

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
Fergus O'Connor, Esq., M.P., and now belongs to
the Editor and Printer, by whom it will be carried
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. It
is 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 1843, 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 follow—
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. H. Harney, and to the com-
mencement of periodicals, in which these gentlemen
could 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-Demo-
cratic press of England.

Add to this list of influences, adverse to the
pecuniary position 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 consequent
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 pre-
sent stage of the Popular Movement in this country,
in 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 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
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 Chartist a NATIONAL
party, by giving them the means of freely commu-
nicating 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
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 the
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,
his columns will be as freely 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
and 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;
know practically the grievances of which they have to
complain; and, with our heart of hearts, will
stand by their 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-
dividual 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 Men's 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 occupation,
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." They
feel, while labouring to elevate themselves in
the social scale by means of that powerful and ben-
eficial 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; and
Associative 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 capital-
ists—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-
ments, 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 Corres-
pondents 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 imprescrip-
tible 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, adopt the words of Addison—
"The poet in mortal combat engages."
But will 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 ANABASIS will add strength to the timidity of
the governing classes; and the importance of main-
taining "things as 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
secures peace and comfort at home; to reduce which
would be but to encourage anarchy and civil conten-
tion. So constitutionalism will be the safe goal 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
this 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 true
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 are 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 unfranchised.
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, Teutotism and Rationalism with CHART-
ISM; alliances which I protest against, as tending
to make the CHARTER a vehicle for the dissemination
of ideas, all of which are more or less foreign to its
origination.

The Executive of the National Charter Associa-
tion 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 hid-
eously to some, and objectionable to all.

I see the Hatters' trade is moving in such a
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.

Public Meetings.

ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF THE SOCIETY OF FRATER-
NAL DEMOCRATS.

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

Mr. D. H. R. 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 na-
tions.

Mr. THORNTON-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
and brought forward a peculiar crisis 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
events, they might yet be turned to the progress of
the cause of humanity. They well knew the manner in
which the soldiery, armed by extraordinary bravery,
had shot down the people in the streets of Paris. One li-
stance had come to his knowledge in which eleven milliners
were shot in the upper room of a house where they were
meeting. Another instance, in which 200 men were but-
chered in a similar blood-bathed manner. This day, the
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 greater effect. Despotism everywhere
might with truth be said to be triumphant. 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
sanctioned in the demand of that wily minister Lord
Palmerston. The only hope for 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
point of duty in America, and thus to pre-
vent a union which would otherwise be too powerful for the
combined forces of despotism.

Mr. LE BLOIS also responded to this sentiment. It was
useless to know or admire a sentiment unless you endeavoured
to carry it out. It was this feeling
of apathy that led the people to perpetrate deeds
at which humanity shuddered. It was useless to trust in
prepared upon the armed myriads arrayed against the
people; but by their every day actions they must protest
against every species of tyranny, and spread abroad the
principles of truth, justice, and enlightenment. The aspect
of the continent in the present time was dark and gloomy.
Democracy was in the air, but it was not intelligent; it
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. PERRIN 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 ad-
versity and reproach; but he trusted that his guests, like
Marat, Robespierre, and others, would like to silence
those who had been his enemies, and to see the cause he
had so long advocated, triumphant. The Fraternal Demo-
cratic Society was known and respected throughout the
greater part of Europe, and was in truth the pioneer of
the alliance of nations. They were bound, 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 dull apathy, and living in comparative
comfort, and the French a feeble people. Ah! how
little did they think of the Frenchman's condition. 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 cry. Kosuth had
crossed the Atlantic to cement a union of nations, and rose
to 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 "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. Their Society had somewhat drooped of late,
but he had to inform them that, since the issue of their last
address, he had 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 lovers of true Democracy. If their society was duly
supported, they would be able to expose the doings of
the despots of the continent, and would put to silence 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 alluded to the conduct of a portion of the democratic
press who found fault with the strong language which was
used at the Newcastle and other meetings, in reference to
the conduct of Louis Napoleon. He again repeated the
terms he used, and said, that those who attempted to
mildness, were less honest; they might be, were
equally injuring the cause of Democracy with those
who were in the pay of despotism, and receiving Russian gold.
He was told that this language did harm—that it would
goad the despots abroad to commit greater tyrannies.
Would this stand good relative to a common murderer?
They would be able to denounce him, but it would do
others to the same effect. 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 added the opinion of Dr. Channing, that a Usurper was
the blackest of criminals; that the brand of Cain should
be stamped upon him, and his conduct held up to the deepest
contemnation. While denouncing the conduct of Napoleon,
he must not forget that of his abettors, the clergy; more
especially that of the Catholic domination, the middle
class, the Press, and even his old rival candidate for Tiver-
ton, Lord Palmerston, who, at his last speech in '52, he
predicted that no disturbances would take place in '52, he
well knowing that his disciples were then concocting in Paris.
The people of this country were bound to at once organ-
ise 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 resources of Democracy with those of Europe
would be threatened in a similar manner; and unless the
people of this country looked well to it, they would see
themselves ranged on the side of despotism, and have a
new Allen Bill passed, (Mr. Harney was loudly
cheered.)

Mr. B. 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 better teach them to respond to that feel-
ing than any words he could utter. The first Apostle of
Fraternity to his disciples he dismissed at once. Let them
follow him, not to pomp and power, but through wretches-
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
all be Kosuths or Mazzinis 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 justly to appreciate the conduct of
Napoleon, for they had placed him in their 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 liberty, but recent events
had removed his suspicions. He believed that the late
events in France were the result of a Cossack coup d'etat.
The Cossacks were near relatives to her Majesty, Lord
Westmoreland had been refused admission for his creden-
tials at the Vienna until it was decided here that
Lord Palmerston was to supply his place, had married an
Roman Catholic; this was a sufficient fact. He believed
that England was to be seduced into a Russo-Austrian
war, 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 same arrangements were kept up until a late hour, and
the abilities of several well-known Vocalists
were brought into active requisition.

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

proceed to the Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand, was
held at the rooms of the association, Adelphi. Considerable
interest was attached to the meeting, owing to the cir-
cumstance that dispatches had been received from the colony,
dated to late as the 2nd of September last, announcing
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 political topic had reference to the arrest of
Canterbury as an independent province. On this subject
numerous meetings had been held in the settlement, and
for the purpose, to acquire in the wishes of the colonists when
properly made known. A handsome bridge had been built
over the Eden, and a new church constructed at Christchurch.
Mr. Lowell also read an extended correspondence. The writer
generally spoke of the abundance and good quality of the
land, and in pleasing terms of the present state and
ultimate success of the colony. Lord Lytton said that
the meeting must have observed that the arrival of the
ships had not been so favourable as that nearly all the writers
who had sent them favourable letters of that description, and
who would bring them to the society, because the object was
not to puff 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 those unfavourable letters, and
know nothing of them. A variety of interesting and prac-
tical suggestions to induce colonists to meet at the settle-
ment separated with the customary compliment to the
chairman.

REFORM MEETING AT HADLEIGH, SUFFOLK.
On Monday a public meeting, in connexion with the
National Reform Association, was held at Hadleigh, Suffolk.
The room was well filled by a highly respectable
auditory, including many Suffolk farmers.—James 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-
ginning to be convinced that, in order to meet the want of
it, it was indispensably necessary to go a step further and
endeavour to obtain Parliamentary Reform. Lord John
Russell had promised to give a bill, but he must be looked
after in the fulfilment of his promise, otherwise it would
be a very little bit of a bill he would give. It depended on
the exertions of the people what was the character of that
measure should be. In his (the chairman's) opinion, every
man who paid taxes ought to have a voice in the govern-
ment of the country; but, however much the suffrage were
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.

Free Correspondence.

TO THE LONDON EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF
THE AMALGAMATED IRON TRADES.

GENTLEMEN,—Since you refused to give me a hearing at
your meeting last night in the Hall of Commerce—since,
as the Chairman stated from the chair, you were fearful of
letting me speak, lest you should be supposed by the
Press, the public, or your masters, to be in any way con-
nected with Chartism, and thus create hostility against
you in the rich—since I cannot stand by and see a
number of my men, with large resources, rush blind-
fold into destruction, dissipate their means, and leave
themselves weakened and powerless in the hands of the
capitalists, without raising my voice against so ruinous a
proceeding, I beg to express my reasons for doing so
at any time in public meeting, for the purpose of friendly
and mutual explanation.

Permit me to observe, that you invited your opponents
to attend, and promised to give them a hearing; I don't
know what chance they would have had, since you would
not hear even a friend!

It is not very creditable to put down the free expression
of opinion on so vital a matter, at the drilled signals of a
platform Committee. Wise and thoughtful men—who
wish well to the cause they profess to embrace, are gen-
erally glad to investigate it in all its bearings; you seem to
shirk hearing any one speak, whose views might tend to
warn your members from the fatal error to which you are
trying to commit them. That is not performing your duty
wisely or well. If you seek to carry your object by mere
clamour and one-sided platform-spouting, you will fail.

I had pledged myself not to commit or compromise the
meeting to any political movement, and to analyse the
propriety of the course you were pursuing, and the
results to which it must tend—but, notwithstanding that,
you must down my voice with violence, merely out of fear
lest you should irritate your employers; and the Press,
by letting a Chartist speak!

Would you have refused a man a hearing, simply because
he was known as a Tory, or a Whig?

awakened him. A friend of Dr. Abercrombie dreamed that he had crossed the Atlantic, and spent a fortnight in America. In embarking, on his return, he fell into the sea, and awaking in the fright, found that he had not been asleep a minute. Dr. Abercrombie, David, Daniel, James?

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.
Notice.—All private letters for me must be addressed to 14, Queen's-head-passages, as Mr. Owen and myself have ceased to be connected with the "Northern Star." Letters on business to be addressed to the "Proprietors of the Northern Star."

A TWENTY YEARS' CHARTER. of Padstow, having read the report of the recent discussion on Co-operation between Mr. Lloyd Jones and Mr. Ernest Jones, in which it is said that not a single word was said in favour of Mr. Lloyd Jones, informs us that the latter gentleman wished his friends not to vote—votes proved nothing; and that his Chairman protested against the sense of the meeting being taken in the heat of excitement, as the people would be better able to decide in their calm and thoughtful moments. This statement, our correspondent says, ought to have appeared in the report. In proof of the above, a Committee has informed him that, since the discussion, ten new members have been enrolled; and that the receipts have increased £50 per week.
G.M. MANNING, Esq., and H.H.H., had better consult an attorney. We cannot answer legal questions.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

THE WEEK.

After the exciting events which have marked the few last weeks, the lull which has come over the political affairs of the Continent seems almost like stagnation. The sum of all the accounts which reach us from Paris and the departments, may be expressed in three words, "France is tranquil," or, if we choose to vary the phrase, we may substitute for that expression "Order is restored," or, "Society is saved." How France indeed can be anything but tranquil upon the surface, it is difficult to conceive. It is like the tranquillity of a man burning to speak his wrongs, but with a gag in his mouth—longing to strike one good blow to avenge his injuries, but manacled—fettered, bound hand and foot without a public opinion which dares express itself—without a free thought which may shape itself in words. France is one great prison house, with soldiers for gaolers and executioners. Under these circumstances, the mockery of election has been gone through, and the result is as might have been expected, that LOUIS NAPOLEON is again the chosen of the French people, by nearly seven millions of voters, against a little more than half a million. Even supposing the returns to be true, admitting that the tickets in the urns were fairly counted, their is nothing to be surprised at in that. Indeed with the general terrorism which dominated over all minds, and with the gentle hints given to printers, that if they printed negative tickets, they would be deprived of their licenses, it is almost surprising that even half a million of voters were recorded against the Usurper. Besides that, the presses were kept fully employed in many of the departments producing the affirmative voting cards; and although it was said that voters could write their assent or dissent, yet the fact of a sharp-eyed official being able to detect at once whether the document printed or written, and thence to infer its tendency, was quite sufficient check to men who did not wish a prison door to open before them, to find themselves on board a steamer, on their way to a place of exile in the tropics.

However that may be, there can be no doubt that if the real votes had been unfavourable the published return would have been much the same. It was the policy of the PRESIDENT to have a vast majority of "Yess," with just a sufficient sprinkling of "Nays," to give the whole the appearance of fact and truth; and he must have a very oddly-constituted mind who can doubt that the man who could break promises after promise—heap perjury upon perjury—and coolly cause peaceful citizens to be shot down—would, from the fruit of all his crimes—the reward of all his guilt—be within his reach, hesitate at such a trifle as a little jugglery with a few millions of voting tickets. That jugglery—or the fears of the people—has made him, for the time, the master of France, by law as well as by right; and he is framing a Constitution for a free people, while his police agents are shipping off to Cayenne hundreds of persons suspected—not convicted—of violating what stands for law—the decree of the despot. It is probable, however, that just at this point the troubles of the World-Emperor begin to gather most thickly around him. It is comparatively easy for a man who has physical force enough at his back to bully or bayonet a nation into silence, but repression of that sort cannot be everlasting. A society which has once tasted of liberty must have some room to breathe—some leave to think—some power to exercise the faculties which save it from barbarism. How to allow that, and yet continue despotism, is the great problem which the Regent of France has to solve, and if he successfully answers it he will be the first to achieve so apparently impossible a feat. There seems to be now no alternative left LOUIS NAPOLEON but to continue to rule by the sword, or submit to fall by the sword—to persist in ignoring his victims;—to persevere in crushing and chaining him from power. He is in a bad course, and every step he takes forces him further into it. He is like the spirit we read of in Moore's "Epicurean," who, forced to ascend an enchanted ladder, found that retreat was impossible, for as soon as he had faded away to nothingness, and when LOUIS NAPOLEON does reach the last step, what then? It feelings of the people, denied a legitimate channel into the forest of passions, and that end will be in his hand France from an anarchy worse in its details, slaves, broke loose, will commit enormities from that last misery, that lowest, deepest, worst degradation, unless some unforeseen event should cast down the tyrant. The Jesuits upon whom he is leaning will evidently be utterly powerless to control the storm. France has gone beyond the influence of faith; the atheism which went before the first revolution has been working ever since in her heart. She really is the least religious country of Europe. Between the scepticism of her philosophers, the disbelief of large masses of her more thoughtful artisans, and the grovelling superstitions of the rest, her soul is engrossed—real reverence there is little or none, and all who can think, dread and detest the wily and unscrupulous followers of IGNATIUS LOYOLA more than any other class of the priesthood.

For the rest of Europe all we can say is, that it is dark as blackest night—everywhere Fraud, Fear, and Force. Nothing but a dim hope and an instinctive sense that wrong must ultimately work its own downfall, to give comfort to the people. The soldier is at once the maker and administrator of law for the world. But, surely, around those who are spreading chains over the souls of men are gathering the signs of coming ruin. In spite of ROTHSCHILDS, loans come in but slowly, and though taxes are collected at the point of the bayonet, they are insufficient to supply the void. In fact, the armaments of the world are devouring its industry. Everywhere armies, like a cloud of locusts settling down upon a green field, and the leaving it a waste, are destroying both wealth and the industry which might create it; and if the time arrives, as it seems likely to do, when the means to pay the instruments of terror can no longer be promised, rulers will find that the most dangerous portion of its population is that which has been taken from labour in order to coerce the labourer. It is not beyond the bounds of probability that the weapons which have been sharpened against the people may be turned against the bosoms of Kings and Emperors.

At home the removal of Lord PALMERSTON from the post which he has so long filled both under Whig and Tory Premiers, is deemed the most significant, and excites the greatest interest. We confess that the whole affair is—as it most likely is—also to those better informed—a mystery. It is within the region of diplomacy; and whenever we get there we find ourselves involved beyond extrication—in plots, schemes, wiles, and intrigues of the most subtle character. Secrecy and deceit are the presiding geni of the place. Every face seems to wear a veil and every tongue to speak with an assumed voice. To make diplomacy bear that character, no man has perhaps done more than Lord PALMERSTON himself; and if we thought that the change would produce greater openness and frankness, a candour not only to Englishmen but to foreign foes and friends, we should not be disposed to mourn his Lordship's descent from office, although his patriotism were undoubted, and his popularity ten times greater than it is. But we are not by any means sure that that is the case. The best recommendation of Lord GRANVILLE to the people is that they know nothing of him. His passport to the family circle of the Whigs is, that he is related to two Whig dukes and forms another link in the chain of relationship which encircles power and place, honour and pay. It is said Lord JOHN RUSSELL will really control the policy of the Foreign Office, and that may well be the case, for no one accedes to the noble lord, who is at the head of the Administration of diffidence in his powers to do anything. What the witty canon SIDNEY SMITH said of him years ago is as true then as now—he would be equally ready to command the Channel Fleet, build St. Paul's, or bleed a patient; and so sceptical is he of the possibility of failure, that he would not believe he had really failed when the Fleet had foundered, the Cathedral fallen, or the patient died. If Lord JOHN RUSSELL really is the veritable Foreign Minister, Lord PALMERSTON's alleged want of courtesy will hardly be mended, and there will be little, if any, more disposition to make diplomacy what it ought to be—honest, candid and straightforward.

In fact we cannot find it in our hearts to be the partisans of either faction. If the result has been brought about to serve the personal spite of a GREY clique, that is contemptible and petty enough. If it has been caused by Lord PALMERSTON giving in his adhesion to the policy of LOUIS NAPOLEON and the success of his atrocities, such a course deserved to bring with it political degradation and ignominy. But we must wait for the true explanation till the opening of Parliament furnishes an arena in which the combatants may fight out their quarrel.

Whatever may be the effect on our foreign policy the cabinet is pretty sure to suffer, if it does not fall from power when deprived of Lord PALMERSTON's aid, and exposed to his cutting irony. Now that he has gone there is positively not one orator left to give the Whigs a command of the House. Their late ally and present foe, has been their main-stay. Lord J. RUSSELL is confessedly far too weak for the place. Sir CHARLES WOOD can hardly stagger through a budget debate. Mr. LABOUCHERE is almost a nonentity in a contest of words. The HOME SECRETARY is so enfeebled by ill-health, that he is scarcely equal to the routine duties of his office, and what with rebellious Calfies, discontented Colonists, and convicts making a new home for crimes imperative, Lord GREY has got his hands crowded with more business than he knows what to do with, and will want help rather than be in a position to give it.

If Lord PALMERSTON then, as his antecedents lead us to expect—giving the world another instance of his versatility and the facility with which he changes sides—turns round upon his quondam friends, and rips up the secrets of the "GREY Inquiry,"—the weak Cabinet will totter to its fall. What then? The promised new Reform Bill will become more of a myth than it now is, a struggle will be inaugurated of which none can distinctly see the issue. Such are the prospects with which we commence the new year, which augurs to be at least as eventful as its predecessor.

OPERATIVES AND THEIR CALUMNIATORS.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, to whose dispute with their employers we adverted at some length last week, have been both bold and wise. Beaten on all sides by untruths—misrepresented by their employers at their meetings—stigmatised in advertisements—belied in letters from anonymous correspondents—and calumniated and threatened in "Times" leaders, they have determined and straight-forwardly come before the country. They were told, with all the might of the Editorial authority of the leading journal, that they would have public sympathy and the law against them. Their answer has practically been, that they would try to create a healthier and wiser public opinion than that which finds expression in the "Times"; and that, as for the law, they would take care not to violate it; and those were answers well worthy of the most intelligent of the working classes.

On Tuesday night the Council of the Amalgamated Society held a great meeting of the trade and the public, at the Hall of Commerce; and so that there might be no mistake as to the objects of the meeting, the handbill by which it was called stated, that it was for the purpose of contradicting the falsehoods circulated by the employers, and echoed through the Press—to offer full explanations, and to initiate a course of conduct for the future. In order still more directly to call the attention of their opponents to their proceedings, cards of invitation were forwarded to the newspapers, and each of the London firms who have joined the manufacturers' combination, had a special intimation of what was about to be done. This was emphatically the right course to adopt. The meeting was really a public one in the widest sense of the term, and altogether a very different affair from the hole and corner meeting of the employers, where the moral conspiracy entitled the "Central Association" of manufacturers was concocted. We do not know whether or not the principal masters were present—if they were, they were silent listeners; but thousands of men, evidently deeply interested, filled the large Hall, and a propriety of demeanour and unanimity of feeling prevailed throughout, from which those who attend more aristocratic and polished gatherings might take a lesson without any disadvantage to themselves. It is worthy of remark, too, that the Daily Press did homage to the importance of the event, and that the reports of the next morning had given to them a space and a prominence very seldom accorded to the proceedings of mere workmen. All this bodes well for the cause of labour, and shows that if the farthing class only act with prudence and intelligence, a new era is opening brighter than ever yet dawned upon the toilers of the world.

Another gratifying incident, and one which speaks volumes for the growing intelligence of the operatives, is to be found in the fact, that the advocates who occupied the platform belonged entirely to their own order—hard handed men, who owe all they have, and all they know, to their own industry and energy. Hitherto, when the workers have been called on to assert a right, or to repel a wrong, they have been obliged to seek for exponents and mouthpieces in other classes than their own; but on that evening the President of the Amalgamated Society's Council filled the chair with more fitness and pro-

priety than a lord would under the circumstances have done; and the speaker, who represented the Council, and those who proposed and seconded the pithy resolutions, were men who had struck out their own tracks of thought, while they were fashioning those vast machines which are destined to revolutionize the world of labour. That this was no disadvantage to those who read the addresses will be compelled to admit, and if the speeches and those of the employers are compared, it will be found, that in all but wealth the employed are the superiors—not the inferiors of the employers. They evidently feel better, think better, and speak with more force, facility, and correctness; and if the settlement of the dispute were to rest upon the intelligence of the parties, there can be no doubt which would succeed.

As it is, we have but little fear of the result. In spite of all that there is in influence, interest, and position, to warp the judgment, in spite of the fact that men of talent can be bought to sell their opinions as though free thoughts were as much commodities as cattle; in spite of the fact that a commercial journal, writing not what is true, but what will pay, is ready to make the profits of its advertisements the arbiters of its morality, and to bring all its literary talent to crush poor men, in order to serve its commercial masters; in spite of all this, we would always back right to win in the long run, for there is after all enough good feeling and common sense in the public, to do substantial justice when properly appealed to by straightforward honest intelligence.

That appeal was made, and so far as we can see and hear, it has been eminently successful. With a candour which is worthy of all honour, Mr. NEWTON, as the representative of the Council of the Association, admitted every act which that body has really done, and with a firmness which evinced a consciousness of right, he threw back the aspersions by which he and his fellows have been traduced. To glance at the falsehoods first. It has been asserted over and over again by the employers, at their meetings and in their advertisements, by "Times" correspondents without a name, and in the same leading article type which heaped slanders upon Kossuth, that the men were attempting to dictate to their employers—copies of the circular really sent by the Society to the manufacturers were distributed at the meeting—two of the morning papers published it in full, and it shows as one of the most courteously moderate papers ever written. Instead of attempting to dictate, it breathes the language of entreaty; instead of containing epithets, revellings, or complaints, it preserves a consistent tone of respect; instead of throwing down the gage of defiance, it asks for aid and co-operation. Even addressed to men who dissent from its objects, it ought to inspire a feeling of friendliness. It was said that the Council was composed of a few designing men who coerced the dupes who were members of the Association. The fact was stated and recognised by the assembled operatives as true, that before the Council acted at all, it took the opinion of all the branches; and that from the whole twelve thousand members there came only sixteen dissentient votes to the course proposed to be adopted. It was charged that the operatives intended to strike; the statement was made, and made without contradiction by any one of the numbers present, who must have known its truth or falsehood that a strike was never thought of, and the word never used except by the manufacturers themselves, who threatened to make a strike, by shutting their factories if the men endeavoured to emancipate themselves from their industrial slavery. The Association was accused of requiring the employers unconditionally to discharge the labourers at the machines; the truth was put upon the record that no such demand was ever made, but that on the contrary, it was proposed to put the machine workers on a level with the more skilled handicrafts-men by freely admitting them as members of the Society. The calumny was hinted at that the Engineers desired to force the masters to discontinue the use of machinery. The answer which Mr. NEWTON gave to that is worthy of especial notice, for it embodies more true wisdom than anything the manufacturers have either said or done. It was that, so far from wishing to prevent the use of machinery, they were themselves constantly occupied in perfecting existing machines and inventing new ones, and that they always held with a delighted admiration every new development of ingenuity, because, although they knew that it might in the present displace their labour, they felt conscious that the time would come when machinery would save labour, and give the maker the means of existence with less of toil than now; and so they struggled on, trusting that intellect was laying the foundation of a future of prosperity and happiness. As to the charges of Socialism and Communism short work was made of them. The Society has nothing to do with these theories; it does not express itself either for or against them. It has never done so. They do not enter into the deliberations of its members whose business is with the present. They have always recognised the distinction between vice and idleness, and virtue and industry; and so far from endeavouring to equalise the rate of wages, they have ever held and expressed the principle that the wages of each man must be the subject of private agreement between himself and his employer.

Those falsehoods disposed of, nothing remained but to justify the attempted abolition of piecework and overtime, and that was done with the utmost completeness. The men do not want to work overtime while thousands of their fellow-workmen are destitute of employment, and not working for it they do not desire to be paid for it. If the mere Commercialists think that a few shillings more a week is an adequate compensation for hours of toil, so lengthened as to waste their physical powers—deprive them of social enjoyment—make them strangers to the family hearth, and bar them from intellectual improvement, the operatives are of a different opinion. They want to be men exercising their affections and their reason, and not wealth accumulating machines, shutting out their fellows from the independence of honest labour; and with regard to piecework, they ask to have it done away with, or to be continued as a fair free contract between employer and employed, instead of continuing as it is, task-work, at an arbitrarily fixed price, in the adjustment of which they have no voice.

That is the whole case, and one more completely consistent with right was never put before the world. We have only to add, that if after this the employers persist in carrying their threat of shutting their factories into execution, and thus throwing into idleness twelve thousand engineers, beside the thousands of less skilled labourers who work with them, they will add to their falsehood a wanton cruelty, and turn into execration the contempt and odium which are already due to their proceedings, more particularly as the men offer to submit the whole dispute to the arbitration of such a man, for example, as Lord SHAFFESBURY, and abide by his decision. For the present we leave the matter in that position; but next week, if the contest still continues, we shall not hesitate to do that which we have as yet avoided—expose the miserable petty intrigue which, and not the abolition of piece-work and overtime, has roused the indelicacy of the clique of manufacturers.

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N.B.—The Balance-sheet for the last quarter will be published next week.

A BOLD STRIKE FOR A HUSBAND.—Lady Isabel Finch, daughter of the Earl of Winchelsea, was lady of the bed-chamber to the Princess Amelia. Lord Bath, one evening, having no silver, borrowed half a crown of her; he sent it to her next day, with the gallantry which he could give her a crown. She replied, that "though he could not give her a crown, he could give her a coronet, and she was ready to accept of it."

Trades Intelligence.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

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

STAFFS JOURNAL.

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

It has always been the object of the Central Committee to conduct the affairs of the National Association in harmony and good fellowship with all other men and movements professing to have at heart the improvement and well-being of the industrious classes. In this spirit they have passed by, unnoticed, the attacks of open foes, and the more insidious whisperings of false friends. The ephemeral popularity of rival associations, disguising themselves by a partial adoption of our principles, and a wholesale appropriation of our name, has been passed by so lightly, that we anticipated, perhaps, a way like "the baseless fabric of a vision," leaving not an existing wreck of former pretensions behind but an empty title—the impudent assumption of which enables their former chiefs just to buoy up their ambition upon the surface of the general movement.

Our attention has, however, been called to an attack upon Trades Unions in general—and the National Association in particular—which may be passed by so lightly, that we anticipated, perhaps, a way like "the baseless fabric of a vision," leaving not an existing wreck of former pretensions behind but an empty title—the impudent assumption of which enables their former chiefs just to buoy up their ambition upon the surface of the general movement.

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interests of the trade, we know to have been fully and dispassionately discussed in all the branches of the Society, and the determination now comes to abolish for the future both evils, is but the concentrated expression of the will of 12,000 intelligent and industrious workmen, enforcing a legal right in a constitutional manner.

The Executive Council have merely performed a ministerial duty in promulgating the all but unanimous decision of the Society, only eleven dissentients out of 12,000 objecting to the movement.

If the eleven thousand, nine hundred and eighty-eight are determined to carry out their own resolution, as it is their bounden duty to do, we cannot see what necessity there can be for a general strike. At the expiration of their day's work they have but to put on their hats and walk home. Had the same union existed amongst the factory workers, as is said to exist in this Society, the Ten Hours Bill might have been carried without special legislative interference.

We sincerely hope that no general strike will, in this case, be rendered necessary by the vacillation or treachery of individuals; but that every man will firmly and honestly perform his duty no less to himself than to his fellow workmen, and thus defeat the contemplated stratagem of the combined employers to turn the table upon them (à la française) by a coup d'état.

But should our expectations be disappointed, and the possible collision take place, we trust, for the honour of labour, that the Executive Council will not succumb to the Napoleonic despotism of the employers, but throw themselves and their cause upon the public opinion, and patriotism of the working classes of England. It is a great national question, which as deeply concerns the workers of wood, bricks, or stone, as the workers of iron. The universal army of labour is attacked if these men are attacked; and if the pecuniary resources of this powerful body are to be cut off by a species of coup d'état, the assistance of the Trades of England must be placed at its disposal, and a certain victory be secured, unless indeed it should enter into the mighty minds of the Bucklebury concave, to induce their brother capitalists of all other trades to give to British labour A NATIONAL HOLIDAY.

Union! Union! National Union is, we again repeat, the one and only remedy for these industrial wrongs, which are general and common to us all.

December 31st.

THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS AND THEIR EMPLOYERS.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, &c., held a public meeting on Tuesday night at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, "to discuss the present state of the iron trade, and the position of the society in relation thereto." The hall was densely thronged with workmen, not less, probably, than 2,000 being present.

Mr. J. Munro, the Chairman of the Executive Council, having been called on to preside, briefly opened the business of the evening, and said that, in consequence of statements which had appeared in the "Times," it was deemed advisable that a public meeting should be called, to give the Executive Council of the society an opportunity of explaining to the public the position in which the society stood, and the proceedings that had been taken. A committee was appointed for the purpose of convening the meeting. The whole of the employers had been specially invited by ticket. [He then read the terms of the invitation.] If any employers were present and wished to take part in the proceedings, he hoped the meeting would be actuated in reference to them by that spirit of fair play which was found in the ranks of Englishmen. [Heard, heard.] Invitations had also been sent to the twenty and thirty editors of newspapers, and he trusted that their reports which would be given of the meeting would satisfy the public as to "the Times" or any other newspaper from again misleading them. The public had been included in the invitations. He would now introduce Mr. Newton, who would enter into explanation of the proceedings of the Executive Council.

Mr. Newton, who was received with cheers, said that their proceedings, as at first adopted, were, perhaps, intended to engage so much of the attention of the public as they had done, nor would the Council have forced themselves forward as they now did, but for misrepresentations of their objects and intentions. The combination of men of employers stated at Manchester was either misled by the statement of Mr. Hordall, or, of O'Hallam, or was based upon known untruths; but the committee was formed upon the ground that the workers of Messrs. Hordall and Platt were about to do an act of injustice to their employers. The matter had been discussed in the newspapers, and the society had been represented as intending to "strike piecework," "3. Wages," "the abolition of piecework," "the abolition of overtime," and "the abolition of the 10 hours day." Now, the society, claiming that the masters should do what was just, to serve, discharge the class of persons engaged in, and led trained to, the working of self-acting machines, and employ in their stead mechanics, members of the Union; and further, 4. (according to "Amicus") The Council were prepared to advocate an equalization of the rate of wages, and to defend themselves, in fact, to an agitation for a trade union of men of employers, and the proposition was made by the statement of Mr. Hordall, or, of O'Hallam, or was based upon known untruths; but the committee was formed upon the ground that the workers of Messrs. Hordall and Platt were about to do an act of injustice to their employers. The matter had been discussed in the newspapers, and the society had been represented as intending to "strike piecework," "3. Wages," "the abolition of piecework," "the abolition of overtime," and "the abolition of the 10 hours day." 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men. He rejoiced to see the principle of fraternity inculcated not only here and there, but by all means. But they must be those who did not, love, but do their business better than that could only be done by securing persons of high training, education, and talents, enabled them to conduct business successfully. It had been said that the Co-operative movement, as it now existed, would not raise the wages-slave; it would not be true. The wages-slave could only be raised by some national system of labour. But as far as it went it tended in that direction. It was asked, also, how Co-operation would assist political emancipation, and if shopkeeping would help Mazzini and patriots to liberate Italy and Hungary? He believed that patriotic, constructive, prudent efforts would do far more for that purpose than any amount of mere speculating or unorganised agitation which ended in words. It was a matter little to them what he thought on these questions, but he felt it his duty, in taking the Chair, to state exactly where he stood on his views, and he was sure they would agree that there ought to be no misunderstanding between them at this starting-point. (Cheers.)

E. V. NEAL, Esq., then proposed the following sentiment:—“The opposition of interest between individuals He thought is the great cause of our present social evils.” Chairman for the evening were deeply indebted to their worthy friend for the forward at this stage of their movement with all their hearts, which exhibited so much practical a manner. Engaged as he was so frank and so generous, they were glad to be so well represented, and proposed to embark in, his views were worthy of all had through his assistance as entertaining these doubts. He coming forward to explain the influence on their side by there might be defects in the social movement, those engaged in it were sincerely desirous of the ground, those engaged in their fellow men, (hear, hear.) Mr. Neal explained the fundamental difference between the competitive system and the social system. The first looked only at the selfish interest of the individual. The second sought to solve the problem what institutions should be established to procure all that was requisite for our welfare as a nation, and at the same time secure the same rights and enjoyment to all our fellow men. That was the essential difference between the two systems.

men as slaves, which was once considered a natural institution, though now it is disowned under the same of free labour; the other sought to treat man as man. With respect to the practical difficulties which had been stated by the Chairman, Mr. Neal went into the interesting statement of the facts connected with the origin, progress, and results of the *British Working Men's Association*, in order to show that practical difficulties of the whole of these objections had been successfully, and expensively surmounted. He also ably showed that the elevation of the nearest of the highest portion of the working classes would be the best and most certain way of raising the lowest of the wages slaves, and concluded amidst great applause.

Mr. JOHN SAUNDERS, of Leeds, having briefly supported the proposition, proposed—

That **WILHELM COOPER**, in proposing Co-operation as the expression of the spirit of Truth and Brotherhood said it would be beneficial to all classes, and the great means of permanently securing the physical, intellectual and moral well-being of the people. In speaking to this sentiment, Mr. Cooper detailed the experience of the Castle-street Association of working Tailors, of which he is the Manager. This Association began twenty-one months ago, with a borrowed capital of £350, of which they had paid back £135 in four months ago, though he thought they had done ninety per cent. more. They had repaid £100 in the first six months after commencing, repaid £100 another six months, and the profits, which was another great mistake. But, notwithstanding these mistakes, and the other errors and mistakes incident to new undertaking, in which all parties were necessarily inexperienced, they had done business to the amount of £100,000, and had paid all their members an average wage of upwards of half the earnings a week. Had given them a week's holiday in the summer, and the means of a holiday in the Great Exhibition; and the result was, that if all they owed was paid, they had now a surplus of £2300 left as the consequence of their associate exertions. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. GOODWIN spoke to the sentiment,—"Education, Frugality, the supporters and results of true Co-operation."

Mr. LLOYD JONES proposed—"Co-operative Stores in the true Co-operative spirit, will be the surest and most readily practicable means of leading to the full development of the principle of Association."

Mr. G. A. FLEMING, Editor of the "Northern Star," concluded the proceedings by giving—"The Press, from its position and the great means of diffusing true political and social ideas through the people."

The proceedings were terminated with some acclamations.

vocal and instrumental music, and the whole evening passed off most agreeably.

Chartist Intelligence.

NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

ELECTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

On Wednesday evening last the scrutineers appointed by the Metropolitan localities attended at the Office, 14, Southampton-street, Strand, and having inspected the votes received, gave the following as the result of the gross poll:—

Ernest Jones	400
John Arnott	720
Feargus O' Connor	600
T. M. Wheeler	566
James Grassy	565
John Shaw	502
W. J. Linton	470
J. J. Bezer	456
G. J. Holyoake	396
Robert Le Blond	328
Thornton Hunt	282
P. M. McDouall	108
F. B. Leno	180
C. F. Nicholls	194
H. T. Holyoake	132
A. E. Delaforce	117
A. J. Wood	90
M. J. Bryson	53
George Haggis	13
Robert Oliver	0

Messrs. J. B. O'Brien, Gerald Massey, and Arthur Trevelyan, having declined to serve, the votes received at their behalf have not been recognised.

We, the undersigned, hereby certify the above to be correct return, and declare the nine persons first named to be duly elected to form the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

JOHN WASHINGTON, City Locality.
EDWARD JOHN LOMES, Finsbury Locality.

14, Southampton-street, Strand.
December 31st, 1851.

[We have received from Mr. John Arnott, a detailed list of the votes sent in by forty-two localities, with the number polled for each candidate, but which, from its great length we are unable to insert.—Ed. N. S.]

PINSBURY.—At the usual weekly meeting held on Sunday it was resolved that a deputation be sent to the Political Victims' Association, for the purpose of conveying a message to petition parliament for the liberation of all political prisoners. It was also resolved that the deputation be brought before the Metropolitan Delegates Council. Mr. Loomes was appointed scrutineer of votes, from this locality, for the new Executive; and four members were enrolled.

CHRISTMAS AT O'CONNORVILLE.—A tea party, *soiree*, at ball, was held in the School Room, on Boxing-day, which occasion a goodly number of the athletes, the wises, and the unwises, were called to take part in the entertainments provided for the occasion. After tea, Mr. J. C. Sturgeon, jun., was named to the chair, and opened the business with an appropriate speech. Several sentiments were ably responded to by the athletes. Singing and dancing were kept up till nearly hour in the morning, when the company separated highly satisfied with their evening entertainment.

NORTH SHIELDS.—A Social and Democratic tea party was held on Christmas Day in this town. After tea, Mr. Charlton from Newcastle, addressed the meeting upon "Kosuth and the great Hungarian struggle for liberty" which he delivered much to the satisfaction of the meeting. During the evening a variety of songs and recitations were given. After the usual votes of thanks were passed, the meeting broke up, highly satisfied at the treat they enjoyed.

METROPOLITAN DELEGATE COUNCIL.—This body met Sunday afternoon, at the Literary Institution, Leicesters place, Saffron-hill. Credentials were received from Mr. Ernest Jones and C. Murray, for the John-street locality; from J. C. Nicholls, for Hoxton; and from Mr. Washington, the City. Mr. Nicholls was called to the chair. Upon minutes being read, a long discussion took place upon rules submitted to a prior meeting, the majority of the members being in favour of a sub-committee was appointed to get up a public meeting to consider the present position of affairs on the Continent. Mr. Washington was elected Secretary for the ensuing quarter; a Treasurer was also appointed. On the motion of Ernest Jones, a resolution was agreed, deprecating the meeting of localities at public houses, and urging the necessity of a coalition of the party to obtain suitable halls. The deputation reported that they had received the localities, and monies paid for the use of the Council.

LITERARY INSTITUTION, LEICESTER-PLACE, GLOUCESTER-ROAD.

Mr. Fussell lectured here on Sunday evening. "Study the Events of the Past Year." The speaker dwelt on the various events in this country connected with the organisation or struggles of the poor, dwelling prominently upon the present strife between the employers and the employees. Mr. Bezor also addressed the audience.

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THE BANK FORGERIES IN YORKSHIRE.—On Thursday three men—James Ellis, Edward Marshall, and J. Green—in custody at Leeds, charged with having uttered several forged £5 notes, purporting to be issued from Doncaster branch bank of the Yorkshire Banking Company, were again brought before the Leeds Magistrates. The depositions had been read, and other witnesses had examined, the prisoners were remanded until next week, to stand over for trial. It was said that the forgeries had been made in Bradford.

THE NORTHERN STAR

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.
The 'Moniteur' contains a decree dissolving the commission of the 'Seine', which is also dissolved, and the 'Seine', and, excluding from the same council all those members who have not given in their adhesion to the commission. On the proposition of the Minister of War the distribution of France into twenty-one military divisions, which prevailed before 1848, is re-announced by a decree, each department will form a sub-division. The new arrangement will provide places for the military elements of the 'Seine'.

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:—

Yea. No.

Constitution of 1793 1,801,918 11,610

Constitution of the year VIII. 1,107,367 49,577

Constitution of the year X. 2,563,538 1,862

Constitution of the year XII. 2,572,228 2,968

Additional clauses 1,300,000 4,266

The synopses of government publish these returns to

number of votes approaching to that which will consecrate

a 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

for 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 force.

It is historically evident that an enormous majority so

obtained is no guarantee for 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

total state of the poll to be, in round numbers, seven mil-

lions 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 consti-

tutions 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 Por-

tugal. The publication of this letter in the English

press has drawn upon M. Berryer a sally of spite from

the government, which is equally mean and perverse. The

legitimist chief of the 'Moniteur' and the reporter of the

committee of surveillance of the 'Caisse d'amortissement

des dettes de consignations.' The list of the committees

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 no small resentment among the cooled hats

of the 'Elysee'.

The 'Moniteur Parisien' contains the following:—

Whatever may be the opinion expressed in France and

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 20th December. In fact,

every ministerial paper contains more or less praise of Lord

Palmerston excepting the 'Univers'. This organ of the

fanatical 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 organ of the

'Elysee', because although generally favourable to Lord Pal-

merston, it contained one passage, which it was thought

might be offensive to him. Since the 'Univers' attacked

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 offen-

sive 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

camp equipment, 45 millions; general remount for

artillery (29,800 horses), 52 millions; forage, 15 millions;

carriage, 268 millions; engineering material, 11 millions.

France possesses 4,867 pieces of heavy artillery of different

calibre in bronze, and 3,411 in iron; 3,800 field pieces in

bronze, and 2,975 in iron; 4,562 howitzers for siege and

light operations; 17,674 pieces of different kinds and

sizes, and 229 small guns in bronze. There are in the

military arsenals 6,091,234 balls, 935,360 bombs, 1,000,000

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 car-

tridges of different kinds, 96,000 bags filled with balls for

cannon and howitzers, 4,622 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 133 millions of

francs. The state besides possesses 2,903,801 flint and

percussion lock muskets, in the hands of the national guard

and the army; 151,021 carbines, and 184,336 pistols.

An initiator of the atrocities of General Bismarck has

appeared in the Bassee-Alpes. This is a Colonel Parson,

commander during the state of siege of the arrondissement

of Dauphiné. He has published a decree declaring that any

one who gives either shelter or food, or assists in any way

as a rebel against the government, shall be treated in every way

as a criminal according to the laws of the arrondissement.

General Bismarck has been openly adopted by the

highest authorities of Paris. As if in defiance of public

opinion M. de Maupassant has caused to be posted up all over

Paris a decree of the military commander of the Allee, de-

claring that every individual who gives refuge to M. Felix

Mathe, proprietor, and to a long list of other persons,

among whom figure several more proprietors and two phy-

sicians, 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 concentra-

tion and mute rebellion of the heart against such ex-

ecrable measures gives the police authorities pleasure to be-

hold, because they mistake that grim protest of crushed

feelings for terror, and announce in the miserable jargon 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 sneer of satisfaction at the progress

of terror. The 'Moniteur' in recounting the horrible fate of

M. Chateaubriand, commissioner of the provisional govern-

ment of 1848 in the Bassee-Alpes, who was taken at Aups

and shot in cold blood, nicknamed the victim Citizen

Chateaubriand, and adds, 'Sie transit gloria mundi' thus

concluding with a hangman's joke the record of a horrible

butchery.

The 'Patrie' contains an article by M. Delaunay, which

forwards 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-deck, 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

causes 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

upmake ministers by talking, they will not waste so much

breath and passion. In conclusion, M. Delaunay 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 Cabaiguet, a colleague of Sobrier's

in the command of Casteillon's mountains, having used

some harsh language during his conveyance as a captive from

one fort to another, 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 Gervais

(Jacques). Conducted before the procureur, Dr. Boi, 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 'comité de resistance,' appointed in the

meeting of the Mountain on December 2d.

The Chamber of Commerce at Havre has been dissolved

for passing a resolution condemning the coup d'état of

the 2d.

A correspondent says:—In the letters of congratulation

which have been forwarded to Louis Napoleon by the gov-

ernments 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

'unbending' cut of all so glorified and embarrassed the

President, that he at once envied his most intimate friend and confidant, M. de Persigny, to St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, to represent, in the strongest possible manner, the French position, and to be the first to announce to the world 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 matter of fact, 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 Neapolitans 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 place nobody, and it will especially conciliate Thiers' will multitude. In fact, it will be a concentration and development of all that is now called 'Napoleonic democracy.' The legitimists will bite their lips over it, until they are too sore for speech. The President's cant words—'today is the day of the people.' 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'état) 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 consultative 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 sung 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 Tuileries. 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, which is said to be at Strasbourg, 'The 6th division, which is said to be at 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 beenqueathed 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 effective fortification of the courasses with which he is surrounded, indicate distinctly the apprehension of assassination.

The following decrees appear 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 11th, 1852, in all the communes of France. A Te Deum shall be sung in all the churches.

The following decree is published:—No café, 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 25fr. to 50fr., and imprisonment, from six days to six months.

Among the symptoms of the hour are to be noticed the care with which the Elysean 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-vineggers of Allee is said to have dropped a drawing of the title of 'Yes' that he wishes to dedicate his 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 scraps have their significance just now.

TUESDAY.—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 80,000fr. 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 Germany at all dispatch.

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 Arvignon, 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.—The publication in the 'Köln 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 'Köln 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 remonstrate against the arbitrary conduct of the Austrian minister, 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 Gorgeas has been deprived of his command, because of his secretaries, who are 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 animosity 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 subalterns (sic) officers are to be employed, all whose 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, according to the prescription of Terence, from becoming brutal—but in order that they may occasionally arrest and imprison the writer of any article containing objectionable sentiments, so that they may not be able to understand.

AUSTRIA.—A great deal has been said about the present tranquillity of Vienna, and this fact appears more or less to justify the accounts received in England of the disturbed and dangerous state of that city. It is said, by no means infrequently, however, from the fact that these accounts are incorrect. The elements of discord are fermenting beneath the surface, the next outbreak will be a tremendous explosion, but all that the police are too strong for any party disturbers to show themselves very often. Nevertheless, a few evenings since, on a play called the 'Cardifield,' being performed, a very decided demonstration was made in favour of the republican principles it contained. 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 15th 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 Miquel, the Austrian Minister, in their uniforms of state. The decorations of the Emperor's birthday were nearly fifty per cent. from the combined causes of bad government and the degradation of the country. This is partly to be accounted for by some of the necessary reforms 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 suppress 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

