

Thomson Leigh Hunt, to Wellington St. Strand

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

A WEEK has elapsed; Lord John Russell, with all his Cabinet and its train, has passed off the scene, and Lord Derby occupies the ground with a new Administration. The composition of the Cabinet is in itself a curiosity: the list has undergone daily changes; but while we write, this is its last form:—

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| First Lord | Lord Derby. |
| Exchequer | Mr. Disraeli. |
| Lord Chancellor | Sir Edward Sugden. |
| Home Secretary | Mr. Walpole. |
| Foreign Secretary | Lord Malmesbury. |
| Colonial Secretary | Sir John Pakington. |
| Lord President | Lord Lonsdale. |
| Privy Seal | Lord Salisbury. |
| Board of Control | Mr. Herries. |
| Admiralty | { Duke of Northumber- |
| | land. |
| Post Office | Lord Hardwicke. |
| Board of Trade | Mr. Henley. |
| Woods and Forests | Lord John Manners. |

The assortment of Under-Secretaries and Ministers not in the Cabinet is still more curious; but public amusement has exhausted itself on the subject, and now awaits the development of the Ministerial policy. Lord John Russell threw up the government on Friday night; the change of Ministry was formally announced to both Houses on Monday; and both Houses adjourned till Friday, to give time for the reconstruction of a Cabinet. It has proved an interval not at all too long, but still long enough for the public curiosity to die away considerably. Nothing is expected from the present Ministry, nothing feared from it; but the general feeling is one of satisfaction at any change, and a hope that a Tory Ministry may stimulate the dulled faculties of Reform.

The two questions immediately before the public are, whether the Ministry will press its Protectionist policy—whether it would dissolve Parliament at once? Immediate dissolution was impossible; the Mutiny Bill, and various continuance bills, which are indispensable, forbidding so abrupt a termination of the session; but the newest idea is, that the dissolution will take place in five or six weeks' time. As to the policy of Ministers, the organs of the party have been making preparatory apologies for any delay that may take place in the enforcement of Protectionist principles; but no doubt much will depend on the

reception which Ministers meet with from Parliament, or subsequently from the country.

Some of the absences in the Ministry are remarkable. Lord Lyndhurst keeps away; though he is the only man that would have given force to the party in the Upper House; Derby's impetuosity having no quality of sustained force. Some infer that Lord Lyndhurst is not sufficiently satisfied with the prospects of the party to disturb his personal arrangements. Mr. George Frederick Young is not well enough to enter office as Vice-President of the Board of Trade; though one might have expected such an offer to restore life under the ribs of death. Lord Jocelyn publicly and formally contradicts, as an imputation, a statement that he had accepted office under Lord Derby.

Sudden political activity has followed the promulgation of the extinguished Reform Bill and the fall of the Ministry. Manchester meets in hot haste, very resolute, indeed; bids Lord Derby to look out for squalls from the North; and threatens to awaken, by decided passes, the "Old League" from its mesmeric sleep, and declares itself ready to subscribe quite a royal revenue, and so prevent the reimposition of the bread-tax.

Yes: Reform is what it must come to—Corn Laws or no Corn Laws! Finsbury, Marylebone, Lambeth, and Birmingham, are manifestly of that opinion. Finsbury and Birmingham will have manhood suffrage; the other boroughs are contented with "extension," as the phrase goes. Lambeth, indeed, calls for a "residential" suffrage, which is a term of wide meaning.

In addition to these general outbreaks of suppressed popular feeling, we have the hearty meeting of the advocates of an untaxed press, in St. Martin's Hall. In fact, the week has been prolific in significant expositions of what is in the public mind. Close your ranks; Forward!—that is the watchword.

Curious results of the masters' strike in the iron trades, are visible. Besides the great fact for us, that every day brings labour nearer to organization, in the form of Co-operative Association, there are minor facts, not at all consolatory to the masters, but cheering to all others,—engineers setting out for Belgium; failure of the infamous declaration policy; generous assistance from other trades; general sympathy of all skilled workmen; failure of masters in obtaining hands from Scotland, and other places. Mr. Newton's summing up, on Monday, was encouraging; and Mr. Coningham's speech useful and instructive. Meanwhile, the coalwhippers have successfully struck

for higher wages; and the Hylton ship-carpenters continue as they were.

Even the great pauper question is not without its bright side. The Bolton magistrates have wisely resolved that reproductive pauper-labour is better than throwing away millions, year after year, to maintain able-bodied men in compulsory idleness. "Political Economy" must surrender; or, rather, false oeconomics must give place to true. It is too ridiculous to pay people for doing nothing in Workhouses, although they do such things in Public Offices.

The death of Archbishop Murray reminds us of the most grievous of the laches committed by the Whigs. The discreet and enlightened Dr. Croly was succeeded by intolerant Dr. Cullen, of Ptolemaic astronomy; the mild and Christian Murray will very likely be succeeded by a priest of the same ultramontane stamp. If the Whigs had fostered that Liberal party among the Irish Catholics which has made so stout a stand for the Queen's Colleges—if Ministerial influence had been used in friendly spirit to modify the appointments of Rome, the half of the Church, headed by Dr. Murray, might have been converted into a liberal majority. But that patriotic encouragement of true religious freedom was abandoned for the political humbug of the "Papal aggression," and Dr. McHale is dictating the growth of the majority on his own side.

The latest reports of Louis Bonaparte discover him fortifying the Tuileries, and turning palace gardens into shelving batteries. The enthusiasm of his seven million constituents is becoming dangerous. Or is he fearful of being besieged in the midst of his sanguinary splendours, by the common hate of France?

The reconciliation (never so probable) of the two branches of the Royal House portends a more sudden and a more speedy struggle. How long this man may last is no more a question of years, but of months: perhaps of weeks: for, in that volcanic land, change outspeeds time, and moments of a nation's life are intensified into epochs. Ahtagonisms spring up around the Dictator in rank luxuriance; the elections even for a Legislature created after his own image, are dreaded and deferred; so elastic has constitutional experience made the resources of opposition.

The darker the situation, the more desperate the policy, as the shadows of a rapid retribution are closing upon him, hemmed in by sullen and noiseless conspiracies within, menaced by dynastic

coalitions without; despised and dreaded by the possessing, distrusted and abhorred by the working-classes;—how utter the isolation, how forlorn the abandonment of that mad and miserable ambition!

Meanwhile he is qualifying for the business of a Court Tailor; solemnly decreeing the buttons and the collars of his "conscript" creatures. Yet, if he have one ambition more special than another, it is to deserve the title that belonged to the old Kings of France—the "First-born Son of the Church." To deserve this title, he is ready to decree over the minds of the rising youth to the monopoly of the priests—a system that has worked so well at Naples!

Commercial atrophy, mental stagnation, financial paralysis, to this complexion has he brought France within these few weeks. She begins to feel the weight of Napoleonic ideas, and to sigh even for the *bavards* of Parliamentary institutions. No tribune, no press: but in exchange for both, the will of one man, and that man a Louis Bonaparte!

The unfortunate young man shot by the sentry was, it seems, the son of a rich manufacturer of Elbœuf:—a furious Bonapartist, who on the 4th of December gave up his house to the soldiers of the *coup-d'état*, that they might kill harmless citizens from the windows! This man's son is shot dead on his way home from a ball, by one of Bonaparte's soldiers, to whom merciless orders had been given. Is there any Nemesis here?

The news from Germany is of expiring Constitutionalism, of court gaieties, and famine-stricken populations.

Sardinia is again reported to be making advances to Austria; Lombardy is emigrating; Naples simulating clemency to half-dead prisoners; Rome *feting* the anniversary of the Republic, in the very teeth of the soldiers of the Pope, with salvoes of petards, and Bengal lights, and official proclamations of that "Invisible Government" to which Rome belongs.

THE NEW MINISTRY.

AFTER his defeat, Lord John Russell summoned a Cabinet Council on Saturday, and announced to his colleagues that he intended to resign. As we learn from the Marquis of Lansdowne, there was no opposition; and Lord John Russell waited on the Queen, surrendered his appointment, and recommended her Majesty to call to her councils the Earl of Derby. She did so; his lordship waited on the Queen, and at once accepted the task of forming a ministry. It is said he had one cut and dried. Be that as it may, Lord Derby waited on Mr. Disraeli; plans were arranged, bargains concluded, and on Monday the new list was submitted to the Queen. It is said that Lord Palmerston was applied to by the Earl of Derby, and that the Earl received a sharp response to a civil message—which we do not believe. On the other hand, it is as positively stated that Lord Palmerston had not been asked to join the Protectionist Government, which is formed as follows:—

IN THE CABINET.

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister | Earl of Derby. |
| Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons | Mr. Disraeli. |
| Lord Chancellor | Sir E. Sugden. |
| Lord President | Earl of Lonsdale. |
| Lord Privy Seal | Marquis of Salisbury. |
| Secretaries of State:— | |
| For the Home Department | Mr. Walpole. |
| For the Foreign Department | Lord Malmesbury. |
| For the Colonial Department | Sir John Pakington. |
| First Lord of the Admiralty | Duke of Northumberland. |
| President of the Board of Control | Mr. Herries. |
| President of the Board of Trade | Mr. Henley. |
| Postmaster-General | Earl of Hardwicke. |
| Vice-President of the Board of Trade | Lord Colchester. |
| Minister of the Duchy of Lancaster | Lord John Manners. |
| | Mr. Christopher. |

NOT IN THE CABINET.

| | |
|--|--|
| Commander-in-Chief | Duke of Wellington. |
| Master-General of the Ordnance | Lord Hardinge. |
| Secretary at War | Mr. Beresford. |
| Attorney-General | Sir F. Thesiger. |
| Solicitor-General | Sir Fitzroy Kelly. |
| Lord Lieutenant of Ireland | Earl of Eglinton. |
| Secretary for Ireland | Lord Naas. |
| Chief Justice | Blackburne has arrived in London, from Ireland, and, it is believed, has accepted the office of Lord Chancellor of the sister kingdom. |
| Attorney-General for Ireland | Mr. Napier. |
| Solicitor-General for Ireland | Mr. Whiteside. |
| Lord of the Treasury | Marquis of Chandos. |
| Lord of the Treasury | Mr. Bateson. |
| Lord of the Treasury | Lord Henry Lennox. |
| Under-Secretary of the Home Department | Sir W. Joliffe. |
| Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs | Lord Stanley. |
| Judge Advocate | Mr. Bankes. |
| Lords of the Admiralty | Rear-Admiral Parker. Rear-Admiral Hornby. Commodore Sir J. Herbert. Captain Milne. Mr. Stafford. |
| Secretary to the Admiralty | Mr. Cumming Bruce. |
| Secretary to the Board of Control | Sir John Trollope. |
| Chief Commissioner of the Poor-Law Board | Earl of Desart and Mr. Henry Baillie. |
| Joint Secretaries of the India Board | Not yet appointed. |
| Under Secretary of the Colonies | Messrs. George A. Hamilton and Forbes M'Kenzie. |
| Joint Secretaries of the Treasury | Sir Emmerson Tennent. |
| Secretary to the Poor-Law Board | |
| IN THE HOUSEHOLD. | |
| Lord Steward | Duke of Montrose. |
| Lord Chamberlain | Marquis of Exeter. |
| Master of the Horse | Earl of Jersey. |
| Controller of the Household | Lord Ossulston. |
| Vice-Chamberlain | Marquis of Worcester. |
| Treasurer | Lord Claude Hamilton. |
| Clerk Marshal | Lord Colville. |
| Captain of Yeoman of the Guard | Lord De Ros. |
| Captain of the Gentlemen-at-Arms | Earl of Sandwich. |
| The Lords in Waiting will probably be | |
| Lords Morton. | Lords Verulam. |
| Byron. | Galway. |
| Crofton. | Shannon. |
| Hawarden. | Polwarth. |

A privy council was held on Friday, when the ministers waited on the Queen, and kissed hands on their appointment.

PARLIAMENTARY "EXPLANATIONS."

BOTH Houses met on Monday, and adjourned until Friday. The proceedings in each were similar, the point of difference being, that while the Marquis of Lansdowne announced that he intended to partially retire from public duties, and only made the faintest allusion to the probabilities of the future, Lord John Russell, recovering his audacity at the moment he cast off his official responsibility, flung forth the banner of opposition in the face of Tories and Protectionists.

Lord LANSDOWNE moved that the order of the day for the appointment of a committee on the affairs of the East India Company be discharged. This was a motion made for the purpose of enabling him to speak on the break-up of the Russell Cabinet. He had instantly and unreluctantly agreed in the course pursued by the late Premier. He thought cabinets which outlived hearty support and efficiency were best abolished as evils. He had no wish to obstruct the formation of the new or any administration under the present circumstances, "for we are duly informed," he said, "that, independent of that administration which is now being formed, there are concealed in this country many anonymous administrations—(a laugh)—ready to undertake the duty of conducting her Majesty's affairs, but too modest to make themselves known." (Laughter.) He thanked their lordships around him for the warmth and amity of their support; and their lordships opposed to him for the "invariable kindness, courtesy, and forbearance" with which they had treated him; and he hoped that such conduct would always characterize the proceedings of that House. Lord MALMESBURY acknowledged the compliments in a few words, not very significant, and the House adjourned until Friday.

The House of Commons was very full when the

Speaker took the chair at four o'clock. Lord John Russell and Mr. Disraeli arrived about half-past four, sitting respectively on the Treasury and Opposition benches. After the transaction of some necessary private business, Lord JOHN RUSSELL rose amidst profound silence, and announced that he and his whole cabinet had resigned, and that Lord Derby had, he understood, been ordered to form a government. Like the Marquis of Lansdowne, he thanked his supporters; and his supporters cheered him when he boasted that he had so conducted public affairs, both domestic and foreign, as to leave no great branch in a state of which they might be at all ashamed; and when he mentioned in terms of respect the name of the Marquis of Lansdowne as the prop of his cabinet in the House of Lords, cheers rang on both sides of the House. Turning from the past to a more exciting topic, he threw out a characteristic menace to the new ministers.

"With respect to the future, I shall only say that I shall think it my duty to oppose out of office, as I have opposed in office, any restoration of the duty on corn—(loud ministerial cheers, with ironical cheers and 'oh, oh,' from the Protectionists)—whether under the name of 'Protection' or of 'Revenue.' I shall also think it my duty to support an extension of the suffrage—(ministerial cheers)—to those who are fit to exercise the franchise for the welfare of the country, believing that such extension will add strength and solidity to our parliamentary system. (Ministerial cheers.) I will say further, that I shall always use the little influence which I may possess for the maintenance of the blessings of peace. (Renewed cheers.)"

In compliance with the wish of Lord Derby, he moved that the House adjourn till Friday. Mr. HUME alone addressed the House, trusting that a full explanation of the policy of the new ministry would be given on Friday, an expectation greeted with "No, no," from the Protectionists, and the House adjourned.

REFORM MEETINGS.

ROUSED by Lord John's small Reform measure, the two most active of our metropolitan boroughs, Finsbury and Marylebone, met on Monday: their members were present, and a very numerous audience, both in Store-street, where Finsbury assembled, and the famous "Vestry Hall" of St. Pancras, where the "men of Marylebone" gathered together. But when they had met, of course, by the sudden resignation of Ministers, the subject of their meeting had become spectral, and vanished. Still there must be some speaking, and constitutional moving of resolutions; the chief use of which seems to have been, to show that Finsbury is in favour of "manhood suffrage," while Marylebone will only countenance "extension."

But the two meetings were radically dissimilar. Mr. Thomas Slingsby Duncombe presided over Finsbury, and Mr. Churchwarden Baker kept in awe the "men" of Marylebone. Mr. Duncombe treated the sudden flight of the Ministry as a "little incident," and commented rather adversely on Lord Palmerston, asserting that the late-late Foreign Secretary would have better served his country had he tried to make the Reform Bill "general," and not "local," and turned out Ministers on that rather than from motives of petty pique. Moralizing on the fate of motions for reform, which had always left their proposers in a minority, he exclaimed, yet "these people," voting in that sort of way, were now, here in February, bringing in a bill for parliamentary reform. That was a great admission.

Matters which had threatened tameness grew dramatic as the action of the meeting advanced. Mr. Moore proposed, in earnest words, a resolution asking for "full, fair, and free representation," old Major Cartwright's formula of reform. Mr. Elt seconded him, in amusing, measured, but still earnest words. Was it to end there? Certainly not. Universal suffrage must have its chance. An earnest Chartist rose, and, sceptical about the proper interpretation of the brave old Major's formula, asked whether it meant the Charter P moving, at the same time, an amendment embodying the "points." He was seconded by another earnest man, who, invited to say who he was, and whether he was of Finsbury, answered, No: therefore he must not speak. It turned out that he had somehow strayed out of Marylebone. Somebody pleaded that "he was an Englishman;" but the chairman, as indeed was fitting, could only recognise Finsbury men. This sweeping amendment was put, and said to be lost. To remove all doubt, another amendment for "free manhood suffrage" was quickly edited, moved, seconded, and this time carried; Mr. Bezer, a name not altogether unknown, uttering quaint sentences in support of it. Having thus got manhood suffrage carried as a desirable thing, it was further agreed that a petition should be sent to the House, praying for the same. Mr. Wakley rose, and closed the proceedings with a long speech, containing matter novel on the platform, in relation to womanhood suffrage:—

"Mr. Bezer, who had spoken with so much eloquence and effect, had discovered that manhood suffrage would settle the whole matter. Probably Mrs. Bezer was equally eloquent, and she would say, 'and woman suffrage too.' (Laughter.) He (Mr. Wakley) had in his lifetime really gone further than manhood suffrage, and he should be glad to see the married ladies entitled to the suffrage too. (Hear, hear.) And he said, why not? What was the object of the suffrage? The object was to obtain good government; and what was the object of good government? A happy home. (Cheers.) And who so interested in a happy home as the woman? Not a soul on earth. (Loud cheers.) He said, therefore, she was the party of all others who would give an honest vote (hear, hear); and if her husband did not comply with her request, he would have rather an uncomfortable time of it. (Laughter and cheers.)"

Adopting the received idea that Lord Palmerston had been ejected as a sacrifice to the despots, he declared that that proceeding was an "indelible disgrace" to the nation. As for himself, the accession of a Tory administration had taken twenty years off his life; he felt quite young again. He stigmatized the cabinet as the ally of the despots, and exhorted union among the advocates of reform.

In the "Vestry Hall" of St. Pancras there was nothing, or next to nothing, that was not "respectable." Quiet, gentlemanly denunciation of the late Ministers, who fell, so said the resolution, from their "want of political integrity," and an assertion of the insecurity, both of People and Throne, without reform of parliament. A universal suffrage resolution was negatived, and a resolution carried demanding household suffrage, the ballot, triennial parliaments, extinction of small boroughs, and equal representation. Sir Benjamin Hall and Lord Dudley Stuart spoke, denouncing both the old and new ministry. Lord Dudley Stuart professed that he was quite in a maze as to the motives or meaning of his friend Palmerston. A strong resolution against protection finally wound up the proceedings.

Like the other metropolitan boroughs, Lambeth, "not to be deterred" by the "sudden and abrupt termination of Lord John Russell's ministry" (*sic*) from pressing its well matured views of reform on the House of Commons, met on Wednesday at the famous Horn Tavern, Kennington, and resolved to that effect. There were five liberal members of Parliament present, Mr. Alcock, Mr. D'Eyncourt, Mr. W. Williams, Mr. Locke King, and Mr. Trelawney. The object of the meeting was to consider the now defunct Reform Bill; but the speakers wandered away from that to the more interesting topic of free-trade. Mr. W. Wilkinson was appointed to the chair. He said that "had the Queen proposed to make Mr. Cobden Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Bright First Lord of the Admiralty, he believed the nation would have fainted away." As to the immediate topic before the meeting, it was unanimously resolved that "every liberal constituency throughout the country ought at once to pledge their representatives to demand of the government such a change in our representative system as shall embrace the important principles of residential suffrage, vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, equal electoral districts, and the abolition of the property qualification for members." An attempt was made to pass a resolution for universal suffrage, but it failed. All the senatorial speakers seemed to look upon a reimposition of the bread-tax as imminent, unless strenuously opposed. Mr. W. Williams and Mr. Alcock spoke of stopping the supplies.

THE REFORM CONFERENCE OF NEXT TUESDAY.
THE following letter has been addressed to the President of the National Reform Association:

To Sir Joshua Walsley, M.P.

SIR,—Would you permit one who has had some experience in conferences, and who takes great interest in the one announced for March 2nd, convened by the Association of which you are president, to suggest that it would be a great advantage if each delegate would, if possible, present his report in writing? By this plan, all essential facts are told in the shortest time, and the matter communicated ready for reference and use at once.

Yours, in political respect,
ONE WHO HAS ATTENDED MANY CONFERENCES.

THE LEAGUE THREATENS TO RISE AGAIN.

SUMMONED at six hours' notice, the energetic and wealthy members of the old League met in Manchester, on Wednesday, in great numbers. They had been called together on the first official notice of the accession of Lord Derby and Protection to office, by Mr. George Wilson and the Manchester Financial and Parliamentary Reform Association, to decide on what policy should now be pursued. Mr. Wilson presided. He showed, from speeches, that the whole Cabinet were

pledged to Protection, and he thought that they ought to place themselves in a position to say to my Lord Derby—

"Better the condition of the agriculturists if you can—do what you can to improve their condition, so that it is not at our expense; but the moment you put one penny of duty upon the bread of the poor man, look to yourself, Lord Derby, and your order (loud cheers); for this question has been settled once, and beware how you and your order provoke the discussion of a question again which will involve in itself the disposition of many things not to the interest of either yourself or your order." (Great cheering.)

The tone and temper of the meeting were evidently of the most resolute. Mr. H. Ashworth testified that his friends, "one and all, had expressed their willingness to make as large, or indeed larger, sacrifices both of time and money than they ever did before, rather than allow one vestige, one rag or tatter of Protection to be reimposed upon them." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. J. Whittaker was himself ready, and those of the district in which he lived were equally ready, to come forward to give their time and subscribe their money, "even to a greater extent than ever they did, rather than submit to the iniquitous imposition" of a bread-tax.

"Now, the question was, whether every one there was prepared to do the same? (Loud cries of 'Yes.') Were they prepared to give their time and money as before, if necessary?" (Loud cries of "Yes.")

Mr. R. W. Phillips said they must not be content with keeping what they had, but must go for more. Mr. A. Watkin "hoped their measures would be worthy of former days, do what they might, and that they would be prompt, energetic, and, of course, successful." (Applause.) Some one called out, "We shall never be clear of this question till we have a reform of parliament," an exclamation received with cheering. Mr. J. Simpson was for keeping to the name of the "League." "For himself, he was ready to give as much time as ever he did, and fight the question to the last shilling he could find it in his power to give." (Cheers.) Mr. Arrowsmith thought that the Tories "might as well attempt to restore the heptarchy" as Protection. He also thought the "League" would be a prestige of victory. Mr. Jacob Bright was rather glad Lord Derby was in office, for he was not in power. The policy adopted was embodied in the following resolution:—

"That the gentlemen who formed the executive council of the late Anti-Corn-Law League be requested to watch the proceedings of the new Administration, and, should the necessity arise, to call together the parties who formed the general council of the League; and that this meeting stands adjourned to Tuesday next."

It was understood that the executive should call the meeting earlier than Tuesday, if necessary.

Birmingham met on Monday, for the purpose of expressing its opinions on the Russell Reform Bill. The Mayor presided, and Mr. George Edmonds (the clerk of the peace for the borough) moved:

"That this meeting having before it the bill introduced into the House of Commons by Lord J. Russell, for amending the laws relating to the representation of the people in Parliament, is of opinion that, while it falls short of a full and efficient measure of reform, it is entitled to the support of the country, in so far as it extends the franchise, enlarges small constituencies, dispenses with the property qualification for members of Parliament, and abolishes distinctive oaths; and that no Ministry that does not accept these provisions as the *minimum* of parliamentary reform which it is prepared to give to the people, is entitled to the confidence and support of the country."

Mr. George Dawson seconded the motion. After several speeches, Mr. Alderman Baldwin moved an amendment in favour of universal suffrage, shortening the duration of Parliament, and the ballot. This amendment was eventually carried, and a petition founded upon it was adopted.

REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

ST. MARTIN'S HALL was quite full by half-past seven o'clock on Wednesday evening, at the annual public meeting of the Association for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge. Hundreds were unable to obtain admission, and they shrieked for "more room," in such an obstreperous manner as to disturb the proceedings during the first half-hour. At eight o'clock, the Right Honourable T. Milner Gibson, M.P., the President of the Association, was called to the chair. He observed, that it would have been very appropriate if they could have prevailed upon some eminent literary man to take the chair. Applications had been made to several authors of celebrity, and he would read the replies that

had been received from two of them—Mr. Douglas Jerrold and Mr. Leigh Hunt:—

West Lodge, Putney Lower Common,
February 25th, 1852.

DEAR SIR,—Disabled by an accident from personal attendance at your meeting, I trust I may herein be permitted to express my heartiest sympathy with its great social purpose.

That the fabric paper, Newspapers and Advertisements, should be taxed by any Government professing paternal yearnings for the education of a people, defies the argument of reason. Why not, to help the lame, and to aid the short-sighted, lay a tax upon crutches, and enforce a duty upon spectacles?

I am not aware of the number of professional writers—of men who live from pen to mouth—flourishing this day in merry England; but it appears to me, and the notion to a new Chancellor of the Exchequer—(I am happy to say one of "my order," of the goose-quill, not of the heron's plume)—may have some significance; why not enforce a duty upon the very source and origin of letters? Why not have a literary poll-tax—a duty upon books and "articles" in their rawest material? Let every author pay for his licence, poetic or otherwise. This would give a wholeness of contradiction to a professed desire for knowledge, when existing with taxation of its material elements. Thus the exciseman, beginning with authors' brains, would descend through rags, and duly end with paper.

The professed tax upon news is captious and arbitrary; arbitrary, I say, for what is *not* news? A noble lord makes a speech: his rays of intelligence, compressed like Milton's fallen angels, die in a few black rows of thin type; and this is news. And is not a new book news? Let Ovid first tell us how Midas laid himself down, and—private and confidential—whispered to the reeds, "I have ears!" and is not that news? Do many noble lords, even in Parliament, tell us anything new?

The tax on advertisements is—it is patent—a tax even upon the industry of the very hardest workers. Why should the Exchequer waylay the errand-boy, and oppress the maid-of-all-work? Wherefore should Mary-Anne be made to disburse her eighteen-pence at the stamp-office, ere she can show her face in print wanting a place, although to the discomfiture of the first-created Chancellors of the Exchequer, the spiders? In conclusion, I must congratulate the meeting on the advent of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli, who is the successful man of letters. He has ink in his veins. The goosequill—let gold and silversticks twinkle as they may—leads the House of Commons. Thus, I feel confident that the literary instincts of the Right Honourable gentleman will give new animation to the coldness of statesmanship, apt to be numbed by tightness of red tape. We are, I learn, early taught to despair of the Right Honourable gentleman, because he is allowed to be that smallest of things, "a wit." Is arithmetic for ever to be the monopoly of substantial respectable dullness? Must it be that a Chancellor of the Exchequer, like *Portia's* portrait, is only to be found in lead?

No, sir; I have a cheerful faith that our new fiscal minister will, to the confusion of obese dullness, show his potency over pounds, shillings, and pence. The Exchequer £. s. d. that have hitherto been as the three witches—the Weird Sisters—stopping us wherever we turned, the Right Honourable gentleman will at the least transform into the Three Graces, making them, in all their salutations at home and abroad, welcome and agreeable. But with respect to the £. s. d. upon knowledge, he will, I feel confident, cause at once the Weird Sisterhood to melt into thin air; and thus—let the meeting take heart with the assurance—thus will fade and be dissolved the Penny News Tax—the Errand-boys' and Maid-of-all-works' Tax—and the tax on that innocent white thing, the Tax on Paper.

With this hope, I remain,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) DOUGLAS JERROLD.

Alfred Novello, Esq.,
Sub-Treasurer to the Association for the Repeal
of all Taxes upon Knowledge.

Kensington, February 24th, 1852.

To J. D. COLLETT, Esq., Secretary of Association for the
Repeal of all Taxes on Knowledge.

SIR,—I regret extremely, sometimes, that the state of my health prevents my attending public meetings, especially on such occasions as yours. Taxes on Knowledge appear to me very like Taxes for the prevention of finger-posts, or for the better encouragement of "erring and straying like lost sheep." Misdirections may be set up here and there; but how could it be anybody's interest, in the long run, to give wrong information, when everybody was concerned in going right? Partial knowledge, indeed, is foolish enough to do so; but that is the very reason why partial knowledge should be displaced by knowledge, all-completing and universal.

I am, sir, your faithful servant,

LEIGH HUNT.

Mr. Milner Gibson made some observations on the present position of the question. Sometimes they were told that these taxes were retained for revenue; sometimes it was avowed that it was to restrain cheap newspapers. For his own part, he believed that it was

the latter; and in proof of that, he quoted the preamble of the Stamp Act passed in 1819:—

"Whereas pamphlets and printed papers, containing observations upon public events and occurrences tending to excite hatred and contempt of the government and constitution of these realms as by law established, (Hear, hear,) and also vilifying our holy religion, (cries of Hear, hear, and laughter,) have been lately published in great numbers, and at very small prices: And it is expedient that the same shall be restrained; therefore be it enacted, &c."

But what a stupid policy was that which permitted any essay or opinion, however extreme, and however cheap, to be published; but if they attempted to give facts, on which alone safe opinions could be formed, then the Stamp Act did its best to fetter and restrain them. All the despotic powers of Europe had imitated this "ingenious device of the English aristocracy" by putting a stamp on all newspapers. He wished it to be observed, that though his remarks had chiefly applied to the newspaper stamp, yet he was equally opposed to the excise on paper and to the advertisement duty.

Mr. Edward Edwards moved the first resolution:—

"That the duties on paper, advertisements, and newspapers curtail the liberty of the press, obstruct the diffusion of knowledge, and are inconsistent with the professions of the Legislature in favour of popular education."

[In the course of this gentleman's observations, Mr. Hume entered the room, and was received with enthusiastic cheering.]

Mr. Scholefield, M.P., seconded the resolution, and in referring to the change of government, said that they could not have a worse Chancellor of the Exchequer than the one they had lost, for one of Sir Charles Wood's last acts was to tell them in the House of Commons that though he would not again prosecute the rich publishers of the *Household Narrative*, yet he would not pledge himself not to prosecute others.

Mr. Cobden rose amidst the most tremendous applause, and congratulated the association on the crowded state of the Hall, suggesting that the next annual meeting should be held in Drury Lane Theatre. (Laughter and applause.) After three or four years' agitation of free-trade in Lancashire and Yorkshire, when they once got installed in one of her Majesty's patent theatres, he found that they were not far from carrying the question to a triumphant issue; and he predicted that so it would be with this Association; let them hold their meetings in Covent Garden or Drury Lane, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer would soon put these odious taxes into his budget with a view to their abolition. The question of the penny stamp was not a fiscal question at all; the preamble of the act which their Chairman read let the cat out of the bag. Its object was to exclude the mass of the people from political reading. The various governments resisted the removal of these taxes on principle; they preferred darkness to light. But what folly it was for politicians, like the late Whig Government, to invite the people to exercise the duty of electors, to become judges in the last resort as to the policy and principles of the Legislature, and yet to deny them the fullest opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the best means of controlling the destinies of the country. But whether proper facilities for forming a sound judgment be afforded or not, nothing can prevent the discussion of these questions.

"They say that on the Continent of Europe questions had been raised, and had obtained a considerable amount of popularity, which if they had been allowed to be discussed rationally and calmly, he believed would not for a moment have borne the light of inquiry. But instead of their being met with reason and argument, attempts had been made, and successfully to some extent, to put them down by brute force. But was the battle to be decided in that way? No. They could not destroy ideas by bayonets and musketry. (Cheers.) In every country on the Continent where they thought they had established peace and order by brute force and violence, those questions that they thought they had laid for ever in the blood of their professors, would rise again, in spite of the coercion, and the victims would have the titles of martyrs from the future devotees of the system. (Hear, hear.) He had very little sympathy with the opinions to which he referred, but let them be met on the fair field of argument; if they could not be defeated and put down in that way, then those opinions deserved to triumph. (Loud cheers.) He said the same of this country. He was well aware that there were on the platform men whose views on social, political, and speculative subjects differed very much from his; but he asked for no other opportunity of triumph, in his opinion, than a full, fair, and free discussion in the open field of controversy. (Cheers.)"

But then they were told that if the newspaper press were perfectly free from taxation, it would degenerate, and become inferior and discreditable. He thought, however, that they might trust the people to discriminate between what was good and bad in newspapers as

readily as they now did in other classes of literature. Mr. Abel Heywood, who carried on a large trade in cheap publications at Manchester, told the Committee of the House of Commons that the publications which had the largest sale were invariably those of the highest moral and intellectual quality. There were no doubt some immoral and obscene publications, which were read by a few people "about town,"—he believed they were called "gents"—(great laughter)—but they were a declining tribe, a puny race—not very likely to perpetuate itself—(laughter)—but were not artisans as careful to keep away from their sons and daughters works of this libidinous character as the higher classes? It was a foul libel,—no other words could express his opinion—it was a foul libel on the working classes of England to say that they would not be as ready to choose the best and reject the worst newspapers, as they were with regard to other departments of literature. (Cheers.) Another argument in favour of this movement was, that at the present time they found all the old party interests and family cliques unable to give headway to the vessel of the state, and a policy must be reconstructed out of doors so as to give an impetus to the parties that were now at a deadlock. Statesmen would never know what the real state of public opinion was until there was a really free circulation of newspapers.

"Now, take the present predicament of the Earl of Derby being in power (laughter and hisses); he was not going to trespass upon the rule which the chairman had laid down; but he had no doubt that Lord Derby had come into office to carry out his opinions, which they all knew were in favour of re-imposing a corn-law on this country. (Hear, hear.) Now, if Lord Derby could have the advantage of seeing at his club the penny newspapers which would circulate by 50,000 or 100,000 among the working classes, he would see what public opinion was on this subject, and probably he would not have taken office to do that which he saw was impossible. But now, instead of learning that from newspapers he would have to learn it from public meetings. There would be a great public meeting in Manchester—he was going to one there on Tuesday. (Loud cheers.)—he would have to meet his constituents in the West Riding—the London constituencies would have to meet—and why? To tell Lord Derby that he should not put a single farthing of duty on corn. (Vehement and long-continued cheering.) But all that might have been told him in a constitutional and tranquil manner through the press, if the press had been free."

He wanted the newspapers to be free that they might communicate facts,—that was the life-blood, the aliment of knowledge,—so that the people might acquire a healthy knowledge, and draw right conclusions.

Mr. Hume inferred from the crowded attendance that the working men of the metropolis were beginning to arouse themselves on this important question, the removal of all taxes on newspapers, which was the best, and in many cases the only literature that working men could attend to.

Mr. Collett, the secretary, illustrated the working of the newspaper stamp, by calling upon every man in the room who purchased a daily newspaper to raise his hand, when about twenty hands were held up—a result which elicited loud cries of "hear, hear," from the audience, especially when the speaker intimated that every mechanic in the United States regularly took in his daily newspaper. He said the society proposed to defend country publishers who should take the same course as the *Household Narrative* had done; and a Mr. Turner, of Stoke-upon-Trent, had undertaken a monthly unstamped publication, published in the middle of the month, which the Board of Inland Revenue declared to be illegal. This society resolved to defend him if the Government should prosecute, and for that purpose they were resolved to raise 500*l.* this year. (Applause.) He concluded by moving—

"That the insignificance of the amount of revenue yielded by the newspaper stamp shows, that it is now retained, as it was originally enacted, for the purpose of destroying the independence of the press, and preventing the circulation of cheap newspapers."

Mr. George Dawson seconded the resolution. After various remarks against the present system, he said that, to him, the most humiliating incident in our parliamentary annals occurred on that first night of the present session, when the "chivalrous" sons of England found fault with the English press because they spoke too strongly of the man over the water. (Loud cheers.) Some words to that effect had fallen from the lips of men from whom he would have hoped better things. (Here Mr. Dawson looked hard at Mr. Hume—great cheering.) These chivalrous Britons were afraid that Louis Napoleon might really be offended; he might get angry, and perhaps he might invade us. (Laughter.) Well, if he did, there was a passage in Macbeth which applied to such a case—

"Come on, Macduff!
And damned be he who first cries, 'Hold, enough!'"

(Vehement cheering drowned the latter part of this quotation.) Mr. Bronterre O'Brien here came forward, and, amid great interruption, denounced the law which requires a man to find sureties against his circulating libellous matter before he could publish a newspaper. There was not one newspaper at present published in England that fully expounded and defended the social and political rights of Englishmen. (Audible marks of dissent.) Mr. O'Brien diverged to the "currency," and other like subjects, which the meeting would not tolerate, so he was obliged to retire. The resolutions were all agreed to; and a highly successful and cheering meeting wound up by a hearty, well-deserved vote of thanks to Mr. Milner Gibson.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER IX.

Paris, Tuesday, February 24, 1852.

THE Confiscation Decrees have produced a very different effect upon the Princes of the house of Orleans to what Louis Bonaparte had anticipated.

In reply to these decrees, the Princes have set themselves to reknit their relations with their old partisans, and already they are the soul of a vast conspiracy. Public opinion is with them at this moment. The *bourgeoisie* openly insist on their recal: the old conservative party is flocking to their standard, and in Paris their return is freely talked of as a necessity.

A most important negotiation with the Comte de Chambord, in their favour, is opened. The question is, to induce that Prince to abdicate in favour of the Comte de Paris. The Comte de Chambord has often manifested the intention of peaceably enjoying his immense private fortune. Whenever a proposal has been made to him to take the initiative of returning to France by a decisive personal act, he has constantly refused. Notably, after the Act of the 2nd December, a few of his devoted lieges waited upon the Prince, expressly to urge him to place himself boldly at the head of the *noblesse*, as the defender of the rights and liberties of the country, and to march, in the name of violated laws and principles, against Bonaparte. He refused, alleging "that his sole ambition was to lead a quiet life; that he wanted nothing; that he had a sufficient fortune; that Heaven having denied him offspring, he had but one only pretension—to enjoy his revenues in peace." These were his exact words. It is in obedience to this declaration that the persons charged to negotiate his abdication profess to act. They will plead on behalf of their mission that France aspires after stability; that she now knows well that, apart from the principle of legitimacy, and from her legitimate king, order and stability are impossible; that he is her legitimate king; that he should either act as a king, or, if the crown seem to him too great a burthen, that he should entrust it to another.

It is M. de Salvandy, and two others, who have been charged with this delicate mission to the Comte de Chambord. His abdication would be drawn up in this form:—

"Acknowledging that the unjust prejudices which for twenty years have opposed the return to France of the elder branch, still subsist in undiminished inveteracy, and are the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the principle of legitimacy, he abdicates, in his person, for the sake itself of that time-honoured and tutelary principle, in favour of the *innocent* scion of the eldest of the younger branch."

You will remark, as I did, that the word *innocent* is italicized; which implies, of course, for the younger branch, the avowal of great crimes: such as, the turpitudes of the Regent; the regicide vote of Philippe Egalité; the assassination of the Duc de Berry, father of the Comte de Chambord, attributed to Louis Philippe;* and finally, the protest of the last-mentioned, against the *illegitimate* birth of the Comte de Chambord. This word *innocent* would be a glare of light thrown upon the sombre secrets of the past; it would be at once an act of confession, and an act of penitence.

Will this negotiation succeed? None can say. If it were to succeed, however, we should have another revolution in France before a month is over our heads. The Princes of Orleans, in the name of Albert the First, would declare war against Bonaparte, as a traitor and an usurper; they would, in case of need, purchase generals, as Bonaparte has done, and *he would fall*.

Meanwhile, the Duchess of Orleans has refused the dowry of 300,000 francs, which the French Government had assigned her. Her refusal was addressed to Bonaparte† in three lines of withering disdain.

* We do not profess to concur in this odious charge.—
Ed. of Leader.

† See Leader, No. 100.

There is no reason, then, to expect this man to reconsider his Decrees.

We have now an explanation of the unopposed sale of the Pavillon du Wurtemberg, belonging to the succession of Louis Philippe. The Government was not passive. But as the purchase-money is destined to be paid into the *Caisse des dépôts et consignations*, to satisfy the creditors of the deceased king, Bonaparte has reserved to himself the right of laying an embargo on the proceeds whenever it may suit his convenience.

Far from relaxing in rigour against the House of Orleans and its partisans, Louis Bonaparte is smiting them without remission. You have heard of the Orleanist pamphlet, — the *Bulletin Français*, seized even at Brussels, by the intimidated Belgian Government. Only a few days ago, this same Government was peremptorily called upon to expel the two editors of this paper—M. d'Haussonville (son-in-law of the Duc de Broglie,) and M. Alexandre Thomas. The Belgian Government were compelled to have these two gentlemen conducted to the frontier, and to provide them with passports for England: whilst at Paris, the police were executing a domiciliary visit at the residence of M. d'Haussonville, and in consequence of papers found in the course of their search, a certain number of similar visits have been paid to the houses of leading personages, who have been known to entertain relations with the Orleans family; among others, M. de Montalivet, some time Intendant of the Civil List. This gentleman had been warned in time to take the railway to Belgium, or he would infallibly have been arrested. A warrant was out against him. Three other persons, MM. Delavigne, Howyn-Tranchère (ex-representative of the Gironde), and Gallos, have been arrested. The arrest of M. Bocher (ex-representative, and formerly Prefect of the Calvados, and administrator of the Orleans property) has caused a great sensation. "For a long time," says the *Constitutionnel*, "the police were constantly laying their hands on bales, containing publications, by the thousand, against the existing government. It was well known that these documents were printed at London, and clandestinely introduced into Paris, and distributed in the capital and in the provinces, where they were even addressed to a great many members of the magistracy, of the clergy, of the bar; to officers of the army, and to high functionaries of the public administration." M. Bocher, it seems, was the soul of this propagandism. He was arrested last Thursday, and lodged in the Conciergerie. He has since been committed to the regular tribunals, on the charge of hawking and distributing seditious prints. Now these "seditious prints" are simply translations of articles which have appeared in the *Times* and other English journals, on the Confiscation Decrees. Three other persons were arrested with M. Bocher: they are three employés in the news-agency business, who were caught assisting in the distribution of these "seditious prints."

The situation of Louis Bonaparte is growing more difficult from day to day. Every one understands that the present state of things cannot last. It would appear that his very *entourage* picture the future in colours scarcely less sombre. The Marchioness of Douglas, cousin to the President, had, shortly after the vote of December 20, transferred her establishment from England, with the intention of definitively fixing her residence at Paris; but the inevitable catastrophe she foresees, has caused her to abandon the intention. Counter orders have been given; and she is now preparing to quit France for England.

A great ferment prevails in certain of the departments. In the Cher, the Nièvre, the Allier, and the Indre, the Socialist movement is far from being crushed. The government has been obliged to reimprison men who had been released on the supposition that all resistance was suppressed. It is the same thing in the South. In the rural districts, isolated movements occur daily in different communes; they are immediately repressed. A disturbance of this kind (of what extent is not yet ascertained) has just broken out in one of the communes of the arrondissement of Nérac, (Lot et Garonne,) and has required the dispatch of a moveable column from Agen to put it down.

In foreign relations, the situation is equally bad for Bonaparte. In spite of the contradictions in the *Moniteur*, Belgium, menaced in her independence, has appealed to the great powers for support. The Prince de Ligne is off for Berlin, and thence to Vienna, to solicit the joint aid of Austria and Prussia in event of a French invasion of Belgium. The Berlin journals express the opinion that, should the necessity occur, Prussia would not hesitate to interfere between France and Belgium. The *Gazette de Voss* pretends to know the contents of the autograph letter which the Prince de Ligne has been charged to deliver to King Frederick William on behalf of the King of the Belgians. On the other hand, new relations are said to have sprung up between Russia and Belgium. In consequence of this *rap-*

prochement, all the Polish officers in the Belgian service are dismissed. The Emperor Nicholas accredits a minister plenipotentiary to Brussels for the first time; and has promised to place 100,000 men at the disposal of the Belgian government in case of a French invasion.

The elections are fixed for next Sunday. Bonaparte's Government is in great trepidation. It had begun by making a show of extravagant pretensions. All its candidates were to be elected unanimously. But very soon it was obliged to lower its tone. The préfets declared that such candidates would have no chance; and the pressure of public opinion has made itself felt. The Government in a great number of localities has been obliged to give out, as *its own* candidates, men who had not the slightest ambition of the honour.

M. de Mérode, brother-in-law of M. de Montalibert who is a candidate for Avesnes (Nord), has written a severe letter to reprobate this chicanery of the Government which makes him the candidate of *its* selection, while he claims to be only the candidate of his own.

It is not quite impossible that the spirit of the Legislative corps may be hostile to Louis Bonaparte. In that case, we shall not have to wait long for the struggle to begin. It is to be hoped that after the experience of the 2nd December, the new Legislative corps will not allow itself to be surprised by a new *coup-d'état*.

The Government candidates for Paris are: *First arrondissement*, M. Guyard-Delalain, unknown; *second*, Devinch, chocolate manufacturer; *third*, Dupérier, municipal councillor (by Bonaparte's nomination); *fourth*, Moreau, ex-representative; *fifth*, Perret, mayor of the 8th arrondissement; *sixth*, Fouché-Lepelletier, manufacturer; *seventh*, Lonquetier, who started as an independent candidate; *eighth* (St. Denis), Königswarter, formerly banker; *ninth* (Sceaux), Véron, director of the *Constitutionnel*.

M. Véron is the only Bonapartist in the list: all the others are moderate Orleanists. The Republicans appear to hesitate to come forward at present for Paris. They are a little put out by the refusal of MM. Dufaure and Garnon to accept candidatureships. The moderate opposition is in the same predicament. If the two cannot come to an agreement, no doubt the entire list of the Government will pass, with the single exception of General Cavaignac, who is sure of his election for the *third arrondissement*.

The Law on the Press has been very bitterly received at Paris by public opinion. Journalists are in consternation. The decree changes the conditions of the Press in France, and completely destroys its liberty. The Press is handed over, tied and bound, to the absolute disposal of the Government. The "Law" is praised by the *Constitutionnel*. It might have been supposed that M. Véron, who owes all he is and has to the Press,* would abstain from applauding the actual suppression of the institution. The law, however, has met with such a reception in Paris, that it is far from impossible that many modifications may be introduced into it. M. Rouher, Minister of Justice, has declined to allow it to be inscribed in the *Bulletin des Lois*; and it is reported that it will not appear there, without considerable alterations, more especially in the fiscal provisions of the law.

There is also some talk of a simplification of the Budget, devised by the Government. In order to gull the good public into supposing a great diminution in the Budget, all the expenditure appropriated to the Departments, to the Communes, to special services, to expenses of collecting, &c., &c., would be kept separate, so as to reduce it exclusively to the expenses and receipts chargeable upon the public treasury. The Budget would thus appear reduced by one-half. In reality, there would be no reduction at all. The taxpayers would not pay a sou the less. It would be nothing more nor less than an arrant cheat, to blind the popular imagination, and to make-believe in vast economies. Besides, as immense dilapidations have taken place since December 2nd, and as Louis Bonaparte is indisposed to render an account, the Budget of 1852 will not be submitted to the Legislative body. It will be fixed by a dictatorial decree, and will be subject to no control whatever. Any control in the actual state of affairs would be too like an indictment.

The Tuileries are to be armed and garrisoned like a fortress. M. Duban was charged with the works for the completion of the Louvre. He has been summarily discharged, and replaced by M. Visconti.

After the designs of the latter, two permanent barracks are to be constructed in the open space between

* Our correspondent is here at fault. He forgets the Pâte Pectorale, of which M. Véron was, if not the discoverer, at least the hero. We doubt if even the Pâte Pectorale was not more honest than the Doctor's Pâte Electorale.—Ed.

the façades of the two Palaces, to conceal the defective parallel.

It is in consequence of this project of fortifying the Tuileries that the gardens of the Place de la Concorde are being covered up. These gardens are to make room for shelving batteries.

The recent murder of a young man by a sentry has set all Paris in commotion. This young man, who was the son of an honourable merchant at Elbœuf, was returning from a ball, and had been accompanied by a friend of his as far as the corner of the Rue Richelieu. He was alone: when the sentry, whom as it appears the gibes of many other young men in reply to the *Qui vive* had enraged, fired upon him for giving no reply at all. The unfortunate victim was shot right through the body. He made an effort to walk a few steps afterwards, but almost immediately fell to the ground. A pool of blood covered the pavement. He was carried off to the nearest guard-house, where he could only gasp out "A surgeon—send for a surgeon," and so died.

The soldier pretended that the young man made no reply to his *Qui vive?* and that having received orders to fire in such a case, he had fired. It seems, in fact, that a few days since an order of the day was read to the troops directing them to fire after challenges thrice repeated without any effect. The discovery of these barbarous orders has roused the whole population. For the moment, nothing else is talked of.

The Northern Railway Company has just obtained a prolonged concession of 99 years. The company has undertaken on these terms to construct two new branch lines; one, from St. Quentin to Landrecies, Maubeuge, and Charleroi; the other, from Douai to Reims, by Le Coteau and Lafère.

There have been grave dissensions these last few days between the President and General St. Arnaud, Minister of War. Bonaparte demanded that about a hundred superior officers, vehemently suspected of Orleanism, should be placed on the retired list, or struck off the list altogether. Up to this time the Minister of War refuses to execute this measure. "It would disorganize the army," he is reported to have said to the President; and as the latter insisted; "It is easy to see you have never been a soldier," exclaimed the minister. This remark deeply wounded the President; and he is anxious to get rid of St. Arnaud.

Yesterday (Monday) there was a grand ball at the Tuileries. I have only one remark to make about it: that it was not so much a ball as a rabble. There were men who literally fought (with their fists) for the possession of partners. The offenders were officers, men who wear a sword! They were taken before General Canrobert, who instantly expelled them the ball-room.

To edify you as to the pretended clemency of the Government of Louis Bonaparte, in setting prisoners at liberty, I shall conclude my letter with two facts:—

M. Maige, printer at Angers, and chief editor of the *Précurseur de l'Ouest*, was set at liberty, on Saturday last, by the Departmental Commission; but *his future residence has been fixed* at Nancy, whither he must betake himself within a fortnight!

In the *Courrier de la Drôme*, we read:—

"Three hundred and eighty-three persons have been set at liberty by the Departmental Commission; but they will all remain, for ten years, under the *surveillance* of the *haute police*. Two hundred others have been condemned to transportation to Africa for five years, eighty-four to the same penalty for ten years, fourteen to transportation to Cayenne, and eleven to banishment.

S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

AN occasional correspondent, having access to peculiar sources of information upon the special subject of his present letter, writes as follows. His letter is dated the 25th inst.

"We are informed that a new decree of capital importance will appear immediately after the forthcoming elections. Up to that time, Louis Bonaparte will seek to lull public opinion to sleep; but, the elections once over, in the interim, before the meeting of the Legislative body: it is very generally expected that he will make use boldly and largely of the unlimited dictatorship which he is even now exercising without the slightest control. Among the promised decrees, the most important are those which concern public instruction.

The existing régime of public instruction, such as it was established by the Falloux law, is to be almost completely subverted, and the few liberal elements of that measure entirely suppressed. The necessity of previous authorization to open any establishment of public instruction will be re-established. Only, instead of being accorded by the University, as formerly, it will have to be obtained of the Prefect and the Bishop of

the diocese, who will be the two sole governing authorities in educational matters. For persons, not Catholics, the authorization must come from the Consistory. At the same time, the new Departmental Academy founded by the Falloux law will be abolished, and the superior Council of the University suppressed; in short, all the University authorities will disappear. The right of *surveillance* and of inspection, for all educational establishments, will be given to the Bishops. The right will even extend to the "faculties." As to the "faculty" of Theology, which has always been obnoxious to the Jesuits, it will be abolished. Thus will the monopoly of instruction be restored. Only the monopoly, instead of belonging to the University, will be in the hands of the clergy.

To understand the full gravity of this intelligence, it should be remembered that for fifteen years the ultra-Catholic party was at war with the University, in the name of "liberty of instruction;" that the majority of the Bishops took part in the struggle, in the name of the same principle, which had become the one recognised watchword of the whole party; and that latterly the Falloux law had been accepted by the clergy as a "transaction," in which it was complained that "liberty was a little sacrificed in its provisions, but that, taken as a whole, the law might be favourably regarded." This law was framed according to the suggestions of M. de Montalembert, and it was in the name of "liberty" that it was attacked by the *Univers*.

At this moment it is this same *Univers* party; it is M. de Montalembert himself; it is especially the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishop of Langres, who are conspiring with the President to cancel the Falloux law, and to suppress the last vestiges of the "liberty of instruction." Never was a more odious example of hypocrisy given by any party! Regard these details as *certain*; I have been put in possession of them—in great part, at least—by an eminent ecclesiastic, who, like many priests of the second order—like all sincerely religious men, indeed, is alarmed to see the clergy giving the lie so impudently to the doctrines they professed throughout the reign of Louis Philippe, and attempting to reknit with the transient domination of Louis Napoleon that alliance of the throne and the altar which contributed more than any other cause to lower the tone of religious feeling in France under the Restoration.

"We reproduce," says the *Italia e Popolo* of Feb. 19, "the following inscription, drawn up in Bologna on the occasion of the anniversary of the proclamation of the Roman Republic. The letter which accompanies it, informs us that it was lithographed in various characters and colours, as we can ourselves testify from a comparison of the various copies sent to us. It was posted and circulated throughout the town. While reproducing it, we shall leave our readers to guess the reason of some gaps caused by that peculiar liberty of the press which our Government and its fiscal agents allow us to enjoy at present. Our principal object is to put in relief the fact that, the republican aspiration survives persecutions and slaughters. We were ignorant of what happened in Rome and in Bologna, on the 9th of February, when we undertook a little while ago to study this question—"Whether in Italian democracy, faith was stronger than persecution?" We are the more reassured now that our conclusions on that subject will prove triumphant. Here is the proof:—

"To-day, three years have passed
Since our territories
Freeing themselves from a tyrannical yoke,
Rose again to a new life.
It seemed to be the decree of fate, the reward
Of ages of suffering;
And it was but the earnest of a future compact.
When the abominations
Of ——— and ———
Shall have cancelled all prestige of idolatry
From the mind of the peoples,
And when the peoples
Through enlightenment and sacrifice
Shall have profoundly learnt
The art of freeing themselves,
The return of this day
Will be the beginning of new ages."

Roman Lithographic Press.

February 9th, 1852.

The Refugee question is growing more "ugly" every day. It is a little cloud that threatens to overspread the whole political horizon of Europe. Our Paris correspondence of last week mentioned the hostile and imperious attitude of France towards Switzerland, both as to the expulsion of refugees and the freedom of the Federal Institutions; the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, writing from Berne, circumstantially confirms the report of an insolent note of the French Government to the Federal Council, and of still more insolent language held by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Swiss Minister at Paris. Austria

is said "to be at the bottom of the whole affair." The upshot is, that "matters are complicated, and the relations of Switzerland with France, notwithstanding the disavowals of Louis Napoleon, anything but friendly." On the part of the "Prince President," this conduct is, as the *Times* remarks, doubly base: as it was Switzerland that once granted him, a convicted conspirator, at the risk of her own independence, a secure and jealous asylum.

Lord Granville's apologetic concessions have been responded to by Austria with an asperity that proves how little is obtained by diplomatic capitulations—even of language—to the exacting vindictiveness of absolutism. In December last, Prince Swartzenburg endeavoured, in a captious and offensive form, to establish a parallel between the treatment, by the English Government, of a notorious American sympathizer, who was arrested, under very equivocal circumstances, in Ireland, in the thick of the outbreak of '48, and the proper course to be pursued by Austrian authorities towards unsuspected English travellers in a time of profound peace.

In the latest dispatch, dated the 4th of this month, and addressed to the Austrian Minister in England, Schwartzburg acknowledges the perusal of Lord Granville's reply to the "reclamations;" does not "contest to England the right of asylum itself," nor pretend to declare the means to "obviate the flagrant abuses of that right." After taking note of Lord Granville's "assurances," and expressing a hope that, the English Government will employ "all legal means at its disposal" to "fulfil its international duties," the dispatch concludes with this vague and indefinite menace, which, says the *Times*, "affords indisputable evidence that the vindictive spirit of the Austrian minister is directed, not so much against any particular system of foreign policy as against this country itself."

"Meantime, however successful may be these dispositions of the English Government, the almost unbounded freedom of action enjoyed hitherto by the refugees in England, in concocting revolutionary schemes against the tranquillity of the states of the continent, imposes upon us the duty of taking on our side some precautionary measures to shield us against the inconveniences and dangers of which that freedom is the source. The Imperial authority will receive immediate instructions to be doubly on their guard against travellers from England, and to carry out to the latter, as regards their passports, the regulations in vigour, to which, under other circumstances, exceptions were made in favour of British subjects. The Imperial Government, moreover, reserves to itself to take ulterior measures, should they, unhappily, be found necessary."

So much for Schwartzburg to Granville. Now what will Lord Malmesbury say and do as Tory minister of Liberal England? We shall not forget to take note of his every word, spoken or written; and of all his acts and tendencies. England is not Tory because her ministry is Tory, unless it be in the fine old Tory jealousy of the national honour. The foreign policy of our new phenomenal Cabinet will be not less closely watched than its commercial.

From Prussia we have accounts of the gradual restoration of all the old abuses more summarily than cautiously abolished in '48. The whole interior political organization is being, in two words, which we coin for the purpose, unconstitutionalized, and (even to some extent) refeudalized. In a debate in the First Chamber, as to the right of government to re-assemble the Provincial Diets, formally abolished by the law of March, 1850, the Minister of the Interior took occasion to protest against the "right" of the Chambers to discuss the legality of administrative proceedings, and went so far as to exclaim that constitutionalism was the high-road to "revolution and Socialism."

An important political trial has recently caused a sensation in Berlin. The arraigned personage was Count Henri von Arnim, titular Minister of State, ex-Ambassador, and ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs in the brief liberal days. He was (if we are not mistaken) the representative of Prussia at Paris in February, '48. Count Arnim was accused of calumniating the Government by his writings. He wore his "decorations" at the trial, which was conducted with closed doors. He was found guilty of an "offensive reference" to the Minister (Manteuffel), whom he had accused of truckling to the counter-revolutionary policy of Austria, and of obsequiousness to Schwartzburg. The sentence was a fine of 200 thalers, or four months' imprisonment.

The Emperor of Austria is reported to be going to Hungary and Croatia. In the latter province, the Ban Jellachich is rapidly losing his popularity.

The Vienna police are more vexatious than ever. Strikes for wages are serious crimes in that latitude, as it appears by an extract from the *Imperial Gazette*, which contains the sentence of Maria Niehweger, a cigar-roller, to four months' imprisonment in irons and

twenty stripes with rods, for inciting her fellow-labourers to strike for wages.

The Sardinian government is said to be "about to send a special mission to Vienna," to "renew friendly relations;" and important changes in the politics of the cabinet of Turin are looked for.

Austria has promised to mediate between Piedmont and the Pope.

Letters from Naples state that the new ministry of the king have lately set some political prisoners at liberty, and alleviated the tortures of others. Poerio Nisco and 51 others have been removed from Ischia to a new prison in the interior of the country. The king begins to think it worth his while to *conciliate* the public opinion of England.

At Rome the anniversary of the Republic was celebrated with official precision, according to the secret order of the day of the invisible government. A salute of 100 guns was fired by petards in different parts of the city, simultaneously, before the very eyes of the French troops. The French are building large cavalry barracks at the cost of the city.

New and heavy taxes upon the primary articles of consumption, a forced contribution of 250,000 scudi, and an augmentation of the land-tax are the latest "popular" measures of the Papal Government, designed by Cardinal Antonelli. Under the blessings of these new taxes, the Carnival has commenced, *without masks!*

At Madrid there have been great rejoicings, illuminations, processions, &c., in honour of the Queen's escape from assassination, and of her convalescence after confinement. Her Majesty has been making some very rich presents to the shrine of the Virgin at the church of Atocha. These offerings were brought to the church in great pomp, and deposited on the altar by royal hands. Among other gifts, were the garments worn by the Queen on the day of the attempted assassination.

Austria has resolved to send a representative to the approaching Commercial Congress at Berlin, and to make great efforts, through the agency of Bavaria, to acquire a commanding influence in the reconstruction of the Zollverein.

The commercial treaty between Hanover and the Zollverein has been completed.

LOUIS BLANC AND MAZZINI.

LETTER II.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

In his address to the Society of the Friends of Italy, M. Mazzini declares that he is neither "anarchist" nor "terrorist." He thunders against what he calls the "wild, absurd, immoral dream of Communism." He inveighs against the abolition of property. He repudiates the forced establishment and the universalized application of a system of social organization as of a nature to infringe upon the principle of liberty. He resists the suppression of capital, treating it as "evil to cut down the tree for the sake of the momentary enjoyment of its fruit." He does not admit of equality of salaries, which he accuses of taking into no account the moral worth of the workman. In fine, he stigmatizes the exclusive worship of material interests, and the materialist doctrine which results in "substituting the problem of the kitchen of humanity" to that of humanity itself. On the other hand, he affirms that he is no Socialist, "in the sense in which the word is understood by system-makers and sectarians in a neighbouring country."

Now, as it might be concluded from these words that the "system-makers and the sectarians in a neighbouring country" (France) desire that which M. Mazzini rejects; that is to say, anarchy, terrorism, a savage Communism, the abolition of liberty and of property, the suppression of capital, the worship of the golden calf, and as such an interpretation would be of a nature to effectually serve (most certainly against M. Mazzini's intentions) that grand conspiracy of falsehood which began by plotting against Socialism, and has at length enmeshed all Europe,—it is important that the exact truth should be well known.

In the first place, THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS ARE NOT ANARCHISTS.

The first writer who in France dared to make himself the theorist of anarchy was M. Proudhon. But far from being a Socialist, M. Proudhon has exhausted, in attacking Socialism, all the venom of his bitter talent. A partisan of competition, unlimited and uncurbed, an enemy to association, a violent asserter of individualism, M. Proudhon has always belonged to that selfish school of *laissez faire, laissez passer, laissez mourir*, against which the Socialists have protested in the name of the common brotherhood of mankind, and on behalf of the people. Open, if you will, M. Proudhon's principal work, his *System of Economic Contradictions*; you

will there read—"Fraternity has no existence: that is universally acknowledged: and Socialism, instead of seeking for its elements, imagines that all that is wanted is to talk about it. Let there be fraternity, it says; but fraternity cannot be.* . . . Socialism, taken strictly, is the community of evil, the imputing to society of the faults of individuals, the joint responsibility of all in every offence." Such are the terms in which M. Proudhon defines Socialism; and his whole book is nothing but a virulent attack upon our doctrines. In political economy, M. Proudhon had been but the exaggerator of M. Léon Faucher: it was natural that in politics he should set up for the surviving representative of Hébert. The man who refused to admit of fraternity—that bond of hearts—must needs incline, by an inevitable propensity, to demand the disruption of the bond of interests—that is, the STATE. And this is why M. Proudhon, in this point self-consistent, after having, as economist, preached *laissez faire*, became, as publicist, the apostle of anarchy.

But by whom was this deplorable notion of anarchy combated, the very day of its appearance?

Precisely by the Socialists, by Pierre Leroux, by myself. Nothing could be at once more incisive and more elevated than the articles on that subject with which Pierre Leroux demolished Proudhon.† *La Solidarité*, the journal of the Socialists, defended with great vigour, against the invasion of modern Hébertism, the sacred domain of the democracy.‡ I too, for my own part, entered into the struggle, and, sustained by the élite of the working men of Paris, who made a strong declaration in my favour,§ laid down, that Order was the indispensable safeguard of Liberty; that anarchy led through chaos to tyranny; and that the question was, not to annihilate the principle of government, but to establish it on a basis which should render it a tutelary institution. I wrote, in reply to M. Proudhon:

"To demand the suppression of the State, even when it represents no more than the power of all the community in reference to each individual, is to demand the abolition of society *pro tanto*; it is to deliver up the swallows to the birds of prey; it is to instal tyranny in the midst of confusion. In the animal world, the STATE is unknown, and it is in the absence of its tutelage that the tiger devours the gazelle. If, by the sovereignty of the people you understand a rabble of selfish interests, waging against one another, uncontrolled, a war of extermination, declare it frankly. We shall then know what to expect; and if we must absolutely choose between two tyrannies, we will resign ourselves to endure the one which shall show itself ready to strike without deceiving us. For anarchy is oppression sheathed in hypocrisy,|| and so we hold it doubly in abhorrence.

I say, then, that those who rank Proudhon among the Socialists, are convicted of utterly ignoring the movement of the ideas of the day; and those who, with the works of M. Proudhon before their eyes, accuse Socialism of being the code of anarchy, commit the unpardonable error of imputing to Socialists a doctrine essentially contrary to their faith, and which they have themselves, with the greatest energy, spurned, refuted, stigmatized, and denounced to the good sense of the people!

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS ARE NO TERRORISTS.—All their writings prove it; but how far more eloquently do not the facts by which their influence was manifested prove it? Every one knows that the character of the revolution of 1848 was profoundly socialist, and how great was the ascendancy at that time of the men whom M. Mazzini calls "the system-makers and sectarians of a neighboring country." Now, what revolution was ever more moderate, more merciful, more magnanimous, than that of 1848? What revolution ever made a more courageous appeal to all its enemies, or a more generous effort after universal conciliation? To accusations without proofs, to vague insinuations, I will reply by facts. Here is the decree of the provisional government, dated as early as the 26th of February:—

"THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, convinced that grandeur of soul is the supreme policy, and that every revolution accomplished by the French people owes to the world the consecration of a philosophical truth the more:

"Considering that there is no sublimer principle than the inviolability of human life:

"Considering that, in the memorable days we have just passed through, the provisional government has,

with pride, taken note that not a single cry of vengeance or of death has issued from the lips of the people:

"DECLARE,

"That, in their judgment, the penalty of death for political motives is abolished, and that they will present this their desire to the definitive ratification of the National Assembly.

"The provisional government have so firm a conviction of the truth, that they proclaim, in the name of the French people, that if the guilty men who have lately made the blood of France to flow were in the hands of the people, it would be in their eyes a more signal punishment to degrade than to strike them."

Now, may I be allowed to recal, that the man who caused the adoption of this decree, and who drew up its preamble, was precisely that one of all the members of the provisional government who there, among his colleagues, in a more special manner represented Socialism.*

It was this same member who, on the 10th of March, 1848, from the tribune of the Luxembourg, uttered these words, amidst the acclamations of the people:—

"The men who were impossible are suddenly become the men who are necessary. They were ever denounced as the systematic apostles of the *Reign of Terror*. Now, the day that the revolution swept them into power, what were their acts? They abolished the punishment of death, and their dearest hope is to be enabled one day to lead you to the public square, and there, in all the splendour of a national fête, to consume with fire the last remains of the scaffold."† Such is the terrorism of the Socialists!

But, God forbid that we should join in the strange maledictions which M. Mazzini launches against the fearless and powerful men by whom our first French revolution was directed.

M. Mazzini exclaims, "It has always been my deep conviction that the French *Règne de la Terreur* was nothing but cowardly terror in those who organized the system: they crushed, because they feared to be crushed; and they crushed all those by whom they feared to be crushed."

So, then, they were cowards, those men, who knowingly, voluntarily, opened beneath their own feet terrible abysses, in which they well knew it would be their own fate to disappear, engulfed! Cowards, were they? those men who said with Robespierre, "Let us die, and perish with us our memory, so that justice triumph." Cowards, were they? who, when pressed by their friends to fly from the scaffold, said, like Danton, "Can a man carry his country about with the sole of his shoe?" And they remained, to die! Cowards, were they? those men who, encompassed by snares within, and unable to stir a step without clashing against an enemy, dared to throw down the glove of challenge to all Europe; and who replied, when some one asked them, "Have you made a compact with victory?" "No! but we have made a compact with death!"

M. Mazzini adds, "A true terror, terror to the foes, is energy of bold, continued, devoted action." And he knows not how that energy was precisely the supreme virtue of the men he assails! And the man who admits of "terror to the foes," does not perceive that the French revolution was an Homeric combat, the most important and the most formidable that was ever waged; so important, indeed, and so formidable, that nothing less than the whole world was broad enough to be its battle-field. It is easy enough for us, who are now enjoying the fruits of so many terrible efforts, and to whom our ancestors have bequeathed clemency in taking upon themselves to exhaust the terror,—it is very easy for us to blame them!

But are we sure of being just, when we separate from the appreciation of their acts that of the obstacles which they had to conquer, and of the necessities they had to sustain. The French Revolution was a sort of prodigious gestation: now, Nature herself has associated agony with parturition. St. Just said: "The

* The second half of this memorable Decree was drawn up by M. de Lamartine, the first, by M. Louis Blanc. Every one now knows that it was M. Louis Blanc who, on the 26th of February, prevailed upon the Provisional Government to adopt the abolition of the punishment of death. M. de Lamartine, who, on the preceding day, had made the same proposition, but unsuccessfully, now ran up to M. Louis Blanc, seized him by both hands, with rapture, and exclaimed:—"Ah! there you have accomplished a noble act!" All the historians of the Revolution of '48 are agreed on this point. See not only *Pages de l'Histoire Contemporaine*, but also the *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, par M. Charles Robin, vol. i. p. 376; *Histoire du Gouvernement Provisoire*, by M. Elias Regnault, pp. 107, 108; *Histoire de la Révolution de Février*, par David Stern, vol. ii.; and *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, par M. de Lamartine, vol. i., pp. 425, 426.—Ed. of *Leader*.

† *Moniteur* of March 10, 1848.

Revolution has passed through suffering; she has had this in common with the world that sprung from Chaos, and with Man, that is born in tears."

We will not require of M. Mazzini to accept this heroic explanation; we will not require of him, in the midst of the general clemency which our softened manners render so easy, to forgive whatever of violence may have marked the past history of our militant liberty; but we will at least demand of him not to affirm that these men slew only because they feared to be slain—men, who astounded the world for evermore by the vehemence of their convictions, and persevered in their course, albeit they knew well that "the Revolution, like Saturn, devoured her own children."

LOUIS BLANC.

(To be continued.)

POOR-LAW ASSOCIATION AND 'THE WEEKLY DISPATCH.'

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

NEW POOR-LAW ASSOCIATION,
9, St. James's-square, Manchester,
February 23, 1852.

SIR,—As the conductors of *The Weekly Dispatch* have thought proper to publish an elaborate attack—founded either in the grossest ignorance or the most wilful perversion of facts—upon the objects, principles, and means of this Association, and have refused to insert the following temperate and not very lengthened rejoinder thereto, I shall feel much obliged if you can find room for it in the next *Leader*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

ARCH. G. STARK,

Secretary to the Poor-Law Association
of the United Kingdom.

REPRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT OF PAUPERS, IN LIEU OF IDLENESS AND USELESS TASK-WORK.

(To the Editor of *The Weekly Dispatch*.)

Poor Law Association, 9, St. James's-square,
Manchester, Feb. 16, 1852.

SIR,—I have perused with no little astonishment an article in the last number of your Journal, headed, "The Last Carlyleism," and to which is appended the well-known *sobriquet* of "Publicola." It is no business of mine—were it ever so necessary—to defend Mr. Carlyle from the charges brought against him, in regard to "Chartism," "The French Revolution," "Model Prisons," and many other subjects which have engaged the exercise of his powerful intellect; nor do I feel called upon even to justify his connexion with this Association, further than to state, that he entered it with his eyes open, and with a thorough knowledge of its principles and objects, and of the means sought to carry them out, while his assailant is, to use his own phrase, "blind, stone blind," to either one or the other;—but it is imperatively incumbent upon me to protest against the public mind being abused, in reference to this Association, which has been formed by persons of acknowledged worth, station, and influence, and of various shades of religious and political feeling, in different parts of the United Kingdom, to promote the amelioration of the condition of the poor, and relieve property and industry from grievous burdens imposed upon them by an absurd and irrational system.

"Publicola" says—"The proposition to which Mr. Carlyle calls public attention, with trumpet blast, is that of a voluntary subscription to raise a capital for employing all the paupers of the kingdom." The printed circulars which I enclose will prove that the Poor-Law Association has undertaken no such Herculean labour as this. We propose to raise no capital—that is ready to our hands—it consists of the poor-rates levied throughout the country. This capital has amounted, annually, since the passing of the Poor-Law Amendment Act in 1834, to between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.*, and the aim of the Poor-Law Association is to impress upon the public, the legislature, and the government, the necessity of disposing of this money—money from the landed proprietor, the manufacturer, the merchant, the professional man, the shopkeeper, the farmer, ay, and the earnings of the hard-fisted mechanic and labourer—to some better purpose than immuring the "paupers" within the walls of "workhouses," there to be kept in total idleness, or to such felon-like task as picking oakum, to their own mental, moral, and physical degradation, and the injury of society. It is unnecessary to take up your time and space by noting the various objections that have been raised against the reproductive employment of "paupers," either in handicrafts within the walls of, or upon land, waste or arable, attached to, workhouses, as you will find them fully discussed in the enclosed documents. The principal objection is, that the setting of indigent persons to work of a reproductive nature, will interfere with independent labour at "large." This "bugbear" has been exposed times without number, but it still reappears with the pertinacity of a "Jack-in-the-box." One would imagine that as the capital annually raised for the support of the poor is the money of the people, the people have an unquestionable right to disburse it in the way best calculated to make it go furthest. Does not this principle govern domestic economy? and why, then, as society has been aptly termed the great human

* *Système des contradictions économiques* (t. 2, ch. xii.)

† See *La République*, of November 11, 18, 27, 1840.

‡ *Solidarité*, of October 27, 1840.

§ Letter of the delegates of the Luxembourg to M. Proudhon, published the 20th November, 1840, in all the democratic journals of Paris, and notably in *La République*.

|| *Le Nouveau Monde*, 19th November, 1840.

family, should it not govern national economy? Reduce the annual charge for pauperism from five to four millions sterling, the million so saved, what is it but so much money retained in the hands of the people, to be expended in the purchase of articles produced by the independent labour "at large"? Reduce it two millions more, by the common-sense application of the labour of the poor to works of a reproductive character, and the two millions go to the purchase of products in the general market. All this is quite irrespective of the humane feature of the question, or the collateral advantages derived by society from the instruction of the poor in habits of thought and industry, and their preparation for a future life of self-reliance. At all events, it is surely high time that Free Traders should cease to stultify themselves, and ignore their own principles, by calling out for "protection to native industry," against the competition of the labour of *our own poor*—whom, whether we like it or not, we must support—after having exposed the same native industry, whether agricultural or manufacturing, to the competition of all the nations of the earth.

"Publicola" is easily pleased with some things, for he derives great consolation from a recent return, which shows that the number of persons in England and Wales on the list for poor-relief, fell from 862,827 on January 1, 1851, to 835,360 on January 1, 1852,—the interval, be it remembered, having been one of remarkable activity and prosperity among the working-classes. The damning fact remains, that in a period of almost unprecedented animation in the principal seats of national industry, nearly a million of paupers, day after day, are fed, lodged, clothed, nursed, physicked, and buried at the expense of the community. That, under the present system of administering the poor-law, this burden will be augmented, in the inverse ratio to the ability to sustain it, in a season of monetary or manufacturing crisis, brought about by over-competition or other causes, which may operate under free trade as well as other systems, no one can for a moment question.

In glancing across the Channel, and contemplating the condition and prospects of "poor Ireland," I am sorry that I cannot look through the rose-coloured spectacles which have been applied to the eyes of "Publicola," who has discovered that "a process is going on there of a consolatory and encouraging character." Alas! this is but "fancy-scene painting," which, he tells us, is the abiding sin of Mr. Carlyle. The annual charge for the support of pauperism increased from 37,000*l.* in 1840, to 803,000*l.* in 1847; to 1,826,000*l.* in 1848; to 2,177,000*l.* in 1849; falling to 1,430,000*l.* in 1850. By a return placed in the hands of members of the House of Commons at the commencement of the session, the numbers relieved in workhouses in 1848-49-50-51, respectively, were 610,578, 932,207, 776,532, 709,235; while the deaths in these years, in the workhouses, were 47,756, 73,170, 47,172, 48,332. 216,390 persons died in the Irish workhouses in the course of four years; upwards of a thousand a-week, exclusive of the frightful mortality outside of the workhouses, some idea of the magnitude of which may be formed from the statement that 1225 died of *hunger* in the Kilrush Union for the year ending March, 1851. The Irish government organ, the *Dublin Evening Post*, which, of course, is not indisposed to put the best possible face on matters, in publishing the above return on Saturday last, says, "It will be seen from the foregoing that, although the number of those relieved had greatly diminished, the deaths have increased. Most probably this is owing to emigration, which left the old and feeble in the workhouses." The truth is, that death and exile have made sad havoc among the once-teeming Irish millions. The numbers in the workhouses, as well as the numbers outside, have diminished; but have we a right to congratulate ourselves on the result? Have we reason to rejoice, and call this solitude "peace"? As well might the parent rejoice in the restoration of health and tranquillity to his hearth, after having seen the flower of his family carried off from him by disease and misfortune!

I have the honour to be, yours,
ARCHIBALD G. STARK.

PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

THE MASTERS' STRIKE.

THE strike in the iron trade continues much in the same position. The masters have gained very little by the famous, or rather infamous, "declaration." The men have been "out" seven weeks; but, as Mr. Newton justly observed, in St. Martin's-hall, on Monday, many of them have been forced, by dearth of employment, and monopoly of employment caused by the system of overtime, to be out much longer. Altogether, the declaration policy, which Mr. Coningham called a "most disgraceful proceeding," seems to have failed, as it deserved to fail. At the meeting in Long-acre, Mr. Newton stated some facts illustrative of the present position of the question:—

"The 1600 skilled men at work in Manchester had never been turned out. Sharpo's shop had not more than four skilled men at work. Mr. Fairbairn had endeavoured by misrepresentations to engage hands at Newcastle, but had failed. Mr. John Platt, also, had made a similar unsuccessful attempt at Glasgow. Both towns had not only

acted in this noble manner, but had supported them with money contributions. (Cheers.) The 'declaration' had proved a complete failure, and the masters were now again contemplating to close their shops until they could get a proper understanding with their men. Some of the men who had signed had only earned 3*s.* in two days, and only 15*s.* per week, and the foreman declared that that was more than they were worth. There was no mutuality in the 'declaration.' It was all from the workman to the master, and none from the master to the workman. So little did the masters think of it, that they were discharging men who had signed it with contemptuous expressions. The masters had discharged apprentices because their fathers would not work, and *vice versa*.

"The great strength of the Amalgamated Association was the defensive position which it had maintained. The manner in which it had been supported by the trades throughout the country showed a determination to resist the tyranny of the employers, and the prophecy that their funds would be exhausted, and that they would be starved out in a month, had completely failed. Let the question be settled in any way, many sacrifices would be made, and it was for the support of such members that they were resolved to carry out the scheme of co-operative workshops. Next week they proposed to summon a meeting, not of their own, but of all trades, and to lay their course and principles of action before them. It had been computed that the present strike had cost the country 100,000*l.* In Manchester the masters would give up overtime if they could get the men to work piecework. In London they would give up piecework provided they got overtime. Let them each give way, and they would find themselves in a better position than by remaining in antagonism with their men as at present." (Cheers.)

Mr. William Coningham was present at the same meeting, and made an excellent speech, full of instruction and sound advice. He first pointed out the advantages of co-operation:—

"There was one point to which he had paid particular attention—viz., co-operative associations. (Cheers.) He believed that the principle of co-operation was the most important practical means that the working classes possessed to emancipate themselves from their present dependent state on the capitalists of the country. (Cheers.) It was not merely the object of the employers, with whom they were contending, but it was the principle entertained by all the holders of capital in the country, that it was necessary to keep the working classes in the state in which they had been. It was clearly their interest to emancipate themselves from that state, to make themselves self-dependent; and he maintained that it was quite possible, by a combination of small capitals, to establish a system which would effect this result. An improved law of partnership had been introduced and discussed last year, and the Whig government had pledged itself to bring forward a measure on the subject, but it was now shelved for the present session. He had observed the state of things in Paris, and, whatever might have been said to the contrary by the press, he maintained that the Paris *ouvriers* had been eminently successful in their attempts. (Cheers.) There were associations at that time in existence having each nearly 200 members, while some numbered 80 and 100 men, employed by their own capital. In almost all the instances they were associations started with extremely small capitals, yet they had been brought to a prosperous state amid enormous pecuniary and political difficulties. (Cheers.) Every obstruction had been thrown in their way, and the opposition to them had reached its culminating point under the military despotism which now prevailed in France, and the consequence was, that they had formed an emigration benefit society to carry themselves and their skill to the shores of America." (Cheers.)

Afterwards he showed, by a reference to France, the benefits of combination:—

"There were two important towns in France—Rouen and Nantes. The working-classes in Nantes were well off and well paid, and maintained those of their body who were out of work by combination. In Rouen, combination at one time existed, but had been broken down, and the consequence was, that the working-classes there were completely at the mercy of their employers, and were in the most miserable condition."

The aspect of the present struggle to him was that of a declaration of war between capital and labour. The following resolution marks the firmness of the men in the maintenance of their position:—

"That this meeting, believing it to be impossible, with justice to the operatives, to resume work, while they are called on, as the preliminary to doing so, to sign a declaration which would take from them all power of combination and every vestige of independence, pledge themselves to remain firm in their refusal to consent to the terms endeavoured to be enforced upon them."

Last week, several engineers started for Belgium. These are "signs" which the masters will do well not to contemn. At Sheerness there is a Co-operative Society, which has lately extended its business. It is said the late Admiralty betrayed a strange and suspicious curiosity in inquiring what workmen belonged to this society.

REPRODUCTIVE PAUPER LABOUR.

The rate-payers of Bolton held a meeting in the Town-hall on Thursday week, to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament in behalf of the substitution of reproductive labour in Poor-law Unions, instead of the prevailing system of compulsory idleness, and useless and odious task-work. Mr. R. Heywood, the Rev. J. S. Birley, several other magistrates, and some members of the Town Council, were present. Mr. A. G. Stark attended as a deputation from the Poor-law Association. Mr. Heywood presided. Mr. Stark explained the objects of the Association which he represented, and alluded to the triumphant success with which the changes they recommended had been attended in various parts of England and Ireland, wherever they had been worked out with judgment and caution. We lodged, fed, and clothed nearly a million paupers, not one of whom was allowed to return one solitary sixpence in lieu of the relief extended to him; and yet the relief was doled out to him as one would throw a bone to a dog. Every man was deeply interested in this question; every working-man paid towards the poor-rates, either directly or indirectly, and all were entitled to see that the institution supported out of their funds was conducted on principles of economy, morality, and common sense. It was right that the working classes should see that in the day of trouble and distress they could have a refuge to which they could apply for shelter "without losing all that self-respect which was the very bone and sinew of man's existence."

Mr. Stark was much applauded throughout his speech. A working man named Ralph Kennedy spoke in support of one of the resolutions, and eulogized the system of reproductive labour as the best measure ever propounded for the regeneration of the working classes. A petition embodying the objects of the association was adopted.

The strike of the ship-carpenters at Hylton, near Sunderland, still continues. The shipwrights of Sunderland have voted 100*l.* to their fellow-labourers at Hylton.

A large number of registered coal-whippers of the Port of London struck for an advance of 2*d.* per ton wages on Thursday week. It is said that, in the main, they have successfully carried their point: compliance being the rule, and resistance the exception, on the part of the captains.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

Weekly Report, Feb. 17 to Feb. 24.

The Agency transacted business with the following stores:—Ullesthorpe, Leeds, Mauchline, Braintree, Middlesboro', Banbury, Birmingham, Heywood, Woolwich, Glasgow, Swindon, Portsea, Galashiels, Edinburgh, and Norwich. A package of samples of cobourgs, alpacas, &c., has been consigned to the Agency from the Bradford Co-operative Store, and are now on view at their offices. The Agency are in continual receipt of demands for prospectuses, catalogues, and rules, from co-operative stores in course of establishment in different parts of England, Scotland, and Wales.

The report of the official accountant on the books of the Agency for the first nine months has just been sent in, and the principal statements will be mentioned in the yearly report of the partners to the trustees and supporters of the establishment, which is in course of preparation, and will be ready in the beginning of April. The last weekly report stated the mode of distributing bonuses to the customers of the Agency. Some analogous arrangements have been proposed by the Agency to their wholesale customers. Hitherto the large and daily increasing business of the establishment has been carried on by the Agency paying cash for everything, and only upon the capital advanced by its founders. Now, it may be said that the first experiment, which was tried at the risk of the founders, has proved successful; and the time has come when the increase of the grocery business, the convenience of giving more extension, either in London or in the counties, to the counteracting of adulteration, and to start several new departments of the Agency, must be provided for by an accession of capital coming from the supporters and customers of the Agency. To that effect, some proposals are in contemplation, which will be made known at the next general meeting. This new aspect of the business is the more worthy of attention, as any increase of capital would enable the Agency to make some efforts for opening a new field, not less important for the success of the co-operative principle, namely, the sale of the produce of the different associations.

NATIONAL DEFENCES.

A Rifle club having been formed in Southampton, composed of professional gentlemen, tradesmen, and others, Mr. Bassett, a solicitor (the originator of and hon. secretary to the corps), a few days since wrote to the Duke of Wellington, who is Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Hants, requesting to know under what rules and regulations the corps would be embodied.

Mr. Bassett received an answer from the Duke of Wellington, deferring a definite reply until he should be placed in possession of instructions upon the subject from Her Majesty's Government.

Two separate applications have been made to the Government from the town of Sheffield, proposing to form volunteer corps. Resolutions in favour of the formation of a rifle corps were passed at a public meeting, and transmitted to Sir George Grey, and, in due course, the well-known letter from Mr. Waddington, the Under Secretary, was sent in reply, informing the promoters of the volunteer corps, that, "if sanctioned by the lord lieutenant of the county, their proposal would receive due consideration." A second application was made by the Nether Hallam Ward, after the unanimous adoption of the following resolutions:—

"That in consequence of the unsettled state of the continent, and the aggressive spirit of the northern despots, it is desirable that England should be prepared for the possibility of any invasion; That a standing army is dangerous to the liberties and well-being of the people, ruinously expensive to the country, and inefficient for its proper defence; That the best defence of Great Britain would be a reliance on the people, by a recurrence to the constitutional militia system in all its integrity; That in addition to this, it is desirable to have a volunteer corps of burghers in this and other wards, well trained to the use of the rifle, the sword, and the pike, as experienced soldiers are agreed that the two latter weapons are by far the most efficacious in warfare, especially when placed in the hands of earnest men, engaged in the defence of their liberties; and, That although the metropolitan commissioners of police issued a pamphlet in 1848, which completely set at rest any doubts as to the legal right of Englishmen to bear arms, it is desirable that a copy of these resolutions should be sent to government, and that Lord John Russell should be requested to give the ward his opinion thereon."

Mr. Waddington, in his reply to these spirited resolutions, enclosed, "for their information," a copy of the answer which he had previously sent to the other application. We understand, however, that active measures are being taken at Sheffield for the formation of these two volunteer corps.

Experiments have lately been made in Woolwich marshes with a rifled cannon, and some shot and shells constructed on a plan of Lord Clarence Paget's. They are of a conical form, made of cast iron, with a ring of lead at the base, which is intended to expand, and fill the rifled grooves, at the moment of discharge. The result, as far as the conical shot were concerned, was a decided failure, for the lead part generally became detached during the flight of the projectile, and striking the ground at from 600 to 700 yards distant, the movement of the iron part was lost sight of, as it did not appear to strike the target or enter the mound behind it.

The *Banner of Ulster*, a careful collator of military information, states that the eight Highland regiments—five wearing the kilt, and three the trews—are to be armed and equipped as rifle corps, with the green jacket and tartan trousers; consequently, the kilt, the last remnant of a barbaric age, which has been long doomed, is to be sent to the right-about.

There was a very numerous attendance at a public meeting held in the large room of the London Tavern, on Wednesday evening, to petition Parliament against the proposed law for calling out the Militia. Mr. G. W. Alexander presided.

The following resolutions were passed:—

"That this meeting having observed with unfeigned satisfaction the emphatic assurance given in the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament, that Her Majesty 'continues to maintain the most friendly relations with foreign Powers,' together with the reiterated declarations of men of the highest political authority belonging to all parties in the State, that the panic attempted to be created in the public mind on the subject of an apprehended French invasion is utterly unfounded and mischievous, and that, according to the language of Lord Palmerston, 'there is no subject at present likely to arise which can expose this country to the danger of war,' cannot but regard with surprise and regret the proposals made to increase the armament, and especially to enrol the militia as a permanent force, to the amount of 120,000 or 150,000 men, as calculated to encourage those vague and groundless apprehensions at home, and to create irritation and distrust among neighbouring nations; That this meeting regards with especial repugnance the proposal for enrolling the militia, as a measure pregnant with moral and social evils to the community, fostering warlike feelings utterly opposed to the spirit of Christianity, inflicting great hardships upon the population, especially the working classes, exerting a most deleterious influence upon the public morals, by deranging the habits and corrupting the character of the young, while it will tend to encourage still further that wasteful and enormous expenditure of the national funds for military purposes, which has already absorbed more than 600,000,000 sterling since the peace, on the pretext of putting the country in a state of defence;

that this meeting, bearing in mind the manifold and enormous evils which have befallen this country from the habit of interfering by force of arms in continental affairs, of which our national debt is a melancholy monument, protests in the strongest manner against any such intervention for the future, as likely to involve us in conflicts, the termination and disastrous results of which no human eye can foresee, while all our past experience proves that no permanent advantage can accrue from such forcible interference to the great interests of humanity and freedom; that this meeting desires to record its conviction that the great bulk of the enlightened French nation cherishes towards this country no other than pacific and friendly feelings, and would convey to them the assurance that these feelings are cordially reciprocated by an overwhelming majority of the English people, who desire that the bonds of mutual confidence and goodwill which have been growing so rapidly between them within the last few years may become enlarged and cemented by all the combined influences of religion, civilization, and commerce; and that the following petition be adopted, signed by the chairman on behalf of the meeting, and forwarded, for presentation to Parliament, to Lord John Russell, M.P. for the city of London, and that his lordship and the other members for the city be requested to support its prayer."

The principal speakers were, the Rev. Mr. Richards, Mr. Charles Gilpin, Mr. George Thompson, M.P., and the Rev. John Burnett. There was a scattered fire of opposition manifested throughout the meeting, in cries and hisses. Mr. Serle spoke against the resolutions, and said there was some reason to apprehend hostility from Louis Napoleon; but the meeting impatiently heard him, and his arguments produced no effect.

HOLMFIRTH CATASTROPHE.

THE Bilberry reservoir, which on the 4th of February broke down its embankments and caused such dreadful havoc in the Valley of the Holme, near Huddersfield, sweeping away whole mills and their machinery, whole ranks of cottages and their inhabitants, and drowning a hundred of these, was constructed in 1838, for the purpose of securing a constant supply of water for the various mills in the valley. Since that date there have been continual warnings given of the unsoundness of the works, and from time to time various attempts have been made, and pretended to be made, for their repair. But in 1846 the commission intrusted with the supervision of these vast works became insolvent, and has continued so ever since. Consequently, small hopes of the improvement of the works. In fact, nothing can exceed the neglect with which these works have been treated. Orders have been made, and no one knows whether they were executed. Other orders are said to have been made by one party, and countermanded by another. Mr. Leather, who had had for some time the management of the Holme reservoirs, was "perfectly satisfied in 1844 that the Bilberry reservoirs could not be made to hold water without a puddle lining. This lining was not made. At the time of the seeming "accident," the escape of the waste-pit was not in a working state. The waste-pit itself was below the embankment. There was a great deal of leaking, which affected the puddle. The following point came out in the evidence, at the inquest held at Holmfirth. The Coroner asked Mr. Leather, "If on the 4th of February the water was running for several hours over the embankment, to what he attributed the accident." Mr. Leather wondered the embankment had stood so long, and stated why.

"His opinion was, that the water flowing over the embankment washed away the outer slope, and took away the support of the puddle, which would already have been weakened by its subsiding. Then, inasmuch as there would very likely be a space or crack between the puddle and the inner slope of the embankment, the water getting in there would cause it to give way in a mass. Had the waste-pit been seven or eight feet below the embankment, the inference was that it would have stood. If a hose of 18 feet had been made in the waste-pit above the shuttle, the accident would, in all probability, have been prevented. He himself would have lowered the waste-pit below the level of the embankment. This could have been done at a trifling expense; in fact, would only cost about 12*l.* 10*s.* (Sensation.)"

The most direct evidence was given at the same inquiry as to the fact that the fatal result surprised nobody. Mr. John Roebuck, a member of the sluice committee, and living close by, was on the embankment on the 4th. "The stream was coming in very strong." Mr. Roebuck said, in the presence of the drawer, Chas. Batty, "The reservoir will burst if the water continues rising." And he appears to have had good reason for what he said. The embankment had settled down in three places. There were three large leaks in it. The water, instead of running through, boiled up the waste-pit. All the defects were pointed out continually to the commissioners. John Woodcock, who saw the water boiling up the waste-pit, heard the same John Roebuck, who seems to have been the male Cassandra,

of the evening, say that "he would see such a scene as he had never seen in his life before by 2 o'clock, and that there would not be a mill left in the valley." The same Woodcock describes pretty graphically what followed:—

The Coroner.—How did it burst?

Woodcock.—It began to wash over the outside until it swept away a foot of the embankment three or four yards broad. Half an hour elapsed between the time when the water got into the settlement at the top of the embankment and its spilling over. For a short time the embankment continued to give way all along the top. Then the water boiled up in the middle of the slope—sweeping away a great quantity of it, so that the rest fell after. The flood had evidently washed nearly to the bottom, close by the puddle-bed. They were then aware what would happen, and left. The Bilberry Mill went in five minutes after. After the outer embankment gave way, the puddle-bank was still standing. He was up on the hill-side, and about one hundred yards away, when he heard the noise of the bursting.

The Coroner.—When John Roebuck told you that there would not be a mill left in the valley, did he send any persons to give warning?

Woodcock.—There were two sent off, but who sent them witness could not say. The remark was made half-an-hour before the reservoir gave way. He never heard Mr. Roebuck give any order. He could not exactly say how long before the accident happened the messengers were sent off.

By Mr. Jacomb, clerk to the commissioners.—The greatest height of the reservoir was not figured in by him in his book while he was drawer, because there was *no use in figuring*. (Laughter.) He knew the book was never intended to be inspected.

Mr. Jacomb.—Were you discharged by the commissioners for being absent and leaving the shuttle-door open?

Woodcock denied being discharged.

The Foreman.—Why did you leave?

Woodcock.—When he went to draw his quarter's salary, he was told by Mr. Hickson that he had no money, and was not likely to have, and witness replied that he would give up the business. (Laughter.) He then went to Mr. Jacomb, who said that he was too busy to attend to the like of witness. (Continued laughter.)

Mr. John Hurst, one of the commissioners, had never considered the reservoir safe, always considered it unsafe, on account of the leakages in the embankment. Yet had he and several other persons lived near the reservoir for the last six years, during which period he had thought it unsafe!

A great deal of evidence was taken as to the state of the "puddle trench," and it was positively asserted by four witnesses, that when this puddle trench was made, a spring was found in the bottom of it, and not properly eradicated; and some even speculated that one of the leakages was from the spring. Mr. Leather positively denied that any report of the finding of the spring had been reported to him. It remained, therefore, uncertain what part this spring had played in the catastrophe; there can be no doubt of its existence.

As to the cause of the "accident," Mr. James Armitage, surveyor, of Huddersfield, made an important statement.

On the 17th inst., by the order of Captain Moody, I went down to the shuttle of the Bilberry reservoir, through the swallow. I found this large stone (produced) standing close against the inner shuttle, with three smaller one, supporting it. The large stone was inside the iron pipe, touching the valve, two corners being within the iron frame; the shuttle was entirely up; but there was wreck, earth, sticks, and other matter, which, with the stone, entirely filled up the circle of the valve, so that no water of any moment could get through. The surface of the stone is 20in. by 17in., and it is an average of 5in. in thickness. It weighs 91½*lb.* The valve is 18in. diameter. There was a great amount of stone and wreck in the swallow; and the sediment at the bottom was about four feet thick. It would be possible to place the large stone designedly in the position in which I found it; but I don't think it probable. With the exception of one, which was a wall-stone, all the stones in the swallow appeared to have come from the rock at the sides of the reservoir. The loose stones in the swallow were up to the level of the bottom of the supply valve.

The inquest was adjourned from Saturday, until yesterday.

A SUBSCRIPTION FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM.

To the People of Great Britain and Ireland.

It is no longer a time in which the people of these islands can stand aloof from European movements. Our present and future interests, our honour, perhaps our existence, are all more or less involved in the result of the war which, begun four years since in Europe, will have soon to be renewed. Whether late sad events in France may or may not retard the moment of renewal, still it is clear that the present state of the Continent is but a state of truce—a mere breathing time until

the opponent armies—"Cossack or Republican"—shall be prepared to fight out their quarrel.

On which side should we appear? On the side of the Czar and the Jesuits—Brute Force and Fraud—or on the side of Right and Freedom, the party of European Democracy? Can we hesitate? Now especially, since France has fallen into the Russian camp? The more need for our exertion, the more momentous our duty. Have not our hearts already promised for us—burning with indignation when despotic "order" reigned in Warsaw—when heroic Rome fell before her dastardly assailants? Did not our voices repeat the same generous impulse when millions shouted welcome to the Prisoner of Kutayah? Poland is yet unredeemed; Italy is in bondage; the Hungarian Exile has left our shores; our voices are hushed—can our hearts be silent too? Have we done enough in feeling strongly, in giving tongue to our vehement thought? When Despotism, trampling upon France, scowls on us across the narrow seas—when already we are bidden to drive the Refugees, the Martyrs, from our shores, or else beware the Cossack—shall we be content, with some talkers who never do, in "passing the challenge to America," calling upon America to give active service to the Cause of Progress, because we can afford only a wordy sympathy?

Let us do something to show that our sympathy is not mere "idle wind;" something to disprove the imputation that we are but a set of selfish traders, with no abiding reverence for the Heroic and the True; something in earnest protest against the cowardly and unprincipled dogma of non-intervention which is put forth as the sum and substance of our faith in God, as our best interpretation of duty to our neighbour. Let us make at least a beginning of real help for the struggling Peoples of Europe.

To this end we, whose names are hereunto subjoined, ask our countrymen and countrywomen to aid us in raising

A SUBSCRIPTION FOR EUROPEAN FREEDOM.

We propose to collect a subscription of one shilling each from every earnest friend of Freedom: one shilling yearly if the continuance of the struggle shall require it: and that the sum so collected shall be paid into the London and Westminster Bank, to the joint credit of JOSEPH MAZZINI and LOUIS KOSSUTH for the use of the European Democratic Committee.

The province of the Undersigned will be simply to act as Treasurers: to receive and acknowledge subscriptions, from individuals, from individual collectors, or from committees (which it is hoped will soon be formed in every locality); and to account for the entire sum to the whole body of subscribers. So soon as a sum of 50*l.* shall be collected, a credit will be opened with the London and Westminster Bank in the names of Mazzini and Kossuth; and thereafter each of the Treasurers will pay in his receipts so often as they amount to 10*l.*

It is requested that all persons collecting for this Subscription will furnish to the Treasurers the name, address, and calling of each subscriber; except when any subscriber may prefer giving only initials, or such mark as may identify that particular subscription in a printed list; the Undersigned promising to publish, on the 1st of January, 1853, a list of all who shall have contributed to the Subscription.

The subscription is limited to One shilling from each person, in order to obtain the greatest possible number of subscribers: * that Europe may see how many of us really care for the Freedom of the Nations, how many of us abjure the shameful doctrines of non-intervention and peace-at-any-price.

The subscription will not indicate a preferral of War, nor any disposition to meddle with the internal politics of other countries: but it will be an emphatic recognition of the duty which the strong owe to the struggling, which one people owes to another—an assertion of the universal right to combat Iniquity—and an expression of respect for those who dare all honest things to achieve their freedom.

We would have it distinctly understood that the subscription is not for any special mode of action; but to help the struggle for European Freedom in whatever manner it may seem good to Europe to work that out. Neither is it for any particular form of freedom which we may think best fitted for such a time or place; but for such freedom as the Nations themselves may choose. Only on these grounds let any subscribe.

It is to help the struggle for European Freedom, not merely for Italy or Hungary. The money is not for any local preparation, for any partial attempt: but for the European War, whenever and wherever that shall

again break out. We would offer it as our contribution to the Cause of Humanity, our protest against the policy that excludes us from bearing our share of the warfare in which all Humanity is concerned, the earnest of our intent to be again a Nation among the Nations—an organized and active worker for Freedom and for right.

February 3, 1852.

REV. CHARLES CLARKE, 152, Buccleuch-street, Glasgow,
THOMAS COOPER, 5, Park-row, Knightsbridge, London,
JOSEPH COWEN, Junior, Blaydon-Burn, Newcastle-on-

Tyne,
GEORGE DAWSON, M.A., Birmingham,
R. H. HORNE, College-road, Haverstock-hill, London,
DR. FREDERIC RICHARD LEES, Leeds,
WILLIAM JAMES LINTON, Miteside, Ravensglass, Cumber-

land,
HENRY LONSDALE, M.D., 4, Devonshire-street, Carlisle,
REV. DAVID MAGINNIS, Belfast,
GEORGE SEARLE PHILLIPS, West-parade, Huddersfield,
JAMES WATSON, 3, Queen's-Head-passage, Paternoster-

row, London.
N.B. Single subscriptions may be sent in postage-stamps, but it would be better to send a number of subscriptions together by a post-office order. All sums below twenty shillings to be sent to one of the Honorary Secretaries to the Subscription,

JOSEPH COWEN, Junior, Blaydon-Burn, Newcastle-on-Tyne,

W. J. LINTON, Miteside, Ravensglass, Cumberland,
To whom all inquiries are to be addressed.

PRISON CHARITIES IN THE CITY.

THE past and present management of a vast number of charitable bequests, left in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, in trust to several of the great City Companies, for the benefit of poor prisoners, is undergoing a searching investigation by a Commission of Inquiry, presided over by the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. The particulars of these various charities, administered by the Mercers', Merchant-Tailors', Drapers', Grocers', Fishmongers', Goldsmiths', and some other minor Companies, have been already published in the reports of the "Commissioners," laid before Parliament in 1839. The inquiry from which this report resulted was resisted by several of the Companies, and the advantage of the present Commission consists in its having power to examine witnesses on oath, while the former tribunal was subjected to those refusals which great corporations are always so well qualified to give to those who make inconvenient inquiries into the disposal of their funds. The pith of the matter lies in this: that although many of the sums devised two or three centuries ago in trust for poor prisoners were small annual payments; yet as the testators in numerous instances required that the principal should be invested in land or houses, these investments are supposed in some cases to be yielding very large revenues. In the first case that was brought before the Commission, that of the will of Frances Ashton, it appeared that although the testatrix died in 1727, leaving to trustees the annual sum of 95*l.*, out of a rent-charge, to be applied to the discharge of poor prisoners, not one single payment had been made in this space of a hundred and twenty-five years. The solicitor for the present trustees, "highly respectable persons," Sir Robert Inglis, the Governor of the Bank of England, &c., pleaded expensive Chancery suits, crippled resources, and confusion of accounts, but promised that for the future 95*l.* a year should be regularly paid. In several cases in which the Merchant Tailors were trustees, the bequests appearing to have been specific as to the annual amount, and the payments having been regularly made, the Court were of opinion that the Company had a right to dispose of the residue. The case of Peter Blundell, who died in 1599, is the most important that has yet been investigated. He gave by will to each of six Companies, amongst which is the Merchant Tailors', the sum of 150*l.*, to be laid out in lands or houses, out of which 40*s.* was to be paid annually for ever to poor prisoners in Newgate. In several instances the original sum of 150*l.* is supposed to be now producing several thousands annually. In the particular case of the Merchant Tailors', the clerk of the Company admitted that a *portion* was laid out in the purchase of premises in Threadneedle-street, which produced 187*l.* per annum, the Company feeling that they were entitled to dispose of the remainder after paying 2*l.* annually to the prison authorities! This case was adjourned for the production of the will of the testator. The investigation has caused much surprise among the Companies, as the power of the Act under which the Court sits had never been exercised before. From the information that has already been elicited, it is expected that these charities for the future will be enormously productive.

WRONGS OF THE "BUSMEN."

"OMNIBUS servants" are a hard-worked, badly paid set of men. They are, of course, more fully aware of that fact than we can be, and there are some symptoms among them of a strong desire to remedy their grievances. We have heard eloquent explanations, in the "unadorned" style, from oppressed drivers, and certainly the facts are such as require attention and amendment. An omnibus servant works sixteen and seventeen hours per day every day, with the most restricted meal-times. He receives nominal wages of 1*l.* per week; but out of this sum nearly ten shillings go for extra expenses connected with the working of an omnibus, which certainly not he, but the proprietors, ought to pay. Remedy for grievance also lies afar off. If they would hold a public meeting, it must take place after "midnight," and the time is abstracted from the narrow margin apportioned for sleep. Certain of these men met on Wednesday night, after twelve, at the Parthenium, in St. Martin's Lane. But even here they were apparently pursued by the proprietors, who made a disturbance, and rendered peaceful proceedings impossible. The proprietors, we are called on to believe, have caused their men to sign a "declaration," expressing approval of conduct of said proprietors—under penalty of dismissal. They admitted the signing of the declaration, and shortly insisted that the men had not been menaced. Charge and counter-charge, here; and so, with "gaslights failing," the meeting finished in desperate confusion.

IRELAND.

THE depopulation of Connemara by wholesale evictions still continues. The agent of the Law Life Insurance Company served notices on the relieving officers of the Galway Union, already heavily burdened, to prepare board and lodging for seventy-two families, about to be evicted from the villages on the Company's estates. But the English Company are not the only parties engaged in this 'crusade.' Four hundred and forty individuals were lately evicted in the neighbourhood of Gort by recent purchasers in the Encumbered Estates Court. Lord Gort was the former proprietor of these estates, and is said to have been a kind and indulgent landlord.

The tranquillity and freedom from agrarian crime which have so long characterized the southern counties, have been disturbed by the murder of a man named Cleary, a pensioner from the 18th Royal Irish, and bailiff to the Rev. Tyrell Evans, and to Mr. C. Davenport. Cleary had frequently been threatened, and he had been lately engaged in turning out several persons from the lands of the Rev. Mr. Evans, in the county of Limerick. He was returning from Askeaton to Carduff, where he lived, and was shot on the road with a pistol which he carried for his own protection, and so near to his dwelling that his sister heard the report. The body was not found until the next morning, when his wife went to look for him.

The students of the Queen's Colleges, Belfast, have signed a petition for tenant-right. The petition was introduced without the knowledge of the president or professors, and they are deliberating as to what shall be done.

The commission for the county of Louth was opened by Mr. Justice Ball, on Tuesday last. The grand jury found a true bill against Mr. Carton, editor of the *Dundalk Democrat*, for a seditious libel. The application of his counsel, Mr. Perrin, to remove the case to the Queen's Bench, Dublin, was granted.

LAGOS—ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

THE dispatches of Captain Lewis Jones, of the *Blood-hound* steamer, and of Captain Henry Lyster, of the *Penelope*, addressed to Commodore Bruce, published in the *Gazette* of Friday last, furnish some additional particulars regarding this sanguinary affair. No reason is given by Captain Jones for the inaction of Christmas-day. He merely says, "It was determined that it should be a day of rest, and it was a quiet day, with the exception of the enemy wasting a vast deal of ammunition." The line of sea-defence is described as extending from the south point of the Island of Lagos to the north point, a distance of two miles; and in parts where the water was sufficiently deep for boats to land, stakes in double rows were driven in six-foot water; and along the whole of this distance was an embankment with a ditch for the protection of infantry, and at chosen points strong stockades, made of coconut trees, were erected for guns. No wonder the boats' crews found so much difficulty, and suffered such loss, in attempting to land. When Captain Lyster was withdrawing with his division of boats, after spiking the guns in one of the batteries, and on being attacked by an overwhelming force of the enemy,—it was suddenly found that the Kroomen (natives of the coast, enrolled in the steamers as fire-men) had let go the anchor of the iron rocket boat without orders, at the very time that the enemy were pouring in a destructive fire at pistol-range. Captain

* They who can afford more, need not stint their liberality. They can subscribe to the *Polish Refugee Fund*, to the *Kossuth Fund*, or to the *Italian Loan*.

Lyster ordered his own boat to be pulled back, and called to Mr. Blight, the boatswain in command of the anchored boat, to "slip the cable," he replied, "It is a chain cable, clinched to the bottom, and we can't unshackle it." Just as Captain Lyster jumped on board the boat to see what could be done, Lieutenant Corbett staggered up from the stern, saying, "I have done it, and am alive." He had been standing in the water, cutting the chain cable with a cold chisel, and in doing so received five wounds. Such cool devotion deserves to be recorded. Captains Jones and Lyster speak in high terms of all their officers, and we are glad to observe that they make honourable mention of the warrant and petty officers who distinguished themselves. Mr. William J. Stivey, carpenter of the *Sampson*, is characterized as "a man always where he is wanted." During the attack on one of the stockades, he was "neck deep in water, axe in hand, hewing away at the stakes to make a passage for the boats." In consequence of the paucity of officers of higher rank, Charles Blofield, a boatswain's mate, had charge of a pinnace mounting a twelve-pound howitzer, during two days of the fighting, and performed this important duty with great credit. The list of killed and wounded is now said to amount to 90,—15 killed and 75 wounded. Many promotions have been made by the Admiralty, among all ranks of the force engaged, since the receipt of Commodore Bruce's despatches.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S EXPEDITION.

CAPTAIN FITZJAMES'S JOURNAL—concluded.

H.M.S. Erebus, Whale-fish Islands.

July 3rd, 1845.—This morning, instead of going into Whale-fish Islands, by some mistake, Read fancied we were wrong, and away we went up to the end of the bay, thirty miles, to the mouth of the Waigait Channel, looking for them—the bay full of the most glorious icebergs, packed close along the shore. At noon we found out our mistake, and had our sail for nothing, which would be good fun but for the delay. I went on board the *Terror* in the evening, and found Captain Crozier knew the mistake, but fancied we had given up the idea of going there. Fortunately, the wind favoured us right round the bay, and we had a delightful sail. We are now running into these Whale-fish Islands.

4th, evening.—You will bear in mind that all this time the sun is up. Finding ourselves at last off these rocky islands, we sent Levescombe in the gig to reconnoitre, as Captain Crozier, who had been here some years ago, did not recognise the place—a certain flag-staff on a hill having been carried away. Very soon out paddled five "Huskimays," in the smallest possible canoes, all in a row, and two going a-head kept near the ship, and piloted her into a safe place among the rocks, where we are now moored in a channel just four times the ship's length in breadth, and perfectly landlocked. I was ashore all day on Boat Island, observing, with "Fox," and got very wet and cold; but plunging into cold water, when I got on board, made me quite warm.

Sunday, 6th.—A fine sunshiny night, and we had a delightful sunshiny day, quite warm, the air clear, ice glistening in all directions. The fine bold land of Disko, black, and topped with snow—clear—the sea covered with bits of ice, which are rushing through the channel as they break from the icebergs, which fall with a noise like thunder. Every man nearly on shore, running about for a sort of holiday, getting older ducks' eggs, &c.; curious mosses and plants being collected, as also shells. Levescombe and I on the island since six this morning, surveying. It is very satisfactory to me that he takes to surveying, as I said he would. Sir John is much pleased with him. All yesterday I was on the island with Fairholme, with the dipping-needle. We have a little square wooden house to cover ourselves. Very large mosquitoes biting us. I shall send you one. The transport will probably be cleared to-morrow evening or Tuesday, and shall get off on Wednesday evening or Thursday; that is, the 9th or 10th—and hard work too. A man just come over from Lievely, a Dane, who has married an Esquimaux, says that they believe it to be one of the mildest seasons and earliest summers ever known, and that the ice is clear away from this to Lancaster Sound. Keep this to yourself, for Sir John is naturally very anxious that people in England should not be too sanguine about the season. Besides, the papers would have all sorts of stories, not true. I do believe we have a good chance of getting through this year, if it is to be done at all; but I hope we shall not, as I want to have a winter for magnetic observations. And now here goes a new pen into the porepine, to say that your journal is at an end, at least for the present. I do hope it has amused you, but I fear not; for what can there be in an old tub like this, with a parcel of sea bears, to amuse a "lady fair." This, however,

is a *façon de parler*, for I think, in reality, that you will have been amused in some parts and interested in others, but I shall not read back for fear of not liking it, and tearing it up.

TO WILLIAM CONINGHAM, ESQ.

Whale-fish Islands, 11th July, 1845.

DEAR CONINGHAM,—E—'s bundle of yarns will show you that I am well and happy, and have not forgotten you yet. I have not much time, as the transport sails to-morrow evening, and we shall be all day at work. It was a heavy job, clearing the transport, and took us longer than we imagined it would have done, though we worked from four till six. We are now full—very—having three years' provisions and coals, besides the engine. The deck is covered with coals and casks, leaving a small passage fore and aft, and we are very deep in the water. We sail, if possible, to-morrow night, and hope to get to Lancaster Sound by the 1st of August, which, however, is a lottery. It is now eleven o'clock, and the sun shines brightly above the snowy peaks of Disko. From the top of one of the islands, the other day, I counted 280 icebergs; and beautiful objects they are. Should you hear nothing till next June, send a letter, *via* Petersburg, to Petro Paulowski, in Kamskatka, where Osmar was in the *Blossom*, and had letters from England in three months. And now God bless you, and everything belonging to you.

Always your affectionate

JAMES FITZJAMES.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Order of Knighthood has been conferred on Dr. Charles Nicholson, Speaker of the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

Mr. Cheyne Brady, nephew to the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Secretary of Bankrupts, has been appointed Clerk to the Crown for the county of Fermanagh, in the room of Mr. Daly, removed to Donegal.

Mr. Morrison, of the firm of Morrison and Dillon, in Fore-street, is in treaty for Appuldurcombe, an estate in the Isle of Wight belonging to the Earl of Yarborough. Mr. Morrison once wore a porter's knot on his broad shoulders.

Lord Broughton de Gyford, the late President of the Board of Control, has been made a Knight Grand Cross, and Lord Howden, the Envoy to Spain, a Knight Commander, of the Order of the Bath. Major-General Sir John Owen, of the Royal Marines, has also been made a Knight Commander.

It is said that the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier will arrive in England in the beginning of March.

The Queen of Spain has been driving out in the Casa del Campo, accompanied by the King and the Princess Royal.

Lord Howden has received an autograph letter from Queen Victoria, congratulating Queen Isabella on her escape from the poniard of the regicide. Our Queen wrote without waiting the arrival of the official dispatches. The Spanish Government have received similar communications from the President of the French Republic and the King of the Belgians.

"Prince" Louis Napoleon has presented a "magnificent gold box" to Mr. J. Laurie, of Hyde Park Place, "as a remembrance of the very gracious gifts, which belonged to the Emperor Napoleon," received by said "Prince" Louis Napoleon.

The Queen of Madagascar, called, very ungallantly, "a troublesome female," by the *Morning Chronicle*, died in November last, after "the flower of her army" had been cut off by a rebel chief.

A new Opera, by M. Alari, entitled, *Sardanapalus*, was played at St. Petersburg on the 7th inst. for Mario's benefit. It was completely successful, and will be brought out at Covent Garden during the ensuing season.

Dr. Sumner [John Bird] preached a charity sermon for the benefit of that excellent institution, the Consumption Hospital, at Brompton, on Sunday, when the sum of 68*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* was collected. On the same day, 60*l.* were received at the chapel of the Asylum for Female Orphans, Lambeth, after a sermon heard by the Lord Mayor and the "dignitaries" of the City.

Mr. Shelley, the candidate for Westminster, recommended, as Mr. Prout informs us, by Lord Dudley Stuart and Sir Benjamin Hall, addressed the electors on Thursday at the Piazza Hotel, Covent Garden. He is in favour of vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, "extension" of the suffrage, and—the abolition of the system of centralization.

At the levee held on Thursday, an address from the "Men of Marylebone" was presented to the Queen, praying her Majesty to call to her councils Parliamentary Reformers, and stating that "any attempt to re-impose a tax upon food will meet with universal discontent, and place the country in inextricable confusion."

Sir Stratford Canning is on his way home from Constantinople.

The New Administration has been jocosely described as "Benjamin's mess—the greatest of them all."

The Rev. J. Radcliffe, Chaplain of Merton College, Oxford, Vicar of Bramham, Yorkshire, and Incumbent of Radley, Berks, died of apoplexy directly after breakfast on Sunday morning. He was a very stout old gentleman indeed.

The remains of Richard Lalor Shiel reached Dublin last week, and were deposited in the church of the Jesuits there; and over these relics of a "man of genius" high Mass was to be said by Archbishop Murray, and other priests, on Monday. Shiel's remains will have "strictly private" burial.

Sir Herbert Jenner Fust died on Friday last, in the 75th year of his age. By his death, some valuable patronage falls to the disposal of the Crown and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Sir Herbert held the appointments of Dean of the Arches, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1800, he was called to the bar; in 1803, he obtained his doctor's degree; and in 1828, he became King's advocate, upon which occasion he received the honour of knighthood. In 1834, he became a privy councillor. He was the second son of Robert Jenner, Esq., of Doctors'-Commons, and assumed the name of Fust in 1842, on succeeding to the estates of the late Sir John Fust. Sir John Dodson, Queen's Advocate, succeeds Sir Herbert in his appointment.

The venerable Dr. Murray, Roman-catholic Archbishop of Dublin, after a short illness, died at a quarter to six o'clock on Wednesday morning, at his residence in Mountjoy-square, Dublin.

On Sunday last, at St. Paul's, Bermondsey,—of which the Rev. Dr. Armstrong is the incumbent,—no less than twenty-seven persons renounced the Roman Catholic faith, and joined the Established Church.

The Reverend Charles L. Fisher, who some time since filled the post of chaplain to the Pope, announced his intention, on the 18th inst., to abjure the Roman Catholic faith, and on the ensuing Sabbath to attend the parish church at Lyme Regis, where he has been officiating in the Roman Catholic chapel.

On the 24th a number of refugees celebrated the anniversary of the revolution of 1848, at the National Hall, Holborn.

It is said that Lady Harris, niece of Colonel Outram, the distinguished Indian official, and widow of Sir William Harris, of the Bombay Engineers, and Envoy to Abyssinia, has recently become a Roman Catholic, in Edinburgh, and that she has made over all her property, and the beautiful estate of Sea Cliff, in Haddingtonshire, to the Jesuits. It is understood that this lady, after performing a novitiate at an austere convent in Grenoble, France, is to found a similar institution in Leeds.

Lords Campden and Feilding have been making themselves very conspicuous of late, at Rome, in the observance of Roman Catholic ceremonies. On the occasion of a young Roman lady's taking the veil, of the noble family of Giustiniani, Lady Campden had accepted the office of god-mother to the newly-made nun, and had previously conducted her to the Vatican, and presented her to the Pope, in order to receive his apostolic blessing; but being too unwell to take part in the actual ceremony, Lady Campden deputed Lady Feilding to represent her in the solemn function, which was performed by Cardinal Barberini. Lords Feilding and Campden sat within the altar rails, dressed in deputy-lieutenants' uniforms; whilst Lady Feilding, in velvet and diamonds, led her god-daughter up the church, and crowned her with a silver diadem. Crowds of English attended the ceremony, and subsequently repaired to stare at the nun at the door of the *parlatoria*, where they were regaled by the abbess with *sweetmeats and ices*.

The Belgian Government has authorized an English company to lay down an electric telegraph between Ostend and London.

The electric telegraph on the Great Western Railway is now completed to Bath, and will reach Bristol in about a week. From Bristol it will be continued to Exeter, thence into connexion with the South Devon line, and thus Plymouth will be at last united to Paddington.

A treaty between Great Britain and the Republic of New Granada, for the suppression of the slave trade, was signed at Bogotá on the 2nd of April, 1851.

Headed by certain members of the Rothschild family, the Parisian Jews have formed an association "For the Study and Propagation of the Sacred Sciences,"—a sort of Jewish University, where young men are to be educated for the priesthood, and weekly lectures delivered on the "Fathers of the Synagogue."

The entire cargo of the *Apprentice*, from Bussorah, which arrived a few days since, consisted entirely of antiquities from Nineveh, which have been safely deposited in the British Museum, and of ancient marbles from the same quarter for Sir John Guest, who already possesses a valuable collection of Assyrian remains.

A Ship Carpenters' Library has been established at Monkwearmouth, and has received a present of books of great value from Mr. J. Lang, ship-builder, of Sunderland. Although but a very short time in existence, the library now contains upwards of 200 volumes, which are in great request and constant use.

A series of lectures, intended especially for the working-classes, has been lately commenced, at the Museum of Economic Geology, Jermyn-street. On Monday, Mr. Robert Hunt delivered a lecture on photography, to an audience almost entirely composed of artisans. The table was covered with a profusion of beautiful sun pictures, and Mr. Hunt concluded by offering his best aid to any of the audience who might desire to acquire further information on this very beautiful and useful subject. The lecture was very fully attended, and was listened to with great attention throughout.

The first tube for the railway bridge over the Wye at Chepstow, has been fully tested by the immense weight of eleven hundred tons being attached to it; and the works are now so far advanced that it is expected that by the first week in April one of the lines of rail will be opened for traffic. The bridge combines the principles of the Britannia tubular and Menai suspension bridges, and the combination renders it doubly secure. Mr. Stephenson, the eminent engineer, has inspected the works, and fully concurs in Mr. Brunel's plan.

The paragraph in our last number on the Guild of Literature and Art contained errors for which we can only make gossip rumour responsible. The facts stand corrected thus:—

The Guild of Literature and Art netted as large a sum as 1100*l.* by their two performances at Manchester and Liverpool. At Liverpool, where they filled the Philharmonic Hall two nights following, (a feat that even Jenny Lind failed to accomplish,) Mr. Charles Dickens and his associates were entertained by the Mayor and Corporation. They have received a pressing invitation to return to Manchester in September. Mr. Wilkie Collins performed, and will continue to perform, Mr. Douglas Jerrold's part in the play, Mr. D. Jerrold having resigned his membership of the Guild.

Between twenty and thirty acres of furze was on fire near Hythe, in Hants, on Tuesday night. It is supposed to have been the work of an incendiary. The fire illuminated the sky for miles round.

Five serious fires occurred in the metropolis during the night of Tuesday. The greatest damage was caused by one which broke out at Mr. Watling's, a pastry-cook, No. 18, Brewer-street, Pimlico; four adjoining houses were more or less injured.

A fire broke out in a barn-yard at Enfield, on Sunday. One stack of wheat was destroyed, and several injured. The fire, it is supposed, was the work of an incendiary.

On Thursday week, a fire broke out about nine o'clock at night, in a barn situate on Kenworth Farm, Northam, near Bideford. The night being very rainy, the fire did not extend beyond the barn, the contents of which were destroyed. A man, named James Smith, has been committed for trial as the incendiary, principally on the evidence of his boots, which are thirteen inches in length, (Smith standing six feet two in his stockings,) and of course left most unmistakeable tracks in the wet soil.

A fire was discovered about eleven o'clock on Sunday night in the ancient church of St. Peter-in-the-East, at Oxford, and but for the timely alarm given by some students of Queen's College, whose rooms look out on the church, the whole edifice would have probably been destroyed.

On Friday week, a scene might have been witnessed at Cambridge, during the fire at Trinity Hall, which can be witnessed at Cambridge only, where the men of the gown and trencher, and the townsfolk, appear to strive which shall excel the other in exertion on such occasions. The fire broke out at six o'clock in the morning. Several eminent university and town authorities were present giving directions, and among the most conspicuous, Dr. Whewell, the Master of Trinity College. The buildings forming one side of the principal court were totally gutted by nine o'clock; but the fire was then stopped by a massive breastwork of chimneys on one side, and a stone staircase on the other. By a singular coincidence, Sir Herbert Jenner Rust, who was the Master of Trinity Hall, died on this very day.

A fatal colliery accident occurred at the Thorney Hurst coal pit, belonging to Messrs. Roscoe and Lord, in the township of Birtle-cum-Bamford, near Bury, on Wednesday week, about five in the evening. Twelve men and a boy were at work in the pit, which is fifty-four feet deep. One of the miners accidentally pierced with his pick the division which separated the mine from the old workings. A sudden rush of water immediately submerged the hands at work in the vicinity. Five men took refuge in the more elevated parts of the workings, and thus escaped death: seven men and a boy were drowned.

An Italian Warehouse in the Waterloo Road was seriously damaged by fire and the explosion of certain combustibles on Thursday. The engines, instantly on the spot, it was speedily extinguished.

The official declaration of the poll for East Kent was made on Monday: the numbers polled were announced to be—for Sir Brook Bridges, 2,480; Sir Edward Dering, 2,289; majority for Sir Brook Bridges, 191; and who was therefore declared duly elected.

Anti-Maynooth meetings have taken place at Exeter and Nottingham, the result of which was the adoption of petitions against the Act.

The Manchester Town Council, by a majority of 34 to 22, have passed a resolution declaring that the scheme of Education, known as the Manchester and Salford Scheme, is unnecessary and unjust, and that they intend to do everything possible to prevent it from passing into law.

The annual report of the Council of University College was read at the general meeting of the members in the theatre of the College on Wednesday. Several valuable donations have lately been made to the College, amongst them are the orrery constructed by James Fergusson, the self-taught astronomer, presented by Mr. Walker; and the works of Flaxman, presented by Miss Denman, sister-in-law and executor of the sculptor. The following resolution was passed:—"That the thanks of the meeting be presented to Miss Maria Denman, for her gift to the College, constituting the Flaxman Gallery." There were present the Right Hon. Sir James Graham, the Lord Mayor, Mr. Hume, M.P., Mr. J. Heywood, M.P., Mr. Prevost, &c.

A meeting was held in the Institution Rooms, High-street, Poplar, on Tuesday evening last, to take into consideration the duties devolving on this country in respect to its foreign policy, more especially at the present time, when despotism and lawless government possess almost all the countries of the Continent. Dr. Bowkett presided; and the meeting was addressed by a deputation from the *Society of the Friends of Italy*, consisting of the following gentlemen—David Masson, Esq., Secretary of the Society; R. A. Carleton, Esq., Waterford; Henry Ierson, Esq., M.A.; and James Stansfeld, Esq., members of the Society's Council. Among the resolutions passed, was one to the effect that—"No set of men are fit to conduct the government of this country at the present time who had not, among other things, a broad and liberal apprehension of England's place and duty in Europe." Considerable display of feeling was elicited by the references which different speakers made to the probable policy of the new Tory Administration in the matter of the demands made by foreign courts against the refugees in this country. A resolution was also passed in approbation of the Society at whose instance the meeting had been called.

The news from America is important, so far as it goes. But when the mail left, no decision had been come to on the famous resolutions of Shields and Cass—the former asking England to liberate the Irish political convicts, and the latter on the non-intervention policy of the States. General Shields acknowledges in his resolutions that the cause of Irish independence is for ever lost; and he thinks that having nothing to fear from the Irish exiles, England may safely liberate them. General Cass is prepared to intervene—but with words only, apparently thinking that the present conjunction of affairs does not warrant more.

Kossuth entered Cincinnati on the 9th of February to an accompaniment of roaring cannon and "tremendous cheers." All manner of men have since waited upon him, and the "Queen of the West" was explosive with joy. But unfortunately, Kossuth was too unwell to speak at any length. A thousand dollars and five hundred muskets [old, says one authority] were presented to him.

Mr. Thrasher, the editor, imprisoned by the Spanish authorities, has been set at liberty, and the Spanish consul has returned to New Orleans.

Argenti and Morati, the two Italian seamen who dangerously wounded their messmate, Peter Getland, with an axe on board the barque *Alberta*, of Liverpool, while lying at anchor off Mobile, Alabama, were tried at the Central Criminal Court on Wednesday, found guilty on the minor charge of "intent to do grievous bodily harm," and sentenced to ten years' transportation.

The pistol with which the Italian George Barnwell Kalabergo, is supposed to have "shot his uncle," at Banbury, has just been found, after a long search, in a ditch about a quarter of a mile from the scene of the murder. The only link wanting in the chain of evidence has thus been supplied. It is a double-barrelled pocket-pistol, and has been identified by Mr. Watkins, who sold it to Kalabergo about a month before the murder was committed. He will be tried at the Oxfordshire Assizes next week. There are forty-eight witnesses to be examined.

Captain M'Bride left Penang, in command of the *Troy*, in December. He made himself drunk, then fired some gunpowder in his cabin, and rushed on deck, exclaiming, "I have blown up the ship." He threatened to blow out the brains of the helmsman unless he would give him his knife to cut the falls of the stern boat. Having obtained the knife, he cut one fall, and tumbled into the sea as the boat fell. The other fall was cut, and the captain got into the boat. But he was so exhausted from swimming, and burnt from the fire, that he shortly died, and the ship, the fire being happily extinguished, put back to Penang.

William Styles, accused of having murdered Emma, his wife, was again placed at the bar of the Marylebone Police Court, on Monday. Mr. Parry, the same surgeon that was examined last week, gave evidence as to the *post mortem* state of the unfortunate woman's body. He had no doubt that the woman had died a violent death, caused by heavy pressure on the chest and throat. He had cut out pieces of Styles's clothes where there were marks of blood, and he had ascertained that it was human blood. In-

spector Porter, who has been very active in getting up the case, produced a letter from the police-inspector at Woodstock, in which it was stated that Styles was known there, that his real name was Joseph Greenaway, supposed to be a deserter from a regiment of Dragoons, and that the female who was with him was not married to him. Mr. Broughton, the magistrate, told Styles that he would be brought up for re-examination on Monday next. Styles then said, "I am innocent of the crime. Will you allow me to have the four shillings belonging to me, and which are in the hands of the police?" The request was complied with, and Styles was removed to the House of Correction. Since the first inquiry into this horrible affair, a coroner's inquest has been held on the body of Mrs. Styles, and adjourned for a fortnight.

The grand jury of the fifth session of the Central Criminal Court, of the year 1852, have resolved unanimously that a grand jury within the limits of the jurisdiction of the stipendiary magistrates is wholly unnecessary.

Mr. John Gover presided on Tuesday over the annual meeting of the British Empire Mutual Life Assurance Company. The number of life policies have, it appears from the report, increased from 521 in 1847, to 1065 in 1851. The premiums received on life assurance policies in 1847 amounted to 1435*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*, and in 1851, the amount had increased to 14,477*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.*, each year's premium being 50 per cent. more than those of the preceding year. The amount of new life assurance policies effected in 1847 was 49,998*l.*, and in the year 1851 the sum had increased to 211,272*l.*, the total for the five years being 553,303*l.* In the last year the annual income of the company from premiums on life business had been increased about 6000*l.*, and the amount assured by the new life policies effected in 1851 was nearly 60 per cent. more than that of the year 1850. After the payment of all expenses and claims, the company had accumulated the sum of 26,812*l.* 2*s.* 8*d.*, the whole of which, with the exception of the balance in hand, was invested on approved securities. The directors having taken account of the liabilities and assets, found that there was a disposable balance of 8025*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*, which they recommended should be declared as the amount of the divisible profit for the five years ending 31st December, 1851, one moiety of which, by the deed of settlement, was to be set aside for the reserved fund, and the other, namely, 4012*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, was divisible among policies entitled to participate, pursuant to the deed of settlement. This report was received and adopted, and a resolution passed agreeing to a division of profits according to the terms suggested. The meeting then separated.

It is shown, by a return just printed, that in 1850 the aggregate of sugar of all sorts retained for home consumption was 1,009,684 cwt. In the preceding year the quantity was 511,755 cwt., and in 1848, 1,246,230 cwt.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

In the week ending last Saturday the deaths registered in the metropolitan districts were 1072, showing an increase of 102 on the return of the previous week, in which the number was 970. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51 the average was 1085, which with a correction made for increase of population becomes 1194. The return of last week exhibits a mortality, therefore, less than the corrected average by 122.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 22nd inst., at Marchington, Lady Harriet Vernon: a daughter.
On the 23rd inst., at 40, Wilton-crescent, the lady of the Right Hon. Thomas Milner Gibson, M.P.: a son.
On the 23rd inst., at 44, Wilton-crescent, the wife of the Hon. Edward Pleydell Bouverie, M.P.: a daughter.
On the 24th inst., at Holy Rectory, Leicestershire, the wife of the Rev. Gilbert Beresford: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 19th inst., at Cheltenham, Wildman Yates Peel, Esq., third son of the late Bolton Peel, Esq., of Dosthill, Staffordshire, to Magdalene Susanna, second daughter of the late Jonathan Peel, Esq., of Culham, Oxfordshire.
On the 21st inst., at the Catholic Chapel, St. John's-wood, and afterwards at St. James's Church, Westbourne-terrace, Anthony de Solomé, Esq., to Anna Georgina, third surviving daughter of the late George Mortimer, Esq.
On Tuesday, the 24th inst., at St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, Edmond George Lushington Walker, Lieutenant Royal Engineers, second son of the late General Sir George Townshend Walker, Bart., G.C.B., K.C.T. and S., to Camilla Georgina, only daughter of Colonel Calder, Commanding Royal Engineers Western District.

DEATHS.

On Thursday, the 19th inst., at Hartforth, in the county of York, Sheldon Cradock, Esq., late Colonel of the North York Regiment of Militia, in the 75th year of his age.
On Sunday, the 15th inst., aged 51, W. H. Hobbs, Esq., late of the Queen's Remembrancer's-office, Court of Exchequer.
On the 16th inst., at York-place, Baker-street, Margaret, relict of the late G. R. Daniel, Esq., Q.C., of Park-square West, and county of Westmeath, Ireland.
On the 20th inst., at Brompton, Richard Wellington Noaks (Indian Navy), aged 24, second son of the late George and Eleanor Noaks.
On the 20th inst., at Tunbridge-Wells, Frances Maria, the wife of Sir Charles H. Rich, Bart.
On the 22nd inst., Colonel John Montmorency Tucker, late of H. M. 27th Hussars, at the benevolent asylum founded by John Huggins, Esq., Northfleet, Kent, aged 72, having highly signalized himself in all the Peninsular wars, and also at Waterloo, where he was seriously wounded.
On the 24th inst., at Tudor-lodge, Effra-road, Brixton, Fanny Julia, eldest daughter of Septimus Wray, Esq., M.D., aged 21.

[The following appeared in our Second Edition of last week.]

Postscript.

SATURDAY, February 21.

HAS the English people at last found a leader? If we could judge from one speech, we might almost conjecture that Lord Palmerston has stepped forward to take the vacant post.

MINISTERS HAVE RESIGNED.—Lord Palmerston succeeded last night in obtaining a majority of eleven in a house of 251 members, against Ministers, on the Militia question.

The debate was short and sharp. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in bringing up the report of the resolution on the Local Militia Acts, re-stated the provisions of the bill, which he asked permission of the House to introduce, in terms substantially the same as those he used on Monday night. There were, however, two important differences. After altering the Local Militia Acts, he said, it would be necessary to bring in a bill for consolidating the various acts; and he surrendered one of the main points in his plan as sketched on Monday—that of not allowing persons drawn to find substitutes.

Lord PALMERSTON at once met the statement of the Premier by pointing out the discrepancy between the title and the provisions of the proposed bill. He showed with telling force that while Lord John Russell's measure was called a Local Militia Bill, its provisions were those of a Regular Militia Bill. The bill proposed by the noble lord abandoned the framework of the local system, and adopted the regular system, retaining, however, the name of the former, and not dealing with the various acts regulating the latter. In fact the measure proposed was neither local nor regular, neither one thing nor the other. You were to have the regular militia besides; and when you have your 200,000 local militia-men, you would still require, on the breaking out of a war, your 90,000 regular militia. Was not this playing your right hand against your left? He wound up a spirited and telling speech, which, if it did no more, completely exposed the inconsistencies of the government measure, by appealing to the spirit of the nation. Summing up the objections to a militia, he said, one told us English substitutes would run away; another that the Scotch objected to serve; third that Irishmen were not to be trusted.

"To listen to these objections one might suppose that Englishmen are cheats, that Scotchmen are cowards, and that Irishmen are traitors. (Cheers and laughter.) All the objections I ever heard are founded upon a practical distrust of the people of these countries. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I, on the contrary, am disposed rather to confide in them. (Cheers.) But, if you cannot trust your population to defend themselves, you must give them up. (Loud cheers.) If you cannot trust Englishmen to come to the defence of their country—if Scotchmen will not take up arms and fight against an invading army—if Irishmen will not be true to their Queen and country—why, let us send for a Russian force at once. (Loud cheers.) Let us have an Austrian garrison in London. (Cheers.) Let us hide our heads in shame and confusion, and confess that England is no longer England, and that her people have no longer spirit to defend themselves, their homes, their families, and their country. (Cheers.) Sir, that is not my opinion. I am of opinion that Englishmen are proud of their country, that they are sensible of the value of what they have to defend, that they are fully determined to maintain their liberties, that they will not give way to an unreasonable panic, or imagine dangers that do not exist, but that they will be prepared deliberately to guard themselves against any dangers that are sufficiently probable. (Hear, hear.) And my belief is, that if the Government make the appeal to the people, if they show them the dangers that may possibly arise (hear), if they point out to them the value of the stake they have to defend, I for one believe you will not find the English substitutes running away from their colours—that Scotchmen will maintain their character for courage, and that Irishmen will not be found unworthy of the country to which they belong. (Loud cheering.)

Finally, he moved to insert the word "amend," the words "and consolidate," with the intention of moving afterwards the omission of the word "local" before the word "militia," and sat down amid loud and long-continued cheers.

After a speech from Mr. MILNER GIBSON, taking up ground outside the arena in which Palmerston contended with Russell—namely, that of objecting to the calling out of any militia—Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who had been made to feel, by the hearty cheers of the House, that Lord Palmerston had beaten him, returned desperately to the charge, and attacked his ancient colleague for the "most unusual" course he had adopted, coming forward, not to oppose a second reading, but to say to the minister, "you shall not introduce your plan at all."

"The noble lord says that the Minister of the Crown shall be debarred from placing his bill on the table of the House. He says, 'You shall not have the bill you like best, but another, of my concoction, of which I will not tell you any of the clauses. I will leave you to find out the provisions of the measure. That will not suit my purpose. All I require is, that you shall produce a bill different from your own.' Such a demand was never before made. Of course, I cannot comply with the noble lord's request. It would be absurd in me to pretend to satisfy the noble lord. Suppose I were to follow all the injunctions which I have received from the noble lord, and prepare a bill in accordance with them, the noble lord might turn round and say it was not the bill he intended; that the clauses were different from those he wanted; and that it would not do at all, and desire me to bring in another bill more agreeable to him."

These remarks showed the temper of the Premier. It was useless to follow the discussion of details, the main point was henceforth the existence of ministers; and Lord John adopted his customary tactics—he menaced the House with his resignation. "If," said he, in conclusion, followed by loud laughter, "the House resolve to omit the word 'local,' I shall leave Mr. Bernal and the noble lord to bring in the Bill, and feel at liberty to oppose it when brought in." Mr. DISRAELI briefly criticized the plan, but it was obviously only for decency's sake. The sting of his speech lay in its tail:—

The noble lord, I think, too often shows a readiness to menace the opinions of the House. (Cheers from the Opposition benches.) I put the question merely in this way:—If it be the opinion of this House that the principle upon which the Government measure is founded is not a correct one, and that the principle which is expressed in the amendment of the noble lord the member for Tiverton is, on the contrary, the one which ought to be adopted, is this, or is it not, a legitimate occasion to express that opinion? If it be a legitimate occasion to express that opinion, I cannot doubt that the House will not shrink from fulfilling that duty, and that the threat of the First Minister will not deter us from laying down the sound principle upon which we think the means of national defence should be established in this country. (Cheers.)

The other speeches—the feeble efforts of Sir George Grey; the dull criticisms of Mr. Deedes; the chivalrous rushing in of Mr. Hume to the defence of Russell endangered; and the spiritless sentences of the new President of the Board of Control,—deferred, but could not avert the fatal result. The House divided. For Lord Palmerston's amendment, 136; against it, 125.

Majority against Ministers, 11.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL declared that he looked upon the vote as a proof of want of confidence, and he should relieve himself of all responsibility. Lord PALMERSTON coolly professed his surprise at the course adopted by the noble lord. He maliciously observed, that Ministers ought not to resign upon a "temporary incidental failure of principle." Lord JOHN RUSSELL explained that such was not the case. If he brought in the bill with the title altered merely, the noble lord would say, that was not the bill he wanted; and he therefore moved "that Mr. Bernal and Lord Viscount Palmerston do bring in the bill." (Loud laughter and cheers.) Sir BENJAMIN HALL made a short speech, advising the Premier to resign. Lord JOHN RUSSELL withdrew his motion, members at once dispersed, and after performing a little routine work, the House adjourned.

Of Lord Palmerston's bill, we must judge when we see it. The new spirit and vigour of his conduct, his direct appeal to the people, are at all events most welcome.

The *Times*, the *Chronicle*, and the *Daily News*, anticipate that Lord Derby and the Protectionists will come in.

The *Times* publishes another long and vigorous letter from "An Englishman," on French affairs.

The Conference of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association, will meet on Tuesday, the 2nd of March, in St Martin's Hall, Long Acre, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

The Conference is open to all Members of Parliament who have voted for Mr. Hume's motion, or otherwise concur in the principles of the National Reform Association; gentlemen elected by Associations or Committees who have adopted those principles; and Deputations from any body of Reformers willing to attend and afford information on the vital subject of Reform of Parliament. The important questions for consideration will be—1. What means can be adopted for securing, to the utmost possible extent, the constitutional rights of the people?—2. How far the Bill before Parliament is calculated to carry that object into effect?—3. The course to be pursued to obtain for the voter the independent exercise of the franchise.

A party of Americans, at the head of whom are Howard Paul, the American author, and Josh. Silsbee, the comedian, are sitting out for a trip to Switzerland, it being their intention to ascend Mont Blanc.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1852.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ARNOLD.

THE LATE MINISTRY.

YES, we have at last to thank the Derby-Disraeli Cabinet for the greatest service that it could perform—performed, too, already!—the removal of the Whig Ministry out of the way of the people. When a feeble enemy wishes to obstruct the march of a victorious army, it effects a telling ruse when it puts up the women and children of that army as its own shield. The Whigs and their followers were the women and children—the venerable women and the sickly children that would never grow up—of the Liberal party. They are gone, and we can move forward again.

"Nothing became the hero," says the historian, "like his end:" nothing became the archetypal hero of modern whiggery so ill as his end. The Whigs entered office as the opponents of Irish coercion: going out, they record, in the exclusion of Ireland from their Militia Bill, the grossest insult ever offered to a nation. With the peculiar infelicity that attends the footsteps of the weak, they permitted discredit to tarnish even their best men—the last week of office saw one of their very best held up as the victim—accomplice in a newspaper scandal. Their aid during the famine—a task which they took out of Peel's hands—is recorded in the useless works which they leave among the disastrous monuments of Ireland. In the anti-papal agitation and the wanton, transparent manoeuvring of their chief to use religious prejudices as a political tool, they alienated the Roman Catholics, who follow their parting steps with hatred and execration. In the course of their administration, then, they administered a great national aid, so as to earn no thanks; they governed the country, so as to be upon the point of the coercion which, for party objects, they prevented; they have set Ireland against England, whom their Premier raised against Ireland; they entered office with a majority sufficient to beat Peel, they go out because their friends will not take the trouble to stay from dinner for a vote, and are beaten in a miserable House of 260. Both they and the Conservatives may compare that with the House in which Peel beat the Whigs in 1841—a House of 629, and a majority of 91.

During their administration, they have done their best to spoil every public question that interests the body of the people. They have made official taxation a joke, and their Chancellor of the Exchequer has bequeathed to his successor such ridiculous memories as may serve by way of foil to the most indifferent of budgets. Their last act in foreign affairs was that Granville capitulation, on the strength of which the Austrian Schwarzenberg makes so insolent an advance, reiterating his threats against English subjects, if England do not coerce foreign refugees. As for the American alliance—that new and popular idea in this country—thank God! they left that alone! The only man of their party that meddled with it, was Sir Henry Bulwer, Lord Palmerston's aide, who supported it. The history of their colonial administration is summed up in the one word—*Grey*, who drove the colonies to the verge of rebellion, or over it, by an uninterrupted chain of perversities, practical inconveniences, pecuniary losses, pedantic interferences, and paltry tyrannies, which make him at once the laughing-stock, the scourge, and the "favourite aversion" of "her Majesty's possessions beyond the seas." They have pilloried "Reform" in a bill which was so unhappily put together, that its real merit—the 5% extension—lay concealed from the Reformers who would have supported it; while its most conspicuous section was a laughable endeavour to carve out

of the counties a new and special rural borough constituency, to rehabilitate the Whigs—a virgin electorate to restore their vitality—the Abishai which the tribe of Coppock was to bring to cherish the expiring Whig-David! The last official act of their Premier was a petty, taunting triviality, the important motion *pro forma*, that Lord Palmerston and Mr. Bernal should bring in the Militia Bill. Lord John had a *right* to make such a motion; but how many statesmen, standing before the senate to make their last state act, would have availed themselves of such a right? Imagine Cæsar, who covered his face, and died folded in the robe of his own dignity—imagine Cæsar, instead of that majestic submission to Destiny, falling, with a gesture of impotent defiance, and “taking a sight” at Brutus!

As in 1841, Lord John goes out with an eleventh-hour measure, a boast, and a promise. The offered sugar of 1852 is the Whig-restoring Reform Bill. The boast and the promise are, that he shall continue to maintain free trade, extended suffrage, and peace—peace, which he has endangered, without providing against aggression, by the mockery of a Militia Bill!—free trade, of which Peel effected nine-tenths, and John Russell has been in office for six years without being able to accomplish the residue!—extended suffrage, which he neglected for those six years, except when he tampered with it to no purpose, and finally gibbeted it in his ridiculous new Reform Bill! But let us remember, that if he did so, he could not help it: Mr. Cobden has reminded us of the excuse—most of the late Ministers have reached that time of life when energy, activity, and efficiency are physically impossible; if some few are not old in years, they are evidently so in constitution. The one man who was not so, was too strenuous for their quiet notions, and they turned him out. The young and energetic man whom they took in, Dr. Layard, was an antiquarian. If they boast that they intend still to work for their nation at great national enterprises, it is the harmless boast of superannuated memory, which, according to its wont, is mistaking the future for the past. Many Reformers are declaring that they will have no more to do with the Whigs: they may as well abjure Grandfather Whitehead. When Lord John introduced his Reform Bill, the funds rose one-eighth—no one knew why: when his resignation was known, they fell one-eighth: half-a-crown, then, is the price which the public puts on Lord John; exactly the price that the tailor asked King Stephen for his breeches, and yet “he held them all too dear!” If the chief of the party is worth two-and sixpence now, what will he be a year hence? No, no; we are not going to be troubled with the Whigs any more. They are gone—Budget Wood, of chicory renown; Borough-mongering Reform Russell; Grey, Beloved of Colonies; Hawes, the Silver Tongue of Truth;—gone all the Elliots, the Russells, and the Greys—gone the mealy-mouthed dealers in “measures from time to time suited to the occasion!” Peace be to their manes!

THE STRANGE DINNER-PARTY IN POWER.

A TREASURY entrusted to Lord Derby!—an Exchequer to Mr. Disraeli!—the Free-trade of Downing-street surrendering its place in Parliament, for Protection to try its hand at making a majority! England, Liberal by every sign which society and statistics can furnish, handed over to the government of the Tories! Such is the strange aspect of the crisis which has given us a Derby administration. But the case is not quite so bad as that. It is more absurd, but not so desperate.

In the first place, despite the “constitutional” figment, the country has not called Lord Derby to power; but the Crown has done so, and has done so, probably, on the advice of Lord John Russell. Such a selection is not by any means unprecedented, although it somewhat violates the rationale of the constitution. Lord John Russell resigns because he is beaten by a majority; the head of that victorious majority, however, was not Lord Derby, but Lord Palmerston. Lord Derby was notoriously leader of a minority in the Representative House; still the Crown has selected him as Prime Minister. By the existing constitution, the Crown has a perfect right to make that choice, and we have no disposition to quarrel with it; we are only keeping the facts distinct. The choice of the new Premier, we say, was not, in any respect, the affair of “the country,” “the nation,” “the

people,” or the Parliament: it was arranged by the Crown, probably with the advice of the outgoing Minister.

How far Lord Derby was justified in accepting it, with so striking a want of men to form a Cabinet, without a majority in Parliament, and without a policy that the country would countenance, it is not for us to judge. He is responsible, and by the same constitution still existing, he has the full right to undertake the responsibility. He will probably be punished, not by the obsolete penalty of the block, but by the more shocking penalty of defeat and ridicule. Meanwhile, for our own part, we are not sorry that the Protectionists should have one more trial, a last opportunity of showing what is in them, and what, in their patriotism, they can do for their country. Nevertheless, we cannot close our eyes to the probable fate awaiting such an experiment and those who undertake it.

The deplorable want of men is shown by the composition of the new Ministry, which is remarkable in several respects. It has been observed that, of the Cabinet, only four have previously been in office—an observation not strictly accurate when it was made, since Lord Lonsdale and others have been in office before; but the remark is not far from the truth. No objection could be made to the introduction of “new blood,” but the search for men beyond the old ex-official bounds cannot be without its peculiar significance, when it is so sweeping. The “new blood” is furnished almost entirely by the class of “private” Members or unobtrusive Peers, intelligent men, who are not entirely strangers to the public, and whose abilities have, in most instances, been meted long ago. Mr. Walpole, the new Home Secretary, is a gentleman in every sense of the word, and has a rising parliamentary reputation; but he will be regarded as virtually the *Under-Secretary*. Indeed, most of the gentlemen newly introduced belong, by parliamentary standing and by repute, to the secondary grade.

Together with that underrating of the offices, there is a curious misallotment of offices. Although Mr. Disraeli's appointment to the Exchequer has been very generally received as a joke, we are not inclined to go with those who laugh, having a strong expectation that the historic artist will acquit himself creditably in any part that he may perform; but unquestionably the public would have been less surprised to see him entrusted with Foreign Affairs; and if it was a mere question of making him leader of the Commons, we all remember that Lord John Russell held that post while he was a Secretary of State. Mr. Herries is not appointed to the Exchequer, the duties of which he might have fulfilled with a certain respectable regularity, but is shelved as President of the Board of Control. Mr. Disraeli, who has strong opinions on foreign affairs, is not appointed to the Foreign Office, but the Earl of Malmesbury, grandson of a known diplomatist, who did some unpleasant work with a good deal of clever tact, including the marriage of George the Prince Regent. The First Lord of the Admiralty is the Duke of Northumberland, once upon a time a sailor; but the Earl of Hardwicke, who has marked convictions as to the efficiency of the navy, is made Postmaster-General. Altogether, the composition of the Cabinet indicates a deficiency in men of mark; but such as are marked, are mostly put where they will have least opportunity; as though the compounder of the Government wished not to make it too pronounced in its tone or action.

Without a majority in Parliament, the Ministry must seek to make a majority by a general election; but it cannot do so without disclosing its policy; and the question is whether it has a presentable policy. We write before we have the advantage of hearing the Ministerial explanations; but certain broad facts are obvious, even beforehand. A question has been raised whether the new Ministry had not better tide over the session, and dissolve afterwards. At a very early hour, the experienced Tory *Standard* anticipated some such policy when it said,—

“The Whigs are out, and we are thankful that they are, but in our gratification at their expulsion, we must not forget that we have to deal with a subtle and unscrupulous faction, or rather with two such factions, for the Peelites will, of course, fall in with their companions in opposition; and if we would keep out Whigs and Peelites, we must be careful not to press our friends to a hasty and imprudent course. It is the great advan-

tage of those who act upon principle, and not by expedients, that their measures will bear keeping back. If our principles are, as we know they are, *sound*, every day will more manifestly demonstrate their *soundness*. Some suffering must necessarily attend delay in the application of these principles, but this is the price which must be paid for every human good. A whole mountain of falsehood, the collection of many years of misrepresentation, must be cleared away before the mass of the people can be made to understand their actual position and their true interests. Time is, even in defiance of a dishonest Government, doing something to reduce the heap that conceals the truth, but time, with an *honest* administration of public affairs, will make much shorter work in overthrowing the reign of falsehood. It is by no means improbable that the House of Commons may prove its loyal submission to the will of the Sovereign, and the sense of the inconvenience and danger of a general election, entertained by some of its members, by supporting the minister of the Queen's choice.”

It has since been understood that Lord Derby would dissolve forthwith, and try to gain his utmost by a surprise; yet later, that he will not dissolve at present, but try the “loyalty” of Parliament. He has not a majority in “the country,” and can only make one by a process of propaganda. To attempt an election without that process, or to put off the election, and set an example of postponing principles while asking the Protectionist party for new exertions of “enthusiasm”—such is the choice ascribed to the new Ministers by their own friends!

What, indeed, can such a Ministry do, except die. They know that it is nothing: they have no vocation in office; they go in because they can't help it, since they cannot for the third time decline the opportunity held out to their party. Yet they know that they go in to be a Ministry of agitation—a Ministry to agitate among the people for the adoption of an impracticable policy. Lord Eglinton may go to Ireland, and amuse them with Celtic antiquities in pageantry; but will that suffice to master the excitable nation? The Orange party will expect a restored ascendancy, and if they do not get it, not Protectionist rage at Peel would equal Orange rage at Derby. The Roman Catholics will expect coercion; and if their instant resistance be met by conciliation, they will construe the kindness into fear. Mr. Disraeli may advance a budget more epical in its construction than Sir Charles Wood's, and is very likely to prove that imagination and figures are not incompatible; he may render the Income-tax more equitable in its incidence; he may do something to remove or compensate the “special burdens” of the landed interests; but we know beforehand that the landed interests regard that thrice-proffered boon very thanklessly; that they would be content with nothing but relief from the Income-tax, and Malt-tax, and the restoration of Protection; and that all the ingenuity of the most ingenious man in the new Cabinet cannot devise a policy which will at once content them and be practicable—which will not exasperate them with disappointment, or rouse the general country to resistance. Mr. Disraeli is doomed to study the interests of the minority, of a declining party—a party declining because it has declined in public virtue, in the “aristocratic” paternity towards dependents, in chivalrous vitality of all kinds. The Ministry which his Premier has constructed is deficient in men, because men fit for such posts have abandoned the principles to which Lord Derby adheres, through a boyish fighting obstinacy—to which most of his friends adhere through lack of the ratiocinative faculty, and to which the Anglo-Venetian Disraeli adheres in the spirit of knight-errantry. This weak party, with this obsolete policy, is going to the country on the desperate enterprise of convincing the people that dear bread is a good—that the aristocracy is still an aristocracy in the chivalrous Disraelian sense of the word—and that all the nation ought to think with Lord Derby and George Frederick Young. It cannot evade the suicidal enterprise, because it has no kind of claim on public attention except Protection. The enterprise is hopeless for themselves; but in the course of it, the country will be stirred up to some new life and action.

THE RE-OPENED FIELD FOR REFORMERS.

ONWARD once more—the path is cleared of the sickly leaders who blocked it up, and on whose heels we were bidden not to tread. The transit of their Parliamentary representatives to the

Speaker's left hand is a gain to the Reformers; not because it places them in opposition, but because it releases them from a false position, has placed them *nearer* to power, nay, *in* power; for surely we can look beyond the present Anti-Free-trade, Anti-Liberal Ministry? The interregnum between the Whig dead-body Government and the next Liberal Government should be employed in securing the largest possible augmentation to the popular power, and its most direct influence in shaping the Government.

On one point we are quite clear, and it is well to lay down the fact at starting, that the coming contest should not be a mere Free-trade fight. Free trade must be maintained, and will be; but the power which the Protectionist Cabinet can bring to bear against it is not nearly sufficient to cause any strong apprehension, nor will service in that fight be quittance to the Liberals for what they owe to their country. Free trade we have got, and we can keep; and we only want something beyond it. Indeed, if the Free-trade party, after attaining their object, parting from their Tory allies—always more notable in the singularity of position than in numbers—had re-organized themselves to secure an effective extension of the franchise, there would be less trouble now to maintain the victory—most likely no trouble at all. To clench the hold of Free trade, once for all, we must obtain the franchise for the main body of the people.

On that we are all agreed; we differ on secondary points, which ought not to divide us. We see one set demanding Universal Suffrage; another, a rate-paying franchise; a third, an educational franchise; a fourth, a mixed franchise; a fifth, a "domiciliary" franchise; and by that separation, the Reform party is converted, in detail, into a segregated series of minorities, instead of being, what it essentially is, and ought to be in action, a great national majority. Reformers who are in earnest, will do their best to amend that state of things; and if there are enough men of sincerity and sense in each section, they will soon be able to consolidate the whole.

We are asking for no "concessions,"—enough concessions, and to spare, have been made to the Whigs; and the Reform party has lost proportionately in self-esteem and mutual reliance. Concession, politically, is the giving up something which we have, or can have, to purchase something else; and Reformers gave up the opportunity of obtaining extended franchise to keep in the Whigs. We do not ask the working-classes to give up Universal Suffrage, and be contented with a limited franchise; we do not agree with Horne Tooke analogy, of accompanying a man who goes part way; which is well enough in itself, but is not an adequate statement of the true policy. We do, however, perceive that a long journey may be made, and sometimes must be made, in separate journeys; we do perceive that, to embark in a steamer which goes no further than Alexandria, is really a quicker way of getting to India than to embark in one which goes all the way without stopping. "I will not stir a step except to go to India," cries the "consistent" man, invited to enter the Alexandrian steamer; "because the English people at Alexandria never let travellers go beyond—by that route no one ever reaches Bombay!"

Among all the various schemes of Reform, there is some substantial portion common to the whole. Most Reformers desire to extend the franchise to every man that is fitted for it. The very advocates of "universal" suffrage would limit it to those who are grown up, sane, and "untainted by crime." A limitation they admit, as well as others; and then arises the question—What is the fit limitation? The Manchester men think that the payment of poor-rates proves the qualities desirable in an elector. Lord John Russell thought that payment of 5*l.* sterling in rent sufficient evidence of the requisite moral and intellectual qualities. The Parliamentary Reformers assume a limitation scarcely more restricted than universal suffrage—a franchise to every man whose name and address are certified by being registered in the rate-books as *liable* to pay rates, directly or indirectly, whether he *have* paid them or not. Scarcely any but prisoners, paupers, wanderers, and domestic servants, would be excluded by this last restriction. Now, while all these schemes have one object—the extension of the franchise to every man of certified character—they differ; and the present duty of practical Reformers is, to extract from the whole that upon

which all substantially agree; because *that* common desire would form the true will of the nation. It appears to us that the Parliamentary Reformers have come nearest to a common term; but the urgent duty of Reformers is to ascertain whether they have so or not. The most important section of dissidents appears to be the Manchester section; but we doubt very much whether they really mean to stand by a rate-paying clause—that opprobrium of Whig reform; and if they do not, there is no substantial difference between them and the mass of Reformers. It would be a very happy circumstance for the nation, if it were so to turn out, and so to be proclaimed.

On the first reinstallation of Protection in office—on the first re-opening of the Reform field for active movement, the whole party finds itself in some little confusion; but we trust that we have indicated the clue to a consistent and a truly natural policy—to a policy which would be powerful, and not difficult. The Conference, which will assemble on Tuesday next, will have this question before it. There will probably be some who may stand aloof, because the majority at that Conference will not "go far enough;" others, because the Conference will go too far, or indulging personal jealousies. The majority of the Conference, if it adhere to the principles which we have indicated, will re-assure the timid, by showing that its demands are fairly measured by the actual will of the power under whose protection we all live—that of the nation itself; it will vanquish the reluctance of the fastidious, by a dignified perseverance in its own course, without hostility to those who hold aloof—without reproaches for those who join it late in the day; it will refer the impatient to the last political appeal—to the nation. Aiming to get at the will of the nation, to express that will, to obey it, and to accomplish it, the Conference would then be the first public body of our own day to seek greatness and influence through a patriotic modesty and fidelity; and we could not fear for its success while it should remain true to that noble enterprise.

There is, indeed, one function which such a body as the Parliamentary Reform Association might fulfil most usefully and legitimately, to the immense enhancement of its influence and power. Its primary object is to obtain a share of Parliamentary representation for the majority of the nation, at present excluded—in other words, to give a Parliament to the People—the People being meanwhile without a Parliament, and without the agency for the collective expression and enforcement of its suffrages, which a Parliament affords. The want of such an agency aggravates the evil of disfranchisement, and tends to perpetuate the evil. Could the Association provisionally perform that species of agency—could it in such matters be a species of Administration for the People, it would make its convenience and importance felt by every class.

THE CRUEL SECT.

THOMAS CARLYLE has offended the journal which has volunteered as the organ of the trading-classes against the working-classes. A new spirit has come over that journal. Some year or so since, it was for a new and more popular tenure of land; but we are now bound to conclude that it wished to set the land free from its present holders, in order to make it the object of mere trading laws: a change which God forbid! The *Weekly Dispatch* at present devotes itself to the interests of employers, not as identical with the workers, but as antagonistic; it sets itself to promote social division—a shocking labour, to which journalism, with all its antagonism, has rarely descended; it strives to strengthen the prejudices of the employer, to harden their selfishness, and to hound on the tyranny of those who are already imperious enough. We believe, indeed, that it has gone far ahead of those to whose selfish passions it has pandored. The writer that advocates the tyrannies of trade in their most barefaced form is naturally exasperated at the Hezekiah who denounces the idols of the market—and is helping to topple them over.

We can leave the defence of Carlyle to the active Secretary of the Association which is implicated in the attack, meanwhile only noticing the journalism of the matter. The attack is subscribed with the well-known name of "Publicola,"

—originally the pseudonyme of a gentleman who earned for it the reputation of vigour, and for himself a reputation as a fighting Atheist, with polemics carried to the most obtrusive and offensive lengths. We respected his outspokenness, but not his rudeness, or his blindness to ideas above him, or his insolent refusal of all belief in the sincerity of opponents. "The king never dies," nor does "Publicola;" the first writer of that name died, but the immortal name survived, and descended to a writer more refined, an eloquent preacher of "the religion of humanity," a gentleman, and a popular representative of the people in the Legislature. He has recently been identified with that Roman appellation; and our present object is to express our belief that the attack in question is *not* by him. We cannot rest that belief on its literary faults—on its ascribing to O'Connell an anecdote to be found in many an "Ana," and identified with a more illustrious Irishman, before Daniel's time; or the use of the phrase "running a muck," as if the Malay who runs a muck always had a tilt at the manure-heap; or the unhandy use of prepositions—but we are struck by the bitter sneer at the poor, the coarse allusion even to the odour of the destitute, and the ignorant cant about "Socialism."

Even from the utility pen of the *Dispatch* one might have expected to obtain better philosophy. Carlyle offends by not valuing statistics; which are indeed worthless, unless the text gives soundness and true limitation to the figures. The writer in the *Dispatch* supplies an example. He boasts of the decline in the number of Irish paupers, although the workhouses had been rendered more habitable: he does not state how much of that was due to the relief of the labour market by the immense emigration in the year cited—an emigration which exceeded the whole number of paupers; and he *does* not mention that direct emigration of paupers, which relieving Ireland, has deluged Liverpool and Manchester with beggary. Of what worth are statistics such as these? Cruel to the poor, insolent to genius, the writer cannot even handle the figures to which his journeyman mind devotes itself.

THINGS AND THINKINGS.

A SWORD—it is a beautiful object, symmetrical, bright, the type of power, direct, sharp, and swift. It cuts into the flesh, and lets forth the sluices of life. Well, there are worse things than pain or death. On the whole, the sword is the instrument of healthy, vigorous, keen-sighted, self-possessed, master-headed humanity; meanness, cowardice, disease, dullwit, maladroitness, fistiness cannot stand against the edge of the brave man's favourite weapon. In our refinement, we have somewhat lost count with such simple truths and plain facts. Our humanitarians have learned to think that there is nothing worse than pain and death. They deprecate the cruelties of the sword, and "peaceful" commerce is their faith. Leonard Horner, Inspector of Factories, relates in his last report how a little girl has perished through neglect to guard dangerous machinery; he records his complaint that self-acting mules still imperil the lives of children. Holmfirth reservoir is allowed to deluge a whole valley, sweeping numbers to destruction; but the Holmfirth commissioners were insolvent; and with no "profit" to secure, what duty remained? Peace, which turns pale at the deadly edge of the sword, permits these things; has, indeed, no veneration for life, unless it can pay its way.

Louis Napoleon establishes a piratical government in the next capital, and calls it "order." The *thing* order, men do not much esteem; for although it was secured by moral influence in Rome under Mazzini's government, legitimate politicians rejoice that the Eternal City was "rescued" from him, and restored to an old Pope who is impotent, an alien army, and brigands. Louis Napoleon seizes Paris by night, deluges it in the blood of its citizens, and English statesmen "recognise" that as "order."

In its ignorance, the English people dislikes the idea that such order may be imported here, and resolves to keep it out. Whereupon the friends of Peace meet at the London Tavern, and deprecate any preparations for military resistance, as they hold fighting to be unchristian. They would rather incur the risk of Louis Napoleon, than commit the sin of resisting him.

Meanwhile, there is a talk about rifles; on

which the Sheriff of London advertises store of rifle uniforms, comely, of neutral tint, heath-like in hue, with rifle and accoutrements to match. Think of going to one's haberdasher's for a rifle! The Sheriff will probably turn an honest penny by the "panic." A respectable firm is accused of selling gunpowder to the Kaffirs: the charge is indignantly denied; but gunpowder, it is admitted, may have been consigned to a merchant at the Cape. It is a sin to prepare against aggression by Louis Napoleon, but to provide Kaffirs with gunpowder is free-trade; and to deal in rifles or rifle uniforms, made while rifle talk is in fashion, is shrewdness in commerce; Commerce being the handmaid of Peace!

The Amazon is destroyed by fire; numbers mourn their relatives perishing in that twofold visitation, and a nation mourns genius lost. Inventors of fire-preventives rush into advertisement; an exhibition of the calamity invites the shillings of the curious, in a great thoroughfare; and a dreary theatre makes an attraction of a concert for the benefit of the survivors. Parsimony had withheld the means of checking the fire; rapacity, trading on the awful lesson, offers those means: and a more flaunting rapacity parades the funeral on the boards of the stage, as a makeweight, in the vain effort to attract "overflowing houses."

A Government is wanted—a set of men fit and authorized to govern this vast empire; and our constitution turns out a set of gentlemen too heterogeneous for a dinner-party—the Government of a Derby, a Walpole, a Malmesbury, and a Pakington, with a Sugden for "keeper of the Queen's conscience!" It is not a Government, but an experiment—a new way of poaching eggs in the crown of a hat, tried on the Treasury-bench while England is waiting for a Cabinet.

A church, with the cure of souls that cannot, in this busy, erring world, take care of themselves—it is a beautiful idea. "A London Clergyman" is writing to the *Post*, urging that one of the first subjects submitted to Convocation should be church patronage; which is so administered now, that the working clergy are starved, incumbents as well as curates, while the few are nurtured in luxury. The priest has forgotten the care of souls in the care of the corporation sole, himself, inasmuch that the idea of the living church is merged in the "living"—his own gains!

Henry Brougham died some time back, and is entombed among Englishworthies in Westminster Abbey; being succeeded in the emoluments and titles by the present Lord Brougham. The original Henry enjoys, indeed, a curious posthumous survivorship in one place, University College. At the meeting of proprietors, this week, a companion, who aided him in establishing that sole college of free education, now dismayed in his utilitarian mind, for that Henry Brougham was not always present in the flesh in that scene of his most enduring vitality, proposed to oust him. Another companion, who could better appreciate the presence of a living memory, rebuked the idle pedantry in a strain of clear, generous, good-humoured, hearty eloquence. And afterwards the same speaker repeated a truth which wavering Reformers would do well to bear in mind—"When in this country a great reform has once been achieved; it is idle to think of extinguishing it." So said James Graham. We grasp at "institutions," and let the spirit evaporate. But human nature is too strong for the perversest statesmanship—it will get right at last. By the blessing of God, neither Whig Russell nor Protectionist Derby is the type of eternity; and yet, be it remembered, the present day is always part of eternity, the ground we stand on is part of the universe, the laws of Omnipotence are not suspended for lack of continuance bills, though Parliament be dissolved; nor are the things that surround us, in their substance, other than parts of material truth, although we may be confounded by our own habit of looking more to seemings than realities.

FREE-TRADE IN NATIONAL DEFENCE.

"'Birds in their little nests agree,' is an example, we fear, more poetical than ornithological," said Hartley Coleridge; and we need not make very deep researches into the laws of human action, or a very distant journey on the continent of Europe, to discover that the benevolent platitudes of the Peace Society have little more of the true, the timely, and the practical in

them, than has this hackneyed verse of Dr. Watts. The solemn absurdity of imploring monarchs, who only reign by the grace of gunpowder, to reduce the number of their guardian angels, is well paralleled by the bitter mockery of exhorting nations, stifled, gagged, and bound, to trust for their deliverance to moral force, public opinion, and an intellectual struggle. Moral force with a Schwartzburg, or a Louis Bonaparte! Can public opinion be nourished without food? Can it make itself heard without a tongue? And it is difficult to understand how an intellectual struggle is to be carried on, when nations are forced to be dumb under penalties, and when rulers, on principle, have made themselves deaf.

Physical force can only be met by physical force: absolutism itself will admit of no other argument.

When a certain point in civilization has been reached by a people, or by other peoples in close proximity to it, despotism becomes possible only by means of physical force; and the despotic rulers cannot, dare not, suffer the existence of free speech, which, if not the only right of man, is at least that one which is absolutely indispensable to the fulfilment of the mission of mankind, ensuring the ultimate recognition of all rights and all duties. Despotism, by the showing of its apologists, substitutes the wisdom of one, or of a few, for the wisdom of the race; strives to confine all thought, even of the rulers, into a fixed channel, and shuts out infinite sources of light by the compulsory silence of a nation. Rulers and peoples alike are blinded and degraded. Slaves and tyrants alike are incapable of being men.

"But the public opinion of other nations—the voice of English sympathy?" Have we not seen its effects in Poland, in Sicily, in Hungary, in Rome, and in Naples? Patriots deluded, stimulated to hope and to action by half promises, officious advice, and doubtful hints; sovereigns annoyed by "humane" interference and petty demonstrations; and both learning, from the results of its lukewarm inaction, to doubt the practical value of English sympathy. It were vain, indeed, to think that such sceptical coquetting can ever disturb the vigorous absolutist policy, based on strong though malignant faith. For a despot may have a faith; and the faith which leads him to devote all his energies and all his resources to a certain intelligible purpose, will never be shaken, but will, on the contrary, be strengthened by every experience of those insipid phrases and formal protests, which his achieved successes wring from our hereditary placemen. The Czar Nicholas believes it to be his destiny to lead a crusade against revolution: he acts on that belief, and he is right to do so. But the English nation also has a destiny and a faith, and would fain act upon that faith, and strive to fulfil that destiny. The English nation hates Russian and all kindred principles, and would, at the fitting time, welcome any prospect of contest with such principles.

How much longer are we to lie beneath the weight of reproach for neglected opportunities? Nothing is to be hoped from the professed principles of our rulers—rather, we might say, our official managers—who, instead of principles, have the traditions of diplomacy. The leading Whig and Conservative statesmen agree that war may be necessary to preserve the balance of power, or to defend some tame, pet sovereign from invasion; but that, when mere morality, or mere men are concerned, no active interference is possible, and that silence should be observed in respect to the treachery and massacre which have occurred, for fear of giving offence. And the Peace and Economy School, the most liberal party that can be said to be represented in Parliament, protests against attention to foreign affairs, unless what they call British interests are involved. Short-sighted doctrine! But is there not a gleam of sunlight from the cloud in that quarter? For these Manchester men do hate despotism, were it only that it interferes with trade; they have also a wholesome dislike to our own standing army, for it causes our heavy taxation. And they manifest, not only liberal, but some really enlightened tendencies. Is not expense their greatest objection to war, and increase of the debt their greatest dread? Can they not see in an independent body of volunteers, the nucleus of a national army, and in the successful campaign of such a force in some noble cause,

approved by the Legislature, the first proof of its efficiency for all purposes of a standing army? Do they forget that very few years have passed since England virtually carried on a war in Spain with twelve thousand of her sons, (it matters not whether it was well or ill-done,) without costing the country a penny?

Are our alliances for ever to be dynastic and diplomatic, and never moral, progressive, and national? Are we to expend millions of money and thousands of British lives to substitute a Ferdinand for a Joseph, but not to lift a finger, or stir a step, when a People is being murdered, to make room for a Pope? Is the Foreign Enlistment Bill to be suspended, even in time of peace, for an Isabella, but never for an Italy? When dawn again shall break upon the Continent, the people of England must be set free to show that they can do more than sympathise with the people of other countries. Precedents for a Free Trade in war will be found in the past practice of both Whig and Conservative governments. Why should it not enter into the policy of a more liberal party?

OUR "FAVOURITE" FOR "THE DERBY."

THE Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli has committed the inexpiable sin of writing two or three remarkable works of fiction. He has shown himself endowed with rare gifts of intellect and imagination. But not content with the more tranquil triumphs of the Man of Letters, our new Chancellor of the Exchequer boldly descended into the arena of public and parliamentary life; and there he has, year by year, fought his way up, steadfastly and unflinchingly, against the taunts of birth, and the sneers of fortune, and the suspicious intolerance of respectable dulness and conventional distinction, out of the impatient and dream-haunted obscurity of the glowing scribbler of romance into the full blaze of personal and party triumph!

There are many who can recal the rhetorical dithyrambs of a young Semitic-adventurer, now many years ago, whose transcendental declamation shook with scornful laughter the most matter-of-fact assembly in the world. "The time will come," said that Semitic youth, burning with the prophetic consciousness of a high destiny, "when you shall hear me!" And, lo! as we write, the mere man of genius is the Leader of the House of Commons, and a Tory Cabinet Minister!

A great deal of unfair astonishment has been vented on the fact of a man of figures-of-speech, and not of balance sheets, being entrusted with the money-bags of the nation: but was there not a fatality in the selection—that the chapters in "Sybil," and elsewhere, on the Hebrews, might be fulfilled?

Yes! this mere man of genius was alone found worthy to lead the forlorn-hope of the disjointed Protectionist forces. By sheer force of character, by ardent and undaunted energy, by unremitting industry, he has dared to cleave his path to power. However, then, we may dissent from his professed opinions, we are not ashamed to confess a warm sympathy with the man who was once, as the French say, "impossible," and is now indispensable to the jealous caste, of which he is not so much the instrument as the master. In clubs and coteries the name may be received with idle laughter, and by noodledom with something like indignation, as a "base exception" to hereditary exclusiveness; but we hail with a sort of exultation the apotheosis of the Prometheus of the Country Party!

'WARE HAWK.

WHAT next?—"A decree of the President of the Republic offers a reward of 50,000fr. to such person as shall render the voltaic pile applicable with economy to manufactures, as a source of heat, or to lighting, or chemistry, or mechanics, or practical medicine. Persons of all nations may compete for this prize, and the competition is to be opened for five years." Louis Napoleon means something.

We remember a medal of Napoleon the Great represented as Love, with the eagle by his side, the thunderbolt in his hand. Napoleon the Little has been ransacking the museum, where he found the cocked hat and boots, for the Jovian bolt: and, unable to find it, he is thus advertising for it, under guise of promoting discovery! Let the Parisians take care; he will be found some day sitting, bearded and naked, on the column in Place Vendôme hurling the bolts at all and sundry.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

OUR readers will be pleased to hear that CARLYLE is at present engaged on a new historical work, though the precise shape it will take—whether as a biography or as a history—we are not in a condition to announce. The lovers of criminal history will also be glad to learn, that J. HILL BURTON is about to publish a selection of Narratives from the Scotch *Causes Célèbres*. And the lovers of Comic History will not be displeased to read the following letter, addressed to us by GILBERT A'BECKETT, in reply to our criticism on his *Comic History of Rome* :—

SIR,—Permit me to say a few words in reference to your brief criticism on my recently-completed *History of the Commonwealth of Rome* :

For your remarks, though unfavourable, I am really much obliged to you ; for they proceed from one who has taken the trouble to think about the subject he writes upon. Criticism in the present day is so generally influenced by personal considerations, especially as far as newspaper notices of books are concerned, that there are very few journals for whose opinion either writer or reader entertains much respect. Of the few "criticisms" I have chanced to see, some have in the old stereotyped conventional phrases alluded to my work as "rich," "racy," or "rampant," while other "gentlemen" of the press have summarily disposed of it—sometimes confessedly, without reading it—as so much "grinning through a horse-collar." Praise or censure of this sort is of course equally indifferent to one who sees that there is as much stupidity or as little sense in the laudation as in the vituperation—the former proceeding from good-natured, and the latter from ill-natured fools. You are the sort of person to whom my preface is addressed, and you are one of those whom I should have been glad to have been able to convince of the utility of history written in the style I have applied to it. I confess that I have long felt an objection to the title of "Comic," and I only adopted it in reference to the *History of Rome*, at the request of the publishers, who advised that the work should form one of a series, to which the *Comic History of England* and the *Comic Blackstone* belonged. My purpose has been to write a history in which humour and satire, in conjunction with clearness and truth, should be the preliminary elements. I cannot agree with you in your comparison of the *History of Rome* with the *History of Christianity* ; and though I share your revulsion of feeling at the notion you suggest of "putting before one, by pen and pencil, the early Christian gent," I do not see why the "Roman gent" should not be placed in a ludicrous light, or why it is wrong to divest him, as well as every other Roman pretender, of the "lofty associations" which you truly say "young minds" would otherwise attach to him.

You have put to me a home question in asking me whether I would place my book in the hands of my own children, from nine to nineteen years of age. I will answer the question in a homely manner, by saying, that I have done so, and would do so again. I have found, moreover, that they, and others of their age, have acquired a knowledge of the principal facts of history from the Comic version, when the many very excellent serious versions have failed to attract their attention, or to make an impression on their memories. I have had no fear of "vulgarizing" in their "young minds" subjects that would otherwise have "lofty associations." Nor do I concur in your view, that all Roman History, with its crowd of knaves, dupes, tyrants, and impostors, pseudo-patriots, suicidal philosophers, and all its absurd traditions, should be the subjects of "lofty associations" in the "young mind." I have, I hope, never spoken contemptuously of that which is really good or great, and I do not think I have done any harm in ridiculing what is bad or little—particularly when "lofty associations" have been hitherto attached to it in mature, as well as in juvenile minds.

If I could be convinced that the objections you urge to comic histories are valid, I think I should be candid enough to admit their force ; but at present I feel persuaded that in writing them, I am using such talent as I possess, to the advantage of my readers, who, while seeking amusement, obtain instruction which they might not otherwise derive from a more recondite source.

This letter will, I fear, occupy more of your time than you think the subject worth ; but as your paper is addressed to readers of more than ordinary intelligence, I should be glad to have an opportunity of placing these views before them.

Very truly yours,

GILBERT ABBOTT A'BECKETT.

Hyde Park Gate South, Kensington Gore.

We have no wish to press our objection against Mr. A'BECKETT, but, while freely allowing him to state his own defence, in the columns that accused him, we cannot suffer it to pass without protest. The defence does not seem to us valid. It does not even fairly seize our objection. It rests upon the assumption, that we claim for all the details of Roman history the privilege of raising "lofty associations," which it is imprudent to "vulgarize." Not so. The Roman is not sacred to us because he wears a toga, and is ignorant of railways ; his tyranny, brutality, sensuality are not to be admired, because they belong to the classic period, and are recorded in a poor nasal language. But Roman history is sacred to us as the records of one section of Humanity. We would not have it vulgarized, because the memories of our forefathers deserve better of us. Regarding the whole human race as one majestic existence, one vast chain, encompassing us and all men, past, present, and to come, in a vital unity of brotherhood,—a Life which moveth slowly, but surely onwards to grand predestined aims, each century handing to its successor the light which it has gained,—

Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt,

we cannot patiently see the sanctity of this great existence profaned, as it is profaned, in turning the whole history of a people into burlesque. What are the Romans to us? They are *men*. They are of that Humanity which we reverence. Is it not foolish, as well as irreligious, to desecrate the Past, at the very time when our most strenuous efforts are directed towards the Future? Shall we, who labour for our successors, treat with

disrespect those who laboured for us? Why do we care for the coming generations, if we can treat with levity the bygone? If the human race is one—if Humanity has an existence, which calls forth our greatest faculties, and inspires our noblest endeavours, that man is blameable who places the grand phases of it in a ludicrous light. Roman history is a grand phase. Individual Romans may call forth detestation, or pity ; but the whole story of the life of Rome is *not* the subject of a jest.

Mr. A'BECKETT, conscious of his own aims and oblivious of his work, repeats, that he has not thrown ridicule on what is in itself good or great. What, then, is calling the priests *flamines*—supporters of falsehoods, or "flams?" what is his picture of BRUTUS?—what MARIUS seated on the ruins?—what the tone of the story of VIRGINIA? We might fill a column with such instances, wherein what is poetic, touching, noble in the legend, becomes ludicrous in this history ; and to us it is not less profane thus to vulgarize the history of one epoch in the life of Humanity, than it would be to write a Comic History of Religion. It is said, indeed, that the Comic treatment has this advantage, that it makes the young better acquainted with the principal facts of history than many serious versions can make them. It may be so ; but then we ask, Wherefore is this knowledge desirable? Why care about the "facts" of a life which has no sacredness for you? What was Rome, that you should burden your memory with its history? Time sleeps over the ruins of worlds—

"Sur les mondes détruits, le Temps dort immobile."

And why should we awaken curiosity about the silent and the dead?

ANOTHER correspondent, whom we regard with very different feelings from those which move us with regard to Mr. A'BECKETT, a gentleman whose talents and character command our sincere respect—one Mr. SAMUEL LANGLEY, irritated at our not inserting a letter he sent on the ALEXANDER SMITH controversy, has this week sought refuge in the *Globe*, a journal which was in no way implicated in the controversy. Our readers know perfectly well that we shrink from no opinions—that we allow correspondents to dispute, to ridicule, and even vehemently to stigmatize our opinions in our own columns. We never shirk discussion. But we cannot print every letter, nor every twentieth letter, sent us. Mr. LANGLEY's letter was excluded for three excellent reasons : it was very long, it was very foolish, and it was indecent. Writing to complain of our defence of sensuous imagery, he used language which no journal could print. Instead of appreciating our kindness in not exposing him, he writes to the *Globe* a letter, in which, among misrepresentations and ineptitudes, he makes this suspicious confession :—"With regard to that description of poetry which presents glowing pictures to the propensities, and ignores the higher sentiments, I can testify from my own experience to its ruinous effects." Oh, Mr. Langley !

SHELLEY'S LETTERS.

Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley. With an Introductory Essay by Robert Browning. Moxon.

THE letters we announced some weeks ago are now on our table, prefaced by some remarks by Robert Browning, which, as the utterances of one distinguished poet on a Great Immortal, are of very special interest. After drawing a distinction between the objective and the subjective kinds of poetry, Browning shows how necessary to the proper enjoyment of the subjective poet is a satisfactory knowledge of his life and being ; and argues, very justly, that Letters are peculiarly serviceable in opening to us glimpses of the real nature of the writer's mind :—

"Letters and poems may be used indifferently as the basement of our opinion upon the writer's character ; the finished expression of a sentiment in the poems, giving light and significance to the rudiments of the same in the letters, and these, again, in their incipency and unripeness, authenticating the exalted mood and reattaching it to the personality of the writer. The musician speaks on the note he sings with ; there is no change in the scale, as he diminishes the volume into familiar intercourse. There is nothing of that jarring between the man and the author, which has been found so amusing or so melancholy ; no dropping of the tragic mask, as the crowd melts away ; no mean discovery of the real motives of a life's achievement, often, in other lives, laid bare as pitifully as when, at the close of a holiday, we catch sight of the internal lead-pipes and wood-valves, to which, and not to the ostensible conch and dominant Triton of the fountain, we have owed our admired waterwork. No breaking out, in household privacy, of hatred, anger, and scorn, incongruous with the higher mood, and suppressed artistically in the book : no brutal return to self-delighting, when the audience of philanthropic schemes is out of hearing ; no indecent stripping off the grander feeling and rule of life as too costly and cumbrous for every-day wear.

"Whatever Shelley was, he was with an admirable sincerity. It was not always truth that he thought and spoke ; but in the purity of truth he spoke and thought always. Everywhere is apparent his belief in the existence of Good, to which Evil is an accident ; his faithful holding by what he assumed to be the former, going everywhere in company with the tenderest pity for those acting or suffering on the opposite hypothesis. For he was tender, though tenderness is not always the characteristic of very sincere natures ; he was eminently both tender and sincere. And not only do the same affection and yearning after the well-being of his kind appear in the letters as in the poems, but they express themselves by the same theories and plans, however crude and unsound. There is no reservation of a subtler, less costly, more serviceable remedy for his own ill, than he has proposed for the general one ; nor does he ever contemplate an object on his own account, from a less elevation than he uses in exhibiting it to the world. How shall we help believing Shelley to have been, in his ultimate attainment, the splendid spirit of his own best poetry, when we find even his carnal speech to agree faithfully, at faintest as at strongest, with the tone and rhythm of his most oracular utterances?

"For the rest, these new letters are not offered as presenting any new feature of the poet's character. Regarded in themselves, and as the substantive productions of a man, their importance would be slight. But they possess interest beyond

their limits, in confirming the evidence just dwelt on, of the poetical mood of Shelley being only the intensification of his habitual mood; the same tongue only speaking, for want of the special excitement to sing. The very first letter, as one instance for all, strikes the key-note of the predominating sentiment of Shelley throughout his whole life—his sympathy with the oppressed. And when we see him at so early an age, casting out, under the influence of such a sympathy, letters and pamphlets on every side, we accept it as the simple exemplification of the sincerity with which, at the close of his life, he spoke of himself, as—

“One whose heart a stranger's tear might wear
As water-drops the sandy fountain stone;
Who loved and pitied all things, and could moan
For woes which others hear not, and could see
The absent with the glass of phantasy,
And near the poor and trampled sit and weep,
Following the captive to his dungeon deep—
One who was as a nerve o'er which do creep
The else-unfelt oppressions of this earth.”

“Such sympathy with his kind was evidently developed in him to an extraordinary and even morbid degree, at a period when the general intellectual powers it was impatient to put in motion, were immature or deficient.”

This is both truly and finely said, and, as applied to natures like Shelley's, admits of no qualification; but with regard to more versatile and many-sided natures, the same would not hold rigorously, unless the impulses of the moment, the moods and caprices, the jests and the despondencies which would necessarily vary their correspondence, were considered as not affecting the general and permanent mood.

There are thoughtful and noteworthy passages in this Essay, some of which we shall quote elsewhere; and all Shelley's admirers will thank Browning for his appreciation, with which, in the main, they will agree. Here is a passage worth pondering:—

“I conjecture, from a review of the various publications of Shelley's youth, that one of the causes of his failure at the outset was the peculiar practicalness of his mind, which was not without a determinate effect on his progress in theorizing. An ordinary youth, who turns his attention to similar subjects, discovers falsities, incongruities, and various points for amendment, and, in the natural advance of the purely critical spirit, unchecked by considerations of remedy, keeps up before his young eyes so many instances of the same error and wrong, that he finds himself unawares arrived at the startling conclusion, that all must be changed—or nothing: in the face of which plainly impossible achievement, he is apt (looking perhaps a little more serious by the time he touches at the decisive issue,) to feel, either carelessly or considerately, that his own attempting a single piece of service would be worse than useless even, and to refer the whole task to another age and person—safe in proportion to his incapacity. Wanting words to speak, he has never made a fool of himself by speaking. But, in Shelley's case, the early fervour and power to see, was accompanied by as precocious a fertility to contrive: he endeavoured to realize as he went on idealizing; every wrong had simultaneously its remedy; and, out of the strength of his hatred for the former, he took the strength of his confidence in the latter—till suddenly he stood pledged to the defence of a set of miserable little expedients, just as if they represented great principles, and to an attack upon various great principles, really so, without leaving himself time to examine whether, because they were antagonistical to the remedy he had suggested, they must therefore be identical or even essentially connected with the wrong he sought to cure,—playing with blind passion into the hands of his enemies, and dashing at whatever red cloak was held forth to him, as the cause of the fireball he had last been stung with—mistaking Churchdom for Christianity, and for marriage, ‘the sale of love’ and the law of sexual oppression.

“Gradually, however, he was leaving behind him this low practical dexterity, unable to keep up with his widening intellectual perception; and, in exact proportion as he did so, his true power strengthened and proved itself. Gradually he was raised above the contemplation of spots and the attempt at effacing them, to the great Abstract Light, and, through the discrepancy of the creation, to the sufficiency of the First Cause. Gradually he was learning that the best way of removing abuses is to stand fast by truth. Truth is one, as they are manifold; and innumerable negative effects are produced by the upholding of one positive principle. I shall say what I think,—had Shelley lived he would have finally ranged himself with the Christians: his very instinct for helping the weaker side (if numbers make strength), his very ‘hate of hate,’ which at first mistranslated itself into delirious Queen Mab notes and the like, would have got clear-sighted by exercise. The preliminary step to following Christ, is the leaving the dead to bury their dead—not clamouring on His doctrine for an especial solution of difficulties which are referable to the general problem of the universe. Already he had attained to a profession of ‘a worship to the Spirit of good within, which requires (before it sends that inspiration forth, which impresses its likeness upon all it creates) devoted and disinterested homage, as Coleridge says,—and Paul likewise. And we find in one of his last exquisite fragments, avowedly a record of one of his own mornings and its experience, as it dawned on him at his soul and body's best in his boat on the Serchio—that as surely as

“The stars burnt out in the pale blue air,
And the thin white moon lay withering there—
Day had kindled the dewy woods,
And the rocks above, and the stream below,
And the vapours in their multitudes,
And the Appenine's shroud of summer snow—
Day had awakened all things that be;”

just so surely he tells us (stepping forward from this delicious dance-music, choragus-like, into the grander measure befitting the final enunciation),

“All rose to do the task He set to each,
Who shaped us to his ends and not our own;
The million rose to learn, and One to teach
What none yet ever knew or can be known.”

“No more difference than this, from David's pregnant conclusion so long ago!

“Meantime, as I call Shelley a moral man, because he was true, simple-hearted, and brave, and because what he acted corresponded to what he knew, so I call him a man of religious mind, because every audacious negative cast up by him against the Divine, was interpenetrated with a mood of reverence and adoration, and because I find him everywhere taking for granted some of the capital dogmas of Christianity, while most vehemently denying their historical basement.”

That Shelley was eminently a religious man—that he was imbued with what we almost all call Christianity, understanding thereby an exaltation of our moral aspirations, and a belief in the practicability of Goodness and

Self-Sacrifice—is a fact as certain as that Shelley lived; but we altogether dissent from Browning's position, that Shelley would finally have ranged himself with the Christians, if by that be meant a recognition of the truth of that body of dogmas which theologians very properly insist upon as constituting Christianity. As he grew older, the antagonism which vexed his heart and obscured his intellect would assuredly have dwindled; he would have become more tolerant of speculative differences; but he would not, we think, have learned to see Truth in that creed from which his mind had so thoroughly emancipated itself.

Let us hear Browning on the predominating characteristic of Shelley as a poet:—

“This I call his simultaneous perception of Power and Love in the absolute, and of Beauty and Good in the concrete, while he throws, from his poet's station between both, swifter, subtler, and more numerous films for the connexion of each with each, than have been thrown by any modern artificer of whom I have knowledge; proving how, as he says,

“The spirit of the worm within the sod,
In love and worship blends itself with God.”

“I would rather consider Shelley's poetry as a sublime fragmentary essay towards a presentment of the correspondency of the universe to Deity, of the natural to the spiritual, and of the actual to the ideal, than I would isolate and separately appraise the worth of many detachable portions which might be acknowledged as utterly perfect in a lower moral point of view, under the mere conditions of art. It would be easy to take my stand on successful instances of objectivity in Shelley: there is the unrivalled *Cenci*; there is the *Julian and Maddalo*, too; there is the magnificent *Ode to Naples*; why not regard, it may be said, the less organised matter as the radiant elemental foam and solution, out of which would have been evolved, eventually, creations as perfect even as those? But I prefer to look for the highest attainment, not simply the high,—and, seeing it, I hold by it. There is surely enough of the work ‘Shelley’ to be known enduringly among men, and, I believe, to be accepted of God, as human work may; and around the imperfect proportions of such, the most elaborated productions of ordinary art must arrange themselves as inferior illustrations.”

The Letters themselves are of interest solely because they were written by that pure and affectionate being, and as such, are welcome. But why does not Mr. Moxon publish that long and splendid letter sent from Italy on the occasion of Richard Carlile's trial? It was once in our possession, but we gave it up to be published by Mrs. Shelley, in the first collection of the Letters; and we hoped to find it in this. Is Mr. Moxon afraid of it, or has he never seen it?

We will conclude this slight notice with a charming passage:—

A TASTE FOR FLOWERS.

“I reckon two advantages of a taste for flowers. The first is produced by the culture of them; which, since it excludes all wilfulness, haste, and impatience, quiets the mind, cheers it by ever-cherished hope, and, since this seldom deceives, gladdens it with quiet joy. But the second and chief advantage consists in this—that every flower is in miniature the image of entire nature, and contains all its security, order, peace, and beauty. The flower unfolds itself silently according to necessary laws, and under necessary conditions; and if those fail, it cannot flourish. Like a child upon the mother's bosom, so it hangs upon and sucks the sun and air, the earth and water; it is but a part of the great whole of nature, from which it cannot live separated. It is fairest in blossom, but in every stage of development it has peculiar charms. How fair the tender plant, which creeps forth to the light! how lovely the juicy green! how mysterious and full of intimations the swelling bud? Some flowers are fairer than others, but only a few are odious, and none without some property. And how manifold their beauty! Thereby they are the truest image of nature, which spreads itself before our view in infinite variety, and thus unveils the unfathomable riches of the Creator. Partial florists may prefer the fragrant hyacinth, or the showy auricula, or the rich carnation, or any others; but who can say which is fairer than the other? and what feeling friend of nature will not love even the less fair? All are the lovely children of nature; and, as a mother fondly presses all her offspring to her heart, because she discovers in all the beloved features of the father, so the true lover of nature fondly embraces all she brings forth, because her life is exhibited in all, however diverse. Who can say what colour of the rainbow is the fairest, since all are born from the same ray of light? As nature is without evil, so are flowers the image of innocence and harmlessness, and the sight of them soothes and calms, like the countenance of a conscientious man, who is without reserve and guile. The abode of the first man, in his innocence, was a garden: in a garden, among the lovely children of spring, we again find paradise; here we dream of the bliss of innocence, here soothe tumultuous desires, and a gentle longing fills the heart. The lake-rose swims and bathes in the moist element, which, fertilising, pervades the earth, and lifts up its crown to the sun, like a clear, calm eye. Who thus can swim in the fulness of universal life, washed pure from all selfishness, and thus look up, unshrinking, with pure eye?

“Lovely, bright, radiant flowers! are ye not like stars, which the Creator has scattered to illumine and adorn the dark earth? Are ye not as heavenly messengers, who have come down upon the sunbeams, to bring us tidings of a world in which all blooms in beauty, rapture, peace? Therefore is it that the children, who, too, have come from heaven, and still retain their innocence, play with you so like sisters; therefore is it that woman loves you, who bears in her feeling heart intimations of heaven; therefore we deck with you the graves of the beloved, because you point upward, when they have gone to rest.”

CREASY'S INVASIONS OF ENGLAND.

The Invasions and Projected Invasions of England from the Saxon Times. With Remarks on the present Emergencies. By E. S. Creasy, M.A. Bentley.

A TIMELY volume, carefully compiled, and presenting an historical sketch which will be very acceptable to the debaters of this exciting topic. Mr. Creasy has chosen his subject and restricted himself to it. In the compilation of his narrative he has kept an open eye to the more recent historical works, at the same time that he has avoided all unnecessary parade. Except in some superfluous twaddle about the finger of Providence said to be discernible in the accidents which thwarted all the previous attempts at invasion, the book is sensibly written.

The series commences with the Norman conquest, and a survey of our national defences in the early years of our history. The attack of Francis I. on the Isle of Wight, and the ill-fated Spanish Armada, are considered next, and followed by interesting pages on the Dutch in the Medway, and our perils from France and America in the last century.

The expedition of Hoche against Ireland, and Napoleon's camp of Boulogne, are of more thrilling interest, because they approach nearer our own time. The volume concludes with some general reflections on our navy, our land defences, the disasters of an invasion, its probabilities, and our resources.

Mr. Creasy, with abundance of patriotism, has no braggadocio.

"And should their flat bottoms in peace us come o'er,
They still will find Britons to receive them on shore!"

Very likely; but Mr. Creasy would prefer the Britons receiving the enemy with something more deadly than contempt. Without tarnishing the lustre of our national greatness, or doubting for a moment the courage and spirit of the race—without even relying with any deep sense of security on that Providence which has protected and will protect us so long as we remain "a God-fearing people," but relying rather on the "powder kept dry," Mr. Creasy bids us face the present peril with open eyes:—

"But the triumphs of those days must be read with caution, when we think of the contests that possibly our country may soon have to encounter; nor must we, like the descendants of the heroes of antiquity, mistake memories for hopes. Above all it is necessary, when we mark the exploits which our navy then used to achieve against superior numbers, and under apparent disadvantages, that we should bear in mind the peculiar circumstances of the time; and not be unreasonably sanguine in the expectations which we form of what our navy might do at present.

"Not that our officers and sailors are not now as brave, as skilful, as loyal, as deserving of honour, as they were ever; but the foes, whom they would have to encounter, would be very different in fact, though nominally the same, to those against whom their predecessors used to advance with such unhesitating and successful audacity. At the beginning of the great revolutionary war, we found the French navy almost wholly destitute of trained and experienced officers. The old officers had emigrated, or had been deposed, or had been guillotined; and before new ones could be trained up, we had almost crushed their navy by a series of decisive conflicts. Our admirals did not act like the pedantic and procrastinating generals of Austria and Prussia; who, by trifling with opportunities and forbearing to press advantages, gave the Carmagnoles of the French armies time to add discipline and organization to their natural valour. The French navy was promptly assailed while yet in the disorder which the Revolution had caused, and it never afterwards, during the war, was allowed to recover from the effects of the blows that were then promptly dealt. Now, there is no such enormous difference between the relative efficiency of the two navies: each has for thirty-seven years had opportunities for advancement and perfection of discipline; and, however sincerely we may rely on our modern seamen not having degenerated, we have no right to expect to see British vessels capture those far superior in size, weight of metal, and number of crew; or to see scanty and imperfectly manned squadrons blockade and defeat large and amply equipped fleets of the enemy."

On the whole, this is a very readable and timely book; an historical pamphlet, it may be called, worthy the attention of a threatened nation.

WORKS OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

The Political and Historical Works of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President of the French Republic. Now first collected; with an Original Memoir of his Life, brought down to the Constitution of 1852. In 2 vols.

Office of Illustrated Library.

THE writings of Louis Napoleon, like everything else relating to his base and despicable life, never attracted more than a passing curiosity due to the name he bears, until the unhappy concurrence of events brought him into a position where he was enabled to show how terrible for evil an insignificant man may become. But since his election to the presidency, and above all, since the 2nd December, the name which had hitherto been written only on the soiled annals of a *roué* gambler-life, and on two pages of historic buffoonery, now has its place—its dark and shameful place—in European history. His writings, therefore, are clothed with a new interest; they have a significance which they wanted before. To collect, translate, and publish them, was an obvious thought. The proprietors of the *Illustrated News* have not only done this, but have done it well. The work is no catchpenny affair. It has been done deliberately and liberally. The Memoir of Napoleon which precedes the work has been carefully compiled, and is brought down to the *coup-d'état*, with the addition of the new Constitution. When we state that the Memoir occupies upwards of one hundred and fifty large octavo pages, it will be seen that sufficient space has been given to it; and we may add, that the tone is liberal without violence. The papers relating to the *coup-d'état* would have been better placed after the Memoir than at the close of the second volume; they consist of Granier de Cassagnac's History of the Events of December, 1851; the Last Sitting of the Legislative Assembly; the Confiscation of the Orleans Property; and the New Electoral Law.

The works contained in these two handsome volumes are, *Political Reveries*—his first scheme of a Constitution in 1832, with which may fitly be contrasted his last scheme in 1852; the *Political and Military Considerations on Switzerland*; the famous *Ideas of Napoleonism*, published here while he was among us—ideas in which he undertakes to expound to the world "the thought which presided over the high conceptions" of his uncle; some *Historical Fragments*, of no value; the *Analysis of the Sugar Question*, the treatise which duped the Socialists into the belief that he was of them and for them, because he wrote of the *Extinction of Pauperism*—a treatise which, with that on Napoleonism, may be considered as best worth reading; together with several miscellaneous papers, including a translation, in French prose, of Schiller's poem, "Ideal."

It was commonly said that Louis Napoleon was stupid; his manner is certainly not prepossessing, but if any one, after 1850-52, still thinks him a fool, these works will certainly dissipate that error. Indeed, the reaction is likely to be extreme. Some of those who called him a fool, now think him a man of great ability; neither judgment is acceptable. He is not a thinker, he is not even a good writer; but it is hardly possible to read these works, and refuse to their author an intelligence above the average. The translation is somewhat literal, and by its adherence to French idioms and phrases, deprives the writing of its due effect.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

- Memoirs and Correspondence of Mallet Du Pan, Illustrative of the History of the French Revolution.* By A. Sayous. 2 vols. Richard Bentley.
- The Political and Historical Works of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President of the French Republic.* 2 vols. Illustrated London Library.
- Life in Bombay and the Neighbouring Out-Stations.* With Illustrations. Richard Bentley.
- The Farce of Life.* A Novel. By Lord B—. 3 vols. Newby.
- Essays and Opinions.* By Alfred Bate Richards. Second Series. Vol. III. Aylott H. Jones.
- Verdicts.* Effingham Wilson.
- How to See the British Museum in Four Visits.* By W. Blanchard Jerrold. Bradbury and Evans.
- Meliora; or, Better Times to Come.* Edited by Viscount Ingestre. John W. Parker and Son.
- Letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.* By W. Penny. Chapman and Hall.
- Is Everybody Responsible for his Conduct?* By John Moné, Esq.
- A School Atlas of Physical Geography, Illustrating, in a Series of Original Designs, the Elementary Facts of Geology, Hydrology, &c.* By Alexander Keith Johnston, F.R.S.E., &c. William Blackwood and Sons.
- A School Atlas of General and Descriptive Geography, Exhibiting the Actual and Comparative Extent of all the Countries in the World.* By Alexander Keith Johnston. William Blackwood and Sons.
- A System of English Grammar, Founded on the Philosophy of Language, and the Practice of the best Authors.* By C. W. Cannon, M.A. Second Edition. Oliver and Boyd.
- Researches in Cerebral Developments.* By James Straton. Baillière.
- The Portrait Gallery of distinguished Poets, Philosophers, Statesmen, Divines, Painters, &c.* Part I. Orr and Co.
- The British Soldier: a Journal devoted to the Interests of the United Services.* No. VI. Kent and Co.
- Notes of Interviews with the Ministers and principal Statesmen of France, in reference to the Policy of Louis Napoleon.* By P. O'Brien, Esq. Colburn and Co.

Portfolio.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GOTHE.

MAGNETIC EVENINGS AT HOME.

LETTER IV.—TO G. H. LEWES.

WHEN I entered the house of Count P—, on the evening appointed for our experiment in *clairvoyance*, one of the first objects which attracted my attention in the drawing-room, was a piece of wood that lay on the table, shaped like a hand-mirror. On taking it up, I observed a highly-polished oval piece of coal attached to one side of the wood, instead of the ordinary looking-glass, which I had expected to find there. The history of this strange mirror was as follows:—

An old friend of the Count's preserved, among his other curiosities, the celebrated "wishing-stone," formerly possessed by Dr. Dee. Convinced that the old Doctor's evil reputation among his contemporaries as a sorcerer had been solely derived from his knowledge and practice of animal magnetism, in days when new sciences of all kinds were fathered upon the devil, as a matter of course, our host conceived the idea of procuring as good an imitation of this "wishing-stone" as could be obtained, and of rivaling the magic achievements of Dr. Dee, by applying to it the magnetic process necessary to produce the phenomenon of *clairvoyance*. A piece of "Cannel coal" was procured, as the nearest available approach to the mysterious "wishing-stone": it was polished and fixed to the wood by an ordinary artisan. Placed in the hands of V—, when she was magnetized, it proved quite as fertile a source of marvels as the Doctor's original instrument of sorcery,—in other words, it was found to be a very useful aid to experiments in *clairvoyance*.

This coal-mirror was now placed on the table, in case we wished it to be used as a matter of curiosity. The experiment on which we were about to enter could be carried on just as easily without it. V— would see the perfect stranger to herself whom we might wish her to see, if a vacant chair were placed before her, on which she might behold the absent person; or if that person's visiting-card were put into her hand. But if, as a matter of antiquarian amusement, we desired that the vision should appear to her in the "wishing-stone," there it was, ready for use, just as Dr. Dee might have used it in the olden time.

We chose the "wishing-stone" by general acclamation. It was already magnetized; so that V— would be thrown into the sleep by merely taking it in her hand, and looking at it. She was placed, by her own desire, with her back to the table, and with the candles put behind her. By this arrangement, the coal-mirror was thrown into complete shadow, when she took it up, and held it before her. As soon as she was comfortably seated, I was asked to indicate the person whom I wished her to see. I wrote on a sheet of paper (keeping well behind her, at the further end of the table) "my brother;" knowing him to be then in London, some hundred and thirty miles away from us, and to be perfectly unknown to V—, the Count, and, indeed, to everybody present except one gentleman, a mere spectator like myself, and quite as determined as I was that the proceedings of the evening should be subjected to the severest possible test. The Count looked at the two words I had written down, (they were never, from first to last, even whispered by any of us,) and simply said to V—, "I desire that you will see and describe the person whom that gentleman has indicated to me." She nodded her head as a sign of acquiescence, and, in about ten minutes after, her eyes were fast closed in the magnetic sleep.

She held the mirror before her, at the distance from her face that she would have held a book—keeping it in the same position (heavy as it was) for the whole two hours during which she was in the magnetic state. The first thing she did was to take out her handkerchief, and wipe the surface of the coal, over and over again, very carefully, and with a very anxious, searching expression of countenance. Then she changed her position in the chair several times, shifting the mirror from side to side, and occasion-

ally holding it quite close to her face, as if to see more clearly, though—as I took care to satisfy myself, by the closest inspection—her eyelids were tightly closed. All this time, she yawned incessantly; an unaccountable peculiarity which we were told she invariably displayed on all similar occasions. The next action that we saw her perform was very suggestive: she dropped the handkerchief into her lap, and began slowly and anxiously to trace shapes with her forefinger on the surface of the mirror.

This was the signal for beginning to interrogate her. I must premise, that all the questions were not asked by the Count: some of the most important were put by me; others by my friend. I took down in writing, at the time, everything that was said; and can be quite certain that my report of our proceedings is perfectly correct.

Question. What do you see? *Answer.* Something round in the middle of the mirror. *Q.* What more? *A.* Something under the round shape, which prolongs itself. (She saw other forms, which she could not describe, but which she followed carefully with her forefinger. Then she pointed steadily to one particular place; and the moment after, with an anxious, impatient expression, wiped the mirror once more with her handkerchief. Still, she said she saw nothing but vague shapes, and complained of headache and pain in the brows. She was relieved by magnetic passes, and then questioned again.)

Q. Do you see anything more? *A.* The shapes begin to form themselves: I see a hand and an arm—the right arm (to me) as I look at it. I see a leg now—the right leg. (Here the painful expression which had hitherto appeared on her face entirely left it; and she began to laugh.) *Q.* Why do you laugh? *A.* It is so ridiculous to see an arm and leg, and nothing else! (Wiped the mirror again.) *Q.* Why do you wipe the mirror? *A.* Because there is a mist over it that makes it dull. *Q.* What are you laughing about again? *A.* At the other arm and leg. (Complained of headache; removed as before.) *Q.* What is it that you are still unable to see? *A.* The body and head. I only see two arms, hands, legs, and feet; the rest is hidden by a mist. It is a horribly ugly sight to see nothing but legs and arms. *Q.* Why can't you see the head? *A.* It takes a long time to see the head. *Q.* Can you explain exactly all that you see now? *A.* I see everything now but the head. I see the body perfect, up to the neck. Seen so, it looks hideous. On the neck is the round shape that I saw at first in the mirror—a dim, formless thing on a perfect body, from the feet to the neck. *Q.* Can you say nothing about the head yet? *A.* Yes; it shapes itself! It was like a ball; it is getting like a head; but the mist is over it still.

Here she began again to trace with her finger on the mirror; then aughed, and said: I see one side of the face—the right side; now I see the ear quite clearly. (She shifted the mirror obliquely.) *Q.* Why do you shift the mirror? *A.* To see the other side of the face. Stop!—now I see it; I see all; but the mist over the figure has not gone yet. I cannot see clearly enough to describe from. *Q.* Tell us when you see more clearly. *A.* Now I see more clearly; I see him looking at me. *Q.* Why do you say *him*? *A.* Because I see a man. (She laughed excessively.) *Q.* What are you laughing about? *A.* The man in the mirror laughs at seeing me. *Q.* Does he know you? *A.* No. *Q.* Can you go on with the description? *A.* Give me time; I see him a long way off just yet. Now he gets bigger; but I see him in miniature still. *Q.* Must I command you to see him at his natural size? *A.* No; I see him better already. His arms are long (*this was right*); his hand is small for a man's hand (*right*); his feet, too, are small; and he is of middling stature, neither tall nor short, (*right*.)

Q. How old is he? *A.* He is young; but I don't know him; he is a perfect stranger to me. I see his face very well; it is what one would call a long-shaped face (*right*); his expression, I should say, was generally serious (*right*); his forehead is high, and not at all hidden by his hair, (*right*.) Stop!—something curious occurs to me about his face; surely I ought to know him by his face; and yet I am certain that he is a perfect stranger to me. *Q.* Can't you find out something more about him? *A.* Wait; I am trying to make out what is the colour of his hair.

(Circumstances made this last answer—given, you will perceive, without any question that led to it—somewhat remarkable. One of the most striking peculiarities about the person chosen to test V's powers of clairvoyance, consisted precisely, as my friend and I alone knew, in the colour of his hair.)

Q. (continued.) What can you tell us about his hair? *A.* It is so very curious!—he reminds me of some one whom I have seen; and yet I don't know who. If he were a little nearer to me, I could tell so much more about him! *Q.* I command him to come nearer. Now look—what do you see? *A.* It is all black round his head; I can't see—magnetize the mirror. *Q.* Now I have magnetized it; is the blackness gone? *A.* A little of it. *Q.* Now; what about his hair? *A.* It has the appearance of being dark. *Q.* Can't you speak more positively about it? *A.* I am trying to find out the colour of his hair, but it puzzles me: it is so very dark all round him. *Q.* Can't you disperse the darkness? *A.* Yes; it is going, (*wiped the mirror*.) Now, his hair does not look dark; it seems light. *Q.* Be more particular: which is it, dark or light? You said it was dark just now. Why? *A.* Because it was dark then over his hair. Now it is clearer, I see that his hair is light. *Q.* What sort of light hair?

She waited some time without answering this question; then suddenly exclaimed:—"If that gentleman—I forget his name—would give me his hand, I think I could find out everything."—She was asked which of the

two gentlemen present she meant—was it my friend?—"No!"—Was it Mr. C——? (mentioning my name.)—"Yes!" Remembering that my brother was the person whom I had secretly chosen that she should see, you will easily imagine how deep an interest was excited by V's request. It was the first palpable manifestation of the mysterious instinct which was now gradually directing her aright to the object of her search.

Turning over the task of writing down the questions and answers to my friend, I gave V—— my hand, without saying anything. Almost immediately afterwards, I felt the magnetic influence communicating itself from her to me. The sensation was precisely like that produced by a mild shock from a galvanic battery—i. e., a slight feeling of *tingling* in the hand, and of numbness all up the arm. Whenever I felt this sensation at all on the increase, I changed the hand I gave to V——: otherwise, I think it more than probable that I should have been soon thrown into the magnetic sleep myself!

Shortly after V—— took my hand, her brow contracted, and a nervous twitching appeared in the muscles of her face. The questions were thus continued:—*Q.* Why did you wish Mr. C—— to give you his hand? *A.* I don't know yet; it was an idea that occurred to me. Wait! There is some connexion between Mr. C—— and the man I am looking at in the mirror: I don't know what connexion—but—(*here she paused, and smiled*.)—Yes! I have found out: they are a little alike! *Q.* Alike in what? *A.* Something alike in their faces, (*right*.) I was certain, from the first, that the face in the mirror reminded me of another face that I had seen. *Q.* Can you tell us anything more about the hair? *A.* I have told you already that it is light hair. Magnetize the mirror for me: I want to find out what these two gentlemen are to each other. (*A pause here*.) *Q.* How is the man in the mirror dressed? *A.* In grey trousers, and in a dark (it looks black) morning coat and waistcoat. (*This was subsequently found to be right*.) I am getting very tired; I wish the gentleman who holds my hand would think of the man I see in the mirror; it would help me to find out about him. *Q.* What are you laughing at now? *A.* I can't help laughing at Mr. C——; he forgets he is in communication (*en rapport*) with me, and is telling his friend my answers in a whisper, as if he thought I could not hear him!

(This was the fact! I had forgotten that I was in communication with her, and that, whisper as faintly as I might, she could now hear every word I said!)

Q. (continued.) Can you not tell us something more about the man in the mirror? *A.* His nose is rather long; his eyes are blue; his mouth is of middling size; his skin is fair; his complexion is pale, (*Right in every instance*.) Stop! I have discovered it! HE IS THIS GENTLEMAN'S BROTHER! *Q.* You are right. Now go on describing the man in the mirror—has he any whiskers? *A.* Yes: light whiskers, (*right*.) I see his hair very clearly now: it is of a lightish red, (*right*.)

(It may be useful to state here, that the resemblance between my brother and myself is only what is termed "a family resemblance." While mentioning his personal appearance in detail, she could get no hints from mine. In expression and general outline of face, we are considered to be alike; but in every other respect—as to eyes, hair, complexion, and so on—we differ completely.)

On the questions being resumed, she complained of excessive fatigue, and of the re-appearance of a mist on the mirror. She was asked to describe more fully my brother's dress. Her answers were now given unwillingly and painfully; and subsequent inquiry showed them to be wrong. She was so thoroughly wearied, as to be almost incapable of holding up the mirror; and, between each interrogation, she constantly petitioned to be released from any further exertion. The points on which she was mistaken were these:—1st. In describing my brother as a little older than I was. 2nd. In saying that he wore a scarf round his neck. 3rd. In asserting that he had rings on the fingers of his left hand. But I must again repeat, that these three mistakes (her *only* mistakes, be it observed) were made after her faculties had been kept for two hours incessantly on the stretch; after she had herself told us that fatigue was overpowering her; and after it was perfectly obvious to every one present, from her voice and manner, that her attention was flagging over her task from excessive fatigue. Accordingly, after she had given the answer numbered "3rd," further questioning was abandoned as useless in her then exhausted condition. She was awakened at ten minutes past eleven; and our second experiment in clairvoyance was put off till the next evening.

W. W. C.

(To be continued.)

THE LOST ANGEL.

It was the dawn; the early day
With rosy finger drew away
The veil of night—a various grey.

The stars that in the dark had stood,
Half prominent and half subdued,
An archangelic multitude,

On the blue summit of the sky,
Now one by one came down from high,
And died, as all fair things must die.

One star alone grew yet more bright,
And larger with the death of night,
And cast on flower and tree fresh light :

But chiefly fell its mystic beams
On the pale maiden of my dreams,
Who weeps by Eden's holy streams.

She, self-reproached and self-betrayed,
Half sorrowful and half dismayed,
Grieves under an enchanted shade.

"O star," she cries, "dost thou regain
Thine ancient splendour? fair domain
Made fairer to increase my pain !

"O star ! be sad as I am sad,
Our dear lost angel is not glad,
And can we have the joy we had ?"

So grieves she still, so still resents
Her angel's fate, and scarce laments
The trespass she but half repents.

But through this lattice-work of trees
A red and angry light she sees,
That rolls along the rolling breeze :

It comes that way, it grows more red,
Self-moving, self-concentrated ;
She sees it come, she droops her head.

It comes more near : she sees, she hears,
She moves not ; if she fears, she fears
As one who looks for falling spheres :

And may not feel, and cannot know,
Whether such things as weal and woe,
Or love and grief, abide below.

It comes, it stands the dawn beneath,
She feels the presence and the breath
Of him whom we poor men call Death :

In crimson heart of flaming cloud
His shadowy head a shadow bowed,
But opened wings like daylight's shroud,

Embroidered by the sunset skies,
When day lay dead on Paradise,
And Eve taught Adam it would rise.

It touches her, her heart is cold,
Her eyes may look, but not behold,
And misty waves are round her rolled.

M.

The Arts.

DÉJAZET.

Elle n'a pas d'âge ! is the universal exclamation :

"Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale
Her infinite variety."

No young woman on the stage could be so young, and so captivating, as Déjazet in the character of *Richelieu* at fifteen. It is not that one has to make allowances and say how "wonderful at her age!" the performance is intrinsically fine, wonderful at any age. A very thin house enjoyed her *Colombine*, but to *Les Premières Armes de Richelieu* there was an immense house, and immense enjoyment in that house. The first is a tiresome *pièce à tiroir*, wherein the actress shows you her wardrobe, and exhibits her *faire*; but a singer might almost as well *sol fa* and call it singing. You admire the wardrobe, you admire the talent, but you yawn at the piece. In *Les Premières Armes de Richelieu*, on the contrary, we have a gay, sparkling, little comedy, without a superfluous passage, without a sentence that hangs fire, and with several phases of a character naturally presented. As the boyish, awkward bridegroom, just introduced at court, Déjazet was natural and charming: through that awkwardness, which was not without its grace, there shone a glittering wit and resolution, which prepared us for the change from the naïve boy into the cool, careless coxcomb of the man *au succès*. Very noticeable was the quiet truth of manner with which she received the "lesson" given by the Princess who sends a box of *bonsbons* as a *cadeau de nocces*; she did not exaggerate, even by a look, and the effect was very sensible. As for the delivery of *repartees*, no language can convey an idea of that—at least, no language of mine. How quietly we gentlemen of the press assume that the standard of accomplishment must be measured by our incompetence, and because we are beggars in phrase, and know not the delicate secrets of a language which refuses nothing to happy ardour of search, declare "no words can paint this," or "it is impossible to describe that!" Déjazet's manner of uttering a slight phrase makes it flash upon you as a brilliant witticism. This is a service which good actors render authors, for which they do not often get the credit.

The piece was nicely acted altogether, and beautifully dressed. Lafont played the small part of the *Chevalier*, and made it an agreeable figure. Mdlle. Avenel was hearty, and not coarse, in the *bourgeoise* at court—a

class of characters for which she is better suited than the class she played last season. The rest, though not good, were inoffensive.

An absurd prejudice exists, upon which I am tempted to make a remark. Because the best French actors are unquestionably excellent, our public, by an easy fallacy, assumes that all French actors are good; and I hear on all hands the foolish remarks depreciating our own actors, in favour of men and women whom I must call simply detestable, but who, because they are French, are applauded, and pronounced "so superior to anything on our stage." No one will accuse me of under-rating French acting. When it is worst, it is not so bad as our bad acting. But it is often very bad; and I do not much believe in the talent of the second-rates. What our actors want, and what they might learn from the French, is the drawing-room quietness of well-bred acting—the subordination of "points" to character—the reliance upon nature. It is in these things that Charles Mathews surpasses all English actors, and has gradually earned for himself his peculiar reputation; it is by the absence of these that Charles Kean, out of melodrama, has acquired his peculiar reputation. Charles Kean, after vainly battling with fate so many years, seems now, consciously or unconsciously, settling down into the conviction that his talent does not lie in any Shaksperian sphere whatever, but in melodramas, such as *Pauline*, or his last venture,

THE CORSICAN BROTHERS,

where, as high intellect is not *de rigueur*, he is not restricted by its fastidious exigencies. It is certainly worth a passing remark, to note how bad an actor he is in any part requiring the expression of intellect or emotion,—in any part demanding some sympathy with things poetical,—in any part calling for *representative* power; and how impressive, and, I may say, *unrivalled*, he is in gentlemanly melodrama. The successful portions of his tragic characters are all melodramatic; and in *Pauline* and the *Corsican Brothers* he satisfies all the exigencies of criticism. I shall not be suspected of partiality, and I beg the reader not to suppose any latent irony in my praise, (for I am not afraid to praise Kean when that praise is due,) and, with this preface, let me say that the *Corsican Brothers* is the most daring, ingenious, and exciting melodrama I remember to have seen; and is mounted with an elegance, an accuracy, an ingenuity in the mingling of the supernatural with the real, and an artistic disposition of effects, such as perhaps no theatre could equal, certainly not surpass.

The first act sets forth Corsican life in its wildness, its superstitions, and its *vendetta*. An excellent scene is that of the reconciliation of the *Orlandos* and the *Colonnas*, and their relinquishment of the *vendetta*,—a scene both fresh and effective, and capitally played by Ryder; but it has nothing to do with the piece, and surprises by its presence in a French drama, where construction is always so careful. Its only office is to bring visibly before us the Corsican feeling about *la vendetta*. Besides this feeling, there is another indicated in this act,—viz., the mysterious affinity of the twin brothers, *Louis* and *Fabian*, through which they communicate at whatever distance. *Fabian* is now restless and uneasy, convinced that something has happened to his brother *Louis*; and, while he writes to him, to learn the truth, the spectre of his brother, with blood on his breast, appears to him. Nothing can exceed the art with which this is managed; with ghostly terror, heightened by the low tremolos of the violins, and the dim light upon the stage, the audience, breath-suspended, watches the slow apparition, and the vision of the duel which succeeds: a scenic effect more real and terrible than anything I remember.

By a daring novelty of construction, the second act is supposed to go on simultaneously with the first, so that at the end of the second, the two are blended in one vision. The second act opens with a gay and brilliant scene of a *bal de l'opéra*, wonderfully well done,—the groups animated and lifelike, the dresses splendid and various, and the drama naturally issuing out of the groups in the most unforced manner. The *action* of this act is simply the entanglement of *Louis* in the circumstances which lead to the duel wherein he is killed, as the vision of Act I. exhibited to us. The third act is brief, and is little more than the duel with *Fabian*, come from Corsica to avenge his brother; but it is surrounded with a number of superstitious circumstances that give a shuddering anxiety to every passage. *Fabian* and *Chateau Renaud* fight; during the pause, the latter leans upon his sword, and breaks it. *Fabian*, to equalize the combat, snaps his sword also; and both then take the broken halves, and fastening them in their grasp by cambric handkerchiefs, *they fight as with knives*. This does not read as horrible, perhaps; but to see it on the stage, represented with minute ferocity of detail, and with a truth on the part of the actors, which enhances the terror, the effect is so intense, so horrible, so startling, that one gentleman indignantly exclaimed *un-English!* It was, indeed, gratuitously shocking, and Charles Kean will damage himself in public estimation by such moral mistakes, showing a vulgar lust for the lowest sources of excitement—the tragedy of the shambles! But it is the fatality of melodrama to know no limit. The tendency of the senses is *downwards*. To gratify them stimulants must be added and added, chili upon cayenne, butchery upon murder, "horrors on horrors' head accumulated!" And herein lies the secret weakness and inevitable failure of Melodrama; the secret of the failure of *Le Théâtre Historique*, in spite of Dumas, in spite of Mélingue, in spite of the concentration of "effects," in spite of vogue, scenery, dresses, acting, terrors, tears, laughter, the clash of swords, the clatter of spurs, the spasms of agony, the poniards, the poisons, the trap-doors, and moonlight effects—bankruptcy was the goal to which all tended! The secret, as I said, lies in the fact that Melodrama appeals to the lowest faculties, the avenues to which are very limited, consequently the influence is soon exhausted; whereas Drama appeals to the highest faculties, and their avenues are infinite.

But I will not philosophize; enough for the present that the *Corsican Brothers* is a Melodrama, full of invention, rivetting in interest, put on the stage with immense variety and splendour, and very finely acted. Leave the æsthetic question aside, and consider the Melodrama as a Melodrama, and, short of the horrible termination, I say we have had nothing so effective for a long while.

Charles Kean plays the two brothers; and you must see him before you will believe how well and how *quietly* he plays them; preserving a gentlemanly demeanour, a drawing-room manner very difficult to assume on the stage, if one may judge from its rarity, which intensifies the passion of the part, and gives it terrible reality. Nothing can be better than the way he steps forward to defend the insulted woman at that supper; nothing can be more impressive than his appearance in the third act as the avenger of his brother. The duel between him and Wigan was a masterpiece on both sides: the *Bois de Boulogne* itself has scarcely seen a duel more real or more exciting. Kean's dogged, quiet, terrible walk after Wigan, with the fragment of broken sword in his relentless grasp, I shall not forget. Nor can I forget Wigan's performance. In "make-up," in demeanour, in look, in tone, he was perfect—the type of a French duellist.

ODDS AND ENDS.

At the *Olympic* a new piece has been produced, called *The Advocate and his Daughter*, of which I will tell you next week; *Drury-Lane* has produced a new ballet, called *The Star of the Rhine*, which I will go and see when the house is warmed by something more effective than cold air, and seven men in the stalls. Miss Woolgar returned on Monday to the *Adelphi*, and was as fascinating as ever in *Paul Pry*. M. Biletta is

about to produce a comic opera at the Haymarket: and here ends my budget.

A correspondent writes to know my reason for reading "Nemean lion" Neméan? As I am never ashamed to own myself in error, I inform him that my reason was an erroneous one. Usually it is written Nemean, and this it was which misled me, as it has misled many dictionary-makers. Virgil's authority, however, cited by my correspondent, settles the matter:—

"Tu Cressia mactas

Prodigia, et vastum Nemeæ sub rupe leonem."

A German correspondent has taken my *badinage* of Gervinus's phrase, "a tragedy of the purest water," as if I seriously misunderstood its meaning. The meaning was plain, but the metaphor was infelicitous, and lent itself to a jest. Every one knew what Castlereagh meant when he said, "The *feature* on which this question hinges," but few admired its felicity; so also when that M.P., who deserves to be immortal for it, said, "I smell a rat; it's brewing a storm; but I will crush it in the bud!" the convulsed House had no doubt respecting his meaning, whatever they thought of his rhetoric. In like manner, although I admit a diamond of the purest water, I do not admit a tragedy of that quality. It reminds me too forcibly of Goethe's sarcasm, that modern poets put too much water in their ink!

VIVIAN.

IMPORTANT COPYRIGHT DECISION. — Mr. Craig applied to Vice-Chancellor Parker on behalf of his client, Mr. Bogue, the publisher, on Monday week, for an injunction to restrain Messrs. Houlston and Stoneman from publishing a book, entitled, "A Story-Book for Young People, by Aunt Mary; the Comical History and Tragical End of Reynard the Fox,"—or any other work copied, or colourably altered, from any part of a book published by Mr. Bogue, entitled, "The Comical Creatures from Wurtemberg, including the Story of Reynard the Fox." The mere story of Reynard the Fox was acknowledged to be an old one, and no copyright was claimed for it, but although Mr. Bogue's illustrations were taken from the stuffed figures of animals exhibited in the Crystal Palace in 1851, and which of course might have been copied by any one, his counsel contended that in Mr. Houlston's book both the illustrations, and the letterpress at the foot of each figure explaining its name, were manifestly imitated from Mr. Bogue's book. The similarity in detail was much too great for accident. The weasel in Mr. Houlston's book was represented as a sharp lawyer; so he was in the original work published by Bogue: the weasel's interview with old Martin, the fox, was described in precisely the same manner in both books. The same was the case with regard to the visit of the "bantam" to old Martin; and the plagiarism was still more glaring in the story of "the frogs who would a-wooing go." But the most conclusive piece of evidence as to Mr. Bogue's illustrations having been copied was that in one of the groups from the stuffed figures a shaving box was introduced, which was not in the original exhibition—but the same addition was found in Mr. Houlston's illustration. On Monday last the Vice-Chancellor gave his judgment, and said he had come to the conclusion that Houlston and Stoneman had copied their designs, as well as the names affixed to them, from Mr. Bogue's book. He therefore gave the defendants time to consider whether they would submit to an injunction absolutely, or whether they would prefer an action being brought against them by Mr. Bogue.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

FRIDAY MORNING, Feb. 27.

Upon the Funds, usually so sensitive at periods of political crisis, the effect of the recent change of Ministry has been singularly unimportant. Consols, on Monday, opened at 97 to 97½; and, with limited business, and little fluctuation during the week, closed at the same prices yesterday. Bank Stock has improved, and is quoted 218½ to 219. Exchequer Bills have been steady at 60s. to 63s. prem. In our remarks last week upon the securities, an error of the press passed unnoticed, and we were made to say that the actual rate of interest was 2½d. per day, instead of 1½d., and that the anticipated reduction was to 1½d., instead of 1¼d. per day.

Foreign Securities, with little business, have been very steady. The transactions yesterday, according to the official lists were—Five per Cent. Brazilian Bonds, 96; small, 97; Danish Three per Cent. 77½; Ecuador Bonds, 4½; Grenada Bonds, One-and-a-half per Cent. ex Coupons, 21; Deferred, 8½; Mexican Three per Cent. 32½; Account, 33½; Peruvian Bonds, Five per Cent., 101; Deferred, 52½; Portuguese Bonds, Four per Cent., 33; Sardinian Five per Cent. 80; Spanish Bonds, Five per Cent. 24½; Three per Cent. New Deferred, 18½; Venezuela Three-and-a-quarter per Cent. 37; Belgian Bonds, Four-and-a-half per Cent., 90½; Dutch Exchange Two-and-a-half per Cent. 59½; Four per Cent. Certificates, 92½.

In Railway Shares there has been more activity, and quotations, in many instances, are higher.

In Colonial produce the transactions have not been im-

portant, and the market wears an unsettled appearance, from apprehensions entertained that some alteration in the Sugar Duties is contemplated.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

| | Satur. | Mond. | Tues. | Wedn. | Thurs. | Frid. |
|-----------------------------|--------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|
| Bank Stock | 217 | 218 | 218½ | 218½ | 219 | ..... |
| 3 per Cent. Red. | 98 | 98 | 98 | 98 | 97½ | ..... |
| 3 per Cent. Con. Ans. | 97½ | 97 | 97½ | 97½ | 97 | ..... |
| 3 per Cent. An. 1726 ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| 3 per Cent. Con., Ac. | 97½ | 97 | 97 | 97½ | 97 | ..... |
| 3½ per Cent. An. | 99½ | 99½ | 99 | 99½ | 99½ | ..... |
| New 5 per Cents. .... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Long Ans., 1860 | 7 | 7 | 7½ | 7½ | 7½ | ..... |
| Ind. St. 10½ per Cent. | 259 | 259 | ..... | ..... | 258½ | ..... |
| Ditto Bonds, £1000 | 73 p | ..... | 73 p | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Ex. Bills, £1000 | 58 p | 64 p | 63 p | 63 p | 60 p | ..... |
| Ditto, £500 | 58 p | 64 p | 63 p | 63 p | ..... | ..... |
| Ditto, Small | 58 p | 64 p | 63 p | 63 p | ..... | ..... |

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| Belgian 4½ per Cents. | 90½ | Peruvian, 1849 | 101 |
| Brazilian 5 per Cents. | 96 | Peruvian Deferred | 52½ |
| Brazilian Small | 97 | Portuguese 4 per Cents. | 33 |
| Danish 3 per Cents. | 77½ | Sardinian 5 per Cents. | 89 |
| Dutch 2½ per Cents. | 59½ | Spanish 5 per Cents. (div. from Nov. 1840) | 24½ |
| Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. | 92½ | Spanish 5 p. Cent. Acct. | 24 |
| Ecuador | 4½ | Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def. | 18½ |
| Grenada, ex Dec. 1849 | 21 | Spanish Com. Certif. | 1½ |
| Grenada Deferred | 8½ | Venezuela | 37½ |
| Mexican 3 per Cents. | 32½ | | |
| Mexican 3 per Ct. Acc. | 33½ | | |

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, February 27.—On Monday, there was only a moderate supply of English wheat, and the dry weather having improved the condition, it met a ready sale at fully previous rates. Foreign wheat was also held firmly, but the transactions were not large. The best descriptions of malting barley recovered something of the decline we reported last week, and other sorts well supported their previous value. There was a liberal supply of oats, but the demand was sufficient to prevent any decline. There was no alteration in the value of beans and peas. Floating cargoes of Egyptian wheat and beans were held firmly at the decline we noticed last week. During the week, the value of all descriptions of grain has been well maintained, without, however, any large transactions. Floating cargoes of wheat and beans have recovered the decline of last week, several sales of each having been made at 6d. over Monday's rates. At the principal country markets held during the week, the trade has very much corresponded with the foregoing. The stock of flour in Paris is increasing, and the value of the best qualities has declined a trifle. There is no decline in value at the French ports, though trade was dull in consequence of the accounts from Paris. Rye continues in demand for the north of Europe.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, February 20.

BANKRUPTS.—S. A. KISON, 15, Bedford-street, Covent Garden; Middlesex, tailor and robe maker, to surrender March 2 and 30; solicitor, Mr. G. Laurence, 12, Broad-street, City; official assignee, Mr. G. J. Graham.

W. E. HOLLAND, late of Godalming, Surrey, and now of 1, Portland-place, St. Mark's-road, Kennington, Surrey, brewer, March 5 and April 2; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Ploves, and Boyer, 14, Old Jewry-chambers, London; official assignee, Mr. J. F. Groom, 12, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street.

J. CLARK, New-road, Willenhall, Stafford, bolt manufacturer, March 2 and 24; solicitors, Mr. O. G. Brown, Bilston, and Mr. T. R. T. Hodgson, Cherry-street, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. R. Valpy, 13, Waterloo-street, Birmingham.

T. MYRING, Stafford-street, Walsall, Stafford, bridle cutter, March 1 and 27; solicitors, Mr. W. Thomas, Walsall, and Mr. T. R. T. Hodgson, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. F. Whitmore, 7, Waterloo-street, Birmingham.

G. GREENSTOCK, Merchant's-parade, Hotwell-road, Bristol, milliner, draper, and haberdasher, March 9 and April 6; solicitors, Messrs. Cornish and Parnell, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. E. M. Miller, 10, St. Augustine's-place, Bristol.

W. SAVAGE, Bradford, dispensing druggist, March 9 and 30; solicitors, Mr. M. Foster, Bradford; and Messrs. Porritt and Swithinbank, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. H. P. Hope, Leeds.

FRANCIS INGHAM, Doncaster, grocer, tea dealer, and tallow chandler, March 6 and April 17; solicitor, Mr. W. E. Smith, Doncaster; official assignee, Mr. G. W. Freeman, Sheffield.

C. STEADMAN and C. S. BAKWELL, Manchester, joiners and builders, March 5 and April 2; solicitors, Messrs. W. and H. P. Sharp, Verulam-buildings, London; and Mr. A. B. Rowley, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. R. S. Mackenzie, 74, George-street, Manchester.

Tuesday, February 24.

BANKRUPTS.—W. CALDWELL, Shevington, Lancashire, coal proprietor, to surrender March 8 and 29; solicitors, Mr. Janion, Manchester; and Messrs. Whitley, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool.

H. COOKE, Leamington Priors, Warwickshire, hatter, March 8, April 8; solicitor, Mr. Forder, Leamington Priors; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham.

W. DENMAN, Cheam, Surrey, carpenter, Feb. 28, April 3; solicitor, Mr. Faxon, Bloomsbury-square; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street.

W. HARDING, Acton, Middlesex, corn merchant, March 5, April 16; solicitor, Mr. Murrough, New-inn, Strand; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Aldermanbury.

W. HARRIS, Kingston-upon-Hull, draper, March 17, April 7, solicitors, Sale and Co., Manchester; and Richardson and Gaunt, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Carrick, Hull.

H. JOHNSON, York-buildings, Adelphi, coal merchant, Feb. 28, April 3; solicitors, Messrs. Tilson and Co., Coleman-street; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers.

R. F. LONG and R. W. LONG, Gray's-inn-place, and Warwick-street, Regent-street, builders, March 6, April 10; solicitors, Ford and Lloyd, Bloomsbury-square; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers.

W. H. RICHARDSON, B. RICHARDSON, and J. RICHARDSON, Wordesley, Staffordshire, and Lamb's Conduit-street, glass manufacturers, March 8, April 15; solicitors, Messrs. Colmore and Beale, Birmingham; and Collis and Bernard, Stourbridge; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham.

G. SHERLOCK and B. SUTTERBY, Hulme, Lancashire, joiners, March 6 and 28; solicitors, Messrs. Jaques and Co., Ely-place, Holborn; and Mr. Elftoft, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Lee, Manchester.

J. WRIGHT, Chesham, Buckinghamshire, grocer, March 6, April 10; solicitors, Messrs. Pontifex and Moginie, St. Andrew's-court, Holborn; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street.

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| 1850 | 809 | 136,365 | 1680 | 656,425 |
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At all the intersecting points, WAITING-ROOMS will be fitted up, where passengers may find shelter, and other conveniences, just as at an ordinary railway-station; and these rooms, applied to those and other purposes to be presently indicated, will be made not only self-supporting, but profitable to the Company. This will be ensured by connecting with the omnibus-traffic a SMALL PARCELS DELIVERY, the Waiting-rooms serving the purposes of Receiving and Delivery Houses; and from the great advantage of the transmission of parcels thus to be effected, with a facility, frequency, and certainty never yet approached, a large profit may confidently be anticipated.

The Company also proposes to furnish their customers with carriages and horses for hire, and to undertake, on a large scale, the business of General Jobmasters, with a view of thereby always securing a chance of employment for their spare men, so as to diminish the evil of having "odd men," half employed.

Of course no system can be expected to secure the patronage of the public, unless the scale of fares is adapted to the requirements of the times, and in this respect an adaptation to the spirit of the age will not be wanting. A person proceeding to any part of London, or the suburbs, may get into one of the carriages of the Grand Junction Company, and by the payment of one fare, be conveyed to the point of his destination by changing into any of the Company's omnibuses, as they cross and meet on the line. The single fare of this Company will be

3d., but for any stated intermediate distance of a mile,—as from Hyde Park Corner to New Oxford-street, &c.—will be charged at one penny only; for return tickets on a single line, 4d.; and in order to carry out more completely the idea suggested by the railway system, day tickets for all the routes will be issued at 1s. each, payable for a series of seven days in advance; and as soon as the proper charge can be fixed, season-tickets will be offered to the public. Time Tables will be published for the several Districts.

Beyond these material advantages, this Company presents a claim to support which few will fail to appreciate. It will not only be profitable to its members and convenient to the public, but highly beneficial to that large class known as "Omnibus Servants." On most of the present lines, the condition of those who serve the public in that capacity is one of constant and unvarying work. From a comparatively early hour in the morning till past midnight, many of the men are constantly employed, without the opportunity of social or domestic enjoyment; and to such an extent is this carried, that many of them only see their children when they are asleep. Fifteen hours a day and upwards is required as a day's work from drivers and conductors in many districts. This is the case, not only on week days, but also on the Sabbath, when the same quantity of work has to be performed; thus preventing all attendance at public worship, and all attempts at religious culture. It is only a wonder that such a state of things, tending to produce mental and physical degradation, has been so long tolerated by a religious community. This Company proposes to reduce these hours of labour by not employing its servants more than twelve hours, a proper time for meals being allowed and deducted; and by giving to every servant, at least, an alternate Sunday of rest, and shortening the hours of labour. It is believed that this will react beneficially, by inducing, on the part of the men, when they see that their interests are really cared for, an increased civility of demeanour and willingness to oblige; and that improvement will be further ensured by the intended participation of all those employed in the profits of the Company. The lightening of the labour of the men will not, as may be supposed at first sight, diminish the accommodation afforded to the public; on the contrary, the time saved by a well-ordered system will produce both greater efficiency and opportunities of leisure. The servants of this Company will also have their engagements WEEKLY—not daily, as at present—a circumstance, which, though apparently small, will have a tendency greatly to increase their respectability and comfort. The wages of the men will also be paid on every Friday, so as to prevent the necessity for Sunday trading.

It is, perhaps, now only necessary to show that such a Company would be what all successful Companies must be—a paying one; and in order to do that, the following estimate is given, based upon accurate figures, showing the results of the present omnibus traffic on long lines.

Outlay of Capital for One Omnibus.

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Omnibus | £110 |
| 10 horses, at £20 each | 200 |
| Harness, &c. | 30 |
| | £340 |

Current Expenses of One Omnibus for One Year.

| | | | |
|--|------|---|---|
| Corn for 10 horses, at £4 2s. per week | £213 | 4 | 0 |
| Hay and straw for ditto, at £2 2s. per week | 109 | 4 | 0 |
| Stabling per annum | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| Shoeing | 21 | 0 | 0 |
| Horse-keeper's wages, at £1 2s. per week | 57 | 4 | 0 |
| Driver's ditto, at £2 per week | 104 | 0 | 0 |
| Conductor's ditto, at £1 10s. per week | 78 | 0 | 0 |
| Wear and tear of harness and omnibus, proportion of costs of Management, Office expenses, &c. | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Ditto, horses | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Duty on miles travelled | 127 | 8 | 0 |
| | £816 | 0 | 0 |

The earnings of one omnibus for one year, at £19 5s. per week, amount to £1001
Deduct current expenses as above 816
£185

Making the income of the Company upon 1000 Omnibuses, costing £340 each, £185,000 per Annum; and being a clear return of £185 per Annum for each outlay of £340, or at the Rate of 50 per cent. per Annum.

This, after paying all expenses, providing for the replacement of the capital employed, and liberally contributing to the OMNIBUS SERVANTS' PROVIDENT SOCIETY—an arrangement by which a future provision in case of sickness, superannuation, or death, will be made for the retiring servants of the Company, or their widows and orphans, by the payment of a small additional amount weekly, to be given as an encouragement to good servants continuing in the service of the GRAND JUNCTION OMNIBUS COMPANY—will leave a surplus fully adequate to the payment of a large dividend; but it must be observed, that under such a system as that indicated, the increase of traffic would be immense, and the expenses far less, and the profits greater than they now can be. It is not too much to suppose that the gains will be increased by at least one-third, which will enable the proprietors, after fairly compensating themselves, to offer further advantages to the public, and do still more for the amelioration and improvement of the condition of those employed.

The offers of support to this Company have been so great since its first announcement, that the Committee are enabled to commence with a much less amount of capital than was originally proposed. An arrangement has already been effected which will enable the Company to place on the road omnibuses far more light, elegant, and convenient than any which are now running, and to horse them in a superior manner, on highly advantageous terms.

All applications for Shares must be made to the Secretary, at the Office, 36, Bloomsbury Street, New Oxford Street; to Mr. James Scully, Manager of the Carriage and Servants' Department, 7, Union Terrace, Camden Town; or to the joint Solicitors of the Company, W. Melton, Esq., 6, Bedford Row, and Messrs. Jones and Betteley, 10, Brunswick Square, and 12, Westbourne Villas, Harrow Road.

An early day will be appointed for the allotment of Shares.

R. J. WILSON, *Secretary.*

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Name

Address

Profession, Trade, or Occupation

Date

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