

Foreign Intelligence.

FRANCE.

An occasional correspondent of the 'Daily News,' in a letter on the pending election for President, writes as follows:—

'Paris, Dec. 14.—I have not written to you for several days, having been occupied in traversing Paris and watching the movement of its pulse. We continue to have tranquillity but no gladness. The people were never more depressed. There is no confidence, and but little hope. The shopkeepers despair. Usually, at this season of the year, they are preparing for their harvest. By this time we have been accustomed to see the windows of the boulevards, the bazars, and their contributory streets glittering with new and beautiful wares. There are no such signs of prosperity now. Trade is paralysed. And yet all the tradesmen I have seen—and I have made a point to see many—intend to vote for Louis Napoleon. They say there is no choice, and that his is the only available name in France which is a type of order. That Louis Napoleon will get the vote—or claim it, at least—seems certain. Pamphlets and hundreds of thousands of 'La Patrie,' 'Le Constitutionnel,' 'Le Pays,' 'Le Journal,' 'Le National,' 'Le Monde,' 'Le Figaro,' 'Le Temps,' and other journals, will be scattered over the land like snow-flakes. At this time not a word on the other side of the question can be printed; and whoever attempts to electioneer against Louis Napoleon will be imprisoned. And despite of all this, we are called upon every day to praise him for his magnanimity and courage in giving the people universal suffrage. Pray what is the courage of a man who shirks before a printing press; or the magnanimity of a man who immures all his opponents? The men whom the people would like to consult in this crisis are either in prison or exile. The few still at liberty, who would be likely to influence them in favour of the Republic, are being arrested by the score. All the prisons in France are glutted. No respect is paid to age or condition. The moment a man is suspected he is seized. The air is thick with oppression. Spies are everywhere. There is a load at every ear. One has to distrust even his friends.

'I have looked abroad over this singular country, and asked myself, who in France will come to Louis Napoleon's support? The answer was this:—1. All the imbeciles; 2. All the old women of both sexes; 3. All the shopkeepers; 4. Half the peasants; 5. All the Jesuits; 6. All the place-hunters; 7. The army and navy; 8. M. Thiers. "Thiers?" you may ask, who will oppose Louis Napoleon? The answer is naturally suggested by the above list. But let us look—1. All the young youth being naturally truthful, progressive, courageous, and Protestant. 2. All men of genius; young, being essentially and instinctively noble-minded, generous, free, and impatient of restraint. 3. The merchants; commerce having always a tendency to enlighten the mind and extend the vision. 4. All true Liberals of whatever class, not one of whom, so far as I can learn, has yet shrunk from his principles.

'Concerning the first class I have not met a young man in Paris who does not feel that the election of Louis Napoleon would be a curse. Of course I except the poor drilling-machines who compose the army.

'As for the second class, any one familiar with French literature is well aware that its brightest ornaments—Hugo, Beranger, Dupont, Sene, Lamartine, George Sand, Gerard—are all far too liberal and enlightened to be dazzled by a mere name. Of the third class I have information which convinces me that the French merchant, like the British, will be the last man in his country to advocate imperialism.

'The fourth class speaks for itself. It has sacrificed and suffered far too much to relitigate its principles at such an hour as this.

'Nevertheless, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte will probably be elected. Nothing can prevent it but a civil war. Whether the disturbances in the departments are sufficiently general and serious to deserve that name at present, no one in Paris, outside of the government, can say. If elected, he will take possession of the Tuileries. It is said that but for M. Fould he would have done so on the 2nd of December. At any rate he will keep away from the people. The Tuileries will be more luxurious than Ham, but not less a prison.

'I have just heard two important rumours:—1. That Lamartine, who has written several letters for Macon, expressing himself strongly against the President. 2. That Gen. Changarnier and Lamoriciere are to be liberated before the election; but that as long as there is disorder in the country General Changarnier will remain in prison.

'Paris continues calm, albeit, tranquil, and stupid. A decree authorising the collection of taxes and indirect revenues until April 1, 1852, and opening to the ministers a provisional credit upon the budget of 1852. The fourth article opens to the ministers a provisional credit of 369 millions, which is the sum adopted by the committee of the budget for the three first months of 1852. The fifth article opens a provisional credit of half a million of francs to the Minister of War by anticipation on that of 51,500,000, allowed for military pensions. The sixth article authorises the minister of finance to create for the service of the treasury and negotiations with the Bank of France treasury bills bearing interest payable at fixed rates.

'The definitive composition of the consultative commission appears in the 'Moniteur.' It contains 178 names, among which are enrolled those of the various ministers since October, 1849, with the exception of M. Faucher, of the Bonapartist generals, the high church party with Montalembert at their head, and generally those members of the late assembly who supported the policy of the Elysée. The commission will commence its sittings on the 25th inst. The former secretary of the council of state, is appointed secretary-general of the commission, and the former secretary re-lector of the Assembly, is appointed to fulfil the same functions for the commission.

'The functions of the commission are the general examination of the votes of the 20th and 21st inst. To give its opinion on the drafts of decrees in legislative matters, which will be submitted to the President of the Republic. To fulfil the functions deferred to the council of state except in matters relating to administrative decisions.

'The commission will be presided over by the President of the Republic, and in his absence by M. Barthelemy, vice-president.

'Several papers have begun to re-appear, among others 'La Presse.'

'We learn that M. Emile de Girardin has retired from his direction and editorship, and also that M. Turgot, the most eminent of the writers, after M. E. de Girardin, has also retired.

'The only species of opposition yet ventured upon in the papers is a certain manner of arranging the official matter copied from the 'Moniteur,' and the occasional use of italics and large type, so as to bring out in bolder relief some of the more salient points of Bonapartist policy. For instance, the 'Gazette de France,' in quoting the recent circular of General St. Arnaud to the generals commanding divisions throughout France, provokes attention by the use of capital letters to the announcement that everybody who resists is to be shot. Then the very next paragraph repeats the rumour from a government organ, that a superior council of five generals is about to be formed, in order to 'further the designs' of the President. This mode of associating two pieces of purely official news naturally leads the reader to render unto Caesar himself the things that belong to him, and in a feeble degree supplies the place of commentary. The art is doubtless susceptible of considerable development, but it is not to be supposed that any such devices can long be practised with impunity. Not only will no opposition be tolerated, but it is evident that the time is at hand when everybody suspected of want of zeal towards the government must expect the visitations of the strong arm which for the moment replaces law and justice. A good deal of coaxing is now going on to make converts, but the hard heart of all ranks and conditions are plainly told that they have nothing to look for but the most inexorable severity.

'Several of the provincial journals publish the following telegraphic despatch from the Minister of the Interior to the Prefect:—Give the most severe orders to arrest the Montanists and Socialist chiefs who may endeavour to quit France after their defeat in Paris.'

'It is said that thirty refugees had attempted to cross the frontier from Switzerland at Sarsel. Only five had succeeded in getting past the custom-house. Two were arrested; one drowned in the Rhone; and the other two fled. On the night of the 5th, twenty-two refugees succeeded in crossing the Rhone.'

'It is reported from St. Quentin, that the prefect

having been dismissed, and the municipal body resigned, a new prefect had been sent, who appointed a municipal committee; and this body had resigned on account of the arrests made.

'The extraordinary powers conferred to M. Maurice Duval in Brittany, to M. Carlier in the Central Department, and to M. Berard in the Somme, are withdrawn by a decree.

'The Legation in Britain have everywhere come forward to aid the government in putting down disturbances, while maintaining their protest against the illegal government imposed upon the country. The Morbihan and Finistere have followed the example of the Cotes-du-Nord and the Ille-et-Vilaine. The councils-general of the former departments have passed unanimously a resolution, stating that they will be indefatigable in assisting the authorities to suppress all disorder; but they protest against the act of the 2nd of December as a violent assumption of illegal supremacy. The prefects of three of the above-mentioned departments, who convoked the councils-general, have been dismissed by M. Maurice, government extraordinary commissioner in Britain. The remaining council-general met spontaneously.

'M. Alfred Nettement, representative and editor of the 'Opinion Publique' has been liberated from Vincennes. MM. Giron and Leo de Laborde are still detained. The representatives who remain at Mont Valerien are MM. Picotay, Renan, Thourout, Pascal Duprat, Lalrade, Besse, Renard, and Penan.

'There had been fighting on the 10th inst. at Maljaix and Mees. There were both killed and wounded. The insurgents amounted at one time to several thousands, who had been led to believe that the authorities would not recognise the acts of Louis Napoleon. They fled in all directions.

'General Kestelman, at the head of a column, is marching about in the arrondissement of Beziers and Perennes to re-establish tranquillity. The department enjoys the most complete quiet.

'A letter from Strasbourg states that M. Thiers arrived in that town on the evening of the 10th inst. on his way to Germany. The police by whom he was escorted from Paris accompanied him as far as Kehl, opposite to Strasbourg. The Oberpostamt Zeitung of Frankfurt, of the 11th inst., states that M. Thiers had passed through that city on his way to Berlin.

'On Friday night last three convoys of carriages, containing in all 600 prisoners who were arrested in consequence of the events of last week, successively left the Conciergerie for the fort of Bicetre, where the prisoners were placed in casemates to await their trial by court-martial. Each convoy was composed of 200 prisoners, flanked on each side by a double line of Infantry and preceded and followed by a detachment of lancers.

'At the present moment the last sparks of insurrection throughout France may be said to be extinct. The extreme strongholds of disturbance in the Basses-Alpes and Var have been attacked successfully by the troops. The battalions from Marseilles arrived before Digne, the capital of the Basses-Alpes, on the 7th, and immediately dispersed the insurgents. All resistance to the government may be therefore regarded as definitively put down; and, if quiet is not completely restored in all parts, the troops are everywhere masters of the field.

'In order to prove the great commercial expansion consequent on the Revolution of December 2nd, attention is drawn to the fact that in the six days following that event the number of sales of silk which left the emporium at Lyons was 489, whereas, in the three months following the revolution of February no more than 314 bales were taken out.

'Letters from St. Quentin state that several persons belonging to the families of the generals confined at Ham, had set out for that fortress, provided with an authorisation signed by the Ministers of War and of the Interior to see their imprisoned relatives.

'M. Roger du Nord has not been set at liberty, as was reported. The eight prisoners at Ham are still there. General Cavaignac occupies the apartments formerly tenanted by Louis Napoleon.

'On Saturday were set at liberty, MM. Oudinot, Lauriston, Lagarde, Eugene Ser, Arnaud de Vay, Ceyras, Chamiot, Charbonneau, Chanet, Crenieux, Jules de Laskyrie, Delarosiere, Hennequin, Gavaret, Greyer, and Kessner.

'The police continue to make numerous arrests of persons concerned in the recent disturbance, or who attempt to create disturbances. Amongst them are ten belonging to Neully, ten of the Baignolles, and eleven of Grenelle. In the lodgings of each of these men arms, ammunition, and demagogic publications have been seized. On Saturday forty persons were arrested in Paris. The number of political prisoners in the fort of Bicetre is 753. Provisions are supplied from the hospital of Bicetre.

'The disturbances of the Var have been ended by a battle before Aups, in which 100 of the people were killed. Only one soldier fell; two officers and two soldiers were wounded. The functionaries taken prisoners by the insurgents were released; and the column headed by the prefect, M. Pastoureaux, returned in triumph to Draguignan.

'The most important expression of opinion which has appeared as yet since the events of December 2, is contained in a letter of Montalembert, published in the 'Univers.' In answer to the applications made to him for advice as to what course to follow in the ballot of the 20th, M. de Montalembert examines each of the three paths open to the elector. A negative vote, he declares, would be an encouragement to anarchy, an avowal of its frightful excesses; abstention, cowardice, as long as the demagogic monster roars; and he arrives at the conclusion that the affirmative vote is the only one worthy of a good citizen and a good Christian. Strange to say, the 'Presse' is, under the direction of its new editor, M. Perodoux, quite as Napoleonic as the 'Univers' and its celebrated correspondent.

'M. Croce Spinelli, the famous jeweller in the Place de la Bourse, has closed his shop, and posted the following notice on the shutters: "Closed on account of political arrests." M. Croce Spinelli is an ardent republican, and a much considered member of that party on account of his great wealth.

'The government organs, while they seek to justify the deed of the 2nd of December by the excesses of the communist rebels, as they are called, ominously fore-shadow the despotic intentions of the President in treacherous reforms directed to the extermination of socialism. European opinion demands at this moment from the President only one thing—viz., to finish his work. Socialism has been hewn down; it must now be rooted out. A momentary calm awaits little, if there be not a durable cure. Force alone will not suffice. The dangerous doctrines which now call for suppression by arms have germinated and grown during forty years. They have too often obtained the support of the press, the patronage of philanthropy, and even the connivance of the administration. It is time that a good government should occupy and restore to health all minds, and reanimate every fibre of social life. Thus France, with the daring speculations of her philosophers and publicists, with her ardent spirit of inquiry, with the restless activity of her intelligence, and the bold assertion of her opinions, is to be treated like an infant, and put into leading strings held by the Jesuits.

'The government is getting uneasy about the state of the press. It begins to find that the fulsome flatteries of privileged journalists, and of notorious hirelings is an unsatisfactory support, and betrays an anxiety to invite a little semblance of independent criticism, provided always that no really disagreeable truths shall be uttered. It is understood that a new law concerning the press is in preparation, and may shortly be expected to appear in the 'Moniteur' by the authority of those self-elected law-givers, L. N. Bonaparte and M. de Morry.

'In the meanwhile, the government feels strong enough tacitly to relax the rule which prevailed a few days since, that none but the favoured newspapers should be allowed to comment upon politics, and to allow leading articles of a mild and water description, in which neither praise nor blame can be distinguished. The journalists are gradually taking advantage of this 'scintilla' of liberty.

'TUESDAY.—The 8th legion of the National Guard is dissolved. This legion corresponds to the district of Paris bounded on the north by the Boulevards of St. Martin and the Temple, and comprises the Rues St. Denis and St. Martin. In recommending this measure the Minister of the Interior says, addressing the President:—The inflexible resolution which you have manifested to deprive of every chance of success an insurrection in Paris, and no longer to permit that some thousands of rascals should decide the lot of thirty-five millions of souls, has induced me to submit to you all the measures proper for attaining this end.'

'The Prussian Chambers sat again on the 10th, after an interval of eight days, when a motion on the conduct of the government towards the press was submitted, and referred to a committee.

'Some of the German newspapers state that orders have been given to call out the contingents of the 19th federal army corps. The 'Leipzig Gazette' states that the whole frontier of the Upper Rhine will be immediately occupied with Austrian troops.

'It is stated that the Austrian government refuses to allow our Ambassador, the Earl of Westmoreland, to present his credentials, in consequence of the Kosuth demonstration, and the reply of Lord

The departments of the Aveyron and Vaucluse are declared in a state of siege.

'M. Lurochejacquet, the leader of one section of the French Legitimists has addressed an energetic protest to the 'French Nation.' The conclusion is as follows:—The constitutional prerogative which M. Bonaparte, under the hollow pretext of delegation, usurps, would hurl us once more into inconceivable confusion. The time for Cesars cannot have come for France. As a defender of the principles of the national sovereignty, I must loudly protest, even if I stand alone, against the present violation of this principle. May my aid and forbearance for my native country not be realised. May France see at length that her help lies in her own hands, and that a Republic no one has the right to dispose of the destinies of the land except according to the free and full expression of the public will.'

'M. Victor Hugo has arrived safely in Brussels, and General Cavaignac is released from confinement. The Minister of the Interior has addressed the following letter to the Prefect of Police:—

'Paris, Dec. 16, 1851.

'Monsieur le Prefect.—You have taken cognisance of the decree passed on Dec. 8th against former convicted persons, who have broken their ban, and against persons convicted of affiliation to secret societies. This decree is not to be a dead letter, but must be executed with persevering energy. I beg you to take this view the prompt measures. The capital must be absolutely cleared of all the impure and dangerous elements upon which the decision of the government can be brought to bear. These agitators who mislead weak men and prepare revolutions, must be sent out of Paris, and if need be, out of France. Paris must cease to be the refuge of outlaws of all countries, and the rendezvous of men whose business is to imperil society. I rely on your zeal, and I am convinced that you think as I do, that it is time to impress on these men who have plagued the country for thirty years past a salutary terror, in order to re-assure good citizens, and to give to honest work security and good prospects.—The Minister of the Interior, A. DE MORRY.'

'The Minister of the Interior has addressed a circular to the Prefects, ordering the dissolution of all corps of National Guards which cannot be trusted at the present moment; and the provisional supply of vacant commands, election being now out of the question, by citizens who can be relied upon. The arms not used are to be carefully removed to the arsenals.

'Dr. Veron, editor of the 'Constitutionnel,' who has been the loudest and most shameless advocate of the usurpation, has received a part of his reward in nomination to the rank of an officer in the Legion of Honour.

'M. Lamartine has published a letter, stating that he has no longer any literary or political connexion with the 'Pays.'

'The government journals some time since reported that rioters near Macon had sacked and burnt the Chateau de St. Point, belonging to M. Lamartine, and that he had sent to Macon for troops to protect his residence at Moneaux. He has written to give the statement a flat contradiction. No part of his property was either injured or menaced, and he never sent for any troops. [There are many other lies of the same description on the part of the government press, which want of room compels us to omit.]

'A correspondent says, writing on Tuesday—'Missing the "Siecle" this morning, I made inquiries, and found that its publication had been suspended by the government. The cause alleged for this oppressive measure will appear hardly credible. You are aware that none of the independent papers have yet published a single word of comment on the acts and decrees of the government. The "Debats," "Union," "Ordre," "Opinion Publique," and "Siecle" have simply copied the ordinances as they appear in the "Moniteur," without adding any original remarks whatever. The "Siecle," it appears, had given umbrage by urging all who were entitled to vote to get themselves inscribed without delay at the different municipalities. It was naturally inferred that the subscribers of the "Siecle" would hardly claim their electoral right to use in favour of the gaoler of General Cavaignac.

'A visit followed from an agent of the authorities, who tendered to the "Siecle" an article in favour of Louis Napoleon for insertion. The article was refused, and the "Siecle" was suppressed. But this is not all. I hear that a similar visit was made to the office of the "Debats," and that warning has been given to that paper that it cannot be suffered to chronicle in silent silence the acts of the government. It must adhere or abdicate. Synchrocity or suppression are the alternatives held out to the blind father of the French press.'

'All the proofs of the papers are sent to the Minister of the Interior, where they undergo a double censure; that is, not only are passages struck out, but others are inserted, the omission of which would be followed by the suspension of the papers. Thus the whole press is obliged to propagate whatever lies are imposed by the government.

'The 'Independence Belge' has received notice from the Austrian and Prussian governments, that if it attacks the government of Louis Napoleon it will be forbidden in Germany as well as France. The Bishop of Chartres has addressed the following letter to all the curies of his diocese:—

'Chartres, Dec. 12.

'Monsieur le Cure.—Weigh most maturely the advice contained in this communication, and which I strongly recommend you to follow. On the 20th and 21st of this month, the French people will decide if Louis Napoleon is to be for ten years the President of our country. The yes or no inscribed on each citizen's bulletin will decide that most important point. Influenced by your own views, and still more by love of your country, of which Jesus Christ has given us the example, you will sign yes, I have not the slightest doubt. Providence at present gives us only that mode of safety, for it is evident that, if Bonaparte were rejected, France would find no one to substitute for him. The people, led away by intrigues and false suggestions, might make a detestable choice, which would plunge our country into new and inexorable misfortunes. We have accepted the 2nd of May, 1852, which opened to France a frightful abyss, and it would be senseless to bring back that chance of ruin and death. All that we have of late learned of the abominations, horrors, and excesses of the most savage character which have taken place are a slight example of the monstrous things which throughout France have been committed on a grand scale by the usurper, and socialism triumphed. You will perceive, sir, the irresistible force of these decisions, which must strike all men of common sense, and to which, I believe, they would not hesitate to subscribe. I have the honour to be, sir, with a distinguished consideration and an inviolable attachment, your servant.

'M. de La Harpe, Bishop of Chartres, writes to the ultra-montane Bishop of Chartres, advising for the President, and hails him as the Preserver of society, the liberal Archbishop of Paris is subjected to the surveillance of the police, because he has not yet acknowledged the usurper. This will have some effect on the vote of Paris; but not enough, it is feared, to affect materially the result.

'The 'Constitutionnel,' in order to prove the existence of a plot for deposing the President, parades two drafts of decrees seized in the apartments of M. Baze, and drawn up without the knowledge of the President of the Assembly. Upon inspection these mysterious documents turn out to be neither more nor less than drafts of decrees for carrying out those precautionary measures which were openly debated in the Assembly.

'The documents, however, have been placed in the hands of the legal authorities, and the questors and their accomplices in the alleged plot are to be subjected to a formal trial it is said.

'A Frankfurt journal says that Louis Blanc was arrested, on the 11th, in the Faubourg St. Jeanste-Oude, at Brussels, and was conveyed to Ostend, from whence he was to be made to embark for England. M. Thiers is also on his way to England from Frankfurt, where he is waiting the arrival of his family.

'GERMANY.

'The Prussian Chambers sat again on the 10th, after an interval of eight days, when a motion on the conduct of the government towards the press was submitted, and referred to a committee.

'Some of the German newspapers state that orders have been given to call out the contingents of the 19th federal army corps. The 'Leipzig Gazette' states that the whole frontier of the Upper Rhine will be immediately occupied with Austrian troops.

'It is stated that the Austrian government refuses to allow our Ambassador, the Earl of Westmoreland, to present his credentials, in consequence of the Kosuth demonstration, and the reply of Lord

Palmerston to the Islington and Finsbury addresses; and it appears that a joint Russian and Austrian note has already been despatched to London on this subject. In the event of his not replying, it is stated to be the intention of Austria to allow the London embassy to remain vacant.

'The revenue of Prussia for the ensuing year is calculated at 97,345,199 thalers, showing an increase of 4,050,240 thalers above that for 1851. The expenditure is estimated at 97,455,199 thalers, more than that of the present year by 312,994 thalers, though of this sum more than three millions are for contingent and extraordinary expenses; the ordinary and permanent expenditure is covered by 96,153,933 thalers. The greatest increase of expenditure is in the War department, which will require an advance of 1,500,000 thalers above that of the same estimate of last year.

'The late mobilising of the army has revealed an insufficiency in the number of officers available for the landwehr. To supply the defect, each regiment of the regular army is to have an addition of fifteen officers, of whom five will be captains. The regiments of the line are to be raised to the number of 590 men per battalion, with two years' service; those of the Guards, who serve for three years, to 670 per battalion; the battalions will thus be kept at the full rate of 1,000 men each.

'The police persecutions lately directed against the members of the Vienna Bourse, have been suspended.

'The 'Neue Preussische Zeitung' announces, in a correspondence from Vienna, that despatches had been received by Lord Westmoreland, relative to Lord Palmerston's answer to the address from Islington, so satisfactory that the Emperor had given a gracious reception to the English ambassador. This statement needs confirmation; no such reception had been gazetted on the 12th instant.

'It is currently reported that the Bund has addressed a formal complaint, in the name of all the governments it represents, to the English cabinet against the conspiracies hatched, it is said, in London, by foreign refugees; and that the British government is earnestly solicited by the confederates to take such measures against these unfortunate exiles as may be likely to frustrate their designs, and so preserve other states from disturbance. We mention this report, because it has been often repeated in the German papers; though it is hardly credible that any continental power should be so ignorant of the British constitution as to address such a request to an English ministry.

'The news of the outbreak in Paris does not appear to have been received with so much surprise and alarm as might have been expected; and, indeed, the strenuous precautions that have been so long taken, and the large armies kept on foot by the Absolutist powers, put the success of any sudden rising almost out of the question. The armies of Germany are also upon the whole faithful, with the exception of the Hungarian and Italian regiments, being well aware that their very existence depends on the preservation of the present state of things, and that were the cause of the people to triumph, one of their very first acts would be to disband the ridiculously overgrown military establishment of Austria and Prussia. It was said of the Spanish navy, at the beginning of the present century, that it was 'a face upon a nose, instead of being a nose upon a face.' The same expression would certainly apply to the half million of troops respectively kept on a war footing by Austria and Prussia.

'The general discontent in Austria has, however, risen to an alarming height, and no less than 150 petitions appearing at the last public audience given by the Emperor on the 2nd inst.

'The war against liberal principles still goes on with unslackened vigour. The Vienna correspondent of the 'Saxon Gazette,' a paper usually well informed, states that the real cause of the war recently instigated by Austria against the British Consul General in Servia is to be found in the fact of his having 'protected' two strangers who were supposed to be revolutionary emissaries.

'Accordingly to a recent order of government no foreign journals are in future to be received in Hungary (even by the editors of German papers) which have not been previously submitted to the government censorship. The same practice exists in Russia, where all objectionable articles are cut out of papers before they are delivered! The result is worthy of remark. The foreign Ambassadors, of course, cannot be prevented receiving them, and the porter of the French charge d'affaires is said to have made his fortune, by documents received from those whose curiosity he had contrived to gratify by a peep at them. In fact, nobody ever took the trouble to read the portions delivered to them, but carefully marking the place where an article had been cut out, they flew to the different officials, and greedily devoured the forbidden fruit.

'The reason of the measure in question is a fear of the reports respecting the reception of Kosuth exciting the political passions of Hungary, where his name is still regarded by all classes with the most enthusiastic affection.

'ITALY.

'PIEDMONT.—The 'Croce di Savoia' reports that, in consequence of the events in France, the Minister of War has suspended all furloughs, and sent batteries to Alexandria.

'The strangest reports upon French events were for a time current in Turin. Of a bulletin stating that Kosuth had been made President of the French Republic, 3,000 copies were immediately sold.

'ROME.—A correspondent, writing on the 10th inst., represents the impression made on the minds of the ecclesiastical authorities by the President's coup d'etat as favourable on the whole. Lord Middleton had been placed under the surveillance of the police on account of the colour of his country's hat. The Bishop of Gibraltar was at Rome desiring to obtain permission from the Pope to erect a protestant church in the city. A schism prevailed in the English protestant congregation, owing to a disagreement between the bishop and the church committee touching episcopal jurisdiction.

'NAPLES.—A correspondent, writing on the 9th inst., states that on the receipt of the Paris news a cabinet council was called, and a body of troops ordered to march to the Roman frontier.

'SPAIN.

'MADRID, December 9.—The decree for the suspension of the Cortes has just been read in the two Chambers. This measure, ostensibly adopted in view of the situation of the Queen, has been determined upon in consequence of the terror inspired by the state of affairs in the neighbouring republic. The ministry had endeavoured to effect a union of the different factions of the moderate party, but Pacheco and the puritans, as they are called, insisted upon a more liberal policy being adopted, while Bravo Murillo was for increasing the means of suppression. The 'Nacion' was seized this morning. The secret and public police have recalled all the employees lately discharged upon the ground of economy. The ministerial 'Orden' is the only newspaper that does not attack M. Bonaparte.

'UNITED STATES.

'The royal mail steam ship Africa, Captain Rye, arrived in the Mersey from New York on Sunday, which port she left on the 3rd inst. at noon, with sixty-three passengers, and nearly a million and a half of dollars in specie on freight.

'The principal item of news by this arrival is the President's message, an abstract of which we give below.

'The Congress had met on the 1st. The message was delivered on the 2nd. Among the proceedings of the Senate, as reported by the telegraph, is the resolution of a national well-come to the illustrious Magyar, as well as a resolution requesting the President to interfere in favour of the Irish exiles in Van Diemen's Land, appealing to the magnanimity of the British government and people, and offering them the hospitality of the republic.

'Kosuth had not arrived in New York when the steamer left, but was hourly expected, and appropriate preparations for his reception were completed.

'Notice of several bills had been already given—one being for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific; another for a reduction in newspaper postage; another for a line of steam-ships from California to China.

'Reports from the Rio Grande state that Carvajal had been reinforced by 400 Americans, and was to renew his attack on Matamoros. The Mexicans had numbered in Matamoros to the number of 2,000 men. Carvajal was at Canagary, with only 600 men, awaiting the arrival of Captain Ford, who had gone to Texas for reinforcements.

'There are reports from California to the 1st of November, 2,300,000 dollars in gold dust had been received.

'A very interesting movement is developing itself at Washington. It seemed very important to the

Whigs as well as Democrats that some declaration should be made as to the future conduct of both parties in relation to the question of slavery and the compromise. The Democratic members of both houses accordingly held a caucus for the purpose of establishing these measures, but unfortunately they did not succeed in establishing a platform. The resolutions to this effect were laid on the table, the free-soil Democrats being unwilling to acquiesce.

'On the other hand the Whig members, who might have been more divided, from the fact that their strength laid in their free-soil adherents, almost unanimously adopted resolutions which were agreeable to the South, and the consequence is that at this moment they are in favour with the South, are likely to receive its support, and if they can maintain their position will, in the next Presidential contest, be in the ascendant. This is quite unexpected, and the future looks more brightly for them than for their opponents.

'THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

'The following is a brief abstract of the Message:—The President congratulated the country on the maintenance of foreign peace, the decrease in agitation on the slavery question, and on the general prosperity of the United States. He reviewed the Cuban invasion question and mentioned the efforts being made for release of prisoners. Referring to the outrages at New Orleans, he regretted that it was necessary that indemnity should be granted. The laws for the protection of consuls required amending.

'The Message then alludes to Kosuth in the following manner:—On the 28th of February last a despatch was addressed by the Secretary of State to Mr. Marsh, the American Minister at Constantinople, instructing him to ask of the Turkish government permission for the Hungarians, then imprisoned within the domains of the Sublime Porte, to remove to this country. On the 3rd of March last, both Houses of Congress passed a resolution requesting the President to authorise the employment of a public vessel to convey to this country Louis Kosuth and his associates in captivity.

'The instruction above referred to was complied with, and the Turkish government having released Governor Kosuth and his companions from prison, on the 10th of September last, they embarked on board of the United States steam-ship Mississippi, which was selected to carry into effect the resolution of Congress. Governor Kosuth left the Mississippi at Gibraltar, for the purpose of making a visit to England, and may shortly be expected in New York. By communications to the department, of state he has expressed his grateful acknowledgments for the interposition of this government in behalf of himself and his associates. This country has been justly regarded as a safe asylum for those whom political events have exiled from their own homes in Europe; and it is recommended to Congress to consider in what manner Governor Kosuth and his companions, brought hither by its authority, shall be received and treated.

'Government was exerting itself to bring to completion the arrangement in regard to the Tehuantepec railroad. The Treasury receipts for the year ending June 30th had been fifty-eight millions; the expenses forty-eight millions. Seven and a half millions debt had been paid off. The debt now amounts to sixty-two millions. Specific duties and a revision of the tariff are recommended.

'Free trade is thus alluded to.—'The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who promoted and established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country by increasing the demand and raising the price of agricultural products in foreign markets.

'The foregoing facts, however, seem to show incontrovertibly that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy. On the contrary, notwithstanding the repeal of the restrictive corn laws of England, the foreign demand for the products of the American farmer has steadily declined, since the short crops, and consequent famine in a portion of Europe, have been happily replaced by full crops and comparative abundance of food.'

changed, it is folly to expect any real substantial reforms, any measures of general public utility from it. It will not be one whit stronger in February 1852, than it was in February 1851, for the simple reason of its being twelve months older. The curse of fecklessness is upon it, inherent in its Constitution, and the only chance we have of a vigorous, liberal, and working Government, is in the election of a new, vigorous, liberal, and active Parliament.

We can already take the measure of "Next Session," and tell what to expect from it. When we get to Easter next year we shall have a repetition of the old familiar process, the old faces will present their old and well-known measures, and receive a polite intimation that really it is necessary to postpone them again till "Next Session." There will be much talk about Reform *proprio* of a little Whig bantling and certain middle class rivals. All these plans will, no doubt, meet with determined opposition from a section of the House who will point to France, and solemnly tell us to take a warning from the fate of that country, and maintain restricted suffrages, corrupt boroughs, wholesale bribery, and rank political injustice to the great mass of the population, rather than encounter the dangers of extending popular power, and introducing a larger amount of the democratic element into our Constitution. The atrocious and sanguinary usurpation of the traitor PRESIDENT in France will, we fully expect, be found to play the game of the opponents of popular rights in this country quite as much as of the despots on the Continent. "Next Session" will be as barren as its predecessors in the present feeble check-mated Whig Parliament. There may be a great cry, but we may rely upon it that there will be very little wool.

CENTRALISATION INCOMPATIBLE WITH NATIONAL LIBERTY.

One great lesson is to be derived from the recent events in France. We have often enforced it before, but it never was so strongly and plainly demonstrated as on this occasion. Centralised Government is utterly incompatible with political freedom. LOUIS KOSSTUTH in his speeches attributed the liberty enjoyed in this country to the wide diffusion of the power of local self-Government among the people, and pointed to the bureaucracy of France as the greatest possible obstruction to the realisation of Republican Government. It is by the preservation of the municipal rights of his countrymen that he hopes to secure the establishment and maintenance of Constitutional Government in Hungary; and it is the existence of these rights in this country which renders a sudden and violent destruction of our national liberties impossible.

Under whatever form of Government France may be placed, it will always in reality be enslaved, until it is liberated from the fetters of the bureaucratic system. The whole machinery of that system was originally devised to carry out absolutist principles and despotic Government. It is altogether incompatible with popular Government, because it never permits the people to walk alone, to think for themselves, or to act freely and independently. The Government is always at their heels, directing them to do this, not to do that—when to go, and where to go. They are tethered and pastured at the will of their State-keepers. The passport system is of itself a proof that the naturalisation of Liberty on French soil is impossible at present. But her popular leaders never appear to have comprehended this fact. The Republicans of 1848 saw nothing antagonistic to individual liberty and national freedom in the centralization of administrative and executive powers. LEDRU ROLLIN put the machinery in motion to suit his purposes precisely as M. DE MONTEPUT put it in motion to suit the purposes of the Usurper, and but for its existence the usurpation never could have succeeded. In fact it must always place France at the mercy of any unscrupulous, unprincipled, and courageous adventurer. The man who has mastery at Paris is the master of the whole country. The Municipal bodies, instead of being hindrances to ambitious and selfish designs, as they would be in this country, are auxiliaries. Here they would be as they have been before—centres of resistance to a tyrannous despotism, or, if the Central Government were suddenly overthrown, centres of authority for their respective districts. In France they are but links of the chain, the ends of which are held at Paris, and which can be made by a *Coup d'Etat* to fetter the whole population. The Executive pull the strings and set the provincial functionaries in motion like so many puppets. To that fact, and that alone, is to be attributed the immediate success of M. BONAPARTE's High Treason against the Constitution he had sworn to maintain, and the establishment of a Reign of Terror heralded by the Massacre of the Boulevards. To that fact alone is to be attributed the entire suppression of the Press, and the effectiveness of the measures by which an intelligent and independent public opinion is prevented from exercising any influence at the present juncture.

When the Republican party again get the upper hand, as they must do at no distant day, we trust they will not fail to perceive the true moral of the atrocious usurpation of "my uncle's nephew," and hasten to place the administrative machinery of the country in accordance with the true principles of responsible and popular Government. It is the want of such widely diffused political action which has made the people of France so ready to rush to the barricade in times of emergency. They have never been familiarized to public meetings, by means of which, opinion openly and peacefully expressed, can be concentrated and brought to bear upon Government. No doubt the right of such meetings has been guaranteed by each successive constitution, but the thing itself has never taken root under the centralized and bureaucratic system. Ever since the election of LOUIS NAPOLEON the right of public meeting has been in abeyance. The police and the gendarmes have put their interdict upon it, and the consequence has been as it ever will be, to place the country at the mercy of plots and conspiracies, carried out by brute force and bloodshed.

The barricade has, no doubt, to some imaginations, a certain fascination. There were parties in this country, who in 1848 pointed with exultation at the triumph and rapid manner in which it won Universal Suffrage for the French, and sneered at our slower process of agitation—public meetings, and appeals to opinion. The experience of the last four years may, however, now have given these parties cause to be sceptical as to the efficacy of the method they then so much admired. Oaks do not grow up in a single day, and lasting Constitutions are not improvised in street fights. What is won by force is constantly liable to be retaken by force, unless it be powerfully entrenched and fortified by enlightened public opinion, and the power of making that public opinion felt in action be enjoyed by the great bulk of the population.

There is another aspect of the question of great importance to us at home. It is quite certain that the disastrous and deplorable course of events in France during the last few years, will be laid hold of by the opponents of progress as an argument why no further concessions to popular demands should be made in this country. It ought to be distinctly shown that there is no analogy between the two countries. In England we have a Free Press and elective municipal institutions. The

parish meeting, the vestry, the wardmote, and the public assembly, are all so many training schools for a people who grow up accustomed to self-Government, and who feel themselves constantly responsible to, and restrained by, an all-pervading public opinion. Had there been such a state of things in France, it is impossible that it should ever have fallen a prey to such unprincipled intrigues and assassinations as those who now tyrannise over it. The usurpation of BONAPARTE is an argument for, not against, the extension of the Suffrage, and the wider diffusion of power among a people nurtured amidst influences which enable them to appreciate, and wisely exercise, the privileges they demand.

MONIES RECEIVED

FOR THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18TH, 1851.

NATIONAL CHARTER FUND.
Received by JOHN ARNOTT—Bernardine Lohmeyer 4s 6d—A few Friends, per John Collins 4s—Loughborough, per J. Harriman 3s 4d—Ditto Subscription, per J. J. Lidd—Newton, per John Richards 3s—Total £1 3s 6d.

FOR DEBT DUE BY REFUGEES.

Received by W. RIDER—R. M. W. M. W. S. Berwick-on-Tweed 1s 6d.

AMERICA.

ARRIVAL OF KOSSTUTH.

The United States Mail steam-ship, Atlantic, arrived in the Mersey, from New York direct, on Wednesday evening, with twenty-one passengers, and upwards of 800,000 lbs. in specie on freight. She left New York on the afternoon of the 6th inst., having been detained for a short period in order to take on board despatches from the Government at Washington, to Mr. Lawrence, the American minister at the court of St. James's, relative to the recent firing into the steamer *Prometheus* by the British brig-of-war *Express*, at the mouth of the harbour of San Juan de Nicaragua.

The United States mail steam-ship Humboldt, with Kosstuth and his suite on board, arrived at New York on the morning of the 5th inst., about two o'clock; and the New York papers are almost exclusively occupied with the details of his reception and speeches. The preparations were most extensive and magnificent, and the reception of the illustrious Magyar most enthusiastic. When the guns of the Humboldt were heard from the Narrows, and the accompanying rocket signals announced Kosstuth's arrival at Staten Island, the people rushed from all quarters to the wharf, and Dr. Doane, the officer of health, accompanied by Colonel Berzenzy and several Hungarians, proceeded in the boarding boat to the Humboldt, amidst a national salute of thirty-one guns—one for each state—fired from the Quarantine. On boarding the ship, the salutations between Kosstuth, Colonel Berzenzy, and the other Hungarians, were most cordial and affectionate. He then received his first formal welcome to the shores of the New World from Dr. Doane.

A salute was fired from Governor's Island as the Humboldt passed, and she was greeted also with a discharge of guns from the battery, and from the wharves of the North River. She reached her dock at three o'clock. Immediately upon his arrival, Major Hagadorn and officers waited upon Kosstuth at the house of Dr. Doane, in full uniform, when the Major delivered an eloquent address to him, in the opening of which he stated that in so doing he was acting in obedience to the command of his general, and the regulations of the American service. He was instructed by the Major-General of the district to present his respects and congratulations to the illustrious Magyar, upon whom he and a deputation of the municipal authorities of New York would wait in person as soon as they heard of his arrival. The Major, in conclusion, welcomed him to his new home and its simple republican hospitalities, and to the blessed liberty enjoyed in America as a common inheritance.

The Magyar was afterwards addressed by Dr. Brueninghausen, to which Kosstuth replied. It was after two o'clock when these addresses were closed, and considerable later when all had withdrawn. After a very brief sleep, Kosstuth arose at an early hour in the morning, and as soon as it was daylight the citizens from the vicinity began to collect at his lodgings. Great numbers of Hungarians and Poles, who had passed the night on the Island, crowded round to pay their respects. Several addresses having been presented to him, for each of which he briefly returned thanks, amid the most enthusiastic applause, preparations were made for marshalling the procession, which, it was arranged should signalise his public reception in the Island. From the commencement of the demonstration to its close the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. When the carriage containing Kosstuth, Dr. A. Sidney Doane, the Health Officer of the Port, and the host of Kosstuth, with Colonel Berzenzy and F. Paley, the former ambassador of Kosstuth in England, made its appearance at the gate of the Quarantine, the shouting was most vociferous and protracted, and the gallant hero of Hungary acknowledged the compliment paid to him by bowing to the multitude. Open ranks of military having been formed, the carriage took its place in the procession, which then advanced. In the procession were many private carriages filled with the citizens of the Island. On the route to the tent Kosstuth was warmly and constantly cheered. Arrived at the tent he was escorted to a raised platform which had been provided for him. Richard Adams Locke, Esq., the orator of the day, then delivered an address to Kosstuth, on behalf of Staten Island, to which he replied at great length. To some other addresses presented to him Kosstuth responded very briefly and then retired.

The Washington papers announce that the President, on learning of the firing into the steamer *Prometheus*, ordered a competent naval force to repair to San Juan for the purpose of protecting American vessels from future outrages of a like character. Inquiries were also addressed to the British Government, to know whether this conduct had been prompted by official authority. "This is all very well now" (says a New York paper) "but it is rather late to retrieve the character of the President, and his cabinet for their imbecility. A naval force sufficient to protect our flag from insult should have long since been stationed in the neighbourhood of the Mosquito coast. Had this been done, the *Express* could not have dared to fire into the *Prometheus*, or any other American vessel, or, if she had, she would in all probability have been blown so far out of the water, that she never could have discharged another gun.

PUBLIC MEETING TO DEMAND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR FROM PARIS.

A public meeting was held in the Joiners' Hall on Tuesday, 16th inst.—Mr. Watson in the chair—when the following resolutions were carried unanimously:

That complicity with tyrants is treason to the people. That the countenance given to the usurper Bonaparte, by the Marquis of Normanby, in his character of British Ambassador, is a disgraceful and unwarrantable representation, and opposed to the statements of the veritable people of this country.

That as no legal government exists in France, the British Ambassador, in his character of British Ambassador, and thereby certify that this nation will not recognize the treacherous and fraudulent usurpation of Louis Bonaparte.

That the representative of the brigand Bonaparte should be expelled from the soil and taint the air of this country.

That all alliance with, or recognition of, the tyrannical government of Europe should forthwith terminate. That the people, generally, of this country be, and hereby are, invited to participate in this manifestation of opinion, that thereby the national name may be preserved from dishonour, and our confidential brethren be protected from fraternal sympathy.

A vote of thanks was given to Mr. Harney and the Chairman, after which the meeting broke up.

Trades Intelligence.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

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

"FIAT JUSTITIA."

"If it were possible for the working classes, by combining among themselves, to raise, or keep up the general rate of wages, it would hardly be said that this would be a thing not to be punished, but to be welcomed and rejoiced at."

Lord CAMPBELL—"I must confess I look with some alarm upon this general Association sitting in London, dictating to masters what they shall pay their men, and levying contributions for the support of such society all over the kingdom."

Mr. MACNAMARA—"Yes, my Lord; but it is perfectly voluntary. The members contribute (on an average) 1s. 3d. per week out of their earnings; and the funds are distributed again among them."

Lord CAMPBELL—"That might raise a fund as large as the revenue of some of the sovereign states of Europe."

We have adopted the above remarks of Lord Campbell, manifesting, so strikingly as they do, the opinions of one of the most acute and comprehensive minds of the age, upon the power and capabilities of a National Association of Labour, to accomplish for labour all that we have ever professed or contended for, whenever such a movement is really nationalised. To make this apparent to the most dull comprehension we call attention to the following figures.

The adult working population of this country cannot be taken at less than six millions. A contribution of one penny per week would produce a revenue of £25,000, or £1,300,000 per annum!

It would be idle to speculate upon the uses to which such a revenue might be applied, because we know it to be perfectly impracticable at present, to induce even a tithe of such a number of working men to unite for any purpose whatever; but we think we may, without exposing ourselves to the charge of aerial castle building, imagine the practicability of speedily bringing into one organisation one hundred thousand of the most intelligent, and, consequently, the most powerful, of our fellow workmen. The same insignificant contribution would yield to such an organisation an annual revenue of £21,666 13s. 4d.—a sum amply sufficient to relieve our redundant labour market of all its superfluous idlers; the only true way of raising wages and supereradicating strikes.

The uninterrupted progress of the Emigration mania, or the "Irish Exodus," as it has been called, has induced the Editor of the "Times" to speculate somewhat prophetically on the possible consequences of its continuance; and he has discovered the alarming contingency, that the time is rapidly approaching when the sun of England's prosperity will have culminated, when instead of there being three men for one master, there will be three masters looking out and bidding against each other for one man. We should, indeed, be most happy to hail the advent of so salutary a change; for certain we are, that no permanent improvement can take place in the condition of the working classes generally, until the great disproportion which now exists between the supply of labour and the demand for it be more equalized; and we demand rather see this most desirable end accomplished by the united action of the working classes in the land of their birth, than that they should be driven out as cast-aways and vagabonds by the twin-tyrannies of Land and Money.

An organisation of some hundred thousand of our most intelligent fellow labourers, with the capability of realising a revenue of upwards of £20,000 per annum for every little party weekly penny subscribed, would soon be in a position not only to place itself right in its social and political condition, but would necessarily form the glorious pioneer corps, to clear a way for its less enlightened or less powerful fellow labourers, the matted mass of ignorance and prejudice, which now forms a barrier impenetrable to all the efforts of our theorizing and speculative doctors and patriots. We speak of the mighty power of the people as children of millions, billions, &c., without any adequate idea of the reality. We groan and grumble at our condition, and yet refuse to adopt those means which would lead to the only desirable "exodus" from our present state of worse than Egyptian bondage. We produce, according to our own peculiar bias, our elaborate theories of future constitutions, which shall be realised when we and our party are in the ascendant, and are always ready to most heartily damn each and every individual and party who differ with us, even in a shadow of a shade; while we ourselves, in the excess of our egotism, have made no effort to lay even the first necessary stone of the solid substratum, upon which alone can be reared any practicable, and therefore useful movement. The philosophical Mistress Glass lays down an axiom which the industrial illuminati of the present day do not seem to comprehend—that hares are to be caught before they are cooked; but our modern poetising and theorising "public instructors" seem to be completely absorbed in their imaginative cookery of social and political raygouts, while the hares are frisking about in blessed ignorance of the important part destined for them in the industrial world's future feast. The necessity for an organisation and effort to obtain it, appears to form no part of their philosophy.

We invite then these parties, these leaders, and teachers of the people, to join with us in our peaceful and constitutional agitation, to create an organisation with a maximum of numbers and power, and a minimum of individual cost; but producing at the same time large, immediate, and beneficial results. There are various ways—direct and indirect—by which the wages of labour are reduced and depreciated; and assuredly the means are as various by which labour's miserable dole may be enhanced and practically increased. The entire cessation of strikes, and the annual tax paid by almost every trade to support them, no longer required, would be among the first and immediate fruits from the adoption of our views. Mr. Perry may be one of the boldest of the bold, and there may be five hundred of his species as bold as he, but we question if Mr. Perry, notwithstanding his large magnificent victory, will ever again venture to measure conclusions with even the existing power of the so-called National Association; and we know right well that he and his compeers, by their names legion, would evince more discretion than ever to cope in individual hostility with the concentrated power of the hundred thousand weekly pennies of their present despised workmen. Oh! the latent power of the peace is omnipotent.

Let our readers fancy the ridiculous position of this Stately conclave conceiving an ukase in their imperial minds, prohibiting to some five hundred of their presumed serfs the exercise of their admitted legal and constitutional right of combination; let them, we say, fancy for an instance, such an absurd attempt to play the tyrant, if the 500 men formed but the two hundredth part of a protective union. One of two inevitable results would follow: the five hundred men would be withdrawn from the labour market for so long a time as the employers could do without their services, or, more probably, and much more wisely, a co-operative industrial Bobbing Turning establishment would be reared upon the ruins of a dozen petty slave shops.

It is amusing to contemplate the laboured efforts of little minds to ape the actions of your practitioners on a large scale. A *coup d'etat* of an imperial-minded Bobbin Turner

is only a whit more contemptible, but equally as detestable as the more magnificent treason of an apostate Republican President; and we suspect as little calculated to work out the guilty designs, or add to the reputation of the crafty comploter.

But we may after all be doing the Stately masters an unwilling injustice. They may perhaps be the victims of some commercial perplexity; and, like the Newcastle shipowners in the memorable money panic year, 1847, be driven to the hard necessity of temporising with their embarrassments, by a forced diminution of their weekly pecuniary outlay; and to effect this they have offered a proposition to their hands too monstrous to be listened to or accepted, and thus to force them into a suspension of their employment, thereby giving them time to compromise their embarrassments without any apparent stab to their commercial credit. We know that, in our present highly artificial, and supremely unprincipled trading system, such dodges are no way uncommon, and is indeed the most charitable way of accounting for the inexplicable conduct of those parties to their well-conducted and industrious workmen.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF UNITED TRADES.

250, Tottenham-court-road.

AMALGAMATED IRON TRADES.

OVERTIME AND PEECE WORK.—The Executive Council of the Amalgamated Iron Trades have recently issued two circulars on this subject, one to the members, and the other to the masters. It may be necessary to refer to the first of these, which designated the Engineers, Mechanics, Millwrights, &c., and has about 12,000 members of the best organised, best paid, and most intelligent working men of this country in its ranks.

The Executive state, that after consulting every member of the amalgamated societies, they have come to the resolution of abolishing Overtime and Piece Work, evils of the greatest magnitude, and the worst of the system. In consequence of this, men are found "exhausting their own strength, injuring their own health, giving up all opportunities of improvement, and barring themselves out from the comforts of home and the pleasures of society, so that at the week's end they may add a few more shillings to their wages, and all the while others are begging for the leave to earn their bread by the hour."

The Council believe, however, that this is, in most instances, done thoughtlessly, and that those who know its effects only submit to it under compulsion. By taking it up as a Trade question, however, there will be no fear of the men doing wrong.

The Amalgamated Trades are strong enough to meet any storm of opinion which may arise, and to support those who are faithful to their order. "Looked at as a common matter of every day interest, those who think—and all are beginning to think now—will see the impolicy of Overtime and Piece Work as a mere matter of wrong. What if a man who makes himself a slave does earn this week a few shillings more than he who moderately enjoys life and the fruits of his labour, he will be the loser by the time he gets to his bed, and the over-worked toiler, probably in the prime of manhood, becomes a decrepit invalid, a burden to his family and his trade, and a misery to himself, while his wiser fellows live to a hale old age of labour."

There is more than this, though, to be thought of, for instead of the present apparent gain being a real gain, it is generally a real loss. You know full well, as well as we do, that the effects of habitual over-exertion, beside degrading the body, deteriorate the mind; and if large gains are made, habits of reckless intemperance are too often engendered which squander more than the gains. In addition to that, Overtime and Piece Work, as the means of reducing wages, are greatly assisted by the mental slavishness of the system proposed to the Employers, who are too ready to lose their own notions of what working men ought to be allowed to earn. That estimate is not generally a very exorbitant one, but it is founded upon the notion of a day's labour of moderate duration. Some men are tempted on by the greater pay for Overtime, or the increased opportunities of Piece Work, to earn more than a man can earn in a day, and to put in more hours than he is capable of his own health.

The employer then turns round upon those who have made their wages high, and quotes those high wages the price of labour. If the man complains if public opinion is invoked—the Overtime and Piece Work masters say confidently to the public, who only see the surface of questions, "There are some lowering wages, it is true, at the present moment, but our fellow labourers are far above the average of former years. Look at our books, and see that for weeks past these men have been earning very high wages." If the attempt succeeds—and, backed by public opinion thus gained, it often does—these Piece Work Masters are put upon a high price; their capability for work is estimated by the force and feverish efforts under a bad system, and the prices of Piece Work are reduced, so as to make their increased toil yield them about the ordinary rate of wages.

Another effect of Piece Work and Overtime is that it causes a redundancy of labour. There is, perhaps, never too much for all the hands there are to do—generally too little; and if men work Overtime, and are paid for it, they are more likely to increase the disproportion between the labour there is to be done and the number of hands there are out of work. Those hands thrown unemployed upon the labour market, become at once the competitors of the men in work, and a burden on the funds of the Society to which they belong. They, at the same time, draw upon the resources of the Society for food and clothing, by putting on classes against the other, to diminish those resources, and thus a universal game of "beggar my neighbour" is set up, and the broken of to-day become the breakers of to-morrow.

Feding strongly the evils generated by this system, and fortified by the universal answer of the Society in favour of its abolition, the Executive Council have come to the following resolutions:—"That all Millwrights, Mechanics, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern Makers, cease to work Piece and Systematic Overtime after the 31st December, 1851."

Resolved—"That in all cases of breakdowns or accidents, where members of the trade are called upon to work Overtime, that they be paid double time for all such time worked."

Resolved—"That all members of the Society, who are called upon to work Overtime, be considered Overtime, excepting Saturday, when Overtime commences from the termination of the usual day."

In the circular to the employers in Great Britain and Ireland, it is stated that, in taking this course they "have not the slightest intention of unlawfully interfering with the right of employers to employ their men. They have only in view the performance of their duty as the guardians of the interests of the members, and the organs through which the voice of the trade expresses itself, and they trust that what they have to say will be interpreted in the amicable spirit which animates them."

As far, indeed, from the discussion of these questions, if properly considered, having a tendency to create angry feelings, we believe that their satisfactory adjustment is of equal importance to both employers and workmen, and that each party should be anxious to see them equitably settled. They believe, too, that the present time is peculiarly fitted for the discussion of such questions as is shown by the interest evinced in them by the public at large, and the general desire which exists among all classes to shorten the hours of labour."

merely effect the interests of employers, we earnestly trust your sympathies on higher grounds would appeal to those feelings which dignify and ennoble our common humanity to induce you to give up something of mere gain, if need be, in order to elevate the condition of your workmen. For that, however, there is no necessity. In this instance at least, benefit to yourselves and benevolence to your workmen go hand in hand, and we beg that you will serve at once your own cause and that of your workmen, by intimating to us, that we need not fear your opposition, but rather may reckon on your supporting this effort to deal with the questions of Piece Work and Overtime.

In answer to this appeal it is stated that in Manchester the following employers have agreed to the proposition: Messrs. Sharps, Brothers, and Co., Roberts, Doherty, and Co., Higgins, and Co., Briggs, Sons, Co., Parr, Curtis and Madley, Kershaw, Sons, Mayburn, Grigton, Jenkinson, Collier, Moir, Morgan, Elce and Cottam, McGregor, Adam, Booth, Gore, Roberts, and Heavens, J. Creighton, Bellhouse, Glasgow, Shipton, Divroge, Leeds Railway Station, Gorton Railway Station, Longsight Railway Station, Liverpool Railway Station, Marsden, E. Jones, Crossley, Hetherington, Galloway, Gadd, Lewis, and Son, and Firth.

In other establishments in the same town, the employers have resisted the proposal, and discharged members of the society as follows:—From Ashbury's 21; Ellis and Co's, 7; Fairbairn's, 3; Adam Woodward's, 2; Wren and Co's, 1; in all 29 on the funds of the committee; it is not probable that more than 6 or 7 more will be discharged in Manchester.

Twenty men being discharged for discontinuing overtime is not by any means a large number for Manchester. How many will be employed through the new regulation?—We should say more than a hundred, and will soon be felt to be a decided gain.

HANDLOOM WEAVERS.—The following address to the inhabitants of Great Britain has recently been issued by a Conference of delegates representing the Handloom Weavers of Scotland:—"Fellow men!—The existing system of society both demoralises and engenders a fatal misapprehension of the reciprocal duties, mutual dependence, and true interests of men. Discovering after discovery is announced for superseding manual labour, and for adding to our power of satisfying human wants. Wealth of every description flows in upon us without the slightest idea of the legitimate purpose for which it is brought into existence, or to which it ought to be applied. The announcement of these inventions are therefore paradoxically accompanied by a state of want, wailing, woe, and distress—by a statement of poverty, crime, and crime, among the operative classes of looms, handlooms, and ruin among the capitalists—and poverty, and pauperism with their natural and certain consequences, misery and discontent are now more general, and in more rapid progress throughout the country, than before the introduction of these vast powers of machinery. Is it not, then, the imperative duty of us, and especially of those who pretend to govern the nation, to investigate the causes of these anomalies?—We believe that wealth in the hands of a few, poverty in one class, and uneasiness in others, until they shall actually be ascertained, and until proper remedies are applied? Why are the British people not now in possession of these numerous advantages to which their industry, their skill, their machinery, and their capital so abundantly entitle them? Why should our industrious classes be unable to obtain employment? Why should multitudes pine in want? Why should the common necessities of life be so scarce? Why should poverty, misery, and crime, pervade our land, when the whole population of our country ought to be in the enjoyment of abundance? In this country we possess means of producing wealth far beyond our wants. We have machinery equal to the labour of 800,000,000 of human beings, and a capacity to provide food, under judicious arrangements, for many times the number of our present population. We have clothing for ten times the number of our people. We have materials and power to erect dwellings, princely, magnificent dwellings, for ten times our present population. Now, the solemn questions are, when we produce these goods and services together, why should we be unable to obtain employment? Why should we be without food? Why should we be without clothing? And, why should any be homeless, and huddled into dark cellars, and dingy garrets? Or, why should any be more unfortunate still, and compelled to sleep under arches of bridges, in common stables, in cold barns, and in the open fields? How can there be too many hungry mouths to feed, and too many hands to employ in the same country? How can there be too many sick, weak, and too much clothing? How can there be too many empty houses, and too many homeless people to inhabit them? And why does cheap cotton cloth demand the continual sacrifice of humanity? When we ask ourselves and the British public these solemn and significant questions we feel ourselves justified in demanding that the existing system of social and industrial relations should be radically reformed, and that the reciprocal duties of mutual dependence, and true interests of men. The public press of our country daily contains long and sad records of mercantile failures, of commercial difficulties, and deep distresses among our trading classes—records of repeated occurrences of severe destitution and starvation among our working classes—of credit destroyed, of property lost, of multitudes of working men in involuntary idleness—of pauperism and crime increasing. The difficulties of the manufacturing and employing classes are now added to the working classes, hundreds of thousands of whom are at this moment without bread or employment. But, of all the difficulties which now afflict our country, the most serious, we believe, is the want of employment, and the greatest sufferers are the poorest of the people. The extraordinary increase of the mechanical powers of improved machinery has both lessened the demand for, and value of, our labour, until we are at length reduced to the lowest standard of a mean and precarious subsistence. And wherever machinery tends to supersede manual labour, as it has done in our case, it is not difficult to perceive that the suffering must be the result. And we respectfully submit an appeal to the British public, that our present deplorable condition pre-eminently deserves and requires the immediate, serious deliberation of a government commission. Our government is bound, so long as it professes to be paternal, to inquire if some means cannot be adopted to transfer the handloom weavers, whom machinery has superseded and reduced to beggary, to some other mode of employment, and to effectually provide for those who are too old for a change of work. We tell our government that it will not do to set down the complaints of masses of our fellow beings as foolish, and not worth notice. A wise government will always look upon destitution and dissatisfaction as a state of things which requires attention, and which require removal, and of offerings which require a remedy.—I am, gentlemen, your very obedient servant, JOHN YULE, Chairman."

The same body forwarded memorials to Lord John Russell and Sir G. Grey, briefly setting forth the condition of the body they represented, and entreating the Prime Minister to introduce in to the House of Commons, in the ensuing session, a bill for the relief of the handloom weavers, and for the purpose of legislative grant of the public money to enable those of the Weaving body who may be inclined to emigrate to any of the British colonies to do so, and to promote and adopt a system of home colonisation, so that the redundant population employed at handloom weaving may be in part withdrawn from an occupation which does not afford them the means of subsistence, and to enable them to cultivate improved lands, which they might cultivate not only with advantage to themselves, but with the most incalculable benefit to the community at large.

Of course so rational and practical a request as this was answered in the earliest and most formal style of Red-tapism. The Weavers are not "Political Economists," and they have no votes. Sir G. Grey returned an equally supercilious answer to the request, that he would bring forward a bill in the course of next session of Parliament, assuaging the law as regards provision for the support of the able-bodied poor in Scotland, as in England, when suffering destitution through want of employment.

When the labouring classes get more political power ministers will be more attentive to their respectful and reasonable memorials.

EARTHQUAKE.—The "Impartial de Smyrne," in its correspondence from Salonica, has melancholy accounts of an earthquake at Berat. We learn that a part of the fortress had been thrown down, and 400 soldiers buried in the ruins. Some days after the earthquake, the great tower of the fortress, which was a lofty and massive structure, fell, and the soldiers who were in the tower were killed. The earthquake was felt in many parts of the fortress, and the soldiers who were in the tower were killed. The earthquake was felt in many parts of the fortress, and the soldiers who were in the tower were killed.

The Board of Examiners for the Civil Service, in their report on the body of Thomas Waller, who was killed by the recent dreadful boiler explosion at Kingswood, the Jury, after a lengthened discussion, returned a verdict of "Accidental Death."

LATEST FOREIGN NEWS.

FRANCE.

PARIS, Thursday, December 18.—The proclamation of the Governor of Algeria declaring the colony in a state of seige is confirmed by a decree of the President of the Republic. The Department of the Jura is also declared in a state of seige, making thirty-four out of eighty-six departments thus situated. It is announced that the Minister of the Interior has received adhesions and addresses from twenty-one communes of the Vosges, and from communes, municipal councillors, mayors, National Guards, &c., of the various places in twenty-nine departments, and that addresses are in course of signature in 500 communes of the department of the Haute Saone, to be "favourable."

M.M. Crémieux, Leo de Laborde, and Creton, who were confined at Vincennes, have been set at liberty. M.M. Duvergier de Hauranne, Bixio, Joret, Paulin, Durrien, Teilhard, Laterais, and General Leydet have been transferred from Vincennes to St. Pelagie.

The government has got in readiness a regular fleet for transporting the unfortunate people whom the police denounces as agitators of society.

AUSTRIA.

ARREST OF KOSSTUTH'S SISTERS.—The "Times" correspondent states that a special train from Hungary arrived on the 18th inst. at Vienna, containing sisters of both sexes—the men in iron. Kosstuth's sisters were the female prisoners, and the others cavaliers (nobles.)

REFORM MEETING AT STOCKPORT.

The annual soiree of the Stockport Reform Association was held at the County Court Hall, on Tuesday evening, and drew together an exceedingly large and respectable attendance of the electors and other inhabitants.

Mr. HARMAN, president of the association, took the chair, and the company included James Kershaw, Esq., M.P. for the borough, John Bright, Esq., M.P., Mr. Councillor Eschinger, Alderman Rylands of Warrington, Edwin Oldham, Esq., Rev. M. de Valmont, Rev. John Thornton, Mr. H. Coppock.

After the usual toasts, the chairman proposed "John Bright, M.P., and speedy success to the scheme of Parliamentary Reform as embodied by him at the late delegate meeting in Manchester."

Mr. Bright replied at great length, and having enumerated the struggles for the repeal of the Corn Laws, said it was not to be supposed that Sir R. Peel first discovered in November, 1846, that the Corn Law was a bad law, what he had discovered was that the people had found out that it was a bad law, and that was the real cause of the repeal. Mr. Bright then entered at great length into the proceedings of the late Manchester Conference, and said the minister, during the last session, declared distinctly that, at the opening of next session, he would be prepared to submit a measure of reform to Parliament. We believe he will keep his promise. His measure may be a very small one, which will be very unstatesmanlike; or it may be one of substantial improvements. If it be the latter, of course, we who are in favour of Parliamentary Reform will give it all the support in our power. But bear in mind that a large section of the House of Commons, as in 1850 and 1851, do not want any reform at all. The gentleman who wants to get back the corn-l

h. "practically to the same extent." The changes are intended chiefly to facilitate the entry of existing schools into the new organisation. The resolution lately adopted by the Society declares, that schools already in existence may become free schools under the direction of their present or future trustees, provided a certain sum—to be named hereafter—be paid weekly to the Society for the maintenance of each—per week—That, can inspection they are found to be in a satisfactory condition. 2. That "the incalculable of doctrinal religion" shall not take place in them between certain specified hours in the morning and afternoon. 3. That the attendance of the scholars on the "incalculable of doctrinal religion" shall not be a condition of admission. 4. That the "incalculable of doctrinal religion" shall not be a part of the duty of the teachers under this system. That no part of the school payments derived from the State shall be directly or indirectly applied to the "incalculable of doctrinal religion." These changes of programme remove the national scheme still further from the municipal scheme, and render a future competition between the Manchester educational projects still less probable.

CANCELLED LABOUR.—The demand for agricultural labour in Yorkshire is greater than it has been in many years past, and higher wages are asked and obtained.

A COURT OF DIRECTORS was held on Wednesday at the Essex India-house, when Barnes Pennock, Esq., Q.C., was appointed fourth ordinary member of the Council of India.

