and
we may add, that the course taken had his uniform
and unqualified approbation.

Substantially, therefore, the 'Star' will, as regards
Chartist intelligence and the advocacy of the Charter,
be the same as it has been for the last two or three
years, and whenever Mr. O'Connor wishes to commu-
nicate his views on any public question to the party
of whom he has been the leader for so many years,
its columns will be as free and as fully at his dis-
posal as when he was its sole proprietor.

But while our old readers and subscribers will find
no change in these respects we must prepare them
for additions to, and we hope improvements in, the
contents of our columns. There are other and highly
important phases of the Democratic Movement, which
have hitherto received only scanty and intermittent
notice in our columns to which it is intended in future
to devote sedulous and unremitting attention.

We shall endeavour to justify the sub-title of the
'Star,' 'National Trades Journal,' by more copious,
varied, and practical details, respecting the con-
dition and the efforts of Trades Societies in every
part of the country, and in every department of In-
dustry. Valuable aid has already been promised in
this respect, and, in a short time, it is hoped that our

The Northern Star

AND NATIONAL TRADES' JOURNAL.

VOL. XV. No. 739.

LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1852.

PRICE FIVEPENCE
Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter.

columns will contain a more ample and faithful re-
cord of Trades' Movements than will be found in any
other newspaper in Great Britain.

The rights and interests of Labour may be ad-
vocated in a manner becoming its vital importance to
the State, without ignoring the value of other indis-
pensable elements of National Greatness and Pros-
perity, or fostering a blind, irrational, and injurious
alienation and hostility between classes. In that
spirit we shall attempt to discharge that duty. We
belong to the Labour class; we have suffered all that
they suffer—we have struggled with and for them; we
know practically the grievances of which they have
to complain; and, with our heart of hearts, will
'stand by our Order.' But years of intercourse with
the other classes of society, have strongly impressed
the belief that the cause of the social injustice too often
inflicted by class upon class, is less owing to the in-
dividuals than to the system of which they form a
part, and of which all are more or less the victims.
While denouncing, therefore, all injustice—all acts
of aggression on the part of employers, and giving
to these acts, and to the claims of the workers for
redress, that publicity, which must in the long run
prove the best safeguard of the labouring classes
against wrong-doing and oppression, we shall care-
fully abstain from all indiscriminate attacks upon
bodies of men, and from those sweeping censures
which injure the best of causes, by the injustice which
it is instinctively felt by all impartial men they
necessarily involve.

Above all, we shall endeavour to produce in the
minds of the industrial millions the same conviction
which has been deeply impressed upon our own for
years—namely, that it is by NATIONAL UNION, and
CONSTRUCTIVE, COMBINED EFFORTS alone, that they
can raise themselves in the scale of society. They
have the means; it needs but the intelligence to see
how these means should be applied, and the Will to
apply them, in order to effect the elevation and em-
ancipation of LABOUR, by uniting it to CAPITAL and
SKILL, for the general benefit.

And this brings us to another great and important
phase of the Popular Movement: The Co-operative
and Working Mens' Associations. The Trades'
Unions, without abandoning their own ground of
action, or ceasing to hold a protective shield over their
members, will find in these Associations a new and
effective auxiliary towards accomplishing the es-
sential object they have in view. By them they
will be enabled to keep the balance between supply
and demand in such an equipoise as to secure 'a fair
day's wages for a fair day's labour.' By them they
may make machinery their servant and friend in-
stead of their merciless oppressor and murderer—by
their instrumentality they may create new markets
for their own labour and skill, and find ample means
to set in motion all the industry for which the mere
competitive mercantile system can find no occupa-
tion, and would doom to the workhouse or worse.

None except those who have of late given atten-
tion to this subject, can form any conception of the rapid
spread of these Associations, for self-supporting dis-
tributive and productive purposes, in almost every
district of the Kingdom. In Lancashire and York-
shire especially, the shrewd, practical, hard-headed,
but kind-hearted sons of toil have a deep conviction
that in this way they can show the truth of the old
adage, 'God helps those who help themselves.' The
social feel, while labouring to elevate themselves in
the scale by means of that powerful and benefi-
cial principle of Co-operation and Combination—
which has given birth to the grandest enterprises of
modern times—that they are simultaneously rendering
the attainment of political equality more certain and
easy of accomplishment, because they are exhibiting
those qualities of mind and heart against which no
statesman worthy of the name in this country will
dare to contend.

For this movement too we shall endeavour to be-
come a faithful reporter. The secretaries of the
Co-operative and Industrial Societies will ever find
our columns open to their communications; and
arrangements are in progress, by which we hope to
present regularly a complete and ample digest weekly
of intelligence under this head.

These three constitute the leading articles of our
political creed: Political Equality and Freedom;
Just Relations between Capital and Labour; Asso-
ciative Action upon Equitable Principles for Mutual
Benefit. And these three are not antagonistic to, or
isolated from, each other. On the contrary, they are
but the natural development and complement of
each. Mere Political Equality would be a mockery
and a sham, if the relations of Capital to Labour
were such as enabled the former to dictate terms to
the latter, the non-acceptance of which were certain
to entail loss of employment, starvation, or the
workhouse. Mere Trades' Unions, with their old-
fashioned 'strikes' and 'turn-outs,' 'tramps'
and 'strike pay,' cannot, either generally or
permanently, place their members in such a position
as to be able to treat on equal terms with the capi-
talists—Association solves the problem for them. The
means, the energy, the resistance to oppression,
which are wasted or ineffective by one method, be-
come the sources of wealth, independence, and
power by another.

But, indeed, no part of the common good, of the
common progress, can be separated from the other.
Each is bound to each by an all-pervading principle,
which continually urges humanity forward, and every
successive victory over ignorance or error, or evil in
any single direction, adds to the impetus of the
general onward movement. Public Education, Re-
ligious Freedom, Law Reform, Criminal Jurispru-
dence, and Penal Discipline, Sanitary Improve-
ment, International Policy, and numerous other
questions which need not be enumerated here, all
constitute portions of the great whole, to which the
attention of the progressive Journalist will be natu-
rally directed, and which cannot be overlooked with-
out a neglect of duty. We shall endeavour to pre-
vent that charge being made against us.

While, however, dwelling at this length upon what
will be the peculiar and distinctive characteristics of the
'Northern Star' in future, and the spirit in which we
propose to treat the momentous subjects at which we
have glanced, we wish it to be distinctly understood that
the carrying out of these plans will not prevent us
from giving a good 'newspaper' in the ordinary
sense of the term. Home and Foreign News, Par-
liament, Public Meetings, Literature, Poetry, and
Varieties, will find their appropriate columns, and
receive due attention. Under the head of 'Free Cor-
respondence,' an arena will be opened wherein all
who choose may freely express their opinions on any
of the topics of the day, subject only to the regula-
tions we have already stated; and we thus hope to
issue a Journal which will be useful to the public,
and a creditable representative of the various sec-
tions of the Party of Progress, of whom it is intended
to be the organ.

Negotiations are pending by which we hope in a
short time to secure the services of Special Cor-
respondents on French and German affairs, and, gen-
erally, to present full and accurate information of the
movements of European Democracy.

We are evidently at the commencement of a
Future pregnant with events of overwhelming im-
portance. Despotism has pushed its outposts to the
very shores of the English Channel, and the time
appears rapidly approaching when that great war
of principles, predicted by Canning, and foretold by
Napoleon at St. Helena, will have to decide whether
Europe is to be Republican or Cossack. Our
side is already taken in that momentous contest, and
whatever may be the issue, we shall boldly and un-
flinchingly fight for the inalienable rights of Man:
Free Thought, Speech, and Action—the imprescript-
ible rights of People to Govern themselves, and for
that Solidarity of Nations which offers the only im-
pregnable barrier to the assaults of Brute Force,

under the command of bloodthirsty and barbarous
Absolutism.

On these grounds we ask public support, and, in
conclusion, add the words of Addison:—

'It is not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more—endeavour to deserve it.'

ACTION OR REACTION.

MR. EDITOR.—As one of the results of the existing
Reign of Terror in France, I fear that Democracy
and Liberalism in England will be temporarily ar-
rested in their progress; that the rights of the many
will continue to be denied by the absolutism of the
privileged few; that the power of popular Govern-
ment will be successfully neutralised by the impres-
sions of military authority. The coup d'etat of the
modern ANANIAS will add strength to the timidity of
the governing classes; and the importance of main-
taining 'things as they are,' will be advocated as
the doctrine most compatible with the future welfare
of the country. Thus, again, Might will be in the
ascendant; and the power of the monied classes re-
main undiminished.

Now, Sir, as a first effect of all this, there will be
no Reform Bill introduced in 1852; for, though pro-
mised, that which will be talked about in the ap-
proaching Session will be but a change in the details
of the measure of 1832, not an appreciable extension
of the principle embodied therein. Of this, the indi-
cations of the times seem to sensibly assure all who
attentively study them. It will be forcibly said, that
Popular Suffrage renders Government impossible—
military dictatorship excepted. The ten-pound rating
will be pronounced as the happy medium which
securer peace and comfort at home; to reduce which
would be to encourage anarchy and civil contem-
tion. So constitutionalism will be the scape goat of
1852; and Reformers of all classes will be reminded
of their present benefits, and told to be satisfied with
them accordingly.

It is to impress my readers with the necessity of
thus understanding the effects of the last French Re-
volution, as bearing upon their own internal condition,
that I address these lines to them. The Revolution
of 1830 was a successful one on the part of the French
people, and it worked well for the liberties of England,
for a few months afterwards, that bill which pre-
viously found but indifferent support, became a
Ministerial measure, and its adoption followed in
1832. So with the dethronement of Louis Philippe
in 1848; the People's voice in England became a
thing to be noticed and respected; and but for the
reaction which followed the eventful days of June,
would have secured to the cause of Labour a truer
appreciation. Such changes, be they for good or for
evil, work proportionately in all countries where the
popular will is not represented. As Englishmen,
we felt their impression least, because our Institu-
tions were more republican than those of neighbour-
ing nations. Hence, with foreign affairs we are all
most intimately concerned, if only as respects the
amount of personal liberty and power enjoyed by our
adult male population.

The duty, then, that respectively belongs to each
is to assure 'the powers that be,' that the promised
Reform Bill must be a bona fide measure, and not a
sham, if the people's approval is a thing worth valuing.
For this end, a People's Party must be formed,
with a given object for its purpose. That object, I
believe, should be Manhood Suffrage, protected by
the Ballot. From this time to the definite settle-
ment of the question in the future Session, these two prin-
ciples should be constantly kept and advocated before
the country; and, if they be accepted, the remaining
clauses of the CHARTER which can be shown to be
sound in theory, will soon be admitted also. Thus,
supposing the premise to be correct, I am pointing
but the true way of making the CHARTER the law
of the land—not by diminishing its clauses, but by
bringing present forces to bear upon existing things,
centre them upon the accomplishment of an avowed
object—one that is perfectly coincident with the prin-
ciples of that document.

It is only cheating the people into a false belief, if
they be told that in the coming Session there is a
reasonable prospect of the Six Clauses of the CHARTER
being adopted. The Ballot is the only one likely to
be considered with any show of debate. Therefore,
to stand forward and declare, that less than the adop-
tion of the entire six is not worth acceptance, is to
play into the hands of the Ministerial power. I am
for avoiding this. To secure to ourselves as much as
we can, under the prevailing circumstances, is my
desire; and I feel confident, that if Manhood
Suffrage be not obtained, the extension of the vote
to Housekeepers and Lodgers will be going a great
way to ensure, in a few years after, the admission of
the remainder who may then be enfranchised. Such
movements are decidedly progressive; and not to
further them is like an hungry man refusing a
pound of bread, simply because it is unaccompanied
with meat or cheese. A People's Party, then, is the
organisation now wanted, whose principles shall be
understood by all men. A power which declares for
definite results; and not a name, whose followers
connect it with every known theory and idea promul-
gated, such as a combination of Socialism and Com-
munism, Teetotalism and Rationalism with CHART-
ISM; alliances which I protest against, as tending
to make the CHARTER a vehicle for the dissemination
of isms, all of which are more or less foreign to its
origination.

The Executive of the National Charter Association
might be, so far as I am concerned, the leaders
of the said Party; calling meetings for the purposes
mentioned. Instead of holding up six clauses for
approval, they will submit but two, as those which
best suit the pressing exigencies of the people; not
that the concluding four are inadmissible, but that
not being generally approved of, and but matters of
detail, which may be effected in the course of any
subsequent Session, public opinion is sought to be
concentrated upon the principles set forth. This is
not sacrificing the CHARTER, nor using its funds and
power for another purpose; it is an honest attempt to
unite the masses for an appreciable end, vast num-
bers of whom are not opposed to the Chartist Move-
ment, because that it is made to assume a shape phre-
nastic to some, and objectionable to all.

I see the Hatters' trade is moving in some such
direction as here alluded to; doing that which I ad-
vised the Executive to take the initiative in, in one
of my former letters, addressed to those gentlemen.
That is a step worthy of general adoption; and I
can assure the Hatters, if they will act as a propa-
ganda amongst the 300,000 working men of London,
who are easily to be seen and solicited to join them,
they will find a large amount of dormant political
opinion in the several trades that will gladly adopt a
vigorous action, and materially assist the cause of the
country at large. The provinces may also be con-
sulted in the same way; and thus a very effective or-
ganisation be forthwith established.

But whatever is done must be done quickly, and
well. Public meetings must be called in all parts of
London. The speeches delivered should have a tone
given them of candour and truth, as free from exag-
geration as they possibly can be. Men of character,
sobriety, and earnestness should be known as the
chief movers; and not those who trade upon the
cause for want of a more lucrative occupation. Scores
of such men as those of the former class are known
to me in London who would readily assist therein,
and subscribe towards the liquidation of the expenses,
if the field opened have an honest pathway through it.
Let the Executive, then, move in the direction
here pointed out, and wanting funds, attempt to raise
a subscription for the purpose, under a specific name,
say 'The Public Meeting Fund,' receiving money
from all who might choose to give to it; in which
case, many voluntary payments would be tendered,
amongst the donors to which would be found the
writer of the foregoing remarks. CENSOR.

Public Meetings.

ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF THE SOCIETY OF FRATER-
NAL DEMOCRATS.

A Public tea party, ball, &c., was held on Tuesday evening
to celebrate the above event, and also to welcome
Mr. John Harney on his return from his Scottish tour.
The attendance was good.

Mr. D. W. RUFFY was called to the chair, and stated
that the object of the society was that a union should be
effected among the peoples of all nations. When all were
imbued with the feelings of fraternity, war and discord
would cease. The year 1852 was ushered in dark and loom-
ing, but he had still hope that the sun of liberty would
soon break forth and lead to the fraternity of all nations.

Mr. THOMSON HUNT responded to the sentiment,
'The People of this and every other land—their solidarity
a great truth; their fraternity a great duty: may they
under the banner of Progress, march together to the ac-
complishment of their universal sovereignty.' This year
saw the dawn of a new era in the world's affairs.
The late event in France and the dismissal of Lord Palmer-
ston were pregnant with danger to the cause of Democracy,
but, at the same time, if due advantage were taken of the
rise of events, they might yet be turned to the progress of
the cause of humanity. They well knew the manner in
which the soldiery, stimulated by extra pay, and brandy,
had shot down the people in the streets of Paris, and
had come to the knowledge of the world that they were
pursuing their innocent employment. (Shame.) Mr. Hunt
then gave another instance in which 200 men were but-
chered in a similar cold-blooded manner. This despotism
of Louis Napoleon was the same as that practised by
others on the continent, but it was brought nearer to our
eyes, and hence its gravity. Despotism, everywhere
meant wholesale murder. The chief danger to be feared
from the events in France was that the large geographical
addition which France made to the power of absolutism;
making it more compact and powerful would act power-
fully upon the court of this country. This was already
seen by the court interfering more than etiquette usually
permitted. The dismissal of that wise minister Lord
Palmerston. The fact was, the future was in the
union of the people of all lands. England and America
must unite together. The people were prepared for this,
but their governments were not. They were endeavouring
to embroil the two nations in a dispute about some paltry
port dues in a port of Central America, and thus to pre-
vent a union which would otherwise be too powerful for the
despotism of Louis Napoleon.

Mr. L. B. BROWN also responded to the sentiment. It was
useless to groan or admire a sentiment unless you endeavoured
practically to carry it out. It was this feeling
of apathy that led the despot of France to perpetrate deeds
at which humanity shuddered. It was useless to rush un-
prepared upon the armed myrmidons arrayed against the
people; but by their every day actions they must protest
against every species of tyranny, and spread abroad the
doctrines of Freedom and Millenarism. The aspect of
Democracy was better than ever it had been. The people,
both in Washington and London, were too intelligent to be
led to slaughter each other for the sake of the ambition or
avarice of their rulers. They must encourage a kindly feel-
ing between the people of all nations. The union must be
one of action, and not of words only.

Mr. H. H. H. responded to the following sentiment—
'Our guest, and brother democrat, Julian Harney, founder
of the society—the pioneer of the alliance of nations.' The
speaker dwelt, in eulogistic terms, upon the services of
Mr. Harney; showing that men who dared to advocate
the rights of the people would ever have to undergo calu-
mny and reproach; but he trusted that their guests, un-
derstandably and justly, would like to silence those
who would denigrate the services of the pioneer of the
alliance of nations, and to see the cause he
had so long advocated, triumphant. The Fraternal Demo-
cratic Society was known and respected throughout the
greater portion of Europe, and was in truth the pioneer
of the alliance of nations. They had proclaimed, as far as lay
in their power, both by words and actions, their sympathy
with the veritable democrats of all nations. The English
people, wrapped in deep apathy, and living in comparative
comfort, called the French a folk of slaves. As how
little they knew them; while a Frenchman ex-
perienced liberty would never cease to have an advocate. It might
be that down-trodden France might not be able to answer
the first call to the alliance of nations. It might come
from the glorious plains of Hungary, or the smiling fields
of Italy; but from whatever land it came, France would
be the first to answer to the battle call. Kosuth had
crossed the Atlantic to cement a union of nations, and was
to be the people if they listened not to his warning voice.

Mr. HARNEY responded. His past and his present con-
duct ought to be a guarantee for the future. The present
was called the 'Fourth Anniversary of the Society,' but
it might with truth be traced back to a much earlier
date. Their motto was—'That all men were brethren'—
but in these they did not include monsters in human shape,
such as Nicholas, of Russia; Bomba, of Naples; or Louis,
of France. These were the great drops of hate,
but he had to inform them that, since the issue of their last
address he had greatly increased the number of their mem-
bers, more especially in Scotland and the north of England.
He trusted that the men of London would follow the good
example thus set them. They held open their doors to all.
They were no sect nor party, no worshippers of any man,
but supporters of true Democracy. If their society was daily
supported, they would be able to expose the designs of the
despots of the continent, as would put to shame the
lying statements of those who were not inappropriately
called the 'Press gang.' Such a society would have been
able to have called meetings that would have exposed the
horrible conduct of Louis Napoleon, and have given a true
tone to the public opinion of this country. Mr. Harney
then dwelt on the conduct of a portion of the democratic
press who found fault with the more language which was
used at the Newcastle and other meetings, in reference to
the conduct of Louis Napoleon. He again repeated the
terms he then used, and said, that those who attempted to
palliate his conduct, however honest they might be, were
equally injuring the cause of Democracy with those who
were in the past of despotism, and receiving Russian gold.
He now told that this language did harm—that it would
lead the despots of the world to count greater tyrants.
Would this stand good relative to a common murderer?
They would be afraid to denounce him, lest it should good
come to the same course. They knew that tyrants would
commit such crimes as long as the power was in their hands.
In opposition to the sentiments of his rose water friends he
advised the opinion of Dr. Channing, that a Usurper was
the blackest of criminals; that the brand of Cain should
be set upon him, and his conduct held to be the deepest
of crimes. While denouncing the conduct of Napoleon,
they must not forget that of his abettors, the clergy; more
especially that of the Catholic denomination, the middle
class, the Press, and even his old rival candidate for Tiver-
ton, Lord Palmerston, who, at his last speech in that place,
predicted that no disturbances would take place in '52, he
well knowing the events that were then concocting in Paris.
The people had a right to be bound to at once organise
themselves for the coming storm. Already the French
Usurper was threatening Belgium with war unless she
consented to put a stop to the Freedom of the Press, and to
banish the refugees, Sardinia and the other small States
of Europe would be threatened in a similar manner; and
the Coburgs would have been ranged on the side of despotism,
and have a new Alien Bill passed. (Mr. Harney was loudly
cheered.)

Mr. E. SWIFT responded to the next sentiment:—'The
Democratic Captives and Exiles—victims of oppression—
Glory to all who lived, laboured, suffered, and died to es-
tablish the Rights of Man.' He knew the inspiration of their
own hearts would be better than any words he could utter.
Fraternity told his disciples that they must leave all and
follow him, not to pomp and power, but through wretched-
ness and calumny, and often to the martyr's tomb. This
had been the fate of the first disciples, and of all who had
succeeded them. It might even be their own case, but
they must not shrink from following the great examples
that these martyrs had set them. Though they could not
cross the Channel, they could all do much to elevate
humanity, and to stimulate them to this was his
object.

Mr. CONYNGHAM, of Brighton, also responded. He en-
dorsed all the sentiments of Mr. Harney, relative to the
conduct of Louis Napoleon. There was one party in the
metropolis who seemed to appreciate the conduct of
Napoleon, for they had placed him in the Chamber of
Horrors. He had not looked with an eye of friendship upon
the conduct of Lord Palmerston, believing that he was not
sincere in his professions of liberality, but recent events
had removed his suspicions. He believed that the late
events in France were the result of a Cobourg coup d'etat.
The Cobourgs were near relatives to her Majesty. Lord
Westmoreland had been refused admission for his creden-
tials at the Court of Vienna until it was decided here that
Lord Palmerston should be dismissed. Lord Granville,
who was to supply his place, had married an Austrian
Roman Catholic; this was a sufficient fact. He believed
that England was to be seduced into a Russo-Austrian
Alliance, in opposition to her true interest, which was a
Union with France and America.

Mr. HARNEY expressed his dissent to Mr. Conyngham's
opinion of Lord Palmerston.
A vote of thanks was given to the Chairman, and the
meeting adjourned to the Ball Room.
The song and dance were kept up until a late hour, and
the abilities of several well-known professional Vocalists
were brought into active requisition.

CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION.
On Wednesday a meeting of persons intending shortly to

proceed to the Canterbury Settlement, was held at the rooms of the association, Ac-
cording to the programme, the meeting, owing to the
absence of the late proprietor, was held on the 2nd of Sep-
tember last, and was attended by a large number of the
arrival of three of the association's large vessels, with
colonists on board, in as many successive weeks. Mr. S. H.
Self presided, and was supported by Lord Lytton and
other leading members of the council. The Chairman read
a very voluminous correspondence from Mr. Godley, their
agent, and from old colonists and recent emigrants. The
principal topics had reference to the erection of the
Canterbury as an independent province. On this subject
numerous meetings had been held in the settlement, and
Sir G. Grey, the governor, had expressed his readiness, so
far might be, to acquiesce in the wishes of the colonists when
their minds were made known. A handsome bridge had been
erected over the Eden, and a new church constructed at Christchurch.
Mr. Leveillé had read a long and interesting paper, in which
generally spoke to the abundance and good quality of the
ship stores, and in pleasing terms of the present state and
ultimate success of the colony. Lord Lytton said that
the meeting must have observed that nearly all the writers
who had sent their favourable letters had waived their not to
be able. All he could say was, that those unfavourable
letters did not reach the association. He did not mean
to say that there were none such, but he should wish, if any
person had received letters of that description, that he
would bring them to the society, because their object was
not to put the colony, but to present a true and faithful
account of it to their meetings. But really the case was,
that they did not receive their letters, and he was not
knowing of them. A variety of interesting and practical
suggestions to intending colonists succeeding and suc-
ceeding separated with the customary compliment to the
Chairman.

REFORM MEETING AT HADLEIGH, SUFFOLK.
On Monday a public meeting, in connection with the
National Reform Association, was held in the Hall,
Hadleigh. The room was well filled by a highly respectable
auditory, including many Suffolk farmers. Isaac Everett,
Esq. (an extensive farmer in the district), in opening the
proceedings said that for a long time past everybody had
been advocates of Financial Reform, but all were now be-
gotten to be convinced that, in order to obtain and secure
it, it was indispensably necessary to get up first of all
an endeavour to obtain Parliamentary Reform. Lord John
Russell had said that if the House of Commons were not to be
in the fulfilment of its promise, otherwise it would
be a very little bit of a bill he would give. It depended on
the exertions of the people what the character of that
measure should be. In his (the chairman's) opinion, every
man who paid taxes ought to have a voice in govern-
ment of the country; but, however the measure was
extended, it would be comparatively useless without a
better distribution of it than existed at present. Mr.
George Thompson then addressed the meeting at
considerable length in explanation of the objects of the
National Reform Association, and the proceedings ter-
minated.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

NORTHERN STAR OFFICE.
Saturday Afternoon.
THE ENGINEERS' STRIKE.

(By Electric Telegraph.)
MANCHESTER, Saturday Morning, Jan. 3.—A masters
meeting took place last evening, when resolutions were
adopted for giving a week's notice to-day, to close workshops
on the 10th inst.

GREAT FIRE NEAR THE ST. KATHERINE'S DOCKS.
Yesterday morning the inhabitants of the eastern portion
of London were alarmed by the outbreak of an extensive
fire, which, for hours, continued to rage, and before it could
be mastered laid in ruins a large amount of property. The
fire originated in the premises of Mr. Sparks, and before
the engines arrived the premises of Mr. Tritton, scum
boiler, became ignited. The flames then assumed a still
more serious aspect, for the ignitable stock in both pre-
mises proved such a powerful and destructive element,
that the fire was quickly attacking the premises
of Mr. M. Murphy, the Three Compasses Tavern, as well
as those belonging to Mr. Brooks, a builder, and the large
soap factory of Messrs. Stevens and Son, in Dock-street.
Notwithstanding the exertions of the firemen, the work of
destruction continued, and the front of the house No. 11 in
the same street became fired, as well as another in No. 13
place. These premises being let to a number of poor fami-
lies, the inmates rushed out in a state of bewilderment,
carrying with them their children, and any article of furni-
ture they could lay hold of. The poor people were obliged
to run about the streets almost up to their ankles in water,
while only partially dressed. The fire was not extinguished
until property to a considerable amount was destroyed.

RAWMARSH COLLIERY EXPLOSION.—THE VERDICT.

Varieties.

minutes.—*Dr. Winslow's Psychological Journal.*

pass over his body. Deceased said he was not hurt much, and wished to be conveyed home, to Brand's building, Southwark, where he died on the following day. The jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death," at the same time condemning the practice of draymen riding on the vehicles. A gentleman from Messrs. Barclay, Perkins, and Co's., said it was contrary to orders that the men should do so; but in consequence of these accidents fresh regulations would be made, in conjunction with the police, to put a stop to so dangerous a practice.

SESSONS FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—On Sunday morning the Rev. Tenison Cuffe, M.A., publicly announced

FATAL ACCIDENT IN THE DOCKS.—On Wednesday evening an inquest was held on the body of Charles Austin, aged twenty. The deceased was a watchman employed in the London Docks, and on Tuesday night, November 13, he was directed to go on duty to protect some goods on board the *Emilia*, of Spain. The night was very dark, owing to the dense fog; and while he was in the act of stepping from the gunwale of a barge he fell overboard. On Monday one of the dock firemen was standing on the *Neptune*, when a wapping, when the body suddenly came to the surface of the water, having been decomposed several weeks missing, and being in an advanced state of decomposition. After some observations from the coroner, the jury returned a verdict of "Accidental Death."

THE BANMARSH COLLIERY EXPLOSION.—A subscription has been commenced by the Rev. Mr. Mahon, incumbent of the parish, in aid of the widows and orphans of the men who perished by the explosion on Saturday week, when fifty lives were lost. Messrs. Charlesworth, the lessees of the colliery, have given £250, and Mr. J. C. D. Charlesworth, £200. There is perhaps no district of similar extent in this portion of the Kingdom which has been the scene of such a sudden and violent disaster, and involving so great a sacrifice of life, as the tract of country comprised within a circuit of five miles around Rawnahish. It is but only about thirty years, we find that during this comparatively short period five accidents have occurred, by which an aggregate of 320 lives has been sacrificed. The adjourned trial of the persons concerned in the explosion of the colliery was resumed on Tuesday. The proceedings in this case will be continued to-morrow.

[illegible]

MURDER AT BELPER, DUNSTON.—On Monday evening a man named Antony Turner, who had been dismissed from the service of a lady named Barnes, residing with the Rev. J. Bannister, of Field House, Belper, borrowed a carving knife, of Mr. Hasland, who keeps a provision shop in the town, and proceeded to the above residence. He knocked at the door, and stated that he wished to see Mrs. Barnes. That lady refusing to see him, he rushed past the servant, and, before the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Bannister, who was at home, could be obtained, he severed Mrs. Barnes's head from her body, and made his escape. The murderer is a married man, a tailor by trade, about forty-five years of age, stands about four feet eight inches high, rather dark

men, one of whom was identified by two Leeds tradesmen (who accompanied him) as the man who had paid them for a forged note. The two instant notes were also examined, and the first two were proved to be counterfeit notes also made in Leeds. The three men afterwards are named James Allen, Edward Marshall, and John Green. They were brought to Leeds on Monday, and underwent a long examination: Mr. Inspector Graham produced a large quantity of tea, some silk handkerchiefs, and other articles, which had been found on Sunday night, and which were proved to be the property of the man who appeared to have been purchased by the parties who paid the forged notes in Leeds on Christmas-eve. As far as could be ascertained, all the notes paid in Leeds were passed off the same evening (namely, on the 24th ult.), and almost at the same time. Not more than two hours seem to have elapsed between the first payment and the last, though the latter was made in the parts of the town. The three men were committed for trial at the next York assizes; and Green was remanded.

ANOTHER SANGUINARY OUTHAGE. — The "Newry Telegraph" contains the following account of another atrocious

STATE OF LEITCH.—The "Boyle Gazette" says:—"We are concerned to find that the above county promises this season a plentiful supply of business for the ne assassins. Within the last week several houses have been feloniously entered—the inmates sworn against taking ground or working for those who may obtain it; but add with regret, a man was deprived of life near Cloon on Christmas night, by a parcel of midnight legions."

WAGERS A CENTURY SINCE.—The following is an extract from a letter dated Bedale, Yorkshire, 3d September 1792: "The harvest is now pretty busy with us in many parts of this neighbourhood. It took, a day is given for labourers, which in this part is 6d. upon an extravagant wage. The wheat is in general very good, and delicious corn. Turnips this year will also be very good and plentiful. Short, never was known, I believe, such plenty of all kinds of fodder; but, on the other hand, so great a scarcity of cattle to eat it. Beef and mutton in our market still of time at 3d. per lb., and it is confidently affirmed, judges in the case, won't be much lower this year. Bread wheat in our market last Tuesday, notwithstanding the goodness of the harvest, was near 6s. a bushel."

business in this world, I am going. Good bye! (Sighs)—AN ORIGINAL."

ACCORDING to an annual statement issued by the V. Chancellor, the expenses of the Oxford University post amount to £1,400.

KOSUTH's mother is believed to be dead. The reports of her arrest was only a few days old when it was followed by that of her decease. It has since been contradicted, but denial is received with suspicion. She was understood to have been brought a prisoner to Vienna, but the German papers now say she died at Pesth. Whether she died of grief or of long persecution after the liberation of Hungary, or whether death overtook her in the hands of torturers, remains a mystery.

LONDON, 15, *Telegraph* and *Standard* company.

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.
The 'Moniteur' contains a decree dissolving the council general of the Seine, which is also municipal council of Paris, and excluding from the new council all those members who have not given in their adhesion to the coup d'etat. On the proposition of the Minister of War the distribution of France into twenty-one military divisions, which prevailed before 1848, is restored by a decree also. Each department will form a sub-division. The new arrangement will provide places for the military clients of the Elysee.

The following are the numbers of the votes upon the various Constitutions which have been successively submitted to the French people since the first revolution:—

	Yes.	No.
Constitution of 1793	1,891,818	11,610
Constitution of the year III.	1,107,257	49,977
Constitution of the year VIII.	3,019,389	1,565
Constitution of the year X.	3,568,335	8,374
Constitution of the year XII.	3,372,329	2,559
Additional clauses	1,300,000	4,206

The synopses of government publish these returns to show that no Constitution has ever been sanctioned by a number of votes approaching to that which will consecrate the Constitution that Louis Napoleon is about to give to France. This is true, but having regard to the increase of population, and more particularly to the increased facilities of locomotion within the last half century, the difference is not surprising. What the figures do prove in the most striking way is this: that an appeal to the people, backed by the whole force of the executive power, and offering no alternative, must ever be a fact.

It is historically evident that an enormous majority obtained is no guarantee for either the excellence or durability of the thing voted for. There is, however, one remark upon these figures which the government advocates will take care not to make. Assuming the final state of the poll to be, in round numbers, seven millions for Louis Napoleon, and 600,000 against him, the protesting minority will be immensely larger in proportion than any of the minorities that said 'No' to the six constitutions above mentioned.

Some days ago was published a letter of M. Berryer to M. de Falloux, in which he complains of the 'perfidy' of M. de Montalembert, and says that the legitimists ought to abstain and reserve themselves for better times, that is, if France is not doomed to become a second Portugal. The publication of this letter in the English journals has drawn upon M. Berryer a salient of spite from the government, which is equally mean and puerile. The legitimist chief was the oldest member and the reporter of the committee of surveillance of the 'Caisse d'amortissement des dettes d'assignations.' The list of the committee has been recently altered, and M. Berryer's name struck out. It is said that the sarcastic suggestions of a likeness between the military revolution of France and Portugal has produced so small resentment among the cocked hats of the Elysee.

The 'Moniteur Parisien' contains the following:— 'Whatever may be the opinion expressed in France and in England as to the probable causes of the fall of Lord Palmerston, we can affirm that the real motive of it is the frank and spontaneous adhesion which the noble lord did not hesitate to declare to the great political act which was accomplished in France on the 2nd December.' In fact, every ministerial paper contains more or less praise of Lord Palmerston excepting the 'Univers.' This organ of the Jesuitical party looks upon his fall as a concession to the northern powers worthy of all approbation.

A correspondent says:— 'I am informed from a certain source, that this morning the Minister of the Interior struck a leader out of the proofs of a semi-official version of the Elysee, because although generally favourable to Lord Palmerston, it contained one passage, which it was thought might be offensive to him. "Since the 'Univers' attacks the fallen minister, we must conclude that it does not choose to do at this moment what is agreeable to the Elysee; and on the other hand, that it is allowed in some measure to dictate to the authorities. This is noted to-day as a symptom of what must in the natural course of things come to pass, namely, a split between the ultra-montane party and Louis Napoleon.' Meanwhile the Elysee is evidently chagrined at the retirement of Lord Palmerston, and the strictest orders are given to keep every paragraph out of the government papers that may be in the least offensive to him.

It results from an account recently taken, that the war material of France at the present time is estimated at the sum of 459 millions of francs, divided into seven categories:—provisions, 22 millions; hospitals, 17 millions; clothing and camp equipment, 45 millions; general remount for cavalry (72,800 horses), 22 millions; forage, 15 millions; artillery, 268 millions; engineering material, 11 millions. France possesses 4,967 pieces of heavy artillery of different calibre in bronze, and 3,411 in iron; 3,800 field pieces in bronze, and 2,975 mortars; 4,382 howitzers for siege and field operations; 17,674 gun carriages of different kinds and sizes, and 229 swivel guns in bronze. There are in the military arsenals 6,991,234 balls, 935,360 bombs, 1,600,000 shells, 212,215 grenades, 177,588 boxes of balls filled for cannon and howitzers, 16,000,000 kilograms of balls, 25,000,000 kilograms of powder; 99,000,000 of cartridges of different kinds, 56,000 bags filled with balls for cannon and howitzers, 4,522 cannon cartridges, 28,000 kilograms of powder contained in hollow shot and shells, and 450,000 kilograms of powder manufactured, and of the necessary ingredients for manufacturing it. In 35 years of peace the war material has cost 13½ millions of francs. The state besides possesses 2,903,601 flint and percussion lock muskets, in the hands of the national guard and the army; 151,021 carbines, and 184,336 pistols.

An imitator of the atrocities of General Bismarck has appeared in the Basses-Alpes. This is a Colonel Parson, commander during the state of siege of the arrondissement of Dauphin. He has published a decree declaring that any one who gives shelter or food, or assists in any way a long list of proscribed persons, shall be treated in every way as a rebel against the government, and tried by court martial accordingly. Meanwhile the detestable proclamation of General Bismarck has been openly adopted by the highest authorities of Paris. As if in defiance of public opinion M. de Maupas, has caused to be posted up all over Paris a decree of the military commander of the Allier, declaring that every individual who gives refuge to M. Felix Mathé, proprietor, and to a long list of other persons, among whom figure several more proprietors and two physicians, and who are denounced as insurgents, shall be considered as accomplices of the insurrection. Great crowds of people, in silent indignation, were gathered about these placards wherever they appeared. But this concentrated and mere rebellion of the heart against such execrable measures gives the police authorities pleasure to behold, because they mistake that grim protest of crushed feelings for terror, and announce in the miserable jargon of their reports, that "the decrees posted up to-day by order of the prefect are observed to produce a salutary impression on the crowds that flock to read them." The cynical tone in which the sufferings and calamities, and even death, of persons denounced as insurgents are pronounced, is of a piece with this callous snarl of satisfaction at the progress of terror.

The 'Moniteur' in recounting the horrible fate of M. Chateauneuf, commissioner of the provisional government of 1848 in the Basses-Alpes, who was taken at Aups and shot in cold blood, nicknames the victim Citizen Chateauneuf, and adds, 'Sic transit gloria mundi'; thus concluding with a bang what he the recital of a horrible butchery.

The 'Patrie' contains an article by M. Delamarre, which forebodes the intentions of the government as to the working of the Corps Legislatif. This body is to be allowed no power of initiative; in other words, all bills are to be brought in by the government, assisted by the council of state. 'Thus the time of the legislature will not be wasted on the discussion of useless propositions.' There is to be no tribune, or reading-desk, in the centre of the semi-circular ranges of benches; but each member is to speak, as in England, from his place. The writer traces half the evils of parliamentary system in France to this use of the tribune, which throws the management of the Assembly into the hands of two or three ambitious orators. The ministers are not to sit in parliament. They are to be men of action, and their tenure of office is not to depend upon their power of talking. When orators can no longer make and unmake ministers by talking, they will not waste so much breath and passion. In conclusion, M. Delamarre says:— 'the parliamentary regime was talking. The representative regime will be action. The reign of speeches is over; that of serious business is to begin. Louis Napoleon will have the glory of inaugurating it.'

It is reported that one Cahagne, a colleague of Sobrier's in the command of Cassidore's montagnards, having used some harsh language during his conveyance as a captive from one fort to another against the officer who commanded the escort, was shot in cold blood, without ceremony. Victor Hugo has been arrested by the Belgian police at Brussels, where he concealed himself under the false name of Garvin (Jacques). Conducted before the procureur, Du Roi, for having assumed a false name, M. Victor Hugo declared that he had been obliged to fly with a false passport from Paris, as member of the comite de resistance, appointed in the meeting of the Mountain on December 2nd.

The Chamber of Commerce at Havre has been dissolved for passing a resolution condemning the coup d'etat of the 2nd.

A correspondent says:— 'In the letters of congratulation which have been forwarded to Louis Napoleon by the governments of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, it is plainly intimated that the article in the treaty of Vienna, according to which no member of the Napoleon family can again come to the throne of France, must be strictly adhered to. This "unfading cut of all" so alarmed and embarrassed the

President, that he at once evinced his most intimate friend and confidant, M. de Persigny, to St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, to represent, in the strongest possible manner, in the first place, that the safety of every throne in Europe depends upon the speedy establishment of an empire in France; and in the second place, that the only person who can found that empire is Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. On M. de Persigny's return from this mission he is to be appointed Secretary of State under the new constitution; M. Turgot, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs (which office is to be abolished) being considered utterly incompetent for any such position. As a retainer, however, M. Turgot is to be a member of the proposed senate. While these things are going on, the saloons of Paris are in a state of the utmost excitement. Tranquillity there is out of the question. They are not even terrified. Party spirit runs higher and higher every day, and has already engendered much personal animosity. The Napoleonists and the Assemblists are at sword's points. Reconciliation is impossible. The new constitution, which is already completed, and will be published in a few days, will please nobody. It will aim especially to conciliate Thiers's "vile multitude"; in fact, it will be a concentration and development of what is now called "Napoleonic democracy." The legitimists will bite their lips over it until they are too sore for speech. The President's cant word now-a-days is *le peuple*. He is to be the father of his people, the shepherd of his sheep, and will follow, fold, and fleece them to the death.

The mission of M. de Persigny to Brussels embraces three objects. He is to demand:—1. The extradition of all insurgents (as the government calls the citizens who rose against the coup d'etat) who have taken refuge in Belgium. 2. A strictly repressive law against the press. 3. The sum which the Belgian government is indebted to France for the expedition against Antwerp in 1831. It is said that the secret treaty made with Russia, by Polignac, in the time of Charles X., has been renewed by the present government. It is announced in the 'Moniteur' that Louis Bonaparte will, on the 31st inst., receive the consular commission at the 'Palace of the Elysee,' on which occasion they will declare the number of votes. The same evening the diplomatic corps, the clergy, and consistories will also be received. On January 1st, at ten in the morning, ten discharges of cannon will be fired at the Invalids for every million of affirmative votes.

At half-past eleven a Te Deum will be chanted at the Cathedral of Notre Dame de Paris. Louis Napoleon, all the generals, &c., will be present at the ceremony. The official receptions of the delegates of departments and arrondissements, of the civil and military authorities, will take place after the Te Deum, at half-past one, at the Palace of the Tuilleries. This announcement has made a great sensation.

The correspondent of the 'Daily News' says:— 'There is but too much reason to believe that those rumours which imputed to the president designs of foreign aggrandisement are not altogether unfounded. I am aware that in England a deal of scepticism is expressed upon this point. But I am bound to mould my communications upon facts which I receive from good and authentic sources, without paying the least attention to the degree of probability which may be attached to such views on the other side of the Channel. Let me call your attention to a most remarkable expression which appears in the "Moniteur," and which has evidently not been put there for nothing. In the preamble of the decree designating the new military division it is said, "with regard to the limits of the 6th division, whose head quarters are at Strasbourg." The 6th division is that of Strasbourg, destined by its form and position not to change, so long as the frontiers themselves do not change.' The words in italics are noted by every one as pregnant with meaning. In connexion with this subject, the following remark is reported to me, as having recently dropped from Louis Napoleon:— "The Emperor," he is reported to have said, "has bequeathed to me a debt to France; the province of the Rhine. I will discharge it."

On Monday it was universally reported that an attempt, either sham or real, would be made on the life of the President on his way to the ceremony of Notre Dame, or on his return. It is added that this attempt is an affair got up by the police. Whether an attempt be made or not the chances against its success will be multiplied by every means which preparation can devise. For the enormous guard, without which Louis Napoleon never moves, and the effectual fortification of the cuirasses with which he is surrounded, indicate distinctly the apprehension of assassination.

The following decree appears in the 'Moniteur':— '1. The result of the votes delivered on the 20th and 21st of December, 1851, in consequence of the appeal to the people, shall be proclaimed, published, and posted in the communes of the Republic. 2. A national fête shall be celebrated January 1st, 1852, in all the capitals of departments, and on January 13th, 1852, in all the communes of France. A Te Deum shall be chanted in all the churches.'

The following decree is published:— 'No cafe, tavern, or other place for the sale of drinks to be consumed on the premises, can be opened for the future without the previous permission of the authorities. 2. The closing of the establishments designated in the preceding article, which exist at present, or shall be authorised for the future, may be ordered by the prefect of police as a measure of public security. 3. Contraventions of the above provisions are punishable by a fine, from 25f. to 500f., and imprisonment, from six days to six months.'

Among the symptoms of the hour are to be noticed the care with which the Elyseean writers collect—supposing them not to invent—certain anecdotes of the election, tending to prove that France is already sighing for the empire. One of the wine-growing electors of Aize is said to have dropped a drawing of the little three-cornered hat into the box. Another elector adds to his 'Yes' that he wishes to abdicate this share of the national sovereignty into the hands of Louis Napoleon. Another wishes him to exercise royal authority, and to be invested with the pomp of royalty. Many scraps of verses are cited setting forth how much the writers desire to be governed by one man who knows better than themselves what is good for them. These straws have their significance just now.

TELEGRAPH.—The total number of votes in favour of Louis Napoleon given by the last official returns is 7,439,216.

WEDNESDAY.—The Prefect of the Seine has, with the authority of the Minister of the Interior, placed 80,000f. at the disposal of the mayors of Paris for the relief of the indigent of the capital on the proclamation of the votes of the 20th and 21st of December.

The President of the Republic has addressed a circular to the bishops of France, requesting them to celebrate a Te Deum in commemoration of the same event.

Accounts from Algiers of the 25th of December announce that the colony was perfectly tranquil.

M. Ronciere-le-Noury, staff-officer of the ministry of marine, has been despatched to Brest on an extraordinary mission. He is to study the means of accelerating the equipment of ships of war, which now take a couple of months in getting ready for sea. It is believed that by abridging certain formalities this period may be considerably shortened. The transportation squadron is to be got ready for sailing to Cayenne with all despatch.

M. de Montalembert has addressed to the 'Univers' a letter, giving his adhesion to the Catholic and Conservative press of Germany. He says that the evils inseparable from the liberty of the press can only be attenuated by the energetic and disciplined efforts of religious newspapers.

The committee charged to examine the lists of subscription deposited by each of the five companies competing for the Railway from Lyons to Avignon, has held a meeting, and after having discussed the worth of these lists, proposed to exclude from the adjudication the company of the Messageries Generales, the company represented by General Daulé, and the company of Jules Seguin and Co. If this proposition is admitted, the competition will lie between the company of MM. Seguin, Brothers, and Co., and the company of iron masters.

GERMANY.

PRUSSIA.—The publication in the 'Kölnen Zeitung' of two advertisements by the Peace Society has induced the Prussian government to proceed against that journal. The incriminated advertisements are translations of Kluhn Burritt's 'Olive Leaves for the People.' The editors of the 'Kölnen Zeitung' have consequently been condemned to pay a fine of fifty thalers. The archives of the late German Parliament at Frankfurt, its library, and other goods and chattels belonging to that defunct body, have been seized by execution of the Frankfurt police.

AUSTRIA.—Two Austrian officers who insulted a lady in the streets of Altona have been dismissed from the service. This exemplary proceeding, however, does not pacify the people of Hamburg, who loudly reprobate against the arbitrary conduct of the Austrian military, who arrested in Hamburg and carried off to prison in Altona two citizens who had a quarrel with an Austrian soldier, thus violating the rights of the city, and setting its jurisdiction at defiance. The Austrian general Georges has been deprived of his command, because one of his secretaries, it is said, supplied the Hungarian Refugees in London with full information respecting the Austrian measures. This affair, it is added, was also the cause of much acrimony on the part of the Vienna Cabinet against the English Foreign-office.

The war against the press goes on here with the same ignorant zeal as ever. The non-official papers in Hungary are ordered not only to publish the names of their several editors and contributors, but also a list of their subscribers. A censorship on a very curious and interesting basis is also announced as about to be immediately established. A class of subaltern (sic) officials are to be employed, all fine ignorant fellows on salaries of £30 to £40 a year, whose sole occupation will be to read the newspapers before their general issue, not, however, as it might be supposed, to improve their minds or soften their manners and prevent them ac-

ording to the prescription of Terence, from becoming brutal—but in order that they may 'stimulantly arrest and imprison the writer of any article containing objectionable sentiments or such as they may not be able to understand.'

AUSTRIA.—A great deal is being said about the present tranquillity of Vienna, and this fact appears more or less to falsify the accounts daily received in England of the disturbed and discontented state of Austria. It must by no means be inferred, however, from the apparent calm that these accounts are incorrect. The elements of discord are fermenting beneath the surface; the next outbreak will be a tremendous explosion, but till then the police are too strong for any petty disturbances to show themselves very often. Nevertheless, a few evenings since, on a play called 'The Carlsbader,' being performed, a very decided demonstration was made in favour of the republican principles it contains. They were applauded to the echo, and the Emperor is said to have left his box. The play has been since forbidden. This is a tolerably strong evidence of the state of public opinion, considering it can find no vent in the papers.

On the 18th ultimo, it being the birthday of the Emperor of Russia, a solemn act of homage was offered by the Austrian court at the Russian Embassy, every one except the Emperor himself appearing in the presence of Count Meyendorff, the Russian Minister, in their uniforms of state.

The necessities of life throughout Austria have risen nearly fifty per cent., from the combined causes of bad government, and the depreciation of the currency. This is partly to be accounted for by some of the peasantry refusing to cultivate their land under existing regulations. Large tracts of land, formerly devoted to the cultivation of tobacco in Hungary, are especially lying waste from this reason.

HANOVER.—The King has very ill received the deputation which presented to him the addresses of the Chambers. It is stated that the Prussian envoy at the Federal Diet has received orders to support the petition of the equestrian order. Upon the vacancy in the superior court of appeal of Hanover, the remaining judges have called upon the Diet of Calenberg to elect his successor; thus recognising the legal existence of that body, contrary to the law sanctioned by the late King.

ITALY.

TUSCANY.—The 'Costituzionale' of Florence publishes a sentence, pronounced on the 9th by the Chamber of Accusations, annulling an acquittal, by the Tribunal of Siena, of a person named Cimballi, who had been accused of having adorned some cakes with the three Italian colours and other emblems recalling to mind the convulsion of 1848. On the 37th the Corte Reale of Florence condemned three persons convicted of high treason to hard labour in the prison of Volterra for periods of six, twenty-eight, and forty months. A letter from Leghorn states that the court-martial of that town has condemned thirty-nine persons to death for having belonged to a secret society, the object of which was the overthrow of the grand ducal government, and the establishment of a republic in Tuscany. Eighty persons more, accused of the same crime, were acquitted. The punishment of death has, however, been commuted into various periods of imprisonment.

Henry Stratford, calling himself Lord Aldborough, and his brother Edward Stratford, have been condemned to death by the court-martial, upon the charge of conspiracy to overturn the government, and the unlawful possession of arms. The third brother, Charles Stratford, has been sentenced to a year's imprisonment in chains. But the punishment has in each case been commuted. Henry Stratford is to suffer ten years' imprisonment, Edward Stratford six years', and Charles Stratford has been set at liberty, the imprisonment previous to his trial being reckoned a sufficient punishment.

ROME.—It is said that some portion of the Jesuits do not approve of Louis Bonaparte's coup d'etat, thinking it will not last long, but it is said that the Pope felt reassured after his very flattering letter which was recently delivered to him by General Geman, from the President, begging his Holiness to be under no apprehensions whatever as to the result of the struggle, as the division of troops now occupying Rome would, at all events, watch over the safety and interests of the head of the church and the sacred college. Louis Napoleon furthermore explained that his coup d'etat had been dictated by the imperative necessity of preserving order, and that he desired to be considered in future as heretofore, a dutiful and attached son of the church. His Holiness had several persons around him at the time the missive was read to him, and he is stated to have expressed himself as perfectly convinced of the President's good intentions; adding, that if Louis Napoleon only acted as well as he wrote all would go on perfectly well. The ecclesiastical court certainly has some interest in the result of French events, and in the destruction of republicanism, and it is currently reported at Rome that a large sum of money (300,000 scudi) was forwarded from Rome to Paris shortly before the President's coup d'etat, in order to facilitate that important operation. The last exterminating blow has just been given to the monetary system of the Republican government of Rome, by a decree, prohibiting the circulation of copper money bearing the insignia of the Roman Eagle, and the inscription 'Dioe Popolo.'

NAPLES.—MORE TRIALS.—Advices from Naples state that the long-expected trials of the accused for the revolt of May 15, 1848, commenced on Friday. The celebrated President of the Grand-Criminal Court, Navarra, took his seat surrounded by those judges who have already proved themselves to be the political tools of the government. The prisoners, forty-five in number, occupied the same benches on which Poerio and his companions sat a few months since. The court presented precisely the same appearance—a strong body of gendarmes, and any number of spies, placed at different points, to report the words and looks of the crowd which filled the body of the court. Before the trials could commence it was of course necessary that all the accused should be present, one of whom, Archdeacon Capagnesi, a man upwards of eighty years of age, was reported as unable to sustain the fatigue. The president proposed that he should have a lawyer to represent him, but the old man stoutly refused, and was brought into court in a sedan chair. In the first place, it will be necessary to give the origin of these trials. We shall, therefore, follow the printed accusation of the Procurer-General who acts for the crown. The 15th of May, 1848, was the day appointed for the meeting of the first parliament of the new constitution. A difficulty had arisen about the form of the oath, when the members of the lower house illegally met at Monte Olivato. A pernicious faction threw up barricades—it was feared the King would not prove loyal to his oath; the former perjury of the Neapolitan Bourbons was quoted as an example. A street fight ensued (a terrible day) and eventually the royal authority was triumphant. More than 600 were taken with arms in their hands—more than 2,000 were killed or wounded. Then followed a royal amnesty. The King told the people that all should be forgotten, that new elections should take place, and that he would ever maintain the constitution. Only one of these promises was kept, namely, the calling of the new parliament, which sat just as long as the events of Europe were doubtful. No one ever believed that the revolt of May would be revived, and a monster trial grow out of it. It would appear, however, that the government thought it an admirable opportunity to imprison and clear the court of the members of the late parliament. This is the political aim of these trials. The number of the accused is 321, and comprises one cabinet minister, one minister plenipotentiary, several deputies, persons high in the church, a few nobles and other persons of distinction and property. Of these only forty-six are brought to trial; the rest are in exile, or 'liable to be called upon.' Why so many who were actually taken with arms in their hands are not incorporated in the trial, is a Neapolitan mystery, to say the least of it. The general accusation runs thus:—Of conspiring and threatening the internal security of the states, with a view of destroying or changing the form of government, and exciting the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdom to arm themselves against the Royal authority, as well as, in fact, for having actually excited civil war between the inhabitants of the same population—treason consummated in the capital, May 15, 1848. Those who are not present will be tried, says the act of accusation, precisely as if they were in court, so that many exiles will probably find it impossible to return, as there can be little doubt about the intentions of the government. The printed act of accusation contains a variety of documents. 'The first is the programme of the first constitutional ministry (approved by the King). The *leggi italiane* is promised, and the royal banner is to wear the Italian tri-colour! Then follows a proclamation of the supreme magistracy of the kingdom, calling on the people to demand the constitution of 1820. This paper declares the King will not observe his royal oath, but will destroy the constitution, as the Bourbons have ever done. That the then ministry must be changed. To arms! and long life to the Pope! finishes this paper. The next proclamation demands one chamber and no peers. Then follow the thanks of the deputies to the people and National Guard, dated May 15th, 1848. Further on is found the protest of the chambers against the violence used by the Royal troops, and a declaration that they will meet again on the first opportunity. The royal amnesty followed, but that is not printed. The prisoners have naturally protested against their being tried for an act which, supposing they were accomplices, was forgiven by the King. The court having been called on, in the preliminary acts on which the accusations are founded, to show cause why the royal amnesty does not stand good, says that as a commission was appointed to inquire into the criminal acts of May 15th, the royal decree does not stand good. And that the solemn words in fact of the King were simply momentary precautions. No one, I presume, will be surprised at this decision of a Neapolitan court, illegality is the rule, not the exception; and as for royal promises and royal oaths, they are not only broken, but the Neapolitans have, as all the world knows, an authorized catechism to teach perjury

to the youth of the country. Leopold, late Neapolitan minister at Turin, and Scialoja, a cabinet minister (two of the prisoners now under trial), both put in a plea of incompetency, as by law, old as well as new, ministers cannot be tried by the ordinary courts of law. The 'act of accusation,' I need not say, puts aside the difficulty which is illegality No. 1. Illegality No. 2, is the non-recognition of the royal amnesty. Illegality No. 3, is trial by a court which does not admit of appeal. Illegality No. 4, is the seizure of documents necessary to the prisoners' trials. Illegality No. 5, is the intimidation of lawyers to prevent their pleading for the prisoners. Illegality No. 6, is the packing of judges. The proceedings of the criminal court are, it is possible, more illegal than when Poerio was tried. At one sitting the president would not allow the prisoners to speak; refused to register the fact in the minutes of trial; and finally, on more than one occasion, objected to witnesses being called. It is very clear the whole of the prisoners will be condemned.

TURKEY.
As the exact cause of the misunderstanding between the French and the Porte does not appear to be generally known, a few words on the subject may not be out of place. The Oriental Catholics lay claim to nine places intimately connected with the life and death of our Saviour; similar pretensions are made by the followers of the Greek Church. The French protect the former, the Russians the latter. The matter was submitted to a mixed committee of Catholics and Greeks, but the members being unable to come to a decision, referred it to a high Turkish Court, composed of the Sheikh al Islam, Rifat Pasha, two chief judges, and Foad Effendi.

HUNGARY.
The following narrative exhibits not only the disorganisation of Hungarian society, but the utter uselessness for any good purpose, of the immense army now spread over the Austrian empire:—Adolf Count Benitzky, a gentleman of rank and fortune, is amusing himself with his family, sometime between the hours of eleven and twelve in the morning. Suddenly a band of eight armed men ride quietly up, and having stabled their horses, enter the house and plunder it. They take 1,300 florins in gold, silver and bank notes to a considerable amount, a service of silver for thirty-six persons, which they pack up leisurely, jewellery of great value, three pairs of pistols, and two guns. They then request the pleasure of M. Benitzky's company as far as the village notary's where he has some more money, and which, it is not being his, that functionary immediately gives up with many expressions of respect and politeness, and so the affair ends, and the eight gentlemen having taken some refreshment, disappear. The ubiquitous police are not here; it is none of their business to prevent or punish mere crimes. They are going about cross-questioning servants about the habits of their masters; prying into private letters; using skeleton keys to open writing desks, and feeling the proprietors of the brothels, and the waiters of public houses to conform.

SWITZERLAND.
The Federal Chambers have terminated their labours, after having ordered a new coinage to be made in silver and copper to the extent of four millions, the figure of Helvetia stretching out her arm in the old coins not appearing very symbolical, and, in fact, having led to a considerable amount of ridicule. The shillings are not to be resumed before July next. The note of the French government has caused some excitement, but no doubt exists that a compliant reply will be returned, although the canton of Bale-Campagne has proceeded to complete the law complained of. The constitution of the federation only secures to Christians the liberty which Louis Napoleon now demands for French Jews, but the treaty on which he bases his claim is of date anterior to that settlement.

UNITED STATES.
By the Humboldt we learn that Kossuth's health is said to be much enfeebled by the excessive labour imposed upon him of receiving and responding to the numerous addresses pouring in from almost every town and association in the American Union. Already, it appears by the 'New York Herald,' the Governor of Hungary has made no less than twenty-six orations since his arrival in New York. The enthusiasm in his favour appears to be on the increase. On the 11th ult. a grand banquet was given in his honour at the Irving-house by the Corporation of New York. The speech of Kossuth on this occasion was said to be his masterpiece. It developed in the clearest manner his views and expectations regarding the action of the United States in reference to intervention in Hungarian affairs.

By the America we learn that the welcome to Kossuth had passed the Senate House of Representatives by a large majority, and the 'New York Evening Express' says:— 'The President will send the resolution of Congress to Kossuth, accompanied by a letter written in the spirit of the resolution itself. The Guest will be permitted to address Congress, if he desires to do so, and it is intended to appoint a committee of each House to receive and introduce Kossuth, on his visiting the capital. It is also contemplated to give him a dinner—the expense to be defrayed out of the tickets. In the Senate, on the 16th ult., a committee of three was ordered to wait on Kossuth, on his arrival in Washington, and invite him to the chamber of that august body.'

The 'New York Herald' of the 17th ult. says:— 'We are informed that a special messenger was despatched from Washington, last night, by the President, to invite Kossuth to the national capital under the joint resolution of welcome passed by the two Houses.'

There has been a great deal of destitution among the emigrants who landed late in the season, at the head of Lake Ontario. Many of them being Irish labourers, made their way to the Great Western Railway, in hopes of being able to work. They arrived in a state of destitution, and the disasters of 1847 recurred on a diminished scale. In that fatal year over seventeen hundred Irish emigrants were buried in one grave in Toronto. In the present season some seventy died in a very short time in the village of Dundas. The shanties erected for the labourers along the line of the Great Western Railroad were crowded with these unfortunate beings, seventy of them, on one occasion, being stowed into one shanty. The men would attempt to work; in a few hours they would be compelled to desist through sheer exhaustion, and next day they were sure to fall sick.

The chief speech of the New York papers is still the speeches of Kossuth at the various dinners given to him and his answers to deputations. The 'Herald' says:— 'The Kossuth excitement is increasing, deepening, and widening, in every direction. His mission, its objects, and its tendencies, cannot now easily be misunderstood. They comprehend the grand enterprise of a universal revolution throughout the civilised world—a political, religious, and social revolution—radical, complete, and universal.'

Foreign Miscellany.

Dr. Edward Banks, Syndicus and Secretary to the Senate of Hamburg, frequently employed by that city in important diplomatic missions, has died in Switzerland, where he was travelling for the restoration of his health.

Madame Schroeder-Devrient, now Baroness von Beck, the celebrated Italian poet, Giovanni Berchet, died at Turin on the 23rd ult.

The 'Giornale di Roma' of the 20th ult. publishes a series of regulations for the introduction of postage stamps. There are to be stamps of eight different values, varying from half a baiocco to seven baiocchi (a baiocco is about a half-penny). The stamps represent the triple crown and the keys. Letters for the interior may or may not be prepaid by means of stamps; but letters for foreign states must. In every other respect the regulations are the same as those adopted by other countries.

The civil and military governor of Bologna has issued a notification, dated the 20th ult., announcing the condemnation of thirty-seven brigands, who infested the districts of Medicina, Budrio, and Imola. Five of them have been condemned to death and executed; twenty-two condemned to the galleys for ten, fifteen, eighteen, or twenty years, and ten acquitted.

The Sultan has just issued a firman in favour of the Christian Protestants, allowing them to meet together freely, and permitting their marriages and births to be registered.

An Austrian, Captain Kuechenbecker, who deserted to the Italians in 1848, was arrested in Paris among the barricade men on the 4th of December last, and delivered over by the French police to the Austrian authorities, who will now carry out the sentence of hanging, which they some time since performed in effigy.

According to decrees of the Berlin Postal Union rather a singular regulation will be in force, viz.:—Letters marked 'express' are to be always forwarded on as fast as possible, and to have precedence of all others. It will be necessary, however, to pay double postage. It is not mentioned why all letters are not to be 'forwarded as fast as possible'; or, if we are to consider that paying double postage is to free people from the annoyance of having their private concerns laughed over at the post-office, if so a man, however poor, need not grudge the money.

An English architect is occupied in building a winter haven at Pech. It is to be made large enough for 1,080 vessels.

The encumbered estates commissions in Bohemia are also nearly as busy as in Ireland, property to the amount of 37,817,055 florins have lately come within the sphere of their operations.

An awful domestic tragedy occurred near St. John, New Brunswick, on the 7th ultimo. A crazy man, after calling his family to prayer, attacked and killed his wife, two children, and an aunt, and very dangerously injured four other persons.

Spirit of the Press.

LORD PALMERSTON AND THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

(From the Spectator.)
Lord Palmerston has certainly been a member of her Majesty's government. For this announcement the public were in some measure prepared by the rumours of divisions in the cabinet that have been current for a few weeks. There is no great mystery about the rupture. The story which would fasten it upon the personal animosity of the Colonial Secretary meets with little credence. What with the broken health of the Home Secretary, the proved incompetence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the unpopular waywardness of the Earl himself, the Greys have enough to do to keep their own ground. The cause of quarrel has this explanation. The Foreign Secretary had come to indulge his peculiarities to such an extent that his colleagues could no longer get on with him. Lord Palmerston had always been one of these men who engage in politics as sportsmen follow the fox, more for the excitement of the chase than from an earnest desire to attain the object in pursuit. As Foreign Minister, he delighted in keeping controversies open, gratifying himself with the exercise and display of his own address and resources. He had an unlucky turn for making his disputes with foreign Ministers personal quarrels. Though it is not desirable that this country should be entangled in alliances with despotic powers, and resources of power, and all foreign governments should at least be on terms of mutual insult, Lord Palmerston sometimes forgot this. He repelled or discouraged any interference of his colleagues in his particular department; he refused to submit his policy to the discussion of the Cabinet, and enforced the vanity of diplomacy almost as rigidly against the statesmen with whom he was acting as the general public. To be held responsible for every eccentricity of the Foreign Secretary—to be obliged to approve or defend measures respecting which they had no voice, and to be exposed to a censure which could not be reasonably expected from his colleagues—had habits gain strength proverbially from his long advance in years, and the complaint of colleagues that Lord Palmerston's willfulness had become of late quite ungovernable, has at last a semblance of probability.

The secession of the Foreign Secretary from office cannot fail, however, to be productive of grave consequences. With respect to domestic affairs, it is scarcely credible that the changes in the administration can stop there. Lord Palmerston is not the man to acquiesce quietly in a change which would deprive him of his power, and he is not a man to let the nation to private life. He is a politician. There is no reason to suppose that a Parliamentary reformer required to strike out a useful line of policy, combine a party for its support, and form a strong government; but he has formidable abilities for attacking and annoying an incompetent ministry. As a watchful, acute, and relentless orator, his familiarity with the practical details of business will render him a dangerous occupant of the Opposition benches. His antecedents, when last out of place, warrant the belief that he will not be scrupulous with regard to the weapons he employs. The unpatriotic eagerness with which he sought to embarrass the negotiations by which Lord Ashburton brought to a close that hateful and protracted controversy with the United States which Lord Palmerston himself had found so extremely complicated and threatening, and which he rendered still worse, is well remembered—the never-ending disparagement—the Ashburton capitulation—and similar epithets of abuse—with which he assailed it; to crown all, the unprecedented identification of himself with those attacks by attending a dinner of the contributors to the newspaper which was for the time his obedient organ. Nor is Lord Palmerston likely to lack followers. His pleasing manners and his address to the masses of men to believe him zealous in a cause, without committing him to any definite pledges, fit him to become the rallying point of the most dissimilar and incongruous discontents. It is exactly the man to "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm" of aimless agitation.

With respect to foreign affairs, his present critical aspect is sufficient to cause uneasiness on account of the uncertainty which must necessarily prevail respecting the competence and the tendencies of his successor, even to those who are well enough pleased to have got rid of Lord Palmerston. The comparatively little that is known of Lord Granville is favourable and promising. The misgivings expressed on account of his political inexperience, and his newness to the duties of Foreign Secretary, are not without some countervailing suggestions. It has been too much the custom to talk and think of diplomacy as a mystery, a trick of trade, that can only be understood by the initiated. At the commencement of the American war of independence, the De

