Thomson Leigh Hunt, 10 Wellington Street, 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.*

Contents:

VOL. III. No. 105.] SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1852. [PRICE SIXPENCE.

News of the Week.

WAR is suspended between Ministers and Anti-Ministers. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli have acquiesced in the necessity of a dissolution; and in consideration of that acquiescence, Lord John Russell has signified that he and his will no longer obstruct public business. Meanwhile, therefore, all interest in parliamentary affairs is suspended, and the only wonder is that Ministers do not proceed to the dissolution forthwith, but intend to take the usual Easter holidays. It is manifestly desirable to get the affair over as soon as possible, in order that Parliament may reassemble, and transact its business without Members whose minds are distracted by partridges unshot or pheasants undisturbed.

Some preparatives, indeed, have to be made. Lord Brougham has introduced a bill to shorten the legal interval between the close of one and the opening of the next Parliament, from fifty days to thirty-five. The old law was proper enough at a time when men made their wills before setting out for Yorkshire; but although railways may have restored that practice, they have not delayed the journey; and there is no longer the fear that pliant Members from counties near the capital should steal a march upon remoter folks. Lord Derby has expressed "no objection" to Lord Brougham's bill. Lord John is doing something to check corrupt practices at elections; and Mr. Disraeli still promises to distribute the four seats left vacant by the disfranchisement of St. Albans and Sudbury—not Harwich, as we lately called it by anticipation.

Mr. Hume's motion furnished Mr. Disraeli with an opportunity of declaring, out and out, against reform, until there be a "clear necessity;" whereon Lord John threatened him with such a "clear necessity" as carried Catholic Emancipation and the old Reform Bill. But evidently Lord John and his friends do not consider the time yet arrived, for Mr. Hume was beaten by 244 to 89. We shall have a look at the division next week.

Meanwhile Parliament peddles. Mr. Frewen has invited it, by resolution, to *consider* the repeal of the duty on hops; Mr. Disraeli has promised to take that condemned duty into consideration; and Mr. Frewen, satisfied, has withdrawn his motion.

Lord St. Leonards has introduced a bill to simplify the rules of evidence touching the validity of wills, so that it shall come nearer to common sense; a useful measure.

Making a smart speech, moving an inane resolution to back it, and the withdrawing it, are characteristics of that infirmity of purpose which prevails among politicians. Tuesday's proceedings afforded two striking evidences of this. Mr. Monckton Milnes moved for copies of correspondence, respecting refugees in England, between the Foreign Minister and continental states. Mr. Disraeli replied, making a flippant remark about "secret diplomacy," and then informing the House that the correspondence was nearly ready. Lord John Russell hoped that after that statement the motion would be withdrawn, and of course it was withdrawn. Then came Mr. Anderson with a motion for copies of correspondence between our Ambassador at Constantinople and our Consul-General in Egypt relative to the quarrel between the Sultan and the Pacha. Of course he and the public wanted the information, in order that it might be known what we were doing in this matter. But how was he met? By homilies from Mr. Disraeli and Lord John Russell, on the impropriety of giving information, and of publishing an incomplete correspondence. All this was beside the question, as we want to know what Government is doing. But Mr. Anderson only grumbled and withdrew, when he ought to have been silent and divided the House.

From a conversation in the House of Lords, on Tuesday, we learn that, immediately after the receipt of the intelligence of the defeat of Rosas, the English Government proposed to the French Government a joint intervention, in the view of establishing relations with the Argentine Confederacy. What relations? Lord Malmesbury said, relations to secure the interests of Europe. Of course Lord Beaumont, who asked for information, was satisfied with the reply. He did not care to inquire into the basis of the intervention, and if he had, "secret diplomacy" would have sealed up his lips.

No very favourable view of Ministerial theories is caused by the latest news from Gibraltar, where the English authorities are imitating Louis Napoleon: only one journal is suffered to exist, and public meetings are prohibited! Gibraltar is said to be the key to the Mediterranean: is it also the key to the Ministerial policy, as set by the late, and adopted by the present Ministers?

A deputation from the Sanitary Association has endeavoured to wring from Lord John Manners, the new Minister of Public Works, a declaration as to the intentions of Ministers respecting the Interments Act. Last year, Parliament passed an act to abolish interments in the metropolis, and to authorize them in public cemeteries, under the Board of Health. There was some prejudice against that interference with the right of free-born Englishmen to rot under the nostrils of their neighbours and descendants; but there can be no doubt that practice would have reconciled the public. The difficulty which arrested the proceedings was the paltry one of *finding cash*; the technical authority to raise which Ministers withheld. The same Ministers introduced the bill to purchase two cemeteries, but that proved unworkable; and then Lord John Russell, slighting the Board of Health, began to coquette with a private company. What does the *new* Ministry mean to do?—that is the question. Lord John Manners does not say: he avowed the *desire* to arrive at some conclusion, and promised attention.

By what we gather from the public papers, we are left to infer that the Amalgamated Engineers are not prospering just at present. The proposal to form an auxiliary fund looks like a confession of difficulty; and some doubts were expressed as to the possibility of raising it. We have, however, no means of judging the reality of those doubts.

The disorganized state of society continues to be exposed in that hideous crime to which we lately pointed—child murder. Parents and step-parents slaughtering their children, emulate each other in the cold-blooded or the ferocious manner of their crime. Want and ignorance combine to pervert nature.

What are we to say of the latest decree (it seems as if France were fated to be submerged in an ocean of decrees, on whose troubled waters her institutions are writ!) organizing the Legislative bodies, that we have not said by anticipation, again and again, to very weariness; unless it be that nothing is omitted that can render the nullity of these poor liveried menials, the Napoleonic Legislators, more absolute, and their degradation more abject and complete. With the most scrupulous exactness they are counselled how to dress, how to be silent, and how to behave. But we note how the "tribune" is even physically abolished, that last vestige of magnificent palaver!

The pickings of the business are for the president of the corps, the questors, &c., who are all nominees and intimates of the Prince. And when the solemnity of inauguration has been accomplished, perhaps the mission of the legislative corps may be fulfilled.

Note again how oaths of fidelity and allegiance are restored to fashion by that rigid observer of oaths, Louis Bonaparte! What démon of irony *is it that* lurks behind the mask of an Emperor's nephew?

Calm is the surface of France; calm as desolation, still as death, haggard as corruption and disease. But beneath that calm and that order which has "saved society," what howling tempests heave! Let our readers take note of our words, when we tell them from authority we cannot question that the disruption of French society portends a future more terrible than the past. The established religion in Paris, is the religion of success, and success is the apotheosis of crime! Political confusion is as nothing compared with the social disorder which threatens to tear up from their very roots all the sacred beliefs, all the generous aspirations, all the honest affections, that fill up a nation's life, and make humanity divine.

The acquittal, at Brussels, of the *Bulletin de Paris*, for attacks on Louis Bonaparte, does honour to the patriotism of the tribunal, and strengthens the independence of the country. Belgium gains nothing by a weak subserviency; and this assertion of liberty within her borders gives the Dictator pause. But England is disgraced where Belgium is avenged. The Procureur-General of Leopold quotes a Derby and a Russell in support of that truckling which Belgian honour repudiates, and English chivalry is declared to cower where Belgian bravery raises its head!

Although an untoward fate seems just now to cast a cloud over the two leading refugees from Italy and Hungary—the one placing himself in a position of antagonism to the whole People of France, and to a considerable portion of the People in Germany and England; and the other exciting republican jealousy, perhaps unconsciously and needlessly, by his bearing of grand seigneur—the larger question of American alliance and crusade in Europe has not sunk into oblivion. We are in possession of facts which make us aware that the annexation of Cuba is not in any degree abandoned by the People of the United States; and we know that a considerable party in that island, as in Mexico, hankers after annexation. *That* question, therefore, is still open. And the Society at Philadelphia, to revolutionize Europe, is only the first of such incorporations—one which will, sooner or later, bear the star-spangled banner across the Atlantic.

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT.

THE stormy debates of last week have not been renewed, the Opposition having declared, through Lord John Russell, that no more speeches will be thrown in to obstruct the progress of public business. On the motion that the house do resolve itself into a committee of supply, Lord JOHN RUSSELL formally gave way, and even proposed that, in order to facilitate business, Thursdays should be given up to Government. Lord John's reason for taking this course was, that the promise made by Lord Derby to call a new parliament in the autumn was so far satisfactory as to make him anxious that no further delay should take place in granting the supplies. He administered a gentle rebuke to Mr. Disraeli, by contrasting the "taunts and sarcasms" uttered by the Minister as replies to his questions, with the conduct of Lord Derby in the House of Lords.

Matters then proceeded in a rather irregular manner. Sir DE LACY EVANS moved a resolution in favour of volunteer rifle clubs. It was seconded by Mr. HUME, but discussed by nobody; Mr. BRIGHT, however, took occasion to intimate that he for one should except the proposed Militia Bill from the list of "necessary measures." Everybody seemed to forget the Westminster resolution; and so the house diverged into a discussion on the Navigation laws, consisting mainly of allegations and counter-allegations, statistics and counter-statistics, uttered by the minor gods of both sides of the house. At length, supposing this cross-fire of flat contradictions had gone on long enough, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER and the HOME SECRETARY recalled the house to the question; when, an assurance being given by the latter that Government did not distrust the people, or wish to discourage volunteer rifle clubs, the amendment was withdrawn, and the house went into a committee of supply. In voting money for the army and navy, the main of the evening passed away.

For the last time Mr. JACOB BELL made a brave but ineffectual attempt to resist the progress of the St. Albans Disfranchisement Bill. The ground taken up by Mr. Bell was, that while St. Albans was punished, there were scores of boroughs in as bad a state which went scot free. Some amusement was occasioned, while the house were in committee on this bill, by Mr. HENRY HERBERT, who started up, and, alluding to the declared intention of Mr. Roebuck to call Mr. Coppock to the bar, appealed to the Home Secretary for further delay, on the ground that Mr. Roebuck, who was absent, could not fulfil his intention, which he no doubt would like to do.

Tuesday may be described as the night of "withdrawn motions." First came Mr. John REYNOLDS, who withdrew his motion respecting Ministers' Money in Ireland, upon the assurance that government would "next session" bring in a bill on the subject. Mr. FREWEN moved his motion respecting the duty on hops. Some debate took place on this. Mr. Frewen's resolution simply affirmed that the hop duty, in the event of a re-distribution of taxation, deserved the consideration of the government. A very harmless resolution, as Mr. Disraeli seemed to consider it, for in a short but pompous speech, he assured Mr. Frewen in the same phrase, varied several times, that the subject should "not escape his consideration." Mr. HUME supported the repeal of the duty. Mr. Henry DRUMMOND made an onslaught upon the free-traders as the chief obstruction to repeal. This of course called up Mr. COBDEN, who successfully rebutted the charge, and replied with considerable effect. He said if Mr. Frewen were in earnest, then was the time to press his motion, as the present was a parliament of penitence, and members were likely to give good votes; besides, Mr. Frewen's own party was in office, and surely they would help him. In vain; Mr. Frewen withdrew his motion.

The next recalcitrations were on the part of Mr. Monckton Milnes and Mr. Anderson. Mr. MILNES moved for copies of correspondence respecting refugees, and was told they were in preparation; and Mr. ANDERSON for copies of correspondence respecting the dispute between the Sultan of Turkey and the Pasha of Egypt. Mr. DISRAELI and Lord JOHN RUSSELL both agreed that the moment was inopportune for the production of an unfinished correspondence, and his motion was withdrawn. A few minor motions were settled in the same style. Then came the work of the evening—the report of the Committee of Supply was brought up and agreed to; the St. Albans Bill was forwarded; and after a quiet evening the House adjourned at half-past eight.

The House of Commons sat only for two hours on Wednesday, discussing a bill on dog-muzzles and dog-carts, not the fashionable vehicles used by fast men, but carts drawn by dogs. The bill was entitled the "Protection from Dangerous Animals Bill;" and, being vigorously opposed by the Attorney-General, was withdrawn. In like manner Colonel Sibthorp opposed the second reading of the Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill, saying, "Egad, I don't think it would be legal under that bill to offer so much as a pinch of snuff to an elector." But the colonel was unsuccessful, and the bill was read a second time.

The House of Lords has been, as a matter of course, less industrious than the Commons. On Monday, Lord BROUGHAM introduced a bill to reduce the period of fifty days which, by the existing law, must elapse between the dissolution and re-assembling of Parliament, to thirty-five days. On Tuesday, the distinctive features of the sitting were a long speech by the Lord Chancellor in moving the second reading of a bill to amend the Law of Wills. There was a general agreement among the law lords to forward the progress of this measure. It provides for a more liberal interpretation of the words in the existing law, which require that the name of the testator shall be signed at "the end or foot of the will."

Lord BEAUMONT called the attention of the House to the state of affairs at the River Plate, and having sketched the history of the various Republics watered by that river, asked several questions, and urged the Government to lose no time in entering into negotiations for establishing a free navigation along the Plate, Parana, and Paraguay rivers. Lord MALMESBURY replied, that as soon as he had heard of the expulsion of Rosas he put himself into communication with the French Government for the sake of renewing such negotiations as would contribute to the commercial interests of both nations. The Earl of ABERDEEN expressed his satisfaction at what had fallen from Lord Malmesbury.

The main business in the House of Lords on Thursday was a motion moved by Lord MONTEAGLE for a select committee, to which the Treasury minutes providing for the repayment of the debts due from counties and unions in Ireland might be referred. The noble lord went into the statistics of the various advances, and declared that though Ireland had no wish to evade the payment of her just debts, she had just reason to complain of the improvident way in which a great portion of the money had been expended. The EARL of DERBY had no objection to the appointment of the committee, whose duty it would be to sift and examine the accounts submitted to them, to strike a fair balance between all parties concerned, and then to report to parliament, with a view to some legislative enactment on the subject.

The proceedings in the House of Commons on Thursday contain all the interest of the week. Mr. KEOGH asked whether it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to introduce, either in this or the next session of parliament, any measure to repeal the act conferring the grant upon the Royal College of Maynooth?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.—In answer to the question put by the hon. and learned member for Athlone, I have no hesitation in saying that it is not the intention of her Majesty's Government, in the present parliament, to propose any bill for the repeal of the grant to the Royal College of Maynooth, to which he has referred (hear, hear); and, generally speaking, I beg to observe that it appears to me that the specific measures to be brought forward for any object whatever in a parliament not yet elected are not subjects on which any Government should be called on to give an answer. (Cheers.)

Mr. HUME brought on his motion for Parliamentary Reform; and a debate arose of great importance. The views of Mr. Hume are well known; he asked for an extended suffrage, vote by ballot, shorter parliaments, re-distribution of electoral districts, and no property qualification. In the opening of his speech, he took Lord Derby to task for classing him with demagogues. The motion was seconded by Sir JOSHUA WALMESLEY, who went over ground familiar to our readers, alleging the discrepancy between population and representation, and contending for the concessions demanded by Mr. Hume. Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND made an eccentric speech, in which, while the arguments were favourable to reform, the conclusions were flatly opposed to it. Then followed Sir WILLIAM PAGE WOOD. He made a radical speech, supporting, especially pointing out that the principle of democracy was confidence; that of monarchy, fear. All his arguments made for reform; but he regarded the measure proposed by Mr. Hume as only valuable for discussion—to vote for it was out of the question. Mr. NAPIER was put up, using, without effect, the stock arguments in opposition to the measure; and he was met by Mr. ROEBUCK, and demolished, especially as regards the ballot. For the rest, Mr. Roebuck, who generally contrives to lug in some extraneous topic, thus spoke of Communism:

"As for the noble lord at the head of the Government coming forward and saying he was opposed to democracy, what did he mean? Did he mean that in this country the artisans had what are called Communist principles? Not at all. (Hear, hear.) The moment a man gained anything by his own labour he might be depended upon to defend the sacredness of property (hear, hear); he would be the man to come forward and say, 'This is mine; it is the result of my own honest labour and of my own intellect.' (Hear, hear.) You would find no Communist principles received among the artisans of this country. (Hear, hear.) As for the ignorant and benighted labourers of the agricultural classes, he (Mr. Roebuck) did not know what they might receive, for they were not educated—their education hitherto had not been much taken care of; but of this he was sure, that if you went into any of our large manufacturing towns, you would find the artisan, who was the manufacturer and artisan of his own fortune, would be the first to oppose himself to anything like Communist doctrines (hear, hear), and if a man could be depended upon he could, for the maintenance of what was called the sacredness of property. (Hear, hear.)"

Following Mr. Roebuck, whose speech seemed on the whole effective, came the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and delivered one of the most ingenious speeches ever listened to in the House of Commons.

After subjecting the Opposition to a little banter about "a certain evanescent proposition," (Lord John Russell's Reform Bill,) to which, "out of delicacy," he had not intended to allude, he entered into the subject of representation with great relish. It had been asserted that the proportions of representatives in that House had been arranged in favour of the territorial interest, and that the town populations were not fairly represented. This assertion he denied. North Cheshire, for example, with two

towns, Macclesfield and Stockport, had a population of 249,000; that of the two towns was 92,000; which gave a rural population of 156,000; the two towns returned four members, the rural districts only two. The cases of South Cheshire, South Derbyshire, North Durham, and West Kent were similar; yet in all the lamentations over the injustice done to the town constituencies, and the preponderance of the territorial interest, no allusion was made to these striking facts. In North Lancashire, with a population of 460,000, there were four towns with only 143,000; yet while these four towns returned seven members, the rural districts, with a population of 316,000, returned only two members. South Lancashire, the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, showed similar results. If it were said that these were colourable cases and selected instances, he had a paper which showed that in all the boroughs of England there was a population of 35,000 for every member of Parliament, and in the rest of England 36,000; so that, according to this comprehensive view of the question, in the distribution of representatives between the land and the towns there was a difference of only 1,000.

Therefore he had concluded differently from Mr. Hume. As to the ballot, he was against that proposition, and he made the House merry by citing from an anonymous authority a description of an election in the State of New York, where there were stabbings in the polling room, riots, and a destruction of the ballot boxes. Corruption, he continued, in an elevated tone, cannot be stopped by law. Let not our countrymen run away with the idea that corruption is the necessary consequence of the old mode by which we give our votet in this country. (Hear, hear.) I believe it to be a growing sentiment in the convictions of Englishmen that corruption is the consequence of men not being properly brought up. (Hear.) You may pass laws ostensibly to prevent corruption in countries where nothing is secret, or in countries where nothing is open; but corruption cannot be stopped by law; it can only be stopped by elevating the tone of the community, and making men ashamed of the thing itself. (Cheers.) You must seek for an antidote to corruption in that direction, and not in new fangled systems of election. I say, further, that the tone of the community in which we live is becoming elevated. Every successive quarter of a century shows a decrease of corruption.

As to an extension of the franchise, Mr. Disraeli, by a marvellous disposition of the statistics of the question, deducting various classes of the population, including the entire body of agricultural labourers, from the total of adult males, made out that there was *one* voter in every *two* of the population! Winding up his speech, he professed lofty disapprobation of such "immature" projects as that proposed by Mr. Hume, founded on such erroneous, blundering, and insufficient data; and he declared that there was nothing worse than tampering with the constituency. If there was to be a change, let it be a change always called for by a "clear necessity," and one which was calculated to give, not final, but general and permanent satisfaction. But, in the present state of things, he would "stand by the settlement of 1831."

Mr. HENRY BERKELEY vainly attempted to get the ear of the House, a feat accomplished, however, by Mr. OSBORNE, who attempted, in his reckless style, to pin Ministers down to a declaration of "finality;" and, judging from the sharp denials ejaculated from the back benches of the Ministerial side, he succeeded in annoying them, at least, by the truth of his allegation. Lord JOHN RUSSELL backed up Mr. Disraeli. He regarded the proposed measure as one dangerous to the Crown and the House of Lords; as introducing "elements of danger," and giving the vote to persons *not* possessing "intelligence, integrity, or independence," as in fact, universal suffrage. He could not deny that the ballot was popular; but he did not believe it would be a useful concession. He charged the working classes with intimidating the ten pound householders; and while professing himself favourable to an extension of the franchise, decided to vote against the motion. Having finished the Radicals, he turned round and made a party attack on Ministers.

The right hon. gentleman says—"I will not make any change in the Act of 1832 without a clear necessity." Now, we all know what "a clear necessity" is. (Hear, hear.) We all know that "a clear necessity" does not mean the general opinion of sober and dispassionate men; it does not mean the examination of your existing legislation, and a determination to amend defects;" but "a clear necessity" means that degree of discontent and disaffection (cheers) which would render it unsafe to govern without making a change. (Renewed cheering.) We all recollect what has been the case with respect to the party opposite in regard to great measures. (Hear, hear.) We all know that the just requests of the Roman Catholics of Ireland were denied until "a clear necessity" arose in the shape of impending civil war. (Cheers.) We all know that Parliamentary reform was constantly denied until the agitation of the people arose to such a height that reform could no longer be resisted. (Cheers.) We all know with respect to other measures of an economical nature, it was not until associations were formed and spread throughout the country that the Legislature agreed to change the laws on the subject. (Hear, hear.) I own I think that the House of Commons would take a position the reverse of dignified, and hardly safe, if it were to be declared by a Minister of the Crown, and echoed by a majority in that House, that until a clear case of general discontent arose—(Cries of 'No, no!' and cheers)—well, if I am misinterpreting the right hon. gentleman, I should like to know what those words 'clear necessity' means? (Cheers.) I can understand that there could be a clear question of policy—of wisdom—of foresight; but a question of necessity seems to me a question in respect to which you have no option, and that you must either yield to demands made, or no longer continue to govern in safety. That I understand to be 'clear necessity;' and then, indeed, we are to have measures to give general and permanent satisfaction. (Cheers.)

Mr. WALPOLE made an attempt to dull the force from Lord John Russell's attack, by explaining the meaning of "clear necessity," not to be "clear discontent," but "permanent and general satisfaction,"—an explanation which itself requires explaining. An effort to adjourn the debate was made by Mr. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, who for once dared to do something disapproved of by Mr. Hume, and the house divided.

For the motion, 84; Against it, 244.
Majority against, 155.

PETITION FOR THE INCOME-TAX.

THE following petition has been numerously signed by persons whose incomes are below a hundred pounds:—

To the Honourable the House of Commons, the Petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Marylebone, whose incomes are under one hundred and fifty pounds a-year.

SHEWETH,—

That your petitioners, having felt the advantage of the abolition of the duties on foreign corn, and on other articles of consumption, anticipate the time when all such duties shall be abolished.

Your petitioners, now enjoying the advantage of cheap bread, are particularly anxious for the free importation of butter unmixed with tar.

Your petitioners, therefore, entreat your honourable House to modify, increase, and extend the Income-tax, bringing it down to incomes of fifty pounds a year.

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

To be presented by Sir B. Hall, M.P., on the 25th March.

INTRAMURAL INTERMENTS.

LORD JOHN MANNERS, the Chief Commissioner of Works, received a deputation from the Metropolitan Sanitary Association, at his official residence in Whitehall, on Saturday. The Earl of Harrowby, after introducing the members of the deputation, observed, that after considerable preparation and discussion, a measure intended to put an end to the interment of bodies within the metropolis had been adopted by Parliament, but the whole question was still kept in suspense. The measure appeared to have one or two defects, and the late Government had been apparently much more anxious to point them out than to amend them. The whole machinery was provided by which parishes might establish improved cemeteries, but there was no means of securing the permanency of the body who had to borrow the money for that purpose. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer had acknowledged that this could easily be remedied. There ought also to be some security that the powers should not be taken out of the hands of the Board of Health, and that the fees received should be applied to the necessary expenses incurred and the repayment of loans. The Reverend Dr. Hume said, that the state of things with reference to interments was even worse now than before the passing of the act, for many parishes would have provided means for the burial of the dead had there not been this law in existence, but in abeyance, and providing no better means, by which they might at any time be stopped. In some parishes, particularly Kensington and Lambeth, there was at present only provision for the interments of a few months, and many of the graveyards in and about London were in a most appalling state. The most frightful results of the present interment system were not only the unhealthiness, but the morally hardening influence it produced upon the minds of the poor. The effect of the poisonous air had most depressing consequences upon their minds, rendered them wretchedly desponding, and unwilling to listen to the comforts or warnings of religion. But there was a law existing by which the existing obstacles to improvement might be removed, and if the present Government took the matter in hand, they would find that very little was required to bring the measure into operation. Mr. F. O. Ward called his lordship's attention to the financial bearings of the question, the greatest difficulty in which had been from the additional charge which it was supposed would be required to cover the cost of transport to a distance from the metropolis. But by substituting a collective for a fragmentary system of extramural interment, not only would the expense be diminished below the present charges of undertakers, but a greater degree of solemnity and decency might be observed in the rites of Christian burial. With respect to the two difficulties existing in the Act, one of them had been overcome by the government expressing its readiness to charge itself with the debt which would be incurred in order to raise the necessary capital. The other difficulty, that of giving the capitalists, from whom money must be borrowed, good security that the burial fees would be sufficient for repayment, might be surmounted by an amendment, calling upon all persons living within the metropolitan districts, who would really derive the benefit of an unpolluted atmosphere from the new system, to pay the prescribed fees, although they might decline to avail themselves *directly* of the advantages secured. The effect of such an amendment would be to raise the security in the market, and enable the Act at once to be put into execution. The Earl of Harrowby remarked, that the overcrowded graveyards could not be closed, because there was no power to compensate the parties who had a property in the land, or to re-imburse the clergy for the loss of their fees. After a few words from the Rev. Mr. Lusignan, one of the honorary secretaries, and from Lord Robert Grosvenor, the chairman of the Association. Mr. George Godwin said, that it was almost incredible how an act duly passed by a large majority of both houses of parliament, and which was declared by the ablest and most intelligent persons to be essential to the well-being of the community, should have remained absolutely unexecuted for nineteen months. It was impossible to walk in the neighbourhood of such places as Bunhill Fields burial-ground, or St. George's, Hyde Park-road, without being horror-struck. It was astonishing that men should, year after year, shut their eyes to the dreadful results of intramural interment, because they did not actually see their fellow-creatures fall down dead from the effect of the noxious exhalations which were generated in the crowded graveyards and the vaults under churches. In some churches, for instance St. Mary-at-Hill, men and women sit Sunday after Sunday with only a permeable floor between them and a mass of crushed coffins and decaying bodies. People faint, and are carried out, and some of them die, and there were those who said, "It is the dispensation of Providence," although science had pointed out how much of truth there was in such statements. When the average of life in some towns was fifteen years, and in others thirty, science at once showed them why. He implored the Government to direct its attention to the subject.

The objects of the deputation having thus been stated, a conversation ensued, in which several gentlemen expressed their opinions, principally on the relation between local and central government for sanitary purposes. Lord John Manners said, that he was very anxious to communicate to the Government the valuable information on many points which had been given him in the course of his interview with the deputation. "And if they possibly could, in the present session of parliament—which they were threatened elsewhere would be exceedingly short—if they could arrive at any satisfactory conclusion, he need not say that he should be most happy." The deputation then withdrew.

ELECTION MATTERS.

A MEETING of the supporters of Mr. Parker and Mr. Roebuck, the sitting members for Sheffield, was held at the Royal Hotel, in that town, on Monday, when it was unanimously agreed that they would form themselves into a committee, and would use their utmost exertions to secure the re-election of the present members. 125*l.* were subscribed immediately for election expenses.

Earl de Grey, it is stated, considers Lord Goderich's opinions much too liberal to allow of his election for the borough of Ripon.

Mr. Vincent Scully was elected for the county of Cork, on Saturday; the official declaration of the poll was made public on Monday, it is as follows:—

For Scully	3956
For Frewen	3105
Majority for Scully . .	851

The *Cork Examiner* publishes some curious documents, exhibiting the mode in which the Protectionist landlords of the county of Cork, and their agents, sought to effect the triumph of Mr. Frewen and Protection. Here is one of them:—

"Office, Fermoy, March 15, 1852.

"William Barry,—See Mrs. Percival's tenants at Kilcronet, and inform all who are valued for the poor-rates at or over 12*l.*, that I desire their vote in Fermoy on Thursday next, for the election of Mr. Frewen. If they do not come forward and support this gentleman, Mrs. Percival will take for granted that her tenantry consider the present prices of corn, butter, and meat, quite high enough, and consequently they cannot expect any more allowance in their rents. "R. G. CAMPION."

And yet people affect indignation at Irish disaffection!

Lord Naas was returned for the borough of Coleraine, on Monday, without opposition, Mr. Kennedy having declined to demand a poll. On the return being declared, Lord Naas addressed the electors. He touched very lightly on the subject of free-trade and protection, but a loud uproar commenced when he said that "it was impossible it could be considered in a definite form during the present parliament's existence." Still greater confusion arose when he alluded to the Tenant-Right Bill of Mr. Sharman Crawford, and ex-

pressed his opinion that it would be productive of litigation, and not prove a settlement of the question. A project for a dinner to Lord Naas, at Belfast, evaporated very rapidly, as the leading men of Belfast refused to join in any compliment to a member of a Protectionist government.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER XIII.

Paris, March 23rd, 1852.

THE election of M. Carnot, the republican candidate for Paris, has caused considerable annoyance to the government. For some time past the Republicans had been overlooked; the Orleanists were monopolising the '*preoccupations*' of M. Bonaparte. But since the Paris elections have disclosed the vitality of the republican party, an increase of severity has been shown towards them throughout the country. In Paris, twenty-seven citizens, who are guilty of having voted for M. Carnot, must be added to the list of arrests I have already given you. Fresh arrests have been made at Rheims, Rouen, and Beziers, as well as in many other places. Orders for the immediate expulsion and transportation of the persons condemned by '*commissions départementales*' have been sent by telegraph. More than 8000 persons are at this moment embarked for Cayenne or Algiers.

As this number might appear incredible, I will furnish you with the particulars of these condemnations.

In the department of the Basses-Alpes, there are 953 transported to Algiers; 81 to Cayenne; 16 expelled the territory; 69 imprisoned; and 346 placed under the surveillance of the police. Eleven merchants from Rheims are being transported to Cayenne or Algiers. From Cette we hear that 400 persons from Gers are expected, and are to be conveyed in the *Eclaireur* and the *Grondeur* to Algiers. At Strasburg there are 11 persons condemned to be transported to Algiers. The fifth *convoi*, consisting of 300 prisoners for Algiers, were removed on Thursday night from the forts near Paris. The *Messager du Midi* states that 83 of the condemned were removed from Montpellier to Cette on their way to Africa. A body of about 120 *détenus* had also arrived in that town on the 19th instant. All these men are from the single department of Herault. The *Courrier du Havre* announces the sailing of the *Berthollet* last Saturday for Brest, having on board 350 prisoners from the departments of the Nièvre, said to be destined either for Cayenne or Lambessa. On the 16th instant, orders were received by telegraph for the screw frigate, the *Isly*, to leave L'Isle d'Aix, near Rochefort, for the Gironde, to take on board 400 *détenus politiques* at present confined in the citadel of Blaye. The steam frigate *Magellan* has just arrived in the Gironde to receive 700 of the condemned belonging to the department of Lot-et-Garonne.

To this immense number of *transportés* are to be added at least as many who have been shot, on the spot or clandestinely, and those who have been expelled, amounting to double the number, and you may conceive the desolation which now reigns in France. If you reckon over and above all these, the *internés* and the citizens placed under the surveillance of the police, which I estimate at about 40,000 persons, you will find that there are not less than 70,000 peaceable citizens who have been outraged by the events of the 2nd of December.

. . . . . .

Let thoughtless people, then, cease to wonder why France does not rise *en masse*. They may read an answer in these wholesale lists of proscriptions.

Since M. Carnot's election, the press has become the object of renewed severity on the part of the government. The *Siècle* has been officially advised to qualify its opposition. *The public* had failed as yet to discover any opposition in that journal. M. Bonaparte, moreover, it is said, is only waiting a favourable opportunity, as regards the larger newspapers, to put in force his decree, authorizing their suppression without warning, for alleged motives of general security.

Journalists are, especially, persecuted and harassed. Many are obliged to escape by flight the menaces of the government. Some receive passports, and are constrained to leave their homes within twenty-four hours; others are expelled their departments, and locked up in some distant prison. Thus M. Emile Crugy, chief editor of the *Courrier de la Gironde*, and M. Campan, of the same paper, have been imprisoned, one in the department of Basse-Bretagne, and the other in La Vendée. M. Gaszé, editor of the republican paper at Hâvre, has received orders to quit the French territory within twenty-four hours.

Since the persecution of the Republicans has recommenced, the Legitimists have again become the object of the *cajoleries* of the Government. L. Bonaparte, fearing more than ever the fusion of the two branches, is incessant in his advances to the Legitimists. For the last week overtures have been made to effect an alliance with them, against the Republicans, and Orleanists. The Legitimists would be very unwise to treat such advances with aught but supreme contempt.

As to the Orleanists, they are still pursued by the Government. Several bankers and leading merchants of the principal towns in France have received passports to quit their homes forthwith. In this class are included 80 at Bordeaux, and 8 at Rouen. The Government, moreover, by the coercion of the judges, (you know that we have no jury now,) has obtained a verdict of one month's imprisonment against M. Bocher, the defensor of the family of Orleans, who had in the first instance been condemned to a mere fine of 500 francs. The Government has done more—it required from the Belgian Government the condemnation of the *Bulletin Français*, an Orleanist journal, published in Brussels by M. D'Haussonville and Alex. Thomas. MM. Berryer and Odillon Barrot had undertaken the defence of the two accused, and would have gone to Brussels to plead their cause; but M. Bonaparte warned them that if they crossed the frontier, they would not be allowed to return. They were thus compelled to remain in Paris.

General Cavaignac was also threatened in the same manner. He wished to consult with his late colleagues, Lamoricière and others now in Brussels, as to whether or not he should take the oath required by the members of the Legislative Body. He was informed the Government would grant him a passport, but that he would find the frontier closed against him when he returned.

The decree for the completion of the Louvre has just appeared. A company, to which the Government supplies two millions of francs a year, has been entrusted with the execution of the design of M. Visconti. This plan, which I described to you a few weeks ago, converts the Tuileries into a formidable military post. Large buildings are being erected in the angles of the Place du Carrousel. One of them will serve for the bureaux of the Ministry of the Interior and of Police, the telegraph, and national printing-office. The others, for barracks, to contain, says the decree, a *sufficient* military force.

The review, which was to have taken place on the 21st, when the Empire was to have been proclaimed, could not be held—the colours which were to have been presented to the troops were not ready. The grand review is therefore postponed until the 5th May, the anniversary of the death of the Emperor Napoleon. The *mauvais plaisant* have been reporting that, in imitation of the old monarchical saying, "*Le Roi est mort, vive le Roi!*" the heralds of Louis Bonaparte will cause all Paris to resound with the cry, "*L'Empereur est mort, vive l'Empereur!*"

Meanwhile, great preparations are being made for the ceremony of the opening of the Senate, and the Legislative Assembly, which is to take place on the 29th March. A throne of red velvet, decorated with tinsel, will be placed on a platform in the Salle des Marechaux for the President. Opposite there will be plain benches for the Senators and Deputies. A formal ceremony for the *entrée* and *sortie* of the President has been decided upon by M. Bonaparte. When the *company* have taken their seats he will make his *entrée solemnelle*, will make the opening speech, and receive *indinidually* the oath of fidelity of each member present. Only one thing will be wanting, and that is the grand costumes of the Senators and Deputies, which have been dispensed with. For in all Paris there was not found sufficient gold braiding to complete these grand uniforms. Louis Bonaparte, therefore, under these circumstances, deigned to authorise these gentlemen to appear in plain clothes. A good thing is reported to have been said on this subject by a tailor, whom one of the Senators was pressing in order to have his finery by the 29th: "The President," replied the tailor, "attends to his business—I do mine. A Senate is soon hatched; decrees are easily patched together; but an embroidered coat must not be botched!"

The question of Louis Bonaparte's marriage with one of the natural daughters of Queen Maria Christina of Spain is more talked about just now than ever. The cause of this revival of an old rumour is the recent appearance in Paris of the famous Munoz, the life-guard, who was first Queen Christina's paramour, and afterwards her husband, under the title of Duke de Rianzares. This great personage has been installed for some time in the Chateau de Malmaison, formerly the property of the Emperor Napoleon, but now belonging to Maria Christina.

The conversion of the Five per Cents. causes much anxiety to Louis Bonaparte's government. Some of the *rentiers* have demanded the payment of their capital, and the number of applicants is becoming so large that it will be impossible to comply with their demands. The Five per Cents. have fallen below par, in consequence of a coalition of bankers dissatisfied with the measure, who have all set to work perseveringly to sell out. L. Bonaparte has directed the Bank of France to keep up the price by devoting part of its reserve fund to the purchase of stock. It is only by dint of this unprecedented operation that the *rentes* have been kept at *par*.

The decree which fixes the budget of 1852, which I foretold in my last letter, appeared on Friday, the 18th inst., in the *Moniteur*. As the *Siècle* said, it is a positive return to the year 1302, the epoch when the custom of consulting the nation with regard to the taxes was first commenced. As the *Corps Législatif* is summoned for the 29th of March, this refusal to consult them on the taxation of the country is universally considered as a gratuitous insult, and as a symptom of the enormous malversation of which Louis Bonaparte has no intention to give any account.

The expenses of this budget by decree amount to	1,593,398,846 francs.
The receipts only amount to .	1,449,413,604 „
Deficit	53,985,242 „

And to this deficit of fifty-four millions must be added the civil list of six millions, which Louis Bonaparte will make the senate vote for him. As a proof to the people that he only rules for their benefit, the expenses are augmented by nearly fifty-three millions above the budget proposed by the late Legislative Assembly. 1. The ministerial salaries are raised from 60,000 francs to 100,000, and two of them, the Ministers of War and of Foreign Affairs, are to have 130,000. 2. The Budget of war is augmented by twenty-five millions of francs. 3. That of the navy by five millions. 4. Public works by ten millions. 5. The interior by six millions, 6. The new Minister of State is to have twelve millions at his disposal. 7. The new Minister of Police is to have three millions nine hundred thousand francs. 8. And finally, the Ministers of Justice, of Foreign Affairs, and of Public Worship, are to receive 1,550,000 francs more than before.

The alterations that have been made in the receipts are as follows:—the octrois are not suppressed; but, just as I told you, L. Bonaparte has contented himself with giving up the tenth which the government used to raise from all the octrois of the country. The manufacturers of artificial soda will have to pay six millions of francs a year for the salt which they consume, and the tax on wine has been raised, as far as the working classes are concerned, and diminished for the rich. People who are not over rich usually buy their wine by the pint or quart at a public-house; and this retail sale is loaded with an additional tax of 50 per cent. The droit d'octroi which was ten per cent, is now raised to fifteen. Families in easy circumstances, on the contrary, buy their wine by the barrel, and will have the benefit of a diminution of ten per cent on the tax. And it must be remarked that in France the tax on wine is not regulated by the value, in other words does not vary with the price and quality, but is levied according to the quantity. As many francs on a hectolitre of inferior wine as on the same quantity of wine of the best quality. And therefore by this singular reform the cheap wine drunk by the poorer classes will be burdened with an increased tax of fifty per cent, while the tax on the good wine consumed by the higher classes will actually be made lighter by ten per cent.

We have just received this evening the news of the acquittal by the Belgian jury of the Orleanist *Bulletin Français*, the prosecution of which was instigated by L. Bonaparte. M. d'Haussonville defended himself. "I plead in my own cause," said he, "to save M. Berryer and M. Odillon Barrot from the exile with which they had been threatened." S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE decree "on the relations of the Senate and Legislative body with the President and the Council of State" which was published in the *Moniteur* of Tuesday, extending to eighty-six articles, may be summed up thus:—all bills are prepared in the various ministerial departments, and submitted to the President, who sends them through the Minister of State to the Council of State: when a bill has been approved by the Council of State, a decree of the President orders it to be presented to the Legislative Body, which has the right of proposing amendments, to be submitted to the Council of State; if the opinion of the Council of State be adverse to the amendment, it becomes null and void. A bill cannot be rejected by the Legislative Body until it has been discussed article by article. The messages and proclamations of the President cannot be discussed by the Legislative Body, unless they contain a proposition to that effect. The Senate deliberates upon the bills adopted by the Legislative Body, but has to decide only on the question of promulgation, and cannot vote any amendment. All signs of approbation

or disapprobation are forbidden in the sittings of the Legislative Body. The proclamations of the President, adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving the Legislative Body are to be read in public sitting, all other business being suspended, and the members are immediately afterwards to separate. Strict rules are laid down for maintaining the authority of the President of the Legislative Body over the members, and the decree concludes with an article promising both the Senate and the Legislative Body the services of a military guard, who will render their respective Presidents due military honours when proceeding to their sittings.

M. Henon, the Socialist candidate, has been finally elected at Lyons. The correspondent of the *Daily News* reports a recent visit of Lord Cowley, accompanied by the Belgian Minister, to M. Turgot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France.

"The object of this diplomatic interview seems to have been twofold. In the first place, explanations were demanded with regard to the attitude and intentions of France towards Belgium, and, secondly, with regard to the reported design of effecting a change in the government, as it was said that preparations were making, not only for holding a vast review, but actually for proclaiming the empire on the 5th of May, anniversary of the Emperor's death. On the first point the answers of Count Turgot were considered satisfactory. The Minister of Foreign Affairs repeated once more the same assurances of a pacific policy, which the government of Louis Napoleon has not ceased to avow since the *coup d'état* of December. As to the other subject of demand, Count Turgot was more reserved. He said that France was the only proper judge of what government suited her best; that the President had reserved to himself the right of appealing to the nation on questions touching changes in the form of government; and that experience had proved that such appeals would be answered by the universal assent of France. That tribunal was the only one to which the Prince was responsible on such matters, and the government could not admit the pretensions of any foreign power to meddle with such questions. Such is the outline given of the result of this conference."

The King of Wurtemberg, a couple of years ago, referring in his speech to the plan of raising the King of Prussia to a sort of protectorship over German states, used expressions so offensive that Prussia at once broke off all diplomatic relations. Now, at length, an ambassador from Wurtemberg, M. von Linden, has arrived at Berlin. This tends to remove some apprehension, entertained by Prussia, that Wurtemberg, which is more under Austrian influence than even Bavaria, might assume a hostile position at the Zollverein's conference.

The semi-official *Oest. Correspondenz* has a very indignant article on the non-invitation of Austria to the approaching Customs Congress at Berlin. It gives its readers to understand that a demand for admission will be presented in one of the first sittings.

The chambers have just been opened in Wurtemberg, Nassau, and Oldenburg. The chief business in all these assemblies is to revise the constitutions, with a view to cancelling all clauses that guarantee popular rights, or enable the popular will in any way to influence affairs of state. The governments of the three states named have strong majorities, as everywhere else in Germany.

A letter from Constantinople, from a well-informed party, writing on the 3rd inst., says that Austria was reported to have demanded from the Porte a cession of territory, as indemnification for injury sustained through the assistance given to the Hungarians during the late war.—*Daily News.*

There was an extremely agitated sitting of the Chamber of Deputies at Turin on the 18th inst. Interpellations on the measures taken by Government to suppress the late insurrection in the Island of Sardinia, were addressed to Ministers, and defended by them as perfectly constitutional, and in accordance with the precedent of Genoa in 1849. A hostile revolution proposed by the Opposition was rejected by a large majority.

"On Tuesday afternoon," says the Roman correspondent of the *Daily News*, in a letter dated the 12th inst., "his Holiness was indulging in a drive beyond the city walls, and had left the precincts of the Vatican by the Porta Angelica, when, tempted by the beauty of the day, he ordered his *cortége* to halt, and alighted to walk, followed by his major domo and two dismounted noble guards. In the vicinity of the Milvian Bridge, close to the osteria which tempts the Romans so frequently to saunter out and imbibe a flask of Orvieto wine, a person in the garb of a priest observed the papal equipage, and was suddenly seized with an irresistible impulse to approach the person of his sovereign, which he did in so rapid and unceremonious a manner that Pio Nono was alarmed, and the noble guards considered it to be their duty to collar the intruder, and prevent his actually throwing himself at the feet of the Pope. Irritated by this opposition, the priest insisted in a loud voice upon being allowed to carry out his intention, and proceeded to give utterance to most unorthodox assertions respecting the equality of priests, and of the human race in general, winding up his diatribe by shouting at the top of his lungs to the reluctant ears of the retreating Pope, that he was sorry to see the Vicar of Christ surrounded by such a herd of knaves and scoundrels. Imagine the effect produced by these awful and fearless denunciations. When his Holiness had got out of his unceremonious visitor's immediate neighbourhood, he gave orders that he should be released from the gripe of his captors, but strictly kept in sight by two gendarmes, and his dwelling and avocations ascertained, in order that a report of the whole affair might be drawn up for Cardinal Antonelli's perusal. This was done, and the unasked and unwelcome adviser of his Holiness turned out to be a Dalmatian of known eccentric habits, who had probably felt more eccentric than ever on the day in question, from the discussion of a couple of flasks of the before-mentioned Orvieto wine, in the potation of which he was disturbed by Pio Nono's arrival. His subsequent attack on the Pope's advisers may therefore be explained on the principle, *in vino veritas*. However this may be, he is now paying the penalty of his temerity by a penitentiary sojourn in prison.

It is said that not very long since a plan was submitted by the French to the Roman government for establishing a commercial league of southern Italy in connexion with France. As nothing further has transpired on the subject, it is to be presumed that it has been abandoned. Austrian and French influence rule the whole peninsula. The railway of central Italy owes its birth entirely to Austrian counsels, and will place Modena, Parma, and Tuscany in immediate connexion with the Imperial States of Upper Italy. Electric telegraphs have been established between all these countries, and political circumstances make them dependent on the protectorate of Austria.

At Florence, the *Constituzionale* has been suspended for a month, for containing a correspondence from Naples, in which some of the acts of that government are censured. It is a matter of astonishment that that journal is not confiscated for its very name, which is in itself an anomaly under the present state of Tuscan government.

At Genoa, a curious scene occurred at one of the churches, which exemplifies the feeling of the population. A friar in preaching alluded, amongst other matters, to the rights of the Holy Pontiff on earth, and to the ignominious treatment he had experienced in being opposed in these matters. The audience, who considered this language as a denouncement of the acts of the Piedmontese government with regard to the Siccardi Laws and the Church differences with Rome, immediately burst out into exclamations of disapproval, and by their hisses obliged the preacher to terminate his lecture.

THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

The Hall of the Freemason's Tavern is well known to Londoners. It has been the scene of many gatherings for public purposes, and is famous in the annals of public agitation. It is a noble oblong room; lofty, and well-proportioned. Portraits of royal and noble Grand Masters of the world-wide Order of Freemasons cover the walls; behind the seat appropriated to the chairman is a statue of the Duke of Sussex; and the ceiling, blue and gold, glitters with stars and masonic emblems. Since the Revolution of 1848 new and strange gatherings have occasionally met there—the friends of the continental refugees; and on Wednesday the Friends of Italy held their second meeting, which they call a *Conversazione*, to listen to a lecture from Mr. George Dawson, M.A.; and to explanatory statements respecting Italy from M. Mazzini. The room was well filled, and there were many foreigners among the audience.

Professor Newman took the chair, and intimated that the course of proceeding would, first, be the delivery of a lecture, and next a colloquial discussion; M. Mazzini having expressed his willingness to answer all questions that might be put to him upon points rising out of the lecture.

Mr. G. Dawson (as the lecturer on the occasion) then came forward, and was received with loud cheers. His address, which was lengthy, was marked by his usual ingenious discursiveness and artistic quaintness. He commenced by a defence of human weaknesses and human superstitions.

"The world, he thought, was becoming too cold-bloodedly enlightened; and he longed for a re-action to a faith in some of those emotions which Manchester decided to be follies. One of the so-called follies now being denounced, but which he desired to be encouraged, was "nationality," and another was "race." He believed in the cravings of nations after nationalities, and he could not deny the antipathies and incongruities of "races!" Cosmopolitanism was a good thing; but to real cosmopolitanism nationality was necessary. Vienna treaties compelled the marriages of those whom God had forbidden man to put together; and until those false alliances were divorced, and different peoples had drawn themselves off into it might be sulky isolations, there could be no shaking of hands across natural frontiers of rivers, mountains, and languages. The Italians, of one soil, one language, and one blood, had hopes of nationality; and he, for one, admired them for the hope. He saw nothing unreal in Italian nationality, and nothing delusive in Italian unity. No doubt this all meant an Italian republic, but he would not shrink from the phrase. In ordinary English society it was almost better to confess to atheism than to a toleration for republicanism. But Italy could be nothing but a republic. It was a dismal experiment—that of selecting a king; and generally a dead failure. Besides, all the glories and traditions of Italy were republican; all her disgraces and disasters sprung from her monarchies. He had a great respect for the German people; but it appeared to him that an Austrian blue eye in Italy looked as ugly and unnatural as the engrafting of a tropical fruit on a gooseberry bush. There was a fitness in things not to be overlooked. An Englishman looked graceful enough in his own country, but not, proverbially, out of England. He saw no failings in what were called the extravagancies of Italian politics. Periods of passion could be interpreted only in a passionate language that would read bombastic in tamer eras. It was just the same with nations as with individuals. Who dare go back to his love letters, or who did go back and not confess that he had once been an arrant ass? England had had her passionate epochs, which were also, let it be remembered, her most powerful epochs, and had done extravagant deeds, and outspoken extravagant thoughts. In the extravagance was the greatness; and so with Italy—he had hopes of her because the great questions of Italians had found their utterance in a language suitable because wild and strange. The sympathies of Englishmen with such questions, cravings after freedom, were natural; and, to his mind, England had a duty to perform in aiding Italy. He utterly and heartily despised the snifflingnon-intervention doctrines that were current. He could not understand why that should be a policy with a nation which would be regarded as a meanness as a rule for the conduct of an individual. If he, living at No. 1, were informed that at No. 2 a bully was thrashing the family, he would not be thought well of to send word that he was doing pretty comfortable at No. 1. That was the non-intervention policy. Italy was getting bullied; and our foreign policy was to announce that we were doing a good stroke of trade, and hoped everybody would go and do likewise. If such a policy was Christianity he would prefer infidelity. He was not for war; but he was for righteousness as well as for peace. There was cowardice in England now, and England knew it. The news of the day told them that a Belgian attorney-general had quoted Lord John Russell and Lord Derby against the freedom of the press in the course of a proceeding against somebody for saying something not pleasant to Louis Napoleon. Why had Lord Derby and Lord J. Russell attacked the English press? Confessedly because they quaked lest the press should vex the fellow over the water. Was this British? If it was, he blushed for it. We had lost the pluck of standing by principles, and leaving consequences to take care of themselves. But then, after all, he was for the non-intervention theory. By all means. But let there be no propaganda, or let there be two propagandas. Let Russia stop, or let England go on. Let despotism refrain, or loose democracy to balance it. Meanwhile, until honester theories came round, the duty of Englishmen, not seeking a monopoly of liberty, was to aid foreign liberals in England. There was a nasty talk turning up every now and then about foreign refugees. Well, let the government try it on. No government would ever be permitted to touch one of them. (The meeting here cheered most enthusiastically.) The Italian question was an English question too. Who helped to make Italy free, helped to make conscience free throughout the world. In time, this would be understood; and a society like this would work miracles in moulding public opinion. It was quite possible to recreate John Bull—to put size into his voice, muscle into his arm, colour into his cheek, and human sympathies, weaknesses, and superstitions back into his heart; and when he was himself again they would hear something of the honour, the morality, the Christianity, and even the expediency of 'intervention,' or, what would be the same thing, real and impartial non-intervention."

The Chairman then said that M. Mazzini would reply to any interrogatories that might be addressed to him. He (the chairman) would take advantage of the position he occupied to put a first question. He wished to know, and the answer would be most important, how Italians, in the event of future successful revolutions, proposed to deal with the papacy? It was a problem, the solution of which was not very clear; for in England it was concluded that Italians had too much respect for the religious attributes of the papacy to exterminate altogether the system of Roman Catholicism.

M. Mazzini (who was very warmly greeted on rising, and who offered his apologies for his imperfect mastery of the English language—apologies which his complete command of our tongue rendered unnecessary) said—

"The question is a momentous one; I don't know whether, in putting the question, Mr. Newman is suggesting that the papacy is still a strong power in Italy, and that we would have many difficulties to conquer in the enterprise of dealing with the papacy. I said plainly, when I spoke to you last, that the papacy was a corpse. I repeat it—the papacy is a corpse. Observe, I am not speaking merely individual opinion; I am stating the national consciousness of a fact. Long before 1849, when the papacy was obliged to run away, no man held up a finger to recal it—so long ago as 1831 there was a general insurrectionary movement in the Roman States. That movement was managed by a man of what is wrongly in Italy called the moderate party: wrongly called because, rightly understood, we are all moderate men; and in this case the moderate party meant men who would reach an aim without fighting for it. The movement I refer to was triumphant in a week's time. It ran through the Roman States and reached Rome itself. The moderate party, not at all directing the revolution, was obliged to manage the revolution; and it issued a decree, a single decree, the whole history of the revolution of 1831. And that decree was one abolishing the temporal power of the Pope, and sentencing the papacy to a limitation to its strictly spiritual sphere. That decree found not a single opponent throughout the Roman States. There were men, then, who said that this was an experiment which had never been tried, that it was rash, and that this novelty would provoke a counter revolution from the people. Yet not a single hand was raised to resist the decree. You know the result: that revolution was put down as usual by a foreign, the Austrian, intervention. But the fact remained, and had been recorded: that if an insurrectionary power could become powerful enough, and could escape

the foreign intervention which would destroy it, it would be ready to erase the temporal power of the Pope. In 1849, the same. We abolished it by decree; it was the same thing repeated—with this difference, that the decree in 1831 was only accepted, without positive signs, while in 1849 the decree passed amid the unanimous applause of the revolutionary republican assembly. That is Italian opinion. If, therefore, the question concerned only the temporal power of the Pope, I would now have answered it. But that is not all. Were it all, I would say this: that were the Pope limited to his own forces, were Austrian and French interventions forbidden, the Pope would not await the decrees of insurrectionary powers; he would anticipate and run away in 24 hours. We want, however, more. I do not quarrel only with the papacy as a temporal power. We have higher, holier aims. We say that the Pope is no Pope at all. A Pope, as priest, father, is to lead—to infuse life into a nation—to direct that life outwards to action. We maintain that the Pope is not such a man: that he is not a spiritual power; and, this further, that he has no consciousness of being a spiritual power, that the Pope is not only a man without any legitimate right, but also that he is an impostor—an impostor who knows nothing but that he has no mission still to fulfil on earth. That is the question with us: we aim at the destruction, at the abolition of the papacy, both as a spiritual power, and as a temporal power. However soon or late that the thing be fulfilled, it will be fulfilled extremely peacefully and easily upon a successful—and not impeded by foreign intervention—insurrection. That, I say, as belonging to the national party. The Pope gone away is gone actually—not spiritually, solely, but physically. The Pope is no Pope any more. The Pope being gone, it would become the necessity for us, and for the whole of Italy, to do what I shall call, feel the pulse of humanity as to our religious question. As we should do in political, so should we do in religious matters—ascertain the general opinion by a general assembly. We should summon, so far as the resolution goes, the clergy; not only the clergy, but all others, laymen, who have studied the religious question: and we should know from them the state of feeling and opinion, as to religiosity. We should have the actual transformations effected in the Catholic belief by time. We would have a council by the side of the constitutional assembly. We should have universal suffrage, and we should know not what is the individual religious belief, but what is the collective belief of the majority. The verdict of the nation will be, as I said in the beginning, that the Pope is a corpse, that there is no power of guidance in it, that we want to be guided by the wisest and the best; and that we find that the Pope is neither one nor the other. We shall then have done our part. Italy would have legitimately declared that thus stood religious-matters; her verdict would be that the papacy had become exhausted, had fulfilled its mission—for it once had a mission—and having some three centuries since, it had nothing now to do—no more than the lies and the phantoms of to-day. Europe would give the answer; but as far as Italy would be concerned, on Italy obtaining the freedom granted to other nations of declaring her opinions, she would have proclaimed what would be the death-warrant to the papacy, as temporal and spiritual." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. STANSFELD requested M. Mazzini to favour his friends on this occasion with the reasons which urged the national party of Italy to rely in the future of that country upon a united republic, rather than upon a federalization under an hereditarily monarchical reform.

M. MAZZINI: This question is often put to me. Plenty of people sympathise with our cause, but put a sort of sorrowful protest against our declaring ourselves republicans. I will answer now, as I invariably answer those who speak to me so. We do declare ourselves republicans because we are republicans; and we are republicans mainly, not only but mainly, because we are Italians. The first point needs no long explanation with such persons as you are. We are bound to tell our beliefs. And in political affairs not less than in others, truth seems requisite, and is not to be overlooked. Every man aspiring to a great revolution in his own country, is bound to say I want such and such—is bound to say where the people he is to transform must go. The frank avowal of the aim is the half, at least, of the guarantee of the success. It is quite clear that without the truth, or what I believe to be the truth, inscribed on my flag, I have no right at all to say to a nation—"Stand up and conquer, and die, if need," because it would be a sort of crime to provoke a nation to do so, without making them know decidedly that there is some truth to be conquered. It is quite clear, too, that the attempts we have had in Italy, which have been anonymous, which have not been accompanied by positive pledges, have failed. In 1821 we had a revolution in Piedmont and in Naples; and the common aim was the independence of Italy. The Carbonari Association led the people, and believed they could direct them without a defined political creed. People of every description, of every sect, of every system, flocked to and were accepted in the ranks; for the future was all vague, and all meant the overthrow of the existing state of society. The revolution took place. But the next day the doubts arose. One man had been fighting for a French constitution; another for a Spanish constitution; another for a republic, and for unity; and another for unity and federalism. Thus when the battle was to be fought there were no troops; and in thirty days, therefore, Austria could intervene, and destroyed the revolution. In 1848, we saw the same. The people did not believe in Charles Albert or in Pius the Ninth. But the leaders of the people refused to explain their creed. They said, "Never mind, we shall conquer through the religious power of the Pope, and through the arsenals of the slaves of the King; and in the end, when we have used, we will overthrow them." The result was the overthrow of Milan and the Battle of Novaro. It was the same in France in 1830. The republicans meaning a republic talked only of the charter; and in the end a new monarchy easily sprang up, which produced the demoralization of France for eighteen years. See what we did at Rome and Venice. Our avowal was distinct. We had on our flags, "God and the people." The people knew that they were fighting for what they believed to be the truth. There was, then, no Novaro. It was a fall; but it was a glorious fall; and it was a precedent for the next victory. (Cheers). But you wish to know why we can fight for God and the people only through a republic. The question is: Are there the elements of royalty in Italy? Government is not a simple theory to be indiscriminately applied. It is a varying fact, the effect of causes varying, growing out of distinct national elements. To ascertain the best government for Italy, we must find what are the elements at work in Italy. There has been no royal and no aristocratical elements in Italy. We have had persons calling themselves kings, and persons styling themselves dukes, and barons, and counts. But the aristocracy has not been there as a compact body, with its own class, aims, and ambitions, as in England, doing good, though perhaps unwillingly, but still being an element in the whole society. There has been no royalty giving to Italy the centralization, and the unity, and the relief from feudalism, which royalty has given in France. Our nobles, our Orsinis and Colonnas, have been robbers, making war on one another; and our kings have been the results of foreign conquest—still among us, indeed, but as viceroys, attesting their origin by depending on foreign aid. We have no traditions of monarchy or aristocracy that, as Italians, we can rejoice in. We have glories only in the people, past and present. All our great battles, from the Lombard League to these actual days, have been fought, not by nobles nor kings, but by the people. Our great names are names from the people, beloved by the people—Dante, Michael Angelo, Cola di Rienzi, Masaniello. Italy has three courses—no more—to take in the future: To accept a sacred league of independence between all the kings; to accept unity with one predominant king; or to proclaim the nation, the people, the collective man. The league of princes would be impossible. Would the King of Naples and the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, the King of Piedmont and the Pope, join together? It is impossible, because the princes know that the result of such a league would be the exaltation of one of them over the rest. In 1848 such a league was commenced; and when it was seen that the King of Piedmont would become possessed of Lombardy as his reward, the other princes withdrew the troops we had obliged them to send. Gioberti proposed such a league; and no more may it be talked of in Italy. Well, can we create the one man we want—a Napoleon in skill and a Washington in virtues? Are we to wait till God, or Providence, or chance, sends the man to us? Such a man being sent would not, after all, serve for us; for he would know he would be but leading to the speedy abolition of himself and the substitution of the people in his giving the people victory over his fellow kings. Let us learn by the lessons of the past. Charles Albert was presented as the needed man. The people had fought at Brescia, at Milan, and at Venice, and we were free of the Austrians, except the Austrians who had fled to their fortresses. The King of Piedmont stepped in to lead, and we were doomed. The people were rejected. The volunteers and the Swiss were rejected. The people lost their enthusiasm. But we could have created a popular army and have begun again, after Novaro, if the king had not returned to Milan, instead of going his own road, and forced his affected faith on us. He then deserted us; and the battle was lost on one side, without having been begun on the other. That would be repeated each time we had a king at our head. The republic, then, is not only a theory, a faith, but a necessity to us. Our beautiful republican traditions start with Dante, fighting for republican Florence, at Campaldino, and Michael Angelo fighting for besieged Florence on the height of Samminiato against Charles V. and Clement VIII.; and we see all that Italy has done has been done by republican Italians. But I say to you, Englishmen, do not give us your sympathies on conditions. Do not ask us whether we are republicans or monarchists. Rely upon us, that what we, the majority of Italians, shall do, shall not be done wrong by us. We can do no wrong to humanity if we listen to the voice of God through our consciences and through our national traditions.

After some further conversation, and a short speech from Mr. David Masson, the secretary to the society, the meeting separated.

JOSEPH MAZZINI AND FRENCH SOCIALISM.

WE have received the following letter from MM. Bianchi, Louis Blanc, Cabet, Landolphe, Jules Leroux, Pierre Leroux, Malarmet, Nadaud, Wasbenster,—five of whom were Representatives of the people in the last National Assembly:—

(*To the Editor of the Leader.*)

SIR,—We are aware of the sympathies of the *Leader* for M. Mazzini. But we also know well the love of justice that distinguishes your journal above all others.

An article by M. Mazzini, containing unjust attacks against a most important fraction of the democratic party, has been published in a Belgian paper, and eagerly reproduced by all the organs of the reaction in France.

This article having reached London, and having come to the knowledge of a certain number of socialist republicans, they have felt the painful necessity of replying thereto. They would have been glad to pass it over in silence, if only to spare to the world the spectacle of intestine divisions so fatal to us all, especially under the present circumstances.

Unhappily, the hope of avoiding the exposure was forbidden by the immense publicity given to an attack as afflicting as it was unexpected. They were, therefore, compelled to speak, and to their fellow-citizens whose signatures are subscribed they committed the charge of presenting, in their collective name, an united reply.

We do not ask you, sir, to take part in this dispute: we only ask you to put the public in a position to determine with whom reason, justice, and right, reside.

MAZZINI'S LETTER.

THE *Nation* of Brussels publishes the following circular from M. Joseph Mazzini to the revolutionary committees of Europe:—

"What ought to be at present the *mot d'ordre*—the rallying cry of parties? All is comprised in one word—action—action, one European, incessant, logical, bold, and universal. Mere talkers have destroyed France; and they will destroy Europe, if a holy reaction is not got up against them. Thanks to such persons, we are now in the time of the Lower Empire. By dint of discussing the future, we have abandoned the present to the first comer. By dint of substituting, each his little sect, his little system, his little organization of humanity, for the great religion of democracy, for the common faith, for the association of power to make a conquest of the position, we have thrown disorganization into the ranks. The sacred phalanx which ought to press forward always as a single man, drawing closer together at each martyr's death, has become an assemblage of free corps, a veritable camp of Wallenstein, minus the genius of the master. At the hour of attack it fell to pieces on the right and on the left, and was found scattered about in little detachments, everywhere except in the heart of the place. The enemy was one discussing nothing, but acting always, and it is not by arguing on the best means of cutting and clipping human kind to a fixed standard that the foe can be dislodged. The time has come to speak the truth plainly to our friends. They have done all the evil possible to the best of causes; they would have killed it by excess of love and want of intelligence, if it were not immortal. I accuse the Socialists, and in particular the leaders, of having falsified, mutilated, diminished our grand idea, by imprisoning our law, common for all, within absolute systems which usurp at the same time power over the liberty of the individual, over the sovereignty of the country, and over the continuity of progress. I accuse them of having aimed, in the name of their paltry individuality, at giving positive solutions to the problem of human life, before that life was able to manifest itself in the plenitude of its capacity under the action of those great electric currents, called revolutions. I accuse them of having attempted to produce, at a fixed time, from their weak or diseased brains, an organization which cannot issue except from the co-operation of all the human faculties in action, and of having substituted their solitary *I* for the collective *I* of Europe—of having spoken in the name of St. Simon, Fourier, Cabet, or any other, there, where the point was to destroy the revealing agents for the profit of the continued revelation, and to inscribe over the front of the temple, 'God is God, and humanity is his prophet!' For having forgotten action—for having said, 'what France owes to Europe is the solution of the organization of labour'—for having slighted the voice of such of her children as called on all the dissentient parties to organize themselves on a common ground to bear the brunt of battle, France has arrived, by Rome, at the shame of December 2. The whole of democratic Europe must now aid France in recovering her position, as she formerly aided Europe. She must above all advance—advance constantly—advance alone, to force France to join her. The movement of France depends at present on the movement of Europe; the movement of Tessino and the insurrection of Sicily preceded the Republic of 1848. The European initiative at present belongs to the first people which shall rise, not in the name of a local interest, but of a European principle. Should France do so, may God and humanity bless France! Should she not do so, let others do so! God has no chosen people. Father of all, he is with all who are ready to sacrifice themselves for the commonweal. From the alliance of nations must spring the initiative; and there is not at the present time a single nation which, in spontaneously rushing into the arena, or in nobly resisting, cannot raise the two-thirds of Europe. The day in which the democracy militant shall have a government, an impost, a common ground, a plan, an *ensemble* of operations, it will have conquered. Until then, let it resign itself to M. de Maupas, Schwarzenberg, and Radetzky; let it resign itself to shame, to the rod, to transportation, and to the gibbet; and let it find its compensation in the perusal of the political novels which its Utopian dreamers are always ready to write—they do not cost much trouble to be written.

"JOSEPH MAZZINI."

"March, 1852.

REPLY.

To press on against the common foe with an unswerving, and, if it may be, a united impulse, for the sake of the public good; to sacrifice personal dislikes, selfish pretensions, petty ambitions, petty jealousies, petty grudges, paltry rancours; to beware (as of a mischievous folly) of treating as enemies after the defeat those whom we had welcomed as comrades during the combat;—that is what the Socialists believe to be, in the present juncture, the duty of every true Republican.

For a man who, up to the very day of the battle, was allied with the Socialists, violently to attack the Socialists on the day after that battle has been lost; to waste on them, the oppressed, the hatred due to their oppressors; and in the very heart of the party, to fan the flame of discords which a common disaster might well have extinguished: and all this by recriminations devoid of justice, and incapable of usefulness, without a pretext without an excuse: thus to stir up a civil war among fellow exiles in proscription, and to mingle a voice, which had hitherto given itself out as one of our own, with that odious concert of anathemas in which the people's enemies

vent all their fury: this is the office M. Mazzini has undertaken to fulfil.

Having appointed himself, of his own selection, to the office of Procureur-General of the European Republic (as it is fashioned in his system), he will not be astonished at his election in that quality not being ratified. From the office of accuser, then, let him descend to the character of "accused."

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of imitating Louis Bonaparte, who, in order more effectually to exterminate the Socialists, used their own formulas as a screen. To pretend that he desires association, state credit, taxation on luxuries, primary instruction and equal education for all, in the very article in which he slanders the men who have wasted their existence not merely in demanding these things, but in seeking out the means of obtaining them, is an artifice unworthy of a republican soul.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of having falsely invoked against the Socialists that progress which they serve—that sovereignty of the people which they proclaim—that liberty which they adore.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of having come forward, in the name of his mere individuality, to decry solutions sought out by men of heart, at the cost of a whole life's repose; the generous sincerity of whose aim is even now being expiated by some in dungeons, by others in exile, by nearly all in destitution, by all in sorrow.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of having descended to a pitiable contradiction, when he acknowledges, on the one hand, that a better organization of society can only issue out of the concurrence of all the human faculties, and, on the other hand, declaims against individual efforts and partial researches, without which that concurrence would be impossible. Of what would that continuous revelation whereof he speaks consist, if not of a series of particular and successive revelations? YES, GOD IS GOD, AND HUMANITY IS HIS PROPHET. The Socialists have used these words long before M. Mazzini. But humanity is composed of men who think, and who interchange their thoughts. Where would be the concert without the voices of which it is composed?

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of having applied to the Socialists, in a pernicious sense, the word "sectarian;" an insult which, in all times, has been launched against the apostles or the martyrs of new truths by the defenders of old abuses; an insult which the Pagans employed against the Christians, the Catholics against the Protestants, nay, the same homicidal insults that preceded and prepared the judicial assassination of John Huss, the massacre of the Thaborites, the extermination of the Albigenses.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of imputing to the Socialists that distinction between Socialists and Revolutionists which they, on the contrary, have always rejected, seeing that they deem themselves Revolutionists *par excellence*—men who do not aim simply at a displacement of power, but at the transformation of society itself.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of declaring, forsooth, that the word *republican* is *enough* for him, when we see that it is also *enough* for General Cavaignac, for example, who, in June, 1848, massacred the people.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of reproaching the Socialists with the worship of the individual, when he is the very man whom the most distinguished of his countrymen reproach with incessantly substituting himself for his country, to such a degree, that he has accustomed the press to speak of the *Mazzinians*, when it is the *Italians* with whom they are concerned.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of describing the problem of material interests as the sole object of the Socialists' prepossessions, when, on the contrary, it is certain, it is proved by their writings, that their chief aim is to enlarge the horizon of human thought, to elevate the standard of human dignity, to render accessible to all the sources of intelligence; when it is certain, and proved by all their writings, that, if they desire with a powerful and indomitable ardour the suppression of pauperism, it is especially because pauperism retains man in ignorance, drives him to vice, encourages him in envy and in hatred, forbids him the noblest joys of love, and tends to degrade or to stigmatize his immortal soul.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of lending to the Socialists that definition of life—*Life is the search after happiness*, whilst he allows it to be understood in the sense that the only happiness they aspire after is a personal and selfish gratification; whereas the definition adopted by them is, *Life is the accomplishment of a duty;* a duty determined by the end they ascribe to their political actions, *the moral, intellectual, and physical amelioration of the poorest and most numerous class*, and this formula, by the way, belongs to St. Simon, in whose name Mazzini considers it a shame to speak.

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of endeavouring to make the world believe that to regenerate the people by fattening them is the ignoble doctrine of the Socialists, and of advancing, as a proof of the charge, these words: *To every man according to his wants.* Does he not know that, in the language of the Socialists, these words, which express the *right*, have always been preceded by those, which express the *duty: from every man according to his faculties?* Why does he mutilate the formula he has caught up, when to mutilate is to calumniate? Does he know what we mean, *from each man according to his faculties?* That means that the man who *can* do most, *ought to do* most; that the strongest is bound to employ his strength for the profit of the weakest; that the most intelligent fails in his mission, in that mission which is written, as in a living book, in his own organization, if he does not admit his brothers, who are poor in intellect, to enjoy the benefit of his intelligence. Is that a doctrine of sordid materialism? Is that perchance the theory of egoism?

WE ACCUSE M. Mazzini of confounding with what he calls a vague cosmopolitism that leads to inaction, the fervent, active, indefatigable reverence for humanity, considered as a great family, and not as a confusion of jealous individualities.

AND WE ACCUSE him of declaring this iniquitous war against Socialism when the true enemy is before him, not by his side; when the victory to be won over an unexampled tyranny can only be won by the union of all our forces; when it is more than ever important to abstain from every intestine quarrel; when it is notorious that it is on the Socialists that (to their eternal honour) the weight of counter-revolutionary hatred chiefly presses; when M. Mazzini cannot take arms against them without finding himself supported in his attacks, and not only in their substance, but in their very form, by the writers of the *Constitutionnel* and of *La Patrie*, by the surviving pamphleteers of the Rue de Poitiers, by the Orleanist editors of the *Bulletin Français*, by the surpliced libellists of M. de Montalembert. and the epauletted lampooners of M. Louis Bonaparte.

It is not at all, as M. Mazzini seems to think, because it has been said that *France owes to Europe the solution of the problem of the organization of labour*, that France has had to suffer the shame of the 2nd of December; such a disgrace she has owed rather to a series of abominable calumnies against Socialism (calumnies which M. Mazzini now assists in spreading), which have disseminated alarm; she owes it to that word ACTION, which the Socialists were ever careful to connect with tranquillizing ideas of scientific progress and social organization, and which M. Mazzini, on the contrary, has always kept vague, unexplained, undefined, signifying war, nothing but war, proclaiming revolution for the sake of revolution, and abandoning everything else—to the hazard of events!

What have been the consequences? The *bourgeoisie*, who had been made to fear, trembled: the people was disarmed: a reckless and unscrupulous adventurer takes the ground with a drunken soldiery, and cannons charged with grape: all is lost. If now were the time for recriminations, who would have the better right to make them?

But the past is past! There will be no lack of pens to write the history of yesterday: we, crippled but unconquered soldiers, we labour at the history of the day that is coming. For whenever M. Mazzini shall express the certainty of seeing France rise again, we will cheer him: and if, instead of estranging himself from us in the great work to be accomplished, he shall resolve to aid us in our task, our hearts will not be slow to regain the path of his. Although we remain proud of our country, for the sake of what she has already done for humanity, for the sake of what she will yet do hereafter, and in spite of her present humiliation, it shall not be ours to isolate her in the struggle, any more than in the victory. Let Italy, if she be the first to be free, aid us to work out our freedom: we will bless her. We believe too sincerely in the mutual responsibility *(solidarité)* of the peoples, to reject all fraternal succour, exclaiming *Francia farà da se;* and we congratulate M. Mazzini on having called us to united action, for it was he who once said, *Italia farà da se*, when Italy was in a situation to be succoured, and France able to save.

There is something of more importance than to inscribe the word Justice on his standard, as Mr. Mazzini insists: it is to have the sentiment in his heart. *God, People, Love, Association, Liberty, Truth, Equality, Virtue, the good of all*, no doubt these are admirable words, but to rally the grand army of the future it is necessary to have more than WORDS. It is requisite to have a programme formed, which shall express the deep, the profound, sense of these words. Things, and not phrases, are wanted. *Phrases?* They were always at the service of hypocritical tyrants, and of ambitious men.

Let each of us, however, follow the solution which he believes himself to have found; let him write according to his conscience. Mr. Mazzini wishes to permit it; only, whoever dares to avail himself of the right, must expect to be excommunicated by him. Oh! prodigious inconsistency!

And now, in exchange for the lesson which he gives to French Democracy, we will give him some advice.

First, Let him learn from us what he is, of what he is capable, what he is worth. We do not disown him, it is he who disowns us. His part is this, and this only, to work for the independence of his country; and we agree that, for the purpose of expelling the Austrians from Italy, action, such as he understands it, may suffice.

Here, and before proceeding further, we should be authorized to enquire if Mr. Mazzini is, in all respects, the man even for the part he has to play. For, the first quality of a man of action is practical sense, and in this Mr. Mazzini is absolutely wanting. With what is it, indeed, that he reproaches the Socialists? He has declared, with a naïveté of imprudence, that he reproaches them with an endeavour to seek *positive* solutions. *Positive*, be it understood! Thus, the idea finding its incarnation in the fact, Mr. Mazzini is perplexed and plagued, and annoyed. To remain with rambling, indefinite ideas, would suit him better. That "life should be left to manifest itself in the plenitude of aspiration and of capacity;" that "man should be re-made in the image of God," Mr. Mazzini would be satisfied. The how to accomplish this alarms him. He will have no *systems*. He does not require for his programmes more than a certain number of grand sounding words, *Sesquipedalia verba*. Such is the man who thunders against the Utopists.

Utopist! It is under this title that a crowd of Italians, in Italy itself, pursue this very man. They, more close than he in their reasonings on the policy of action, say—

That Mr. Mazzini has never acted but through secret correspondences, which have created peril—he being at a distance.

That his single act has been the expedition to Savoy; his own affair of Boulogne—an adventure attempted in an honourable spirit, but badly conceived, badly contrived, and militarily conducted by a General long known as a traitor.

That, having arrived at Rome after the Pope had been put to flight—after the Republic had been proclaimed—after the Revolution had been completed—he went to sleep in pompous uselessness between the work of the constitution and the toils of its defence; between Saliceti, who held the pen of Republican Rome, and Garibaldi, who wielded its sword.

That he has been wanting, according to the expression of Ricciardi, in revolutionary capacity.

That he has been—this blind enemy of ideas—an ideologist of inconsistencies and impertinences.

That a maladroit plagiarist of the Idea of Unity, borrowed from France, in wishing to apply it at all hazards to Italy, he has consulted neither the intellectual state of the country, nor its local circumstances, nor its situation, nor the proper hour.

That, in complicating the question of independence, he has compromised it.

That he has done an immense injury to his country in sacrificing to his own *Utopia* the necessity of not detaching from the common cause Piedmont, which had all: organization, money, and soldiers.

That, in short, he was making speeches, while at Novarra they were dying in battle.

To prevent Italy from becoming an assemblage of Free States, had not Mr. Mazzini then only to present himself and to say: "I am Wallenstein!" This is just what nobody but himself has believed.

Mr. Mazzini is one of the representatives, one of the artizans of Italian independence. The part he has to play is sufficiently noble—let him confine himself to it.

By what right would he pretend to link France to the conditions that history imposes upon Italy? We have not Austrians in the centre of our towns. What we have to drive away from us is not the foreigner—it is falsehood! What we have to conquer and achieve, is not independence, for the advantage of our country; it is the realization of justice for the advantage of all the countries of the earth. By what excess of pride would Mr. Mazzini desire to imprison in the mission which especially concerns Italy, that which interests the whole world? For French democracy has received from the 18th century, and from the Revolution, an inheritance which is a command that it shall labour and toil, under a penalty of rendering sterile the floods of heroic blood in which it was drowned by our fathers. And it is this sacred work Mr. Mazzini would dare to interdict to us!

Action! does he cry out? but to endeavour to enlighten mankind, this, then, is not action!

He who destroys an error, puts to flight innumerable legions armed for the support of that error.

Men have not only arms; they have intelligence,—they have heart: arms to become and remain free; intelligence to comprehend that they are equals; hearts to feel that they are brethren. The human being is triple in his essence. Triple also is action in its most general effect: that *action* of which Mr. Mazzini talks so much without comprehending it. Our fathers understood it well when they united us in a league to explain, to develop philosophically, to realize practically, the three terms of their magnificent formula—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—inseparable terms, of which Mr. Mazzini, with a sacrilegious hand, effaces the most touching and the most profound. Yes, to enlighten is to act; and after all, what we want is less lightning than Light.

To write for the right, to suffer for the right, to die for the right—all this is beautiful—all this is grand. The Socialists know it; they have proved it. Their blood has streamed over the barricades of the 2nd of December. It is well that Mr. Mazzini should remember it; and if M. Mazzini had chanced to be at that time in Paris burning with indignation, the brave Dussoubs would have placed him where he would have been side by side with death.

But M. Mazzini does not perceive that in confining *action* to physical force, he unmasks the false side of that spiritualism which he parades. Under those mystical phrases he denounces the grossest materialism. When he severs from the duty of *action* the *operation* of the mind and of the soul, it is he who animalizes humanity.

Ah! it is all very well for him to call *holy* the reaction which he preaches. This reaction (and in fact it is reaction) would be criminal, if it were not senseless. Let us reveal to M. Mazzini, who is self-blinded, the secret of his own heart. As in him vague aspirations replace that solid faith, those inflexible beliefs upon which the conscience reposes immovable, the spectacle of evil triumphant has confounded him. "Let us attempt a reaction," he has said to himself, "since reactions succeed. Let us act after the fashion of the power that has wealth and armies at its bidding, since that policy is effectual. Let us attack the Socialists, since in attacking them we become masters of the field;" and thereupon a vertigo has seized him. He has had the puerility to imagine that tyranny could only be crushed by its own weapons. He has done to truth the wrong of doubting *its* power. He has lost all serenity.

To such a degree, that, even living in England, he has not perceived the movement that surrounds him. No! he has seen neither those thousands of workmen who combat by association, nor the immense impression which this fact has produced, nor the power of *that* ACTION, calm, silent, and thoughtful. In the work of universal progress each people takes part, according to its own genius. Why does not M. Mazzini require from the workmen of the *Amalgamated Society* that they seek their emancipation by fighting like a band of Condottieri?

As for us, God preserve us from that apparent impetuosity which only conceals fainting and weakness. We are not impatient of Time. While maintaining with energy the increasingly transforming operation of Socialism, we recognise in the people, as in God, the right to be patient, because He is eternal. Without pardoning discouragement or lassitude in a march so terrible and so long, and while crying continually, Courage! courage!—Forward! we are resolved not to sacrifice to the impatience of ambitious minds, anything that is just, anything that is true. The indignation that fills our souls does not obscure our sight—does not trouble our thoughts; and M. Mazzini himself, when he insults us, inspires us less with anger than with pity. He must have a government, a taxation, and a unity of operations; he was exclaiming,

only a few days ago, "We thirst for authority!" How can we doubt it? The example of Louis Bonaparte has turned certain heads; a man hews out a kingdom from his narrow ambition. He dreams of *coups d'état;* he prepares a re-action, on the condition of calling it *holy;* he takes the attitude of command; he affects an imperial language; he fancies that European democracy, for her part also, looks for her Cæsar! Melancholy aberration of a man who loses his way for very ignorance of the aim and end he blindly seeks!

Besides, who is this man, we have a right to ask, that he should assume this imperious tone? What would his fame be worth, if it were not for France, against whom, nevertheless, it would appear he never entertained feelings but of jealousy and hate. There is but one word which can fitly characterize the conduct of a man who avails himself of the reputation that a country like France has lent him to insult that nation; for let it be well understood that it is the nation that M. Mazzini desires to wound, when he strikes at the doctrine. There is but one word, we say, and that word is *ingratitude.* Senseless rage! This man was nothing till France made him what he is: without her, he will be nothing again! Out of Italy, he is thought to possess great influence in Italy. Perhaps it is a mistake.

Among the Italians whose courage, or whose virtue, the last revolution made conspicuous, where are the followers of M. Mazzini? Is Montanelli? Is Petruschi? Is Sirtori? Is Catabeni? Is Sterbini? Is Cernuski? To what does the influence of M. Mazzini in Piedmont amount?—Ask Gioberti. And in Sicily?—Ask Granatelli. And at Naples?—Ask Saliceti. And at Venice?—Ask Manin. M. Mazzini, who personifies abroad the Italian democracy, only by usurping an authority which the most eminent citizens of Italy have hitherto had the generosity to suffer with silent indignation, starts up with a sorry grace to declare himself the personification of the democracy of Europe. Let him commune with himself, and learn to measure his ambition by his strength. We do not deny him; let him, for his part, have the common justice not to deny republicans, whose mission he cannot deny without annulling his own.

The European democracy has no need of a Cæsar, especially since the 2nd of December has shown the world of what a heap of crimes the success of modern Cæsars is built up!

(Signed)

BIANCHI.	PIERRE LEROUX.
LOUIS BLANC.	MALARMET.
CABET.	NADAUD.
LANDOLPHE.	WASBENSTER.
JULES LEROUX.	

PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

THE MASTERS' STRIKE.

DELEGATES from the various trades' associations of London assembled to the number of about seventy at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, on Wednesday evening, convened by a provisional committee appointed by, and in conformity with, the resolutions passed at the aggregate meeting of the trades held at St. Martin's Hall, on Thursday the 4th of March. Mr. G. W. Prideaux having been called to the chair, briefly stated the objects for the consideration of which the conference had been convened, as follows, viz.:—

"1. To consider the propriety of holding similar conferences of the trades throughout the United Kingdom.

"2. To afford immediate relief to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

"3. To take steps for the establishment of co-operative workshops in which they may find permanent employment.

"4. To take steps for establishing an investment society for promoting co-operation generally."

Mr. W. Newton being called upon to state the present position of the Amalgamated Society, said that no diminution had taken place in the number of men supported by their funds. About 3000 members were thrown out of employment by the employers' strike, in addition to about 300 who were out of work when the strike occurred. There were also nearly 1000 non-society men who had been thrown out of work through the same cause. The society men had been regularly paid 15*s.* per week, and the non-society men 10*s.* per week; and these amounts had been made up, partly by the weekly subscriptions and partly from the funds of the Amalgamated Society—the weekly expenditure since the 10th of January having been nearly 3000*l.* Voluntary subscriptions had been liberally contributed in aid of the funds of the society, but as they possessed no definite information as to when the dispute would end, it was necessary to make some certain provision for the future, or the men would be left without support. The question was, would the trades' societies of the country stand by them, or should they succumb and sign the masters' declaration. Mr. Laing, chairman of the Brighton Railway Company, said, in a pamphlet which he had just published, "In fact, things have come to such a point that the issue must be either the complete triumph or the complete defeat of the Amalgamated Society, and with it the principle of trades unionism in the country generally." He believed there was much truth in that statement, and it was therefore the interest of all the trades in the country to support the operative engineers in this contest. If this matter were well taken up by the trades generally, the dispute would not only terminate to the great advantage of the engineers, but would save the trades in general from an impending fate. In order to husband their resources as much as possible, the Executive Council had reduced the allowance to members from 15*s.* to 10*s.* a week; and their object in the present appeal was to obtain immediate relief, and to devise means for a more equitable settlement of the relationship between employers and employed. He proposed that the trades societies, out of their accumulated funds, should lend the Amalgamated Society a sum of 10,000*l.* for the immediate relief of the men, so as to give time for the organization of a proper system of continuous support, which might be done by the levy of one penny per week upon the working men of the country. The opening of co-operative workshops would come before the conference in a resolution.

Mr. J. Pettie (painter) proposed, and Mr. Widdon (cabinetmaker) seconded, the first resolution, recommending the trades throughout the country to appoint delegates to assemble in conference in each district, to deliberate on the important subject involved in the present industrial dispute. The second resolution, proposed by Mr. Ollerenshaw (hatter), and seconded by Mr. Walford (coöperative builder), expressed the opinion of the conference, that the various trades' societies should advance as much money, by way of loan, to the Amalgamated Society, as could be spared from their accumulated funds, to support them during their resistance to the "declaration"; and recommended weekly subscriptions in aid of the workmen thrown out of employ. Mr. Stephenson (bootmaker) said that he saw no difficulty in raising the 10,000*l.*, and the sum would easily be repaid by so powerful a body as the Amalgamated Society. Money lent to that society would be as safely invested as in any savings bank in the country, although perhaps not so easy of withdrawal. He hoped the trades would come forward with their funds, that the society men might again receive their 15*s.* weekly.

Many other delegates having spoken in support of the resolution, it was unanimously adopted. A conversation followed; and that there might be no delay in taking the necessary measures for raising the sum of 10,000*l.*, it was finally resolved that deputations should meet from the various trade societies not represented at the conference, to ascertain how far they were prepared to assist the Amalgamated Society by loans from their funds. The conference then adjourned.

SOIREE AT THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE.

WE have some time since mentioned the People's Institute in the Bridge Road at Pimlico, but have not yet reported the success which has attended its establishment. A report of that success will no doubt be made, at the soirée to be held on Wednesday next, by the chairman, Mr. Vansittart Neale. The presence of speakers so varied as Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, M.P., Mr. Thomas Hughes, Mr. Bronterre O'Brien, Mr. J. Furnewall, and perhaps others not less popular, will attest the Catholic character of the institute. Tickets may be had of Mr. Edmund Stallwood, the Secretary, Mr. Bezer, the Socialist publisher, and many other persons connected with the Pimlico co-operative movement.

THE NEW PARTNERSHIP BILL.

A BILL in the House of Commons, bearing the names of Mr. Slaney, Mr. Sotheron, and Mr. Tufnell, has been published this week, "To Legalize the Formation of Industrial and Provident Partnerships." The object of this bill is to enable working men to form societies to carry on joint trades, and to legalize such societies already in existence. The promoters of this measure propose to enact that "It shall be lawful for any number of persons to form themselves into a society for the purpose of maintaining, relieving, educating, endowing, or otherwise benefiting themselves, their husbands, wives, children, or kindred, or for attaining any other purpose or object for the time being authorized by the laws in force with respect to friendly societies, by carrying on or exercising in common day labour, trade, or handicraft, or several labours, trades, or handicrafts, and that this act shall apply to all societies already established for any of the purposes herein mentioned, so soon as they shall conform to the provisions thereof." Then the Bill provides for the regulation of such "Industrial and Provident Partnerships," as they are called.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

Weekly Report, March 16th to March 22nd, 1852.

THE Agency transacted business with the following Stores:—Norwich, Birmingham, Portsea, Leeds, Padham, Braintree, Ullesthorpe, Banbury, Swindon, Woolwich, Tillicoultry, Bannockburn, Heywood, Galashiels, Huddersfield, &c.

Samples of broadcloths have been received from the Redemption Society of Leeds; they are now on view at the Agency's offices, and orders will be received for them.

We hear from the Co-operative Society at Congleton, that it is their intention to furnish us with samples of ribbon. Due notice will be given of their promise being carried out.

It would be well if all the Stores, not regularly supplied with the list of the goods sold by the Agency, would send up their addresses at once, that they may be so supplied. Mr. Lloyd Jones, having left the Manchester district for the purpose of attending to the business in London (a step rendered necessary by the rapid increase of the trade of the Agency,) will not be able to attend on the Stores in that neighbourhood, as formerly. This, however, need be no inconvenience to the Stores, as orders forwarded through the post will be attended to just as well as if they had come by personal solicitation. Indeed, the Agency prefers that the orders should be sent directly from the Stores in the country, as it not only saves expense, but is also an evidence of confidence between the Agency and its customers; which is the surest sign that Co-operation does not need either the pushing practices or cautious watchfulness of competitive business.

AMERICAN NEWS.

A FEW minutes before the departure of the *Africa,* royal mail steamer, from New York, which arrived at Liverpool on Monday, a telegraphic communication was received from Washington, which gave the following list of ships of war which have recently been sent to Japan by the government of the United States:—The *Mississippi* (with the commodore's flag), the *Princeton,* and *Susquehanna,* steam-frigates; brig of war, *Perry;* sloops of war, *St. Mary's, Plymouth,* and *Saratoga;* and store-ship *Supply,*—altogether a formidable squadron. It is said that American sailors have at various times been ill-treated by the Japanese government, and that redress and compensation will be demanded; and that it is designed to effect a landing at the capital of Japan, Jeddo, at all hazards, and to leave no efforts untried to open commercial relations with that isolated nation. There is a strong force of marines on board the squadron, and abundance of warlike stores. The *Mississippi* carries with her a park of twelve 24-pound howitzers.

At Philadelphia, on the 8th instant, a large meeting of "native Americans" was held in the Commissioners' Hall, Southwark, for the purpose of expressing their indignation at the idea of accepting a block of marble from the Pope to be placed in the Washington monument. Many vehement speeches were made, and resolutions were adopted protesting against the acceptance of the block—asking the monument committee to recal their letter of acceptance—recommending the associations that have contributed blocks to withdraw them unless the request is complied with—and if the Pope's block does eventually form part of the monument, that a "protest" block be prepared with a suitable inscription, and that the people insist on its being placed on the top of the objectionable popish, despotic block.

The *Philadelphia Ledger* publishes a curious paper, entitled the "Constitution of the American Revolutionary League for Europe," signed by N. Schmidt, of Boston, president; P. Wagner, of Boston, and J. R. Fuerst, of Baltimore, vice-presidents; and Mr. Willimann, of Baltimore, Mr. Gloss, of Richmond, and others, a committee. It is the result of the revolutionary congress held in Philadelphia from January 29th to February 1st, 1852. The *Ledger* says—"The design of the league is to overthrow monarchy and establish republican democracy throughout Europe. For the accomplishment of this purpose, the first object is co-operation of the democratic elements, and their fusion into one great party, looking only to radical revolution in Europe as their aim. Heretofore the democratic elements have been disunited, through national antipathies and warring against each other. They are now to be united for the destruction of the common enemy, until which time the contest for "the spoils," which usually begins with the first revolutionary effort, is to be postponed. The means to accomplish this object is to have agitation in Europe as well as America, accumulation of a revolutionary fund, and the formation of armed organizations in this country, ready for the struggle when it comes. Military companies are to be formed in every city and county in the Union, and auxiliary associations, who pay weekly contributions to the fund. The whole supervision of affairs is to be under the control of a congress of all the associations, and during its recess by an executive board. A political committee of three persons, elected by this congress, has unrestricted powers to act in concert with other nationalities, to take the steps necessary to accomplish European revolution. This, in brief, is the organization and object of this association; and the question arises how far they are consistent with the duties which American citizens owe to their own laws, and

the treaties entered into by the United States with the nations of Europe. It is a great scheme of intervention in the affairs of foreign nations, if not by the government, at least by the people of the United States. If the organization succeeds to the extent of its wishes, how long would the government of the United States be able to keep from meddling with foreign quarrels?"

THE SEARCH AFTER SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.

ANOTHER expedition has returned without throwing any light upon the doubtful fate of the missing Arctic voyagers. The enterprising Dr. John Rae, who commanded the party which started in the early part of last summer, with boats, sledges, and dogs, has arrived at Detroit, in the United States, and has detailed the results of the expedition in the following letter to Mr. A. Barclay, the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company in London:—

Biddle-house, Detroit, United States,
Feb. 28, 1852.

"SIR,—I beg to acquaint you that I arrived here today, and that my search for Sir John Franklin has been fruitless.

"The furthest point reached during the summer's voyage on the Arctic Sea, was lat. 70 deg. 30 min. north, long. 101 deg. west, on Victoria Land, about 80 miles west of the magnetic pole. Here we were arrested by ice for nearly a fortnight, and despairing of being able to push on further, we commenced our return on the 19th of August.

"On our way to the Coppermine River, two pieces of wood, the one oak, the other pine, were picked up. The former appeared to be a stancheon, in the upper end of which there had been a hole, through which a chain had evidently been passed. The wood on one side of the hole had been torn away, as if by pressure against the chain. The piece of pine looked like the butt end of a small flagstaff, and had certainly belonged to one of Her Britannic Majesty's ships, as there was a piece of line and two copper tacks attached to it, all of which bore the Government mark. The thread in the line is *red*. The line, tacks, and portions of the wood are preserved, and shall be delivered to the Admiralty on my reaching England. We had a quick but rough passage of 11 days to the Coppermine, left one of the boats and a quantity of pemmican at the Bloody Fall, ascended the stream with the other boat, transported it from the Kendal River to Bear Lake in six days, and took it on as far as Athabasca Lake, and two days' journey up Athabasca River, when we were stopped by ice, and obliged to return to Fort Chipewyan on foot.

"On the 17th of November (after a detention of three weeks), the ice having become sufficiently strong for travelling, I started, in company with eight persons, for the Red River colony, and arrived there on the 10th of January, having walked all the distance, on snow shoes, in 44 days, exclusive of the detention at the trading posts.

"Having several arrangements to make, I did not leave Red River until the 31st of January, and in 10 days afterwards arrived at Crow Island, being the quickest journey ever made to that place from the colony. There being little snow further south, my men and dogs were sent back from Crow Island, while I came on hither by stage and railroad.

"I shall leave New York for England by the steamer of the 10th of March, and expect to be in London on or about the 22nd, when I shall have the honour of handing you a more detailed report of last summer's operations, and also a rough chart of the *new* coast examined, about 500 miles in all, including the shore traced in the over-ice spring journey.

"I am happy to say that, with two exceptions, the conduct of the party under my command was excellent.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) "JOHN RAE, C.F.,
"Commanding A. S. Expedition."

THE SCOTT MURRAY-CAMPBELL CONTROVERSY.

MR. SCOTT MURRAY has published a rejoinder to Lord Campbell's reply. Referring to the case of Mr. Whitgreave's shrievalty, in 1837, Mr. Scott Murray declares, on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Huddleston, the Roman Catholic chaplain on that occasion, and of Mr. Robinson, the under-sheriff of that year, that Mr. Coldwell, Lord Campbell's informant, is certainly mistaken in his recollection of the facts:—"that Mr. Whitgreave was attended by his Roman Catholic chaplain when he conveyed the judges in his carriage; that his chaplain frequently took his place beside the sheriff in court; that he was on such occasions kindly noticed by the judges; and that from Mr. Justice Bolland he received an apology for not having invited him to dinner with the grand jury, which the judge said had arisen from a mistake."

Since Mr. Scott Murray addressed his first letter to the chief justice, he has become acquainted with another precedent, that of the Hon. Charles Clifford, who was high sheriff of Lincolnshire in the year 1844. In that year the judges, at the Spring Assizes, were the late Chief Justice Tindal and Mr. Baron Gurney; and at the Summer Assizes, Chief Justice Denman and Mr. Justice Coltman; and on both occasions the high sheriff, attended by his Roman Catholic chaplain, in the "usual clerical full dress," rode in the carriage with the judges, accompanied them into court, and sat by them on the bench. And this was not allowed to pass by the judges *per incuriam*, but with the express assurance of Lord Denman and the other judges, in answer to the inquiry of the sheriff, that they wished him "to act in all respects as his own religious feelings should dictate."

Mr. Scott Murray acknowledges that on one point he had fallen into an entire misapprehension of Lord Campbell's meaning:

"Your Lordship's emphatic statement to the grand jury was, that 'the Protestant religion is the religion of the judges of this country.' I and others understood this to be the enunciation of a great constitutional principle, whereas your Lordship's letter construes it by a *videlicet*. that 'all the judges of England who go as judges of assize are Protestants;' a '*fact*,' you add, 'uncontested and notorious.' You also say that you 'cannot imagine that any sheriff, with the knowledge of this fact, would do anything to offend their Protestant feelings, from a consideration that, in point of law, persons of a different religious persuasion may be appointed judges.'"

So that the "essence" of the high sheriff's "misconduct consisted, not in having shown disrespect to the seat of justice, but in his having offended the 'Protestant feelings' of the eminent individual who filled it."

"As, therefore, the question is no longer one of constitutional right, and as your Lordship is the first Protestant judge who has found personal cause of offence in the presence of a chaplain not of his own religion, I would fain hope that what your Lordship calls the '*incuria*,' but what I should venture to designate the deliberate courtesy and consideration for the feelings of others, which has hitherto prevailed on the bench, and which has been sanctioned by the honoured names of Denman, Abinger, Tindal, Gurney, Bolland, Coltman, Coleridge, Maule, Alderson, and Parke—to omit others unknown to me—will yet continue to operate, and that your Lordship's opinion that the personal feelings of a judge of assize are to dictate to a sheriff of a county the character of the superior officers by whom he may think fit to be attended, either in his own carriage or in his place in court, will not meet with universal acquiescence."

We hope these are the "last words" of this hitherto not wholly uninteresting controversy, but now rapidly verging on the confines of the wearisome.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

LETTERS have been addressed by Messrs. Fox and Henderson to all the daily papers, complaining of the misconception of Sir Joseph Paxton's evidence, which has led the Commissioners appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, to recommend the contract under which the Crystal Palace was constructed should be allowed to take its course, in accordance with which it must be entirely removed before the 1st of May. This recommendation was principally founded on the belief that a winter garden could be entirely formed for a less sum than would be required to render the Crystal Palace permanent. On this point Messrs. Fox and Henderson remark:—

"We have no hesitation in saying that this is a monstrous mistake, and that if the present structure is thrown away, it is simply a wanton destruction of 160,000*l*. worth of public property, which is not likely to be replaced except under an amount of excitement equal to that which produced the Great Exhibition.

"The building can only now be preserved by a manifestation of public opinion in its favour, and that the most ample opportunities for that purpose may be afforded, we shall for the next week throw open the doors to all visitors free of charge. We leave the fate of the building to this final court of appeal, confident that if our views are sound they will yet be carried into effect."

A correspondent of the *Times*, under the signature "Z.," declares that there is some manœuvring going on, and that "public opinion is dreaded." He thus explains the matter further:—

"By jumbling expenses together, the Commissioners make Sir Joseph Paxton say, in their Report, that the purchase of the building, and the conversion of it into a winter garden, would cost 150,000*l*.; and that for this sum he could put up a much finer and more appropriate structure.

"In the first place, the Commissioners have exaggerated Sir Joseph Paxton's estimate by [illegible]*l*.; next, the Commissioners are not candid enough to say that 52,000*l*. of this estimate are chiefly for expenses which would be common to any building for a winter garden, such as warming, walks, heating apparatus, &c.

"The fact is, that the building, which has cost the public above 190,000*l*., may be purchased for less than 65,000*l*., and would require an outlay of 26,000*l*. to put in thorough repair. So that a total of 92,000*l*. would not only purchase this building for a winter garden, but be the means of economising a projected outlay of at least 200,000*l*. for additional buildings at the British Museum."

Sir Joseph Paxton has also written a letter of indignant denial.

DESTITUTION IN THE METROPOLIS.

"DOES it not appear a strange result of the terrible statistics of society," says the *Times*, "that upon an average one person out of twenty of the inhabitants of this luxurious metropolis is every day destitute of food and employment, and every night without a place for shelter or repose?" Rich are we—luxurious; and charity stretches forth its hundred thousand arms; yet are there every day one hundred thousand persons who rise in want, if they have a bed to rise from, and who go to rest in want. Destitution is one of our permanent institutions; it is perennial; nothing stays it for long. In the Registrar-General's Report for 1849 it is stated "that nearly one human being died weekly in this wealthy metropolis from actual starvation." In the corresponding report for 1851 we find that twenty-eight adults died from starvation, and 252 infants from want of breast-milk or want of food. In the month of December, 1851, five adults died from starvation, and twenty-nine infants from inanition.

What is the remedy for this state of things? A society has been formed, which endeavours to give a practical answer to the question, and here are some of the results of their labours:—

"During the year 1850-51 this establishment relieved with soup and bread 54,208 poor persons at the Kitchen; 141,352 with two quarts of soup and portions of bread, at their own homes; 7405 were provided at the Refuge with clean, comfortable beds, suppers, and breakfasts; 1687 gallons of soup and 908 quartern loaves were given to the Ragged Schools; 113,714 men, women, and children accommodated at the lavatories and waterclosets; and 285 men and 374 women obtained good situations at the Free Registry. On Christmas-day last, 22,500 persons enjoyed good Christmas fare of roast beef and plum-pudding, besides presents of tea, coffee, sugar, &c.; 2973 children of Ragged Schools had a similar dinner given to them; and, during the last month of December, 15,078 poor people were relieved with soup and bread at the Kitchen; 21,571 at their homes; 783 with a bed, supper, and breakfast; and 17,859 visited the lavatories, waterclosets, &c."

As may be inferred from the preceding extract from their report, the efforts of the society are mainly directed to the establishment of a number of asylums throughout the metropolis in which the destitute denizens of London may meet with one or other of the four following forms of relief:—1st, a soup kitchen; 2nd, a refuge for nightly shelter; 3rd, a free registry for procuring situations and work for servants and labourers; 4th, a free lavatory, &c. The figures given above represent the success which has already attended the efforts of the society at their institution in Leicester-square. It is a brave work, and that success may attend it is our hearty wish.

LIFE OF A "MAN ABOUT TOWN."

A CASE illustrative of the manners and customs of sporting men about town was tried at the Guildhall, Westminster, on Wednesday, before Mr. Witham, and a bench of magistrates. Two brothers, John Phineas Davis, and David John Davis, solicitors, at 5, Holles-street, Cavendish-square, had been largely connected in sporting transactions with Mr. John O'Brien, described by his counsel as a "gentleman of great respectability," educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he had *not* taken a degree, and living on his own means, at the Talbot Hotel, Richmond. Mr. Ballantine, counsel for the Davises, (who surrendered to take their trial for assaulting Mr. O'Brien, and beating him severely with large sticks in the Haymarket,) drew out from O'Brien in cross-examination, that the difference commenced by the Messrs. Davis being employed adverse to him in an affair in which he was charged with having obtained bills, fraudulently, to the amount of several thousand pounds from a Mr. Clifton. At first he said that he thought he ought not to be compelled to state what the exact amount was. Then he said he could not swear how many thousand pounds he was charged with defrauding Mr. Clifton of, but he believed that he had claimed 3400*l*. as money lent, and as an arrangement for assisting him out of a scrape. To the best of his knowledge and belief he had never advised Mr. Clifton to say that his kneecap was broken, and that he was going to remain in London, and thence going to Clifton; "but if I have said so, you can produce the letter if you have one."

A letter was then handed up to Mr. O'Brien, which he acknowledged to be his, and offered to read it himself. It was as follows:—

"Friday.

"MY DEAR CLIFTON,—I did not receive your letter yesterday till after post time. Poole will give you your things. I have arranged with Bennett to pay your Scotch debts; I put them down as 250*l*. The place in Scotland will be in your name, otherwise you may be arrested; this also I have arranged. So help me, my ——, you ought to give me a large annual allowance to attend to your affairs. It has cost me since I came to London at least 50*l*. in cab hire, and I owe my arrest to waiting in town to do your business.

"Now, as to taking you on a *capias*, the law says, if a man expresses an intention to leave England he can be held to bail. I am afraid they could prove you was going to Scotland. If you were not going to Scotland, or had not expressed an intention of going, no *capias* would touch you. But I tell you what you will do, and this will be an effectual bar to a *capias*—write me a letter saying you have broken the cap of your knee, and that you are

going to remain a few days in London, and thence going to Clifton, and from thence to Scotland. Date your letter, don't put it in an envelope, for the post mark will be necessary to show, and then they may put their *capias*.—This done you may safely come, there will be only Barry, and that I will settle to-morrow. So come upon receipt, and don't mind Bennett. I'll answer for your safety.

"I have been again crippled; I am in anything but good health. I'll get Bennett to give money to take your horses to Inverness. Adieu till we meet.

"Ever yours, "J. O'B.

"I had to give bail for 3,000*l.* George Payne acted nobly for me.

"Ever yours, "J. O'B."

He then continued—"I will swear that the cap of his knee actually was broken. I have not written any anonymous letters about defendants. I decline to answer whether I have been a party to their being written. I know Mr. George Wood, and have known him for twenty years. I have never played with him. I never won 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* from him. Going over a period of twenty-two years I do not recollect challenging any one for accusing me of cheating at cards. I was never charged by him with cheating him, and never challenged him. I have never challenged any one of whom I have won money. I fought one or two duels while in Trinity College. I will take my oath I have challenged nobody for fifteen years. I never challenged a person who refused to pay me a sum of money during the last fourteen or fifteen years. In my earlier days duels were as common as possible. I can only speak to the best of my knowledge and belief. I cannot swear to twenty-five years ago. I have been a defaulter for 6000*l.* or 7000*l.*, which I owe yet, but my debts probably will be paid. This was in 1847. I am not now a member at Tattersall's, for no defaulter can be a member. I never said in the presence of Adam Glen, landlord of the White Bear, that I would break the neck of John Davis. I assaulted a person of the name of Scott six or seven years ago. He brought an action agajnst me, and I had to pay 100*l.* and 200*l.* costs. I am now living at the Talbot. I never played cards in my ife—that is, I am not a professional player, nor have I played for lagre sums. I have never won 1000*l.* or 500*l.* at *écarté*. I believe I know the brother of a man named Cauty, who was transported, but I have never been charged with cheating in his company. Another person named Fector lent me 200*l.* I never paid him, for he never asked it of me. I think he meant it as a gift. We were intimate at Paris. I made no threat against him of any kind. I got the money from him at Fenton's Hotel. He gave me a cheque for the money. I did know Mr. Beaumont. I got, I should think, 13,000*l.* or 14,000*l.* from him as presents of various kinds. He is now dead, but was a gentleman of great property. He was a great personal friend of mine. I met him at Rome, Naples, and other places, and used to go in his yacht, and was very intimate up to the time of his death. I had a duel with a Mr. Somers, and was wounded; he was member for Sligo. This must be twenty years ago. I was in the Queen's Bench in 1836, for six or eight weeks. In that year I took the benefit of the Insolvent Act; subsequently I received some moneys, and allocated them to the payment of the debts in my schedule, and I believe all entitled to be paid were paid 20*s.* in the pound. I was arrested again last year, and was in gaol seven months."

Several bystanders on the occasion of the assault, testified to having seen O'Brien severely thrashed by the two Davises, and the jury having found them guilty, they were sentenced to a fine of 50*l.* each, the judge commenting on the line of defence that had been adopted, namely, "attempting to throw dirt on Mr. O'Brien's character" by reckless imputations which they did not even attempt to substantiate. The two brothers then entered into their own recognizances of 100*l.* each, to appear on the 5th of April, at Clerkenwell, to receive formal judgment.

CHILD MURDERS.

JANE GRAHAM, a single woman, who had been keeping house for her father, a lampblack manufacturer, at South Shore, Gateshead, was charged at Newcastle on Friday week with attempting to drown her child, a boy about seventeen months old, in a pond near Benton Bank. The first witness, Ralph Chapman, said that on the previous day Jane Graham had passed him near the bridge at Long Benton with a child in her arms, and three or four minutes afterwards she passed him again without it. This excited his suspicions: he called a man named Robinson, and they went together to the place where Chapman had seen her. On looking over the fence on the side of the road they at once saw the child about six or seven feet off, "moaning and clinging to the side of the pond, and seeming much exhausted." As soon as they had taken the child out of the pond, they went in search of the mother, and soon overtook her. Before any question was asked, she said, "That's my child—give it me." The pond was about three feet deep, and as there was a high wooden railing between it and the road, the child must have been pitched over. Jane Graham declared that a man named John Taylor, a grocer's assistant, was the father of the child, and had thrown it into the pond, and that she was waiting for an opportunity to take it out again. No such person was known in the neighbourhood. She was committed for trial at the next assizes.

A married woman, named Selina Rider, was committed for trial by the magistrates of Derby on Saturday, upon a charge of having wilfully murdered her illegitimate child, named Martha Sudbury, by casting it into the Derwent. The body was found in the river on Wednesday, with a string tied round its waist, to which a brick, rolled up in a handkerchief, was attached. The woman protested her innocence, but the evidence against her appeared to be conclusive.

A labouring man, named John Cannon, residing at Boyn Hill, near Maidenhead, has for the last two years taken as a lodger a relative of his wife, named Isaac Lee, who has always shown certain indications of weak intellect. On the morning of Tuesday week he cruelly murdered a little girl about four years old, a grandchild of John Cannon's, by knocking its head against the floor, and kicking it about the room. Lee was taken before the magistrates at Maidenhead on Friday, and committed for trial at the next Berkshire assizes.

An inquest was held at Cork on Wednesday week on the body of a girl four years old, named Catherine Swiney, the child of a man named Edward Swiney, who lived in Simmon's-lane, and, having been out of employment, had been for some time supported by the charity of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. On Tuesday, while Swiney's wife was out of the house, he strangled the child by tying a skein of black thread tightly round her throat. The child was found lying dead in the cradle with the string round its neck. Swiney was arrested by two men, who lived in the same house, at Cunningham's public-house, near Patrick's-bridge. He was then given into the custody of Constable Geale, to whom, although cautioned against saying anything, he stated that it was he who strangled the child. This statement he repeated when taken to the Tuckey-street guard-house. The motive of the deed cannot be conjectured. A verdict of wilful murder was returned by the jury. Swiney, who appeared quite indifferent during the course of the proceedings, was then removed to the city gaol.

William Gildon, a decent, quiet-looking mechanic, was tried before Mr. Justice Talfourd, at Exeter, on Monday, for the wilful murder of John Thomas, aged two years, the illegitimate son of his wife, who had lived with them at Marychurch since their marriage. During his wife's absence on the evening of the 5th of March, Gildon called two of the neighbours to look at the child, saying that it had been suddenly taken ill. They found the child in bed, sobbing and groaning faintly, blood flowing from its mouth, and blood on the bed. Gildon was much confused, but readily agreed to send for the surgeon, Mr. Appleton. In the meantime his wife returned, and Gildon said to her, whilst giving expression to her deep grief for the child, "Silence! what are you making that noise about? You deserve a good horsewhipping." When in custody the prisoner said to his father-in-law, that if it had not been for Ann's (meaning his wife) long tongue, the neighbours would not have known anything at all about it. Mr. Appleton, the surgeon, found the child in a dying state, and when he called the next morning the boy was dead. In his evidence on the trial Mr. Appleton declared that the child's death was caused by blows upon the right temple and side of the head, such as would be produced by a man's fist. The jury acquitted Gildon of the charge of murder, but found him guilty of manslaughter. Mr. Justice Talfourd told Gildon he had had a narrow escape of his life. He was astonished at the verdict, but would sentence him to the severest punishment possible—transportation for life.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen is expected to visit Winchester Cathedral and College about the 10th or 11th of June next.

It is said that our Queen will be visited by her blind cousin, the King of Hanover, about the beginning of May.

A memorial to the Queen, praying for the subjection of nunneries to regular inspection, has been forwarded for presentation to the Earl of Shaftesbury, signed by 20,140 of the women of Glasgow.

Mr. John C. King, delegated by the colony of Victoria, presented the first address to the Queen that has ever been carried to England by an Australian colonist, at the levee on Wednesday. The principal gold fields of Australia are situated in the colony of Victoria, and the address is expressive of the attachment of the inhabitants to the Sovereign, and their gratitude for the erection of the province into a separate colony, "under Her Majesty's Royal name." Mr. King was presented by Sir John Pakington.

The *Builder* announces that Mr. Pugin, the architect, is in a state of mind that prevents any attention to professional pursuits.

It is reported that Lord Beaumont and his sister, the Hon. Miss Stapleton, have seceded from the Church of Rome. The Hon. Mr. Stapleton, brother to Lord Beaumont, became a member of the Church of England a year and a half ago. Lady Beaumont, a daughter of Lord Kilmaine, always has been a Protestant.

Mr. Sheriff Swift, at the Queen's levee, held on Thursday the 26th of February last, caused to be presented to her Majesty a Roman Catholic priest, as his chaplain, under the style and title of "the Very Reverend Monsignore Searle;" and this Papal dignitary paraded himself at Court in coloured [illegible]s, fantastic stockings, and all the gaudiness of ultramontane millinery. The adoption of the style of "Monsignore" was in direct violation of the well-known regulations of this country, which require a license from the Crown to assume "foreign titles," and in the *Gazette* of Tuesday the following paragraph was published:

"Lord Chamberlain's-office, March 23.—Notice is hereby given, that the presentation to the Queen at the levee on Thursday, the 26th of February last, of the Very Rev. *Monsignore* Searle, is cancelled, that title having been assumed without the required authority."

Many of the sightseers who visit the New Houses of Parliament ought to be informed that the orders issued by the Lord Great Chamberlain now admit, not only to the House of Peers, but to the Central-hall, St. Stephen's-hall, Westminster-hall, the Royal Gallery, the Victoria Tower, and the Royal Staircase.

The public were on Monday, for the first time since its erection, admitted into the Crystal Palace without any charge. During the day more than 80,000 visitors availed themselves of the privilege afforded by the contractors. The galleries and the whole area of the building from end to end were carefully explored by numbers who had never been there before, and their companions might be heard eagerly explaining to them where the more prominent objects of the Exhibition stood. The groups of promenaders, of every class, from the peer to the labourer, and the crowds of children playing about without inconvenience, suggested how easily so vast a covered space might be adapted for purposes of innocent and healthful recreation.

A numerous meeting was held at the Music Hall, Store-street, on Tuesday evening, in aid of the Early Closing movement, the Reverend Thomas Dale, Vicar of St. Pancras, in the chair. Resolutions were passed condemning the present system of late hours in the retail trades, and pledging those present who were employers or customers to do their utmost to carry out early closing.

In pursuance of a requisition from a large number of citizens the Lord Mayor convened a Common Hall, for the purpose of considering the principle of the Bill now before Parliament for extending the municipal franchise to all persons who paid taxes as Parliamentary electors, and who had resided for a year and a day in the city. On Wednesday, the appointed day, the Liverymen mustered in the Guildhall to the number of about six hundred, and vehemently protested by their spokesmen, Messrs. Flanders, citizen and "lorimer;" Clarke, "mercer;" Taylor and Pearce, "plumbers;" Sangster, "spectacle-maker;" and Jones, "turner,"—against "giving away the privileges of the Livery to a foreign body, who had no right to such immunities;" and they almost drowned Deputy Harrison's speech, who proposed a resolution in favour of the intended Municipal Reform, with groans, ironical cheers, and loud cries of disapprobation. The original resolution was lost, and an amendment condemning the Bill (which has now passed the second reading in Parliament) was carried by an overwhelming majority, and amidst tremendous cheering.

At a meeting of the vestry of Marylebone on Saturday, Mr. Hodges moved for a committee on the subject of the tax of 1*s.* 1*d.* per ton levied by the City of London on all coals within a circuit of twenty miles, and also the toll of 2*d.* on every tradesman's cart entering the city. The motion was founded on a memorial from the Ratepayers' Protection Association. The memorialists complained that the City of London should possess this privilege of taxing all the ratepayers of the metropolitan districts, and of expending the money in City improvements. The City of London had only a rental of 800,000*l.*, while that of Marylebone was more than a million. Marylebone had a thousand more houses than the City, and eight hundred more public gas-lights. According to the calculation of the speakers, Marylebone pays annually to the City of London a tax of 7,336*l.* per annum for their coals; and taking into consideration the difference in the price of gas caused by the tax, the entire burden imposed by the City privileges amounted to 10,366*l.* per annum. After some discussion, in which Sir Peter Laurie defended the City corporation, the resolution was carried unanimously, and Sir Peter Laurie, Mr. Brass, Mr. Gray, Mr. Hodges, and Mr. Hume, M.P., were appointed a committee.

The Leicestershire papers say, that so many Meltonians are appointed to the new ministry, that the metropolis of the hunting world is in a most deplorable state of dulness.

The report of the Liverpool Female Penitentiary, which was laid before the subscribers on Monday, stated that during the forty-one years that have elapsed since the Penitentiary was founded, five hundred and thirty-five females had been enabled to return to a course of industry and virtue on leaving the institution, while many had been restored to their parents and friends. A large extension of the institution had lately been made, chiefly with the view of making the labour of the inmates more productive. The receipts had not been sufficient to meet this outlay, and in the course of the year they had been compelled to refuse fifty-two out of a hundred and sixteen applicants for admission.

The *Great Britain* steam-ship made her first trial trip on Monday, after her long imprisonment in the Liverpool Docks. She went out of dock at noon, having on board a numerous company, among whom were Mr. Samuel Bright, Captain Claxton, R.N., Mr. F. P. Smith, the original patentee of the screw propeller, Messrs. Harman and Penn, the builders of the *Great Britain's* engines, and other gentlemen connected with the vessel's recent alterations. She was loudly greeted by the cheers of the multitudes congregated on the pier-heads and landing-stage, and steamed down to Holyhead, a route of at least seventy miles, in five hours and forty minutes. After a short delay she proceeded on her trip, which it is purposed shall occupy outwardly twenty-four hours. Captain Mathews and the managing engineer are perfectly satisfied with her performances and behaviour.

When the 5 o'clock train from Norwich arrived at the Flordon station on Saturday evening, the passengers were much surprised at seeing a clergyman in full canonicals standing in the passage of the station house. This was the Rev. Mr. Moore, the curate of the parish; a neighbouring magistrate had given him some offence; he was expected to arrive by this train, and the curate was waiting to "curse" him. While the doomed individual was giving up his ticket to the station-master, the Rev. Mr. Moore thus addressed him: "I inflict a curse upon this man. I curse you; I curse your wife; I curse all you have—may your children be fatherless and vagabonds, and beg their bread;" and continued his execrations with much vivacity and variety until the "cursed man" drove off. The reverend gentleman, in default of sureties to keep the peace, was committed on Sunday night to Norwich Castle, by Edward Howes, Esq. The whole matter has also been reported to the Bishop of the diocese.

John Sealy Townsend, a Retired Master in Chancery, and one of the ornaments of the Irish bar in the days of its greatest brilliancy, died, at his residence, Kilvara, near Dublin, on the 18th inst., at the advanced age of 87. He was the contemporary and competitor of Plunkett, Curran, Saurin, Bushe, Pennefather, &c.

Lady Morgan has addressed a letter to one of the auditors of the Benevolent Society of St. Patrick, proposing that a monument to Moore should be raised in the poet's native city. She says: "The name of Ireland's greatest poet suggests an idea which perhaps is already more ably anticipated, that some monumental testimony to his honour should be raised in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin; for Westminster might well deny such a distinction to the Irish bard as was refused to the remains of England's greatest poet since the time of Shakspeare and Milton—Byron. Nowhere could the monument of Moore be more appropriately placed than near that of Swift."

The military commission of the Germanic Diet has granted the sum of 40,000 florins to Professors Schonbein, of Basle, and Bottger, of Frankfort, as a reward for their invention of gun cotton.

Rio de Janeiro will shortly be lighted with gas by an English company. The gas pipes for the purpose will be shipped from Liverpool in a few days, and a gentleman proceeds to Rio by the next Brazilian mail packet from Southampton, to superintend the arrangements.

The Palace of Rheinardsbrunn, the property of the Duke of Saxe Coburg Gotha, Prince Albert's brother, was burned to the ground on the night of the 14th inst. The edifice occupied the site of an ancient monastery in the Thuringian forest, and was not long since rebuilt in the old German style.

The Austrian Ambassador presented Mr. Stephens, superintendent of the Birmingham police, with a gold snuff box, mounted with diamonds, and valued at 250*l.*, as an acknowledgment by the Emperor of Austria of his services in effecting the apprehension and conviction of Hill for extensive forgeries on the Bank of Vienna. He also presented Mr. Minty, a merchant, with a diamond ring for his assistance as interpreter on that occasion; and Mr. Leadbitter, late a Bow-street officer, with a ring mounted with an amethyst and brilliants, for his exertions in bringing Hill, and another man named Moltini, to justice, for forgeries on the Austrian Government. Austria seems to have a "charming taste" for giving presents and testimonials: the *Spectator* of Vienna publishes a proposition for a subscription to purchase a testimonial for presentation to the hostess of the inn in which Marshal Haynau took refuge when driven out of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins' brewery. The *Spectator* dwells with much feeling upon the kind behaviour of the landlady, and suggests that Austrian patriotism should endow her with a neck ornament, with the portrait of the marshal in enamel.

On Sunday night, shortly after nine o'clock, some of the inhabitants of Crown-street, Soho-square, were alarmed by seeing a glare of light over the tops of the houses occupied by Mr. James, a wheelwright, and Messrs. Puddicomb and Townsend, cowkeepers, and in a few minutes flames burst out from several parts of the premises. At this time Mr. and Mrs. James were in bed and asleep, and a great number of cows and horses were in the adjoining buildings. Mr. James and his wife were aroused with great difficulty, and were pulled out of the house, nearly stifled with smoke. One cow and one horse were burnt to death, the remainder were extricated, most of them uninjured. The exertions of the firemen overcame the fire at about twelve o'clock at night; but the entire range of buildings was destroyed, extending from Crown-street to Star-court, Compton-street.

A fire occurred on Wednesday morning, in Surrey-street, in the centre of Croydon, which at one time seemed formidable. Fortunately for the inhabitants, however, the waterworks of the Croydon local board of health are in so forward a state that by means of the street fire-plugs, a strong leather hose, and copper jet pipes, a complete torrent of water, which rose to a height of 50 feet, was poured over the burning houses. In spite of some little delay which took place from the novelty of the duty to the men employed, so admirable was the effect produced on the fire that the assembled inhabitants could not refrain from loudly cheering the performance of the waterworks. It was, in fact, solely owing to the heavy column of water thrown over the burning houses, that the brewery of Mr. Overton, the flour mills, and the gas works, were saved from destruction; as it was, the fire was confined to the destruction of two houses, that of Mr. Burt, a cornchandler, and the adjoining house, occupied by a patten-manufacturer.

On Friday, the 12th inst., the Reverend Godfrey Kingsford, chaplain to the convict establishment at Gibraltar, destroyed himself by cutting his throat with a knife. The coroner's jury gave a verdict of "temporary insanity." He was a zealous preacher, and much esteemed by all classes at Gibraltar.

On Monday, a deaf old labourer named Scott, seventy-four years old, trespassed on the line of the Brighton and Portsmouth Railway, and he was seen by the engine-driver of a train to Portsmouth near the Rustington Brook, crossing, just beyond the Angmering station. He immediately used the steam whistle, and continued to sound it, besides putting on all the breaks, but the old man being stone deaf remained on the line, and was dashed to pieces by the train. An inquest was held on Tuesday, at Leominster, before Mr. J. Lutman Ellis, the coroner for West Sussex, and a verdict returned of "Accidental death."

A jury at the Marylebone County Court on Saturday decided that a cab proprietor named Bowtell should pay Mr. Clutterbuck the value of a box placed in one of his cabs at the Paddington station, and which was not forthcoming when Mr. Clutterbuck arrived at his residence at Hoxton. Mr. Bowtell contended that cab proprietors only undertook to convey passengers, and were not liable for luggage, which was taken gratuitously. Mr. Amos, the judge, however, said it was evident that Mr. Clutterbuck was entitled to recover, and the jury took the same view of the case. The decision is important.

The execution of Kemish and Ayres, who were condemned to death for drowning Mr. Soffe in the canal at Romsey after robbing him, was fixed for last Saturday, but they have both received a respite for a fortnight, to give time for further inquiry.

Sarah Ann French, who poisoned her husband with arsenic at Chiddingley, and passed the night after the funeral with a young man named Hickman, her sister sleeping in the same bed, and her little son in a bed by her side, was tried at Lewes, on Friday the 19th inst., before Mr. Baron Parke. She was lifted into the dock by the turnkeys, for she has been subject to fits, and in prison became partially paralyzed. She was stated in the calendar to be twenty-seven years of age, but she is described as having all the appearance of a woman of forty, with a most repulsive countenance. During the greater part of the trial she sat in a sort of stupor, and did not appear to pay any attention to the proceedings, but when her son, a boy of eight years old, was introduced as a witness, she turned her head, looked at him for a moment, and burst into tears. The boy's evidence, however, was not taken, as the Judge, after a few preliminary questions had been put, did not consider that he understood sufficiently the moral obligation of an oath. The boy had said that "he did not know what happened to people who took an oath to tell the truth and told a lie. It was a wicked thing to tell a lie. He was aware that something would be done to wicked people who told lies, after they were dead; but he did not know what it was." Sarah French was found "Guilty" by the jury, and sentence of death was passed. Hickman was in court, and heard his wretched paramour ordered for execution without betraying the least emotion.

The surviving officers of the British ship *Victory* have written to the owners, Messrs. Cook and Wilson, confirming the details already given of the horrible massacre committed by the Chinese emigrant coolies. The names of the murdered men are, Mr. Wm. Lennox Mullens, the commander; the second mate, Mr. James Aransons; Henry Watt, a seaman; and the cook, Edward Bailey, who has left a widow and five children, at Cambridge. By the last advices the authorities of Singapore had forwarded several of the crew to the Admiral on the China station, who in all probability would send a steamer in search of the pirates, and as the native chief of the locality where they landed is on friendly terms, great hopes are entertained that they will all be captured. The object of the coolies in massacreing the captain and others of the crew was no doubt plunder, and it is now believed that they went on board with an impression that the *Victory* was freighted with a valuable cargo. Captain Mullens also has left a widow and a large family.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

The official report says:—A high rate of mortality continues to prevail in the metropolis. In the last week of February the deaths were 1069; in the first two weeks of March they rose successively to 1128 and 1232; and in the week that ended last Saturday they were 1208. In ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51 the average number of deaths was 1051, which, if raised in a certain proportion according to increase of population, will be 1156. The number returned for last week, therefore, exceeds the corrected average by 52.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 18th inst., in Inverness-terrace, Bayswater, the wife of George Vulliamy, Esq.: a daughter.

On the 20th inst., at No. 8, Chester-street, Mrs. Philip Pleydell Bouverie: a daughter.

On the 20th inst., in Dorset-place, the Lady Louisa Rabett: a daughter.

On the 21st inst., at 10, Upper Grosvenor-street, the lady of Sir Edward North Buxton, Bart., M.P.: a daughter.

On the 22nd inst., at 3, Norfolk-street, Park-lane, the wife of Frederic Weber, M.D.: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 28th of January, at Bellary, Lieut. C. S.B. Bivar, 1st Madras Light Cavalry, to Matilda Emma, daughter of the late Colonel John Hunter.

On the 20th inst., at St. Pancras, by his brother, the Rev. Richard Whittington, M.A., John Whittington, Esq., of Dublin, third son of Benjamin Whittington, Esq., of Dean-street, Finsbury-square, to Frances Louisa, eldest daughter of Richard Norton, Esq., of Liverpool-street, Argyle-square, London.

On the 23rd inst., at St. John's, Hackney, by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, Lieut. J. W. Lane, R.N., of Carshalton, Surrey, to Louisa Caroline, relict of the late Captain W. B. Price, of Homerton, Middlesex.

On Saturday, the 20th inst., at St. George's, Camberwell, William Frederick Messer, Esq., of Carlton-lodge, New-cross, to Cordelia Townsend, second daughter of James Smith, Esq., of the Grand Surrey Canal Docks, Rotherhithe, Surrey.

DEATHS.

On the 8th inst., in the 71st year of his age, John Harry, Esq., M.D., who was formerly private physician to Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess of Oldenbourg, and afterwards private physician to her sister, Her Majesty the present Queen-Mother of the Netherlands.

On the 13th inst., at Southsea, Commander George Martin Hunter, R.N., fourth son of the late General Sir Martin Hunter.

On Wednesday, the 17th inst., at St. John's-wood, London, John Hinde Pelly, Esq., late of the Bombay Civil Service, aged 66.

On the 19th inst., at Broome, Bedfordshire, Elizabeth, relict of the late Walter Gullifer, Esq., of Witham, Essex, in the 90th year of her age.

On the 21st inst., at St. James's Palace, in the 74th year of his age, Major-General Sir Henry Wheatley, Bart., C.B., K.G.H., late Privy Purse to His Majesty William the Fourth, and to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

On the 22nd inst., at his residence, 23, Argyll-street, Sir Charles Fergusson Forbes, M.D., K.C.H., and Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals, aged 73.

On the 22nd inst., aged 39, Sarah, wife of John Finchin, Esq., of Forest-lane, West Ham, Essex, and New-road, St. George's-in-the-East.

At Bucknell, Oxfordshire, on the 23rd inst., T. T. Drake, of Shardeloes, Esq., aged 69.

On the 23rd inst., at No. 9, New Burlington-street, Charles Foley Wilmot, Esq., second son of the late Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart., of Osmarton, in the county of Derby, aged 54.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, March 20.

WE have now some distinct pledges from ministers in both Houses to a dissolution.

Soon after the House of Commons met last night, Lord John Russell distinctly enquired whether Ministers were prepared to advise the Crown to dissolve Parliament and summon a new one with the least possible delay? The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that was an "unprecedented" question, nevertheless he would answer it. Parliament would be dissolved, and a new one assembled in time to take a decision upon the question of confidence in the administration during "the present year." But a far more decided reply was given by Lord Derby to a similar question asked by the Duke of Newcastle, on presenting a free-trade petition from the Manchester Commercial Association. Lord DERBY was not so artistic as Mr. Disraeli, but he was far more frank and explicit.

"I am as anxious as possible," he said, "that at the earliest period, consistent with that which I deem to be for the welfare and good of the country—the country should have an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon the principles upon which and the men by whom the Government of this country shall henceforth be conducted. I will go a step further, and say, that I think the next autumn ought not to be allowed to pass over, not only without the country having had the opportunity of coming to a decision, but without Parliament having had the opportunity of pronouncing definitively and finally its opinion and its judgment on the course of policy that ought to be adopted on the part of the Government. I will give no pledge as to time, whether in April, in May, or in June, that an appeal shall be made to the country; but I admit that an appeal ought to be made to the country before the ordinary time of commencing the next session of Parliament; and that the great question in issue should be decided and adjudicated upon by Parliament at an earlier period, so that the ordinary and current business of the next session should not be interfered with by a protracted discussion on the commercial and financial policy of the country. Further than that I am not prepared to give any assurance."

Some distrust was created by a speech from Lord REDESDALE, as to how far the words of Lord Derby might be taken as a pledge. To remove this, the Earl of ABERDEEN, again professing emphatically his adherence to the free trade policy, said—

"I understood him (Lord Derby) to say, that consistently with such measures as were of urgent and primary importance being passed—a matter which must always be one of degree ('hear,' from the Earl of Derby)—he may attach greater importance to some than I may, but it is for him, of course, to decide (hear)—such measures as he thinks of primary importance (hear)—that he would then advise her Majesty to dissolve Parliament. (Hear.) But the important part of the declaration is this, that, be it sooner or be it later, a new Parliament will be called to decide that great question to which I have referred in the course of the autumn." ('Hear,' from the Earl of Derby.)

The House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee of Supply last night. Major Beresford moved the army estimates, substantially those prepared by the late government. They asked for 101,937 men, an increase of 33,223 over the number voted last year; and for a vote of 3,602,067*l.*, being an increase of 80,997*l.* A few words from Mr. William Williams followed the statement of the secretary, and nothing more was said about the estimates. There was far other work afoot. Mr. Osborne, leaving the estimates on one side, made a dashing attack on Ministers. He described them as seeking to conceal the cloven foot of protection under the smock frock of official reserve;" he taunted them with thimble-rigging, and said the public, as usual, "were to be plundered, while the noble lord and his confederates in smock frocks were playing the game;" he said they were making a waiting-race of it, and he was distrustful when he saw "the Rupert of Debate" adopt the tactics of "Fabius Cunctator." In this style he proceeded. He savagely alluded to Lord Derby's "disloyal and treacherous ancestor," who betrayed Richard III. at Bosworth, and asked whether the farmers were to be thrown over "for such things were in the blood and would come out! He

said Ministers were a baker's dozen leagued together to put a tax on bread—an Amalgamated Society of chairmen of quarter sessions leagued together to raise the price of bread. He went through the rotten constituencies alphabetically, beginning A, Abingdon, and showed what small numbers and what corrupt electors they represented; and being in want of the letter E, he said, when he came to Mr. Herries, oh, he represents the Marquis of Exeter! He made an onslaught on the Irish appointments, showing how they were all anti-Roman Catholic, and he wound up by moving that the House should refuse the supplies.

To this sparkling and fluent charge, Mr. Whiteside offered but a faint and snarling resistance, criticising the taste which dictated Mr. Osborne's speech, and hinting at the soundness of his religion. The temper of the House, which was growing hot at this period, was cooled by a succession of speakers who made no great impression, and whose remarks were directed less to the personal than to the public question, which did not then happen to be at issue. But a remark of Sir Benjamin Hall called up the Earl of March, who said that the Duke of Richmond's rent-roll had decreased, not increased, as stated by the honourable baronet. The Earl of March then defined a "Protectionist" as "one who supported the government of Lord Derby." Mr. COBDEN had the bad taste to dispute the question of the rent-roll of the Duke of Richmond with the son of the Duke of Richmond, amid the marked coolness of the House; but he made a point when he asked Ministers what they intended to do with the Anti-Corn-Law League? Mr. WILLIAM MILES made a dull ministerial speech, expressive of confidence in Lord Derby. Mr. CARDWELL entered into the debate with that coolness and dry circumspection which distinguish him; and he fixed the question at issue, by showing that it was unconstitutional for a ministry in a minority to hold office without appealing to the country, and insisting that the House would neglect its duty if it did not demand the fullest explanation of future policy. Mr. CAYLEY carried on the ministerial side of the argument. If the farmers of England are satisfied with Lord Derby (he said), what had anybody to do with it? Lord JOHN RUSSELL restated his speech of Monday, insisting on the necessity of a dissolution at great length, and defending himself on account of the meeting at Chesham-place. But the main point in his speech was a word of warning to the Tories. He described the seditious state of the country in 1817 and 1819. He pointed out how tranquillity had followed reform, and how democracy had been met and vanquished by these means.

'If," he continued ominously, "the noble lord now at the head of the Government means to resort to other means—if the laws that he has in contemplation are opposed to the general sentiments of the country—and if he contemplates that those laws will require to be enforced by other means than the present, let me tell him that, instead of discountenancing democracy, he will be the greatest favourer of that democracy." (Cheers.)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER met the Opposition on the threshold. Their first motion, he said, is one to stop the supplies; that is the issue they have themselves selected, and on that we are prepared to divide. (Loud cheers.) He followed up Lord John Russell on every point. He charged him with faction, in organizing an opposition to force a dissolution, and winning support by promising to convert the late oligarchical cabinet into a broad-bottomed administration. He insinuated that both Mr. Cardwell and Lord John Russell were prepared to stop the supplies, whereupon each denied that he had such intention; upon which Mr. Disraeli turned round with mock gravity, exclaiming—Here, sir, you see the advantages of free discussion! Who would, he wondered, have the courage to vote with Mr. Osborne? He would go to the country on the clear, distinct issue—Has the country confidence in the present Ministry? Taking up Lord John's menace about resisting democracy, he asked with triumphant force by whose aid had the noble lord been able to repel democratic innovation—who had enabled him to resist Parliamentary Reform? To these home thrusts no reply could be made, and on this ground the Minister was unassailable.

Mr. Bright made a stout speech, leaving Lord John to defend himself, and fighting the question simply as between the country and Ministers, whom he menaced. If Ministers attempted to reimpose a duty on corn, "a great deal more than their corn laws would not be safe for six months;" the agitation of 1832 "would be but the whisper of a hurricane." "If you, as you allege, broke up an 'organized hypocrisy,' (cheers,) we will see if we cannot break up a confederated imposture." (Cheers.) A few words from the Marquis of Granby, who declared his confidence in Lord Derby, concluded the main discussion; and as Mr. Osborne withdrew his motion, the number of men was agreed to, and the vote on the money postponed until Monday.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 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 GENERAL ELECTION.

BOTH the "two great parties in the State," the two Parliamentary dinner parties, have given in: the Opposition will wait, the Ministry will not keep it long waiting; and until the end of the session there is to be a truce. Meanwhile, *flat* is the epithet for all things in the Parliamentary universe. The House of Commons is unburied, but already dead. It had better, say the genuine Conservatives of our institutions, "shut up shop." More sanguine folks desire to put it, like the Crystal Palace, to some useful purpose; and there is no doubt that if it were to hold a bazaar for some charitable object, it would compete very successfully with the dilettante charity of Belgravia. There can be no doubt that Colonel Sibthorp or Lord John Russell could sell pincushions or mosaic ornaments, "as good as gold," at a great rate; Mr. Disraeli might dispose of any number of bazaar budgets; and Mr. Hawes might vend specimens of colonial constitutions, or missing despatches, as curiosities worth preserving. Thus Parliament might make itself practically useful before its last days.

The next best thing that it can do is, to pass Lord Brougham's bill shortening the interval between the old Parliament and the new; adding thereto the recommendation of the *Morning Chronicle*, that the period should be further shortened to the length of *twenty* days. Fourteen days have sufficed for the reëlection of the lately appointed Ministers, and, *à fortiori*, twenty would suffice for the election of mere private Members. The shorter the paroxysm is the better. We all know what it means. Members and Ministers, in the slang peculiar to their craft, call it "an appeal to the country;" about as correctly as if they were to call it an appeal to the judge and jury at a fast supper house. There are, indeed, certain formalities which give to the general election the semblance of a public and national act: the Speaker issues writs—his cards inviting to the jollification; the troops go away, lest the men be corrupted by the bad manners and bad company of the hour; the sheriff reads the Bribery Act—the best joke of the whole carnival; and then the electors "go it." An important fraction of the public, which is authorized to vote for the Members of Bellamy's, and is called "the country," undergoes a jovial paroxysm of maccaronic politics, beer-drinking, sovereign-fingering, speech-swallowing, egg-throwing, cant-delivering, nonsense-shouting, bullying, bawling, brawling, ranting, tearing, chairing, colour-bearing, swearing, flaring, flaunting, vaunting, thanking, hooting; with a ludicrous ceremony called the show of hands, and a more ludicrous one called polling; and then six hundred and fifty *convives*, emerging from those pious orgies, come up to London, call themselves "representatives of the people," "honourable gentlemen," and proceed to make laws! The next election will not be a bit behind its fellows in rhodamontade and humbug; once, contrary to the general usage, Ministers are not to submit to "the country" any critical proposition, but are to appeal on the score of character, thus turning the electors loose for nothing particular. Can the public, in common politeness, return any other but the after-dinner declaration, that "the Ministry is a jolly good fellow?" Some constituent members of that jolly good fellow may politically expire in the bout; new Members, more robust, will be returned; but, upon the whole, the House will be reëlected as it was.

Like causes produce like effects: if we want to create better Members, we must create a better constituency; and if we want to have a better constituency, we must return better Members. Or perhaps the same sort might do, if we could only convince them that we are in earnest; which, considering that they are elected in a great practical joke, is not easy. The non-electors, who are most in earnest, should take the matter into their own hands. Toulmin Smith has shown that, by the ancient law of the land, the great body of inhabitants has the right to vote at elections: why do not they act upon that right? In some places, where they are most capable of active exertion, they might nominate their own candidate, poll their own numbers, for and against, carefully and honestly, elect their own man, and send him up to London, like an O'Connell from Clare, to demand his seat. A few such elections, and the true members *for the People* would not very long be excluded from Parliament.

THE REAL KEY TO PUBLIC ŒCONOMY AND EFFICIENCY.

IF "practical" men would only look at the question without the prejudice that they so much deprecate in others, they would perceive that the absence of a higher sentiment than "an enlightened selfishness," or the "pounds, shillings, and pence" principle, is the cause of much that disturbs them in the way of inefficiency, waste, and obstruction to material improvement. The fault of our aristocracy is, not that it is tyrannical—it has lost the power to be *that*, except over its own dependents—but that it is not aristocratic enough. It has descended to trading standards and middle class anxieties about personal advantage, instead of sticking to the high standards of its own escocheon, its proud traditions, and hereditary generosities. While still retaining a huge share of the government of this country, it has so conducted its part in the administration, that it has brought down the army of the nation to be a trading profession, in which the younger sons are to find a provision; the church is "in danger," because so large a portion of its well-connected clergy have made it a mere inn for their own ease; the very government of this Empire, which the most distinguished of our aristocracy reserve to signalize themselves in, truckles to mean motives and mercenary interests.

Thus, by the keen sight of commercial sagacity, this country at last discovers that it has been expending upon its Army nearly six millions sterling a-year, and yet it has not a force fit for a great nation. Not because the staple of the race has deteriorated—that has not *yet* been proved—but because the Ministers of the country have left the administration of the Army to clerks and contractors, and are satisfied if they get off without a formal vote of censure.

We have, says Mr. Williams, spent nearly 22,000,000*l.* since the war, in building, equipping, and maintaining 620 ships—a quarter of the National Debt—and yet we have only 142 ships in commission, and they are notoriously undermanned. What are the steps taken to amend the last deficiency? A "reserve" of 5000 sailors is planned by the late Ministry, and adopted by the present—a body of men to be paid a small honorarium, or retainer, every year, for the liability to serve when called upon. The same kind of reserve might be a very sound measure in regard to the land-force for service at home, and Frederick Hill has demonstrated its practicability; but its utility as respects the Navy must be more questionable, since the motives and facilities for evasion of duty at the last must be greater. It is admitted by a former Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Corry, that of the 5000 not more than 3000 would be available on instant need: and it is a clumsy mode of compensating that system of "paying off" which Captain Scobell denounces for the thousandth time. Why not, he asks, let the men enlist for five, seven, or fourteen years? Why not, indeed, unless it be that they would not? Mr. Trelawny contends that we ought to pay, at the outside, 2,000,000*l.* for 40,000 men, since able seamen can be found for the merchant service at 1*l.* a-week, "to find themselves."

We doubt the strict accuracy of this calculation; but it is notoriously the fact, that the seamen in the Navy may have more wages and comfort in a royal ship than in a merchant ship; then why are they not to be obtained? Why do they prefer the merchant service? why prefer the service of the United States? Is it because they distrust the treatment on board from our well-bred officers? Said an English sailor to us, who had served in America, "A man is treated

like a man in their ships; and in ours he does not like to be treated like a dog." The cool, reluctant, harassing delays with which sailors hang about a ship newly put in commission, the way in which the most experienced hands wait to see the less cautious *try* the new Captain, if he be an unknown man, and the difficulty which an officer of unpopular character finds in obtaining men, are well-known facts. A ship recently put in commission was very slow in obtaining her crew. And the blarneying address which Captains put forth to catch the illiterate sailor, only add to the unpleasant character of the whole affair. To look for love of country in men who prefer foreign service—to expect patriotism from men who are trapped like wild ducks, and treated like dogs, is a strange departure from that general policy of our government which looks to the conservatism of interests rather than to the chivalry of passions.

There is, indeed, a stronger love of country in our sailors than in any other class; a love of country which, like all the feelings of sailors, is more sound, and simple, and healthy, than the vapid idolatry of our glorious institutions into which our landsmen have converted the patriotic sentiment. A tar's love of old England is, in fact, the religion of the Union Jack, and it is happily undisturbed by the class divisions of political sectaries, and uncontaminated by the breath of faction, which on shore makes us forget that we are Englishmen, to remember only that we are Conservatives or Radicals. We recollect being on board of the U.S. ship *Ohio*, in the Bay of Trieste: it was in the autumn of '40, when war with France was daily expected, and a collision between our miserably undermanned ships and the French fleet was far from improbable. The English sailors, who formed a large proportion of the crew of the *Ohio*, crowded round us, and expressed a warm determination to return to the Union Jack in the event of war breaking out. Even a stronger proof of faithfulness was given on board the U.S. ship *Columbus*, at a time when the Oregon question was becoming critical. The Captain called the crew aft, and honourably told them that war with England was approaching, asking, did any desire to be discharged? The English sailors to a man (and they formed two-thirds of the ship's company) answered that it was time for them to rejoin their own flag.

We cite these instances with pride; but to rely upon them as an excuse for the system that drives men into foreign service in time of peace, in the confidence of recovering them in event of war, would be equally disastrous and mean.

We are promised a reform; not, indeed, from the Reform party, which has had the opportunity for years, and has wasted all its energies on impracticable proposals to reduce the army in the teeth of uncertain peace throughout Europe; or has not wasted its energies at all, but has lain supine in official routine while the millions continued to be spent for nothing. The reform is not to be expected from that party which makes sham motions to stop the supplies, speaks *as if* in support of such a motion, but flinches from its reality. The reform that we descry, if it prove not a phantom, is indicated in those few words with which Mr. Walpole seemed to echo Lord Palmerston's, that in their arrangements respecting volunteer corps, Government would show no distrust of the People. Now if that were true, it would indeed bespeak a return to sound national action, not only in the matter of volunteer corps, but in the whole relations of the Government to the People.

ADVANCING ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES.

"Do not call it Socialism," says an excellent friend to us, when we recount the practical progress which is made by the principle of Concert. "Do not *call* it Socialism; the public will then unconsciously adopt it without fear, and we shall attain the thing that is desired by waiving the name." But we cannot accept that advice, and for these two reasons, independently of our dislike to covert speech—first, because by identifying the practical operations of the Social idea, we prove to the public that the idea is not the bugbear that some imagine; and secondly, because by showing the principle which is common to many recent improvements, we at the same time show that there is more where they came from. Socialists will not silently let the public adopt their ideas, and consent to be called anarchists precisely for having recommended those ideas; still less will they consent that the public take some of the benefits, and forego the rest for want of knowledge.

That a town should take thought for the wants of its individual inhabitants, and provide those wants by a general measure, is a total innovation on the œconomic philosophy of modern times; and that philosophy, having possession of power for the time, has been able to refute the propounders of such an idea by the mere fact that it was not accepted. But now we see Croydon undertaking a general plan of drainage, and providing itself with a general and constant water-supply. The result of the latter provision has just been tested in a very satisfactory manner. We all know that in cases of fire, the difficulty is to obtain a supply of water; a fire breaks out at Croydon, and the constant supply of the one element proves amply sufficient to subdue the other in a manner unprecedented for facility, promptitude, and certainty, where water is the extinguisher.

The separate system does not work well in society. Under that system the graveyards where we inter our dead are made depositories of poison for the living. An act was passed to place the whole interments of the metropolis under one authority; but it was passed by a Government which equally lacked the power to resist the claims of the sanitary reforms, and the good faith to fulfil what it affected to adopt. The means of executing the law were withheld by the supreme Executive, although they were confessedly simple and easy; and this year, under a new and professedly an honester Government, the whole question of the unfulfilled law is reopened. At the interview of the Sanitary Deputation with Lord John Manners, the incontrovertible facts—the fatal mischief of the old plan, the practicability of the proposed plan, the financial feasibility and saving, and the indecorum of suffering a law affirmed by a great majority of the legislature to be evaded—were recorded in the plainest terms. And although the Ministers of a precarious Government may hesitate, there is no doubt that the persevering exertions of the Sanitary Reformers will not long hence be crowned with success. A provision for the general interment of the dead, by a public organization, is now only a question of time.

The machinery for the self-education of the people is not less manifestly developing itself. A plan has been suggested to the Society of Arts for bringing the Mechanics' Institutes and cognate societies within its central superintendence. The Society has declared its willingness to accept that post, if a sufficient number of other societies signify their desire to join it; and not to leave that question to chance, the Society has issued circulars to the several institutions, putting direct questions as to their willingness to combine, their several resources, wants, and so forth. That they would profit by combining we know already, from the experience of the Yorkshire institutes: and who practically obtained the establishment of that experience? We much suspect that they were men belonging to the condemned order of Socialists; and we know that the secretary of the Union is James Hole, one of the most outspoken, one of the most zealous and forcible writers on Social Science, as he is one of the most practical appliers of the principle of Concert.

OUR SECRET DIPLOMACY IN EGYPT AND SOUTH AMERICA.

Our *debonair* Leader of the Commons has scarcely disappointed expectation by the gay and bantering air, the free and easy assurance with which he handles the box of a Minister, and waves aside the questions of mere Members.

He not only astounds every officer of the House, from the ushers that attend on the deliberations, to the porters that hover around the gates of that solemn assembly, by the terrible familiarity with place and power that only genius can don in the course of one week, but he runs the gauntlet of what our neighbours, when they had a parliament, were wont to call "interpellations," with an affectation of *bonhomie* that defies inquisitiveness, and an assumption of frankness that revolutionizes all precedents, and disarms all suspicion.

So, when Lord Palmerston's squire, Mr. Monckton Milnes, was moving, a few nights since, for the correspondence with Schwarzenberg on the refugee question, what could be more dashing and confident, and, at the same time, more courteous and kind, than the Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli's reply?

"My hon. friend appears to entertain the notion that the essence of diplomacy is mystery."

Whereupon the Minister, whose very name popularly suggests that power has turned his head, proceeds to treat as an ignorant joke of outsiders the ancient superstition, that "it is quite impossible, whenever our diplomatic interests are concerned, for any member or members of her Majesty's Government to give a straightforward answer." We are to believe that our Tory Ministers are resolved to be Radical, if in nothing else, at least in plainness of speech. Their frankness is to be what bad translators of French would call "brutal."

The ex-political romancer is likely to be found a very Proteus in novel expedients for "surprising the religion" of the oldest inhabitant of the House of Commons. His assumption of frankness is evidently a part of the new Downing-street uniform, which none but himself could have invented for the new company of "her Majesty's servants." It is so new, so decidedly original. On the hustings at Aylesbury he mystified the public mind by "going to be frank," and never getting anywhere:—in the House, he is more straightforward than Sibthorp himself. Now who does not recognise in Cassio muttering, "I'm not drunk," the type of all mankind, past, present, and to come, whenever that "glorious state" has overtaken them. A Minister so lavish of professions of frankness, and so perpetually appealing to his straightforwardness, deserves far deeper distrust than do the graver ambiguities of the sorriest old hack of Downing-street in his barrenest hour. But we pass from the man of the moment to the question of the day; and we insist on the miserable results, more flagrant than ever, of that secret diplomacy we have so often had occasion to denounce. Labyrinthine diplomacy is the ruin of the very interests it affects to guard.

What is more common than to find her Majesty's Government in the very thick of an embarrassment before we have obtained the faintest notion of the stages by which that embarrassment has been reached? Correspondence, consisting mainly of asterisks, is sparingly doled out, if not altogether refused "for reasons of public service" during protracted negotiations; and it is not until all the damage has brilliantly exploded, that we are regaled with a ponderous blue-book, which leaves us where it found us, in hopeless confusion of dates, places, and events. And all this, too, for the advantage of the "public service."

Not to entangle our readers in the tedious perplexities of the Argentine question, which has just received so violent a solution by the defeat and flight of Rosas, we will simply inquire to what extent our commercial interests have been improved or advanced by what Lord Beaumont calls the different policy of different Governments; by we know not how many treaties, how many negotiations, how many blockades, and how many tons of diplomatic waste paper? Not only is the independence of the Banda Oriental doubtfully assured by the presence of two liberating flags, but that free navigation of the great rivers which we have wasted blood to effect, and which would open new markets to our merchants, is still in abeyance, and if the present opportunity in the crisis of defeat and victory be lost, may be hopelessly suspended. In the meanwhile, Lord Malmesbury finds nothing better to do than to give a geographical sketch (which a visit to Mr. Wyld's globe would improve or supersede). and a political *aperçu* of Bolivia and Paraguay, Of course the House would not expect him to enter into details where he had received no private or official information, save of the interesting fact of Rosas embarking with his daughter on board an English steamer; the particulars of which are to be obligingly laid on the table.

This is a very pretty specimen of the ready-made experience of Downing-street, that changes but never dies.

But the latest exposition of our text is to be found in the newest phase of that great Eastern question, in the antiquities, if not in the development of which the author of *Tancred* is profoundly "at home."

Here we find "secret diplomacy" in its glory.

The eastern question is the *cheval de bataille* of Downing-street.

Under umbrellas of sham settlements, a perfect Eglinton Tournament of operations and treatises has been kept up in those regions for years by successive Cabinets.

Palmerston "settled it all" by his brilliant *coup de main* in 1840, though he brought us to the verge of a war by his audacity. We had humiliated Turkey, "our oldest ally," in '27, at Navarino. "Go it, Ned!" was the royal signal for that untoward event, which blew into the air the fleet of our oldest ally, the fleet of Russia cheerfully assisting, and created a new kingdom for French and Russian influence to dispute, and for British Pacificos to bombard. To set up a beggarly constitution for the ungrateful and insolent Greek, we laid Turkey at the mercy of Russian intrigues.

In 1840 we are giving back to Turkey her misgoverned provinces; setting Turkey up again in a large way of business, and humiliating our youngest ally, the astute and polite Mehemet Ali. We humiliate Egypt, by sacrificing the best ruler she has known for centuries to the capricious delegation of the sovereign of the Ottoman Empire. We cripple by force of arms, and by force of protocols, the keen and compliant ruler, who protects the transit of our Indian Mail whilst we are blockading his ports. To be brief—in 1852, when the successor of old Mehemet Ali, a friend, almost calling himself an Egyptian Englishman in heart, consenting to make a railway for us across the Desert, we are again obliged by the inflexible and fatal logic of our diplomacy, to arrest operations in which British interests are so deeply concerned, in obedience to the obligations which we helped "our oldest ally" to establish, and to confiscate the growing prosperity of Egypt, to the harassing exactions and obstructive pedantries of the Porte. It is clear to all, that under these harsh dictations of the Sultan to the Viceroy, lurks the deeper game of a more secret and more successful diplomacy than ours. Space forbids us to enlarge upon this most important subject: but we have said enough to suggest grave considerations on the virtues of a secret and tortuous diplomacy, which, professing non-intervention, is perpetually intervening all the world over: but at the wrong season, and in the wrong place, and for some petty dynastic, rather than national purpose—which sets up and strikes down, protects and humiliates friends and foes almost at random, and always with untoward success: which is the tool when it thinks to be the ally of a diplomacy more secret than itself—which garrisons the Tagus to enable a Coburg to sleep in peace, whilst our commerce is languishing at Buenos Ayres, and our influence is helpless in Egypt, and the Foreign Secretary favours us with a geographical and political sketch of Bolivia and Paraguay, and with a graphic account of the Flight of Rosas and his daughter! Now what is the moral of all this? What but to obtain a really *national* Government, which shall stand by true allies, and act in the face of the sun by high and national principles?

PAUPERISM AND PRODUCTION.

"THE Statesman erects his Poor-Law Unions, and the Philanthropist his houses of refuge, and yet the destitution continues." Because, let us reply to the *Times*, the Statesman has heretofore neglected the direct, the just, the sole remedy for social destitution—*production*. We continue our quotations:

"Does it not appear at first sight a strange result of the terrible statistics of society, that upon an average 1 person out of 20 of the inhabitants of this luxurious metropolis is every day destitute of food and employment, and every night without a place for shelter or repose? * * * It is stated in the Registrar-General's annual report for 1849, 'that nearly one human being died weekly in this wealthy metropolis from actual starvation.' In the corresponding report for 1851 we find that 28 adults died from starvation, and 252 infants from want of breast-milk or want of food. In the month of December, 1851, five adults died from starvation, and 29 infants from inanition."

The *Times* supposes the "respectable ratepayer" to say that these things need not be, or that they cannot be helped. They need not be, because a starving person should apply for relief as "casual poor;" they cannot be helped, because "in so vast a population instances must of course occur of persons who will carefully hide their shame and their wants from every eye, until they sink down exhausted in some lone spot to die." But *why* should the starving be ashamed to ask relief? That is a constituent part of the real question. He is ashamed, because relief is made, not only systematically repulsive, but systematically shameful. The poor are treated as things to be repelled, and the so-called Poor-Law is one, not to aid, but to constrain the poor—even "the deserving poor." We suspect, however, that the framers of the present law assumed the non-existence of anything to be called "deserving poor."

The recourse to fill this gap in the regular law is "charity;" but even that has become depraved. Charity, properly so called, is the help of man to man; whereas the systematic charities of our day are but a machinery for easing the instinctive consciences of the well-to-do; and in that promising trade enterprising scions of the middle class embark for a livelihood; providing "institutions" and "boards" for the sickly souls of the wealthy, just as others provide circulating library novels or dogmatic tracts for their minds, water-cures or baths for their poor bodies.

We say this without the slightest disrespect to the institution which suggests the article in the *Times:* it is a most excellent momentary provision in such behalf, while the law fails of its duty. By parenthesis, also, let us say that charity would still have its proper work to do. The law *must* deal with generals; charity ought to deal with particulars—with individual cases—with error, weakness, misfortune, casting the unhappy into a lower social station—with the many special cases where man can help man, and shield him from the rougher necessities of all general laws.

But the poor at large do not want charity. A man is poor either because he is incapable, because he is idle, or because he is without opportunity to earn his bread. A man temporarily sick or crippled had better be helped through his trouble without delay; it is the best economy: therefore such relief ought to be free, prompt, and effectual; not as charity, but as a social right, under the law. A man is idle, either because he has no fair opportunity, or because he is incorrigibly ill-disposed. In the former case, as at the Sheffield farm, a fair opportunity will redeem him; in the latter, he is not a subject for a *Poor* Law, but for a law to restrain vagrant offenders against society. A man who is without work ought to be supplied with it; and where so much land is unoccupied or half occupied, as is the case in this country, there can be no real difficulty in wedding labour to land, and setting the able-bodied poor "upon work," as the 43rd of Elizabeth provided. In default of that, your able-bodied poor will try to get his bread out of some other man's employment—that is, he will either steal, or be a dependent on the rate-payer, or go into the labour-market and offer *all* his labour for half his neighbour's loaf. These processes actually go on; and thus we actually make the paupers that cost us so much every year; make the thieves that we don't know what to do with, but are trying all we can to foist upon Australia and other colonies; and make whole classes of half-paid labourers a reserve for the recruitment of our pauper army—an army of paupers on half-pay! All this is done, because the fashion of the day—the fashion, we hope soon to call it, of yesterday—is, to rule œconomy entirely in accordance with views based on the laws of trading *exchange;* forgetting that the laws of a secondary and intermediary process cannot be the code for the primary and essential process, *the distribution of productive industry.* The practical administrators of the Poor-Law are learning better from the imperfect operation of the law itself; the Poor-Law Association of Manchester is improving the lesson; we wish to extend it to society at large—especially to all who are subject to that competition of the paupers on half-pay, which is dragging down all branches of industry to their own level. *Production* is the source of all national wealth—Production made to keep pace with population—Production kept in a condition that it shall be accessible to all—Production so distributed that it shall first and assuredly produce the necessaries of life. Fasten upon that object; survey our still half-occupied fields of industry; see the numbers whose hands are available for themselves and their fellows, and you will have no difficulty in relieving industry from the burden of the paupers on half-pay, in teaching the able-bodied destitute to support themselves, and to aid in supporting the helpless.

Meanwhile, during our industrial anarchy, honour to every provisional institution that alleviates the evils which it cannot prevent!

WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE CRYSTAL PALACE?

PRESERVE it, or destroy it? Retain, on its present site, the wonderful building which sheltered the arts and industry of the world, the scene of last year's brilliant and stupendous gatherings of all ranks and nearly of all nations; or remove it bit by bit, or sell it to the French, or consign it piecemeal to the auctioneer? For the public, the question is simplified to this: Shall the Crystal Palace remain in Hyde Park or not? And as the time is limited when an affirmative answer would be effectual, the course of the public is also simplified: the public can say, preserve it, and it will be preserved; or say nothing, give no sign, and it will be swept away. But the word must be spoken now—or never.

Undoubtedly there would be a certain grandeur in destroying the fabric—in sweeping away, and treating as secondary, the mere outward shell of the Great Exhibition. It has served its purpose; a great deal of the admiration called forth by it has faded away; if now removed, no unpleasant ideas of failure can arise; it was adapted to the use for which it was devised, and it may not be adapted to certain other uses to which men would put it. Take it away, and it will always be pleasantly remembered; preserve it, and it may come to be contemned.

In this statement there is an amount of conditional truth. The building may come to be condemned, unquestionably; but will it, or rather *shall* it? That is the question.

The strongest argument in favour of its retention is the Conservative argument—that it exists. There, in Hyde-park, you have, in the words of Mr. Cole, a "covered space"—the thing most wanted in London. There you may have, says Sir Joseph Paxton, a winter garden, at once useful and beautiful. Pull down the Palace of Glass and when do you expect to get another set up? Your "covered space" becomes a grassy parade-ground for the *élite* of the Rotten-row Light Brigade; your winter garden, or winter or summer sauntering-place, vanishes into the future, for its *locus* will be gone. It is very questionable whether an adequate amount of public interest could be excited which would lead to the erection of such another building; and certain it is, that the pressure for money at the Treasury, the adverse feeling of the House of Commons and the public, would prevent any grant being made for that purpose from the public funds. So that, on the whole, it would be better to retain the Crystal Palace, and use it for purposes of instruction and amusement. Museums might be formed there; children and young persons might play there; even Rotten-row might have its covered ride; there might be a gymnasium, including a fencing-school, in one portion, and, if necessary, an establishment for the Peace Society in another. All this might be done; and Sir Joseph Paxton's great idea, a Winter Garden, also successfully carried out; while the building itself would remain as the fittest monument of the Great Exhibition of 1851.

Besides these regular uses to which the building might be put, there are certain other occasional uses for which it would seem to be adapted. For instance, where so appropriately could National Jubilees be held? We do not refer to Queen's birthdays and royal rejoicings, but to the great and enduring events of English history. There are heroes enough in science and art, and literature and statesmanship, whose names and acts are recorded in our annals, to furnish perpetual national feasts. Imagine a Caxton jubilee, a Shakspeare jubilee, a Newton jubilee, a Watt and Arkwright jubilee, Feasts in honour of the Poets, of the Historians, of the Merchants, of the men of science, and last, not least, of the Artisans of England—and where could national gatherings like these be held so well as in the Crystal Palace? If there were any Christianity in the land where could Christmas and Easter, the sublime rejoicings of every Christian community, be kept so well as there?

But the public gives no sign, going about its trade and its pleasures, and casting no thought to the future. The Commissioners appointed "to

inquire into the cost and applicability of the Exhibition Building in Hyde Park," headed by "Seymour," of Ann Hicks notoriety, decide that it had better come down. Lord John Manners tells us that the Government will not interfere. Parliament is engaged in electioneering. Prince Albert is, at least, indifferent. The Commissioners "take evidence" in solemn sittings—the evidence is against them—they pervert it in order that they may conclude against it. Vainly do Mr. Cole, Sir Joseph Paxton, and the contractors, attempt to extort a response from the public. Most likely May, which saw the opening of the Exhibition, will behold the demolition of the "Exhibition Building."

This is a result which does not surprise us. All vivacity and activity in the public have been systematically cried down, laughed at, and discountenanced. And, as an inevitable consequence, indifferentism prevails everywhere. Why the men who want to get up a public excitement on this question are among the chiefs of that school who discourage public, and above all, decry political agitation. They are ornate utilitarians who believe in social improvement as opposed to political reform. They altogether abstain from politics; as if politics were not the life of a people. Consequently, having duly dosed the public with the narcotics of quietism, they have no right to be surprised when, in the hour of distress, the public sleeps on heedless of their cries for help. Those who sow neutrality reap indifferentism. And it is just.

TRIAL-VILLE AND ITS ORIGINATORS.

IN the article, a "New Solution of the Social Problem," published in a recent impression, the writer alluded to "Trial-ville," the modest name under which the "Equitable Village" system is being tried. An English gentleman, residing in America, has visited "Modern Times," a name which this village seems also to bear, and has favoured me with a few particulars concerning the personal views of Messrs. Warren and Andrews, and the manner in which "Trial-ville" was commenced, which may be interesting to the English reader. The letter now quoted is dated so far back as last November. By this time a fuller account could no doubt be rendered, but the facts deserve publicity, as no personal information upon the subject has yet appeared in this country.

The reader will note the instructive passage on the angularity of the equitable doctrinaires. The excess of practicality which indisposes them to reason with the world is an amusing feature. It is a mistake to assume that, because Euclid lays down problems of magnitude which command conviction, that persons who lay down problems of morals which do *not* command conviction, are under no necessity to argue with the public. If the premises of morals were truisms, like the premises of mathematics, dissent would be impossible with all who understood the premises. But where difference of opinion *does* arise, the want of explanation is evident, and a "practical" man should see this. Every objector is not worthy of notice—every caviller need not be answered. Some people can never see the target of an argument at all; and others who do see it are never able to hit it with a fact. The dense, the incapable, the undisciplined reasoners may be passed by; but he who means to advance a just cause will wait upon mankind with all strong facts and judicious arguments, winning their conviction. To refuse to reason with the multitude is to abandon reformation to passive submission and utopianism—to the dreamer and the slave.

ION.

WILLIAMSBURGH, NEW YORK,
"*November* 21, 1851.

MY DEAR ION,—It seems to me not unworthy of remark, that a heresy among social reformers should have sprung up simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic, Proudhon and Andrews alike discard association, alike proclaim anarchy; but Andrews, more intelligibly to English ears, proclaims it as the sovereignty of the individual. Nor is Andrews alone here: a small party of thinkers, of whom Henry James and Dr. Curtis may be considered the chief, unite with him in teaching the doctrine that the individual is above the institution. Society is for man—not man for society.

A chief feature of "equitable commerce," by which term Mr. Andrews designates the reform he advocates, is a direct exchange of labour for labour and independence of a metallic currency as the medium. Here the reform takes an eminently practical shape, and its fundamental principles are discussed wholly in relation to practical operations, as might be expected in this country, where a profound investigation of fundamental principles would be too apt to be regarded as barren speculation. Henry James is the true philosopher; but then it is the more spiritual view of the question with which he is concerned. With him it is not man as a sovereign, but man as God; that is the object of study. His ideas, when fairly before the public, may excite that species of demonstration which greeted the remarkable 'Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation.'

The doctrine of individuality is a principal and pervading element of the new "science of society." The 'circle of principles' includes, besides this of individuality, and the sovereignty of the individual (two separate principles), those of "cost the limit of price," a circulating medium based directly upon labour (that which is practically adopted being "the labour note"), and a scientific adaptation of supply to demand. But so far as the organization of labour and immediate social amelioration are concerned, the cost principle, the labour note, and two other principles treated by Andrews as mere consequences of the first of these, viz., the abolition of all secrets and mysteries in trade, and the throwing open of all employments to all, are the most important contributions of this new 'science of society' to the cause of social reform.

One of the first institutions in an equitable town is the "college,"—at first, exclusively industrial. By a judicious centralization, the cost of workshop-room, tools, and materials, would be greatly diminished, while the learners would have additional advantages in finding a market for their produce. I must here observe, that Warren's idea of education is, that it should be, in the first instance, industrial—exclusively industrial. But, like the doctrine of individuality and the sovereignty of the individual, "equitable education" has mysteries beyond me. Mr. Warren is a singularly *angular* man. Unless his ideas are instantly received—just as stated—as absolute and unquestionable truth, he is astonished at the stupidity of mankind, and their incapacity to comprehend "self-evident *facts*." The idea of discussion with a view to eliciting the truth, is to him an absurdity. If one differs from him—or cannot go all the way with him—or feels doubt as to some points, it is useless to *discuss* with him; he tells you the very difference is a proof of his doctrine—it proves your *individuality*, and you having *no demand* for the truth he has to supply, we have only to go our several ways in peace. Even Andrews refuses argument. It is "a science," he says, which he has to teach, no more to be discussed than a proposition in *Euclid*. If you do not admit the conclusions, you do not understand the premises. Even he sometimes tells you, as a final and conclusive reply to all questions—"If you don't see it so, well, you have no demand for the reform we have to supply, and so we agree to differ and part company."

Now, to some extent it must be conceded they are right in taking this attitude, when we think of the instances here of the density of people—and sensible people, too—on this subject. The long habit—centuries and centuries old—of worshipping gold; and its present practical omnipotence, the product of the false commercial principle—itself so seemingly true and right—that "a thing is worth what it will fetch," and that "a thing ought to fetch what it is worth," all tend to blind the eyes, and render a correct comprehension of the first principles of "equitable commerce" absolutely impossible to large numbers of people.

The practical operations in founding an equitable village vary, of course, with every "individual" case. But the means required are simple enough in a country like this, where land—new land, can be had so cheaply. At Modern Times the first operation was to apply to some landowners, and obtain from them a binding legal document, compelling them within a certain period to sell a certain tract of land in acre lots at a fixed price (and a pretty good one, too!) to such persons as were named by Mr. Andrews, and the first three or four "actual settlers." Some ninety acres were then surveyed and mapped out into streets and avenues—all the "blocks," as we call them in this country, being just alike, having an avenue on the north, another on the south; a street on the east, and another on the west, with a lane running through the middle from north to south—*i.e.*, from avenue to avenue. Each block contains four acres—each acre is a lot; and Mr. Andrews professes to sell no more than three lots to any one person.

The next proceeding was for a house to be erected by one purchaser, which was forthwith let by him "at cost" to some friends of his, young men employed to build it. Shortly after this first house was begun, Mr. Warren went down and built a house, subsequently sold "at cost"—*i.e.*, money for what cost money (120 dollars, I believe), and "labour for labour." The purchaser is a good practical mechanic, a smith and boiler-maker; but, like most Yankees, able to turn his hand to anything, and, in particular, is a well-skilled house-carpenter. As soon as this second house was habitable (the first had been occupied from the day the roof was on, and had been completed at leisure afterwards), Mr. Warren began his "college," now completed sufficiently for occupation;—a square brick building, thirty-two feet each way, containing two stories and attics; the ground-floor being occupied as work-shops (a smithy and carpenter's shop) and a store. The upper part are dwellings—already in part occupied.

The exceedingly small cost of the materials required for building *a house* at Modern Times is partly owing to an invention of Mr. Warren's for making *sun-burnt bricks* out of mere gravel and lime. Mr. Warren has also other mechanical inventions, from which he has very great expectations.

The first settlers in our equitable town must all be men having some means of subsistence independent of these operations. They must have some trade or occupation that can be pursued at the new settlement, the market for their produce existing elsewhere. The first practical step in the actual carrying out of the reform will be, probably, *the opening of the store*. The goods being sold at cost will be an inducement to all the neighbours to come and deal there. But the rule of the equitable store is "money for what costs money," labour for labour. Every customer must, therefore, have some industry or occupation for which the storekeeper has, directly or indirectly, a demand, to exchange against the storekeeper's time and labour in purchasing, storing, and dealing out his goods.

The storekeeper will take the labour notes of such parties as he can trust; the rest must, by some means or other, *obtain his*.

Just so far as a demand is thus created at the new settlement, other industries can be established. A tailor, for instance, a shoemaker, still more a smith and a carpenter, would find in any agricultural district a considerable demand for his services. And, *as far as he is able*, he dispenses with money as the payment for his services; and this ability depends, of course, on the amount of agricultural produce, furnishing the means of subsistence, which flows through the store into the new town.

Whatever is produced by the labour only of the settlers, is exchangeable against labour only. That which costs the storekeeper labour notes only, is purchaseable from him for labour notes only. So that there is thus created what they call "an equitable circle," which they say will continually increase, until ultimately a money currency will cease altogether to be necessary, and "equitable commerce" shall reign alone.

It seems plain enough to me that, taking the cost principle, the labour note, the emancipation of labour from all shackles of monopoly as the groundwork, a much more efficient organization for *the rapid* development of the Reform might be devised. But this Warren and Andrews will not listen to. They don't expect nor wish for rapid progress. Their whole circle of principles must be carried out in their integrity; and so nervously anxious is Warren about the strictest adherence to the *Individuality* doctrine, that for fear of some possible *joint interest*, or remote *resemblance* to association, he will seldom admit even of *concerted action*.

When the public shall be thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of "Cash as the limit of price," and the abolition of metallic currency, association will assuredly become *unnecessary*; but, meantime, it has unquestionably a great work to perform. And an organization for the systematic carrying out of this Reform, might do in a year or two more than disjointed effort will do in ten.

But whatever value there may be in the ideas upon which "Equitable Commerce" is based, I confidently anticipate considerable modifications from the present form of the movement as the result of European criticism, especially as the fanaticism of the leaders here renders discussion on this side of the Atlantic impossible. Still, I believe these doctrines, one and all, do constitute (subject to those modifications) the solution of the Social problem. They alone show how the most complete co-operation, unsurpassed by that of any Icarian Communist Republic, can be obtained without *infringement on the most absolute freedom of each individual*. They alone show how the exactions of Capital—interest, rents, profits, and land monopoly, too—may be got rid of; the masses being able, through this reform, gradually, yet inevitably and quietly, to step out from under the present system, leaving national debts, aristocracies, and all other feudal and commercial night-mares, behind.

No Social Reform ever presented so many inducements to its immediate practical execution; for none were ever so easy to set about, none ever interfered so little with private interests, none were ever so pliable and capable of modification to meet all manner of circumstances; for in a word, none were ever *so near the truth*.

Very sincerely yours,
HENRY EDGER.

MISS SELLON AND THE BISHOP.

DR. PHILPOTTS has published a letter, announcing that he withdraws from his post as Visitor to the Sisters of Mercy at Devonport. The occasion has been furnished by Mr. Spurrell; but that person gains nothing in the process—he rather loses. Dr. Philpotts alleges a discrepancy between the rules and the fulfilment of those rules in the institution over which Miss Sellon presides. He pointedly instances the practice respecting property. In the rules submitted to him, it was laid down, that a sister retiring took with her the property she brought to the common fund; in practice the property is retained by the community. We think the Bishop has acted rightly. Not to let Mr. Spurrell escape, he severely condemns the conduct of that person, and even publishes a complete refutation of the charge that confession is enforced in Miss Sellon's school.

We feel bound to say, that the reasons alleged by the Bishop of Exeter for his withdrawal, do, to a certain extent, confirm the charge of Romanizing brought against Miss Sellon; but at the same time we are as far as ever from believing in the imputation put forward by Mr. Spurrell, that Miss Sellon is wilfully and with malice aforethought working to pave the way for the introduction of the Roman-catholic religion.

DEVILLED PIGS.

THERE are a number of Finnish fanatics in Norwegian Lapland who have lately adopted the practice of conjuring the Devil into a Young Pig, and then boiling the diabolised animal alive. It is presumed that they thereby hoped effectually to settle his Satanic Majesty. The Bishop was very much shocked, and tried persuasion without effect; in fact, he ran considerable danger of being scalded, for, it is said, they threatened to diabolise the Bishop, and boil *him* alive.

FRENCH ADULTERATIONS.

THE adulteration of bitter beer, we are informed by the *Medical Times and Gazette*, is carried on in a very large way in Paris, for the English market—a very serious adulteration, too, when it is called "Strychnine." Adulteration for Paris is impossible, they say, from the strictness of police precautions.

Yet what is the present Napoleonic era but a supreme adulteration, in which coup-d'état, centralization, falsified birth, *capote grise, chapeau tricorne*, and other poisonous elements, are largely mixed. Well! strychnine *vice* pale ale is bad enough; but of the two evils, we prefer the adulterated beer to the adulterated Empire.

And strychnine might be a quieter engine than soldiers and guns for the next coup-d'état. Government, they say, has "discovered" this manufacture: when a pickpocket is afraid of detection, he runs, and calls out "stop thief!"

Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

SCIENCE AND SCRIPTURE.

"Newspapers, we are told, are not the proper place for religion: we presume to think otherwise; wherever we cast our eyes we see social life inextricably interwoven with religion, which is everywhere an animating impulse or a formidable obstacle. In science, in art, in literature, in morals, in politics, we can sound the bottom nowhere without touching religion."—(*Leader*, Feb. 14, p. 156.)

SIR,—Aware as I am that the critic of the press, like the head of the state, is usually considered irresponsible, and that his decisions, if not received as true and binding, must at least be received in silence, I will, nevertheless, trust to the expansive spirit of the *Leader*, to "rule an exception" in reference to the criticism, headed as above. First, because the subject embraces no class question, but one of intense and incalculable interest to humanity itself; and secondly, because a conclusion is arrived at, without every argument on the positive side being exhausted. Dr. Pye Smith, and the critic of last week, both appear to assume that there are only three ways of regarding the Book of Genesis, (and of course other parts of scripture); 1st, either as a positive and literal account of the mode of creation;—2nd, as an account of creation "conveyed in expressions comporting with the knowledge of the age in which they were delivered;" or, 3rd, as a metaphorical, or rather indefinite history, in which the expressions relating to time and place may be bent and twisted to suit any theories or subsequent requirements of science. Dr. Pye Smith very properly rejects the 1st and 3rd, and the critic, I believe, as properly, all three, leaving a fourth explanation, which he thinks inevitable, and honestly states as follows:—"That it is the work of a Jewish author, whose conceptions of the universe I see to be those of barbarian ignorance, and whose conceptions of the Deity are repugnant to my moral sense." The final conclusion being, that "the explanations of natural phenomena given by Scripture, and those given by science are irreconcilable—science or Scripture, choose between them, for you cannot ask the world to yield obedience to both."

Now, sir, that there is yet another explanation possible, which, while leaving full and undisputed scope to science and its positive teachings, tends to place the Scriptures in a new and inconceivably grander light, than as a text-book of geology, or even anthropology, and to demonstrate that, deep within its contents lie the foundations of a new science or philosophy, as positive as that geology and astronomy which have successfully undermined the strongholds of dogmatic theology, I hope to be able to prove to those of my readers who reject no idea because it is novel or startling, but only when, after examination, they have proved it to be illogical, and without data for its support. The position, then, I am about to assume with regard to the Scriptures is briefly as follows. The Bible is a book written, not to throw light upon the early history of this globe or the material universe, not to explain successive geological periods, or even the natural creation of mankind, but that *under physical terms and allegorical expressions its purpose is to develope the history of the spiritual states of man, i. e.*, the process by which "Adam," or the man, becomes elevated from the lowest degree of natural perception and brute instinct to the lofty realization of the religious life—the life of truth and love. That the first eleven chapters of Genesis contain the psychical history of the first generations of men, as they became successively removed from the simple doing of good to the pursuit of truth, and finally the rejection of both, when the flood, meaning the end of the first church, took place, and a new phase of religious life commenced, and so on, till the literal advent of Abraham, where the real history commences; but (and this is most important,) *without arresting this inner sense, which goes on simultaneously with, and contained in, the representative policy of the Jewish nation, and the dicta of the prophets*, till Jesus Christ appeared, to found another church or receptive class of men.

I am aware, sir, that these statements do not necessarily carry conviction of their truth, or constitute their own arguments, but in a subsequent letter I shall adduce, not only evidence from ancient history, and the known laws of mental development and philology, to prove that, in any case, the above view would be the most rational and probable as to the nature of these ancient sacred writings, but from the existence of a great law of interpretation, applicable, without exception, to every portion of Scripture, discovered a century ago, that it is possible to extract from their contents a psychical philosophy so tangible, so elevated, and withal so applicable to every phase of humanity, that the mind unconsciously feels that the wisdom and prescience which created it, must inhere in God.

FRANCIS RUDALL.

London, March 8, 1852.

CASE OF HILL *v.* PHILP.

(*To the Editor of the Leader.*)

SIR,—In a paragraph respecting this case, which appeared in the *Leader* of the 21st ult., it is stated of the plaintiff—

"From Dr. Philp's he was removed to Northampton, and placed under the care of Dr. Nesbitt, *who testified to the unsoundness of his mind.*"

This is so contrary to the fact, and so liable to operate prejudicially towards me with many of your readers, that I may confidently rely upon your candour and fair dealing to correct the mistake, now that it is pointed out.

The evidence given by Dr. Nesbitt, as reported in the *Times* newspaper of the 17th February, is—

"The plaintiff was in good bodily health when he came, and *always appeared consistent and rational.* The defendant said he would write and explain his case to me, but he did not. The plaintiff was not dangerous. *The local board investigated his case, and recommended his discharge.* He had free ingress and egress at Northampton, and walked about as he pleased. He corresponded with his friends. *When he left he was in the same state as when he came. I thought him fit to be discharged.*"

The reports of Dr. Nisbett's testimony in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 18th, and in the *Morning Herald* of the 19th, are to the same effect.

Surely this is something widely different from having "testified to the unsoundness of his mind!"

The description of the patient, or victim, in Dr. Nisbett's case-book, will still further elucidate the affair:—

"GENERAL HEALTH.—Very good in all respects; is stout, strong, and muscular; hair grey, senses natural, eats and sleeps well.

"HABITS.—Quiet, clean, and decorous.

"CONVERSATION.—Free, intelligent, and consecutive, but formal and precise.*

"DISPOSITION.—Easily irritated and fretted by trifles;† very impatient of restraint.

"RELIGION.—On this subject he is reserved, and dislikes being questioned.

"EDUCATION.—Has a cultivated mind, and his pursuits are of the higher intellectual order.

"MENTAL PECULIARITIES.—Great dislike of recognition,* and very desirous of explaining away all the allegations brought against him.†

"PASSIONS.—Strong. Has a great hatred of his former residence, and a very persecuting spirit towards the proprietors of Kensington House; his acrimony in this respect is intense.

"AFFECTIONS.—Warm. Is very fond of his wife and children."

It will be acknowledged on all hands that this is not exactly the description to be expected of one sent to be confined as a lunatic! And since it is shown by Dr. Nisbett's evidence that he always found me "consistent and rational;" that the local board who investigated the case recommended my discharge; that he also thought me fit to be discharged, and that when I left I was in the same state as when I arrived,—*it follows that he considers I ought to have been discharged previously to being sent to Northampton.* Hence, however desirable it may be to love our enemies better than our friends, I was not likely to entertain a very affectionate feeling towards the proprietor of Kensington House, who, having long deprived me of my liberty under very aggravated and painful restrictions, had consigned me over to the commencement of a new term of captivity, which, though divested of the enormities which characterized Kensington House, was still felt to be very galling.

The proceeding becomes the more obviously unjust, when it is explained that my brother and my sister, one of whom has known me for forty, and the other for fifty years, gave evidence not only that they never had occasion to doubt my sanity, nor did they ever hear it called in question until after I had been placed in confinement, but that when they visited me at Kensington House, eight months before my removal to Northampton, they found me perfectly sane, and were desirous that I should leave with them. Two members of the medical profession, Mr. Bird and Mr. Hare, also testify to having visited me on more than one occasion, many months before I left Kensington, and finding in me not the slightest reason why I should not be liberated, nor though they had been acquainted with me the one six, the other fifteen years, had they ever discovered any manifestations of insanity previously to my illness in May, 1850; whilst the two medical gentlemen who certified me when I was conveyed to the asylum, admit that I was then under the influence of an opiate; moreover, one of those who had known me intimately for five or six years, acknowledges that previously to that day he never saw the slightest reason to suspect my sanity, and the other certifier had never seen me until called in on that occasion, during a period of alarm, when he found me ill in bed, after having taken the opiate.

Your obedient servant,

JAMES HILL.

London, March 2nd, 1852.

Will our correspondent, "Tentator," be so good as to send us particulars?

MIRABEAU.—Mirabeau was indeed a great sinner; he was possessed by a devil, but he had a very great nature, and there is more joy in heaven over one such sinner, than over a hundred just men. He was too high above his nation, like Carnot, the only two great men of the Revolution. His eloquence carried away the people, and they fancied that they admired him; just as the loud noise of a full orchestra seizes hold of the common people, who would have remained perfectly indifferent to the music itself, performed on less noisy instruments. Such sinners excite a peculiar kind of veneration in me, though most truly they do not hold the highest place. There is something yet far higher, and over that we can only weep.—*Niebuhr's Life and Letters.*

BOOKS TO READ.—Above all, read Livy again and again. I prefer him infinitely to Tacitus, and am glad to find that Voss is of the same opinion. There is no other author who exercises such a gentle despotism over the eyes and ears of his readers, as Livy among the Romans and Thucydides among the Greeks. Quinctilian calls Livy's fulness "sweet as milk," and his eloquence "indescribable:" in my judgment, too, it equals and often even surpasses that of Cicero. The latter missed *son genre*—he possessed infinite acuteness, intellect, wit; *il faisait du génie avec de l'esprit*, like Voltaire; but he attempted a richness of style, for which he lacked that heavenly repose of the intellect, which Livy, like Homer, must have possessed, and, among the moderns, Fénélon and Garve in no common degree.—*Niebuhr's Life and Letters.*

* The two latter, under the particular circumstances, because it was known that every word was liable to be misunderstood or misrepresented.

† If this is true, the unjust and prolonged confinement would furnish a sufficient reason; but loss of liberty is not a trifle.

* Under such painful and humiliating conditions.

† Certainly; and properly so.

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.*

WE have only this week learned that an Italian Protestant magazine is published in London, and appears to have lived six years under the title of *L'Eco di Savonarola.* Three numbers were sent to us, wherefore we cannot conceive; surely not because we can be supposed to sympathize with its tone? The very first article we read bore this attractive title, *Christianity from the scientific point of view,* and the opening sentences declare that the article is not addressed to "apostles of incredulity," whom the writer (with modest sagacity) says it would be a waste of time to attempt to convince; adding that "doubts do not arise in their minds simply from their weakness of intellect, but also from their vanity and corrupted hearts —*non nascendo in essi il dubbio da sola pocchezza d'intelletto, ma bensì da vanità e corruzione del cuore!*" How long is this injurious and irreligious cant to continue? How long are the preachers of a religion of charity thus to continue their uncharitableness to all opponents? For, observe this dilemma: either theologians believe that heterodoxy is the consequence of a depraved morality and corrupted heart, or they do not believe it. If they do *not* believe it, how contemptible they must be to utter it; if they *do* believe it, how inexpressibly narrow-minded and how incompetent to teach others! To think of men who have lived and thought, to whom the great mysteries of existence have ever suggested the notion of their helpless ignorance and incompetence, to whom the doubts and difficulties of belief must have been made familiar by daily and almost hourly experience, declaring that those who differ from them in creed differ because their hearts are perverted by vanity and bad impulses! The man whose ignorance of human nature is so profound as that, ought to be ashamed to set up as a teacher; the man whose nature is so ungenerous as that, ought to be ashamed to call himself religious. Narrow hearts and narrow brains may preach theology, they will never found religion! The article which opens with the sentences we are combating is written by one MAPEI, and its gross stupidity is such as we might anticipate. The writer undertakes to show that Science only confirms the language of Scripture. As a specimen, what think you of this? In the Mosaic account light is created before the sun, and Signor MAPEI considers this a proof of the divine inspiration; for if MOSES had not written under the impulse of Eternal Wisdom, he would not have written that which must have been so repugnant to his ideas, as to him the sun must have seemed the source of all light! Without pausing here to inquire whence Signor MAPEI learned that MOSES imagined the sun to be the source of all light, we pass to his explanation. Science, he informs us, has proved the truth of Genesis, by proving that light does not emanate from the sun, "but exists in the atmosphere (*esiste nell' atmosfera*), and the solar disc exercises an influence on it by setting the molecules in motion." We leave this theory of light to BADEN POWELL or BREWSTER. Meanwhile who does not see that if the solar disc is requisite to cause the molecular movement named light, the blunder in Genesis remains unexplained as it did before?

The origin of *The Men and Women of France,* reviewed by us last week, turns out to be, as we insisted, purely French. The work is a translation of ARSÈNE HOUSSAYE'S collected sketches. Why the authorship was concealed it is difficult to divine, since the original is neither rare nor inaccessible.

Of literary gossip we have two or three stray fragments worth setting down. The one is, that TENNYSON is busy with a new poem, of a totally different order from any he has yet published, unless the fragment of the *Morte d'Arthur* be counted; another is, that the gay and brilliant author of *The Bachelor of the Albany* has nearly completed a new novel of a philosophical and satirical turn. THACKERAY, whose historical novel was to have been published last Christmas, has not finished much more than half of his work, so that even Easter will not smile a welcome to its welcome pages!

For a long while the *Mémoires* of GEORGE SAND have been eagerly expected, but no sign is yet given of their appearance. It will calm your eagerness somewhat, perhaps, if we tell you, which we can confidently, that these *Mémoires* will contain no confessions. Like GOETHE, she has written her life in her works. All she has seen, thought, suffered, has found its expression under imaginary forms. More explicit she will not be. To transmute experience into poetic forms is the office of an Artist; but to use experience as a *friandise* for curiosity is what few Artists would condescend to. She is not of the few. The idea of writing *Mémoires* at all was suggested by her discovering, among some old family papers, a vast number of her father's letters addressed to her mother during the campaigns of NAPOLEON, to one of whose brothers her father was aid-de-camp. These will be given in *extenso,* and are said to paint a vivid picture of the times. GEORGE SAND will also describe her childhood, spent mainly under the eye of a grandmother, who tried to remedy the misfortune of her having come into the world a girl, when a boy was wanted, by "making a man of her;" she will tell us of her studies, and her dreams,—in short, she will trace for us some outline of the history of her mind. As to the rest, she may say with Mdlle. DELAUNAY, *je me peins en buste.*

Worthy of a remark is the fact, that DUMAS and GEORGE SAND, opposite in all things but celebrity, should both be writing their Memoirs at the same time, and both be filling the earlier volumes with elaborate biographies of their fathers, who were both high in NAPOLEON'S favour. But DUMAS has been urged by the temptation of book-making quite as much as by filial love: a fact we see illustrated in the subsequent volumes —four and five are just out—wherein every person is seized on as a pretext for digression. Let us add, also, that DUMAS has just given us the second volume of his gay and facile *Olympe de Clèves,* a very pleasant novel, worth your reading.

THE EARTH AND MAN.

The Earth and Man: or Physical Geography in its Relation to the History of Mankind. Slightly abridged from the work of *Arnold Guyot.*
J. W. Parker and Son.

LOOKING abroad upon the vast complexity of phenomena, apparently unconnected, which Nature presents in ever-renewing variety to our bewildered gaze, what a deep feeling of man's magnificent endowments, and of the grand simplicity of Creation, moves the heart, as we reflect that all those varied phenomena are reducible to a few constant laws, and will doubtless, in the "process of the suns," be reduced to *one* law. At a first glance how hopeless it must seem to attempt the discovery of such a complex mystery! Yet Philosophy—which, as Plato profoundly says, is nothing but the search after the One in the Many—by directing its earnest gaze only at Resemblances, at last is enabled to find the Ariadne-clue to the great labyrinth, and to move amidst the multiplicity of phenomena with a sure and steady pace. Just what the phenomena of Nature are, on a grand scale, to the uninstructed mind, a Map is to all but scientific geographers. Cast your eyes upon a Map of the World, and imagine what a hopeless task it would seem to interpret the significance of its endless variety of lines, indentations, elevations, its rivers, seas, mountains, plains, and waving coasts! Yet, as surely as this world was not the caprice of Chance—an accident in the aimless life of Chaos—as surely as it and all that lives upon it are subordinate to Law, so surely are those varieties of dotted lines significant of some great processes in Nature, and needful therefore to be understood by Science. Let this Map be studied closely. The eyes of one man, of one generation of men, will not suffice; the film of death will intercept the reading before a page in that book is clearly read;—but what one man cannot do, Humanity can do. After thousands of observations, there appear amidst the irregularities which at first seemed accidental, certain features of resemblance and a general disposition of their parts due to the presidence of some formative Law; let us see what these resemblances may mean.

"Lord Bacon, the restorer of the physical sciences, first opened the way by remarking, that the southern extremities of the two worlds terminate in a point, turned towards the Southern Ocean, while they go on widening towards the north.

"After him, Reinhold Forster, the scientific and judicious companion of Captain Cook in his second voyage round the world, took up the observation, and developed it to a much greater extent. He points out substantially three analogies, or coincidences, in the structure of the continents.

"The first is, that the southern points of all the continents are high and rocky, and seem to be the extremities of mountain belts, which come from far in the interior, and break off abruptly at the shore of the ocean. America terminates in the rocky precipices of Cape Horn, the last representatives of the already broken chain of the Andes; Africa ends in the Cape of Good Hope, with its high plateaus and its Table Mountain, rising from the bosom of the ocean to a height of more than 4000 feet; Asia, in the peninsula of the Deccan, sends out the chain of the Ghauts to form the high rocks of Cape Comorin; Australia, lastly, presents in its southern extremity, at Cape Southeast, Van Diemen's Land, the same abrupt and massive character.

"A second analogy is, that the continents have, east of the southern points, a large island or a group of islands more or less considerable. America has the Falkland Islands! Africa has Madagascar and the volcanic islands which surround it; Asia has Ceylon and Australia, the two great islands of New Zealand, and the numerous groups of Australasia.

"A third character of configuration, common to the continents, is a deep bend of their western side towards the interior of the mass. Their flanks are, as it were, on this side, hollowed into a vast gulf. In America, the concave summit of this inflection is indicated by the position of Arica, at the foot of the high Cordillera of Bolivia. In Africa, the Gulf of Guinea expresses more strongly still this characteristic feature. It is more feebly marked in Asia by the Gulf of Cambaye, and the Indo-Persian Sea; it re-appears fully in Australia, where the Gulf of Nuyts occupies almost the whole southern side.

* * * * * *

"At a later period, Humboldt also called our attention to the singular parallelism existing between the two sides of the Atlantic. The salient angles of the one correspond to the gulfs and bays of the other; Cape St. Roque in America, answers to the Gulf of Guinea; the headland of Africa, of which Cape Verd is the extreme point, to the Gulf of Mexico; so that this ocean takes the form of a great valley, like those of which mountainous countries furnish us with many examples."

Steffens pushed his observations farther. He noticed that the lands *approach* each other, and *expand,* towards the North, while they *separate and narrow down to points* in the South. This is true not only of the continental masses, but of all the important peninsulas connected with them. Greenland, California, Florida, in America; Scandinavia, Spain, Italy, and Greece, in Europe; and the Indies, Corea, and Kamstchatka, in Asia;—all have their points turned towards the south. Steffens also observed that the continents are grouped two by two, in three double worlds, of each of which the two component parts are united together by an isthmus or chain of islands; and moreover, on *one* side of the isthmus is found an archipelago, on the *other* side a peninsula.

These are great facts in geography: they invest the Map with a new and peculiar interest, for no sooner does man begin to trace resemblances and group facts, than his speculative instinct becomes active in the search after causes. To Germany we owe all the important discoveries in geographical science. Förster, Pallas, Steffens, and Humboldt, are the only

names that claim a place in its history; and it is in the course of things that a German should have the honour of having *created* the science of Physical Geography, which Karl Ritter must be allowed to have done. Every one familiar with philosophic speculation will be aware of the absolute importance of a *point of view*—a *standpunkt*, as the Germans call it. Though no sagacity will avail without well-grouped facts, yet all the facts within reach of man are incompetent to the solution of a single problem. Facts are the materials of which Science is the Architect. It is because this simple truth is not sufficiently present to men's minds that so many Hodmen in our time pass as Architects.

What was Ritter's point of view? It was this:—Considering our planet as the theatre whereon the great drama of human life was acted, he asked himself, What are the fundamental conditions of the form of the surface of the globe most favourable to the progress of man and of human societies? To answer that question, he restudied the facts, and discovered so many unperceived relations, that he earned for himself the title of Father of Scientific Geography.

He showed that the lands are far more numerous in the north than in the south, and that if we draw a great circle through the coast of Peru and the south of Asia, the surface of the globe will be divided into two hemispheres. The land hemisphere contains the most extensive terrestrial masses, the nearest together and the most important; the oceanic hemisphere contain only vast oceans, in which appear here and there the peninsular extremities of the principal lands narrowed and dispersed, with Australia the smallest and most isolated of the continents. Not without reason is London the great Mart of the World, for it is nearly in the centre of the land hemisphere, and its central position makes it a natural meeting point!

"The second general fact with regard to the grouping of the lands, is that of their combination in two great masses, the Old World and the New World, the forms and structure of which make a striking contrast, and give to each a marked character of its own.

"The point of contrast which strikes one most is, that the direction of their greatest extension is the inverse in the two worlds. The principal mass of the Old World stretches from east to west over one-half of the circumference of the globe; while its width is much less, and occupies, in Asia, only a part of the space which separates the equator from the pole. In Europe it is not even equal to the sixth part of the earth's circumference. In America, on the contrary, the greatest length extends from the north to the south. It embraces in that direction more than two-thirds of the circumference of the globe, and its width, which is very variable, never exceeds a fifth of that space.

"The most remarkable consequence of this arrangement is, that Asia and Europe extend through similar climatic zones, while America traverses nearly all the climatic zones of the earth, and presents in this relation a much greater variety of phenomena.

"But the most important of the geographical relations of configuration (that which Ritter was the first to bring prominently forward, and of which he has explained the importance with rare felicity) is the difference which exists between the different continents with regard to the extension of the line of their contours. Some are deeply indented, furnished with peninsulas, gulfs, and inland seas, which give to the line of their coasts a great length. Others present a mass more compact; their trunk is, as it were, deprived of members, and the line of the coasts, simple and without many inflections, is proportionally shorter.

"Considered under this aspect, the three principal continents of the Old World form a striking contrast.

"Africa is by far the most simple in its form. Its mass is concentrated upon itself. It projects into the ocean no important peninsula, nor anywhere lets into its bosom the waters of the ocean. It seems to close itself against every influence from without. Thus the extension of the line of its coast is only 14,000 geographical miles (of 60 to the degree) for a surface of 8,720,000 square miles; so that Africa has only one mile of coast for 623 miles of surface.

"Asia, although bathed on three sides only by the ocean, is rich, especially on its eastern and southern coasts, in large peninsulas, the chief of which are Arabia and the two Indies, Corea, and Kamtschatka. Whole countries push out into the ocean, as Manchouria and China. Nevertheless, the extent of this continent is such, that, in spite of the depth of the indentations, there yet remains at its centre a greatly preponderating mass of undivided land, which stands to the maritime regions in the relation of the body to the limbs. Asia is indebted to this configuration for a line of coast of 30,800 miles, which is more than double that of Africa, a continent only one-third smaller. Asia, therefore, possesses one mile of coast to 459 square miles of surface.

"Of all the continents, Europe is the one of which the form of contour is most varied. Its principal mass is deeply cut in all parts, by the ocean and by inland seas, and seems almost on the point of resolving itself into peninsulas. These peninsulas themselves, as Greece and Scandinavia, repeat to infinity the phenomena of the articulation and indentation of coasts, which are characteristic of the entire continent. The inland seas and the portions of the ocean which its outer limits enclose, form nearly half of its surface. The line of its shores is thus extended to 17,200 miles, an enormous proportion compared with its small size; for it is 3200 miles more than the coast line of Africa, which is nevertheless three times greater. Europe has one mile of coast for every 156 square miles of surface. Hence it is the continent most open to the sea for foreign connexions, at the same time that it is the most individualized, and the richest in the variety of its districts.

"In this respect there is, as we see, a gradation between the three principal continents of the Old World. Africa is the most simple; it is a body without members, a tree without branches. Asia is a mighty trunk, the members of which make only a fifth of its mass. In Europe the members overrule the body, the branches cover the trunk; the peninsulas form almost a third of its entire surface. Africa is closed to the ocean; Asia opens only its margins; Europe surrenders entirely to it, and is in consequence the most accessible of all the continents."

The importance of these discoveries will only be estimated when the student is advanced in his investigations of the higher questions of Geographical Science, and tries to understand that magnificent subject—the Life of this Globe. For it must not be forgotten that Descriptive Geography furnishes us with the facts wherewith to ascend higher, and to interrogate the processes of nature in the formation of this planet, past and present. Not by Chance was this World made; not by accident are its climates, its flora, its fauna, its human inhabitants, and their various histories, different among each other: the corelation of physical conditions with organisms, which produces the differences between the tropical and the arctic vegetation, also produces the differences we note in the destinies of nations. As the land is, will the race be!

Perhaps the very phrase, *The Life of our Globe*, will startle you, as it has startled and pained the editor of the admirable little work before us. And yet the phrase must be used, for it indicates a new conception of the world, and one that for some years has been steadily expanding men's minds. Schelling in his *Erster Entwurf eines Systems der Natur Philosophie*, and after him Coleridge, (who had no philosophic notion that was not pillaged from Schelling) in his *Theory of Life*, set forth as a metaphysical truth that whatever is, *lives*. But as they stated it, the position seemed both anti-religious and trivial, and was not widely accepted. Organic chemistry, however, has in these latter days placed the idea on such a broad basis of evidence, that repugnant though it be to current opinions, it must, we believe, prevail. Referring the student to Mulder's *Physiologischen Chemie* for a thorough investigation of this point, let us here briefly notice a strange aberration of M. Guyot's in the work under notice. He, who has stated with admirable lucidity the arguments which support the notion of *The Life of our Globe*, has nevertheless this remark:—

"But the term, *the life of the globe*, may perhaps require justification. I would be far from attempting to assimilate the general life of the globe to the individual life of the plant or the animal, as some unwise philosophers have done. I know well the wide distance which separates inorganic from organized nature. I believe that there is an impassable chasm between the mineral and the plant, between the plant and the animal, between the animal and man."

Upon this we may be permitted to observe, that Organic Chemistry assuredly rejects the notion of an "impassable chasm" between the mineral and the plant, the plant and the animal. Every physiologist will tell him, that the line of demarcation between the vegetable and the animal kingdom—broad and palpable as it is in the higher forms of animal life—is totally inappreciable in the lowest forms; which, indeed, the term zoophyte or plant-animal sufficiently shows. But going deeper than that we say, that the ordinary notion of an "impassable chasm" between the mineral and the plant, is a rash assumption unwarranted by evidence. Coal is called an organic substance because we know that it had originally vegetable existence; but one might almost as well call flint an organic substance because it had originally insect existence; and it would be difficult to give a solid reason for not classing coals with minerals. At any rate we ask, Does coal live? No? Yet from the lifeless coal we get *oil*, one of the organic elements! Where then will you draw the line? Where say, thus far stretches the lifeless inorganic world—here begins the living organic world?

Returning to our point, let us see how M. Guyot understands the life of the globe. Life he defines a *mutual exchange of relations*. There is at the foundation of the idea of life a difference between two or more individuals, which calls out an action and reaction of one upon the other, the incessant alternation of which constitutes the movement we call life. The student of German philosophy will recognise here an old friend with a new face, and may perhaps ask, with surprise, how M. Guyot, with such a definition of Life, can talk of a chasm between the mineral and the plant. Before going farther with M. Guyot's exposition, we will quote here Goethe's profound morphological aphorisms, which may be said to constitute the great texts that subsequent comparative anatomists have commented on: they will enable the reader more thoroughly to understand M. Guyot's view. Goethe says, "No living being is *one*, but *many*—not an *individual*, but a *plurality*. Even when it appears as an individual to us, it is but the reunion of living independent beings. The more imperfect a being is, the more homogeneous it is, *i.e.*, the more its parts resemble each other and resemble the whole. The more perfect a being is, the more heterogeneous it is, *i.e.*, the more its parts differ from each other. In the first case, the whole resembles its parts; in the latter, it does not resemble them. The more the parts resemble each other, the less are they subordinated to each other. Subordination indicates the more perfect being."

These are sentences which contain vast chapters, and may not therefore be appreciated at a glance; but having read them with some thought, the student may now turn to M. Guyot:—

"Let us see, first, how nature proceeds in the formation of the organic individual, the animal. This subject has been admirably illustrated by my friend Professor Agassiz.

"Let us follow him, and begin with the animal, considered in itself as an individual. In a liquid animal matter, without precise form, homogeneous, at least in appearance, a mass becomes outlined, takes determinate contours, and is distinguished from the rest; it is the egg. Soon, in the interior of the egg, the elements separate and diverging tendencies are established; the matter accumulates and concentrates itself upon certain points; these accumulations assume more distinct forms and more specific characters; we see organs traced, a head, an eye, a heart, an alimentary canal. But this diversification does not go on indefinitely. Under the influence of a special force, all the diverse tendencies are drawn together towards a single end; the distinct organs are united and coördinated in one whole, and perform their functions in the interest and for the service of the individual which commands them.

"Now in this process the point of departure is a unit, but a *homogeneous unit*, without internal differences; a chaotic unit, if I may venture to say so; for what is a chaos but the absence of organization in a mass, of which all the parts are alike?

"The progress is *diversity*, the establishment of differences, the giving to forms and functions their special characters.

"The end is a new unit, *the organic or harmonious unit;* for all the individual organs are not fortuitously assembled, but have each of them their place and their appointed functions.

"The totality of these evolutions is what is ordinarily called *development*.

"The progress, we have said, is *diversification;* it is the variety of organs and of functions. What, then, is the condition of a greater amount of life, of a completer growth for the animal? Is it not the multiplicity and the variety of the

special organs, which are so many different means whereby the individual may place himself in relation with the external world, may receive the most varied impressions from it, and, so to speak, may *taste* it in all its forms, and may act upon it in turn? What an immense distance between the life of the polype, which is only a digestive tube, and that of the superior animals; above all, of man, endowed with so many exquisite senses, for whom the world of nature, as well as the world of ideas, is open on all sides, awakening and drawing forth in a thousand various ways all the living forces with which God has endowed him?

"And what we here say of organic individuals is true of societies of individuals, and particularly of human societies. Is it not evident that the same law of development is applicable to them? Here again, homogeneousness, or uniformity, is the elementary state which we find in savage life. Diversity, a variety of elements, which call for and multiply exchanges; the almost infinite distinction of the functions which correspond to the various talents bestowed on every man by Providence, and which are only called into action and brought to light by the thousand wants of a society as complicated as ours,—these have, in all times, been the sign of a social state advanced to a high degree of improvement.

"Could we, indeed, conceive the possibility of that multitude of industrial talents that have their birth in the wants of luxury, and are revealed by the thousand elegant trifles displayed in our drawing-rooms, existing among the Indians of the Rocky Mountains, sheltered by the few branches which form their wretched huts? The commercial life, which creates the prosperity of the foremost nations of the globe,—is it possible to exist among a people whose ambition is limited to hunting in the neighbouring wild the animal that is to furnish food for the day? Could we hope to see the wonders of architecture unfolded among a people who have no public edifices but the overhanging foliage of their forests? Had Raphael been born among them, would he ever have given his admirable masterpieces to the world? And the precious treasures of intelligence and of lofty thoughts contained in our libraries,—where would they be, if human societies had preserved the simplicity which a false philosophy has called the simplicity of nature, but which is in reality the most opposed to the true nature of man?

"It is then the exchange of products by the commerce of the world, which makes the material life and prosperity of the nations. It is the exchange of thoughts, by the pen and by speech, which sets in motion the progress of intelligence. It is the interchange of the sentiments and affections which makes the moral life and secures the happiness of man.

"Thus all life is mutual; it is all, in some way, exchange. In individuals, as well as in societies, that which excites life, or which is its condition, is *difference*. The progress of development is diversity; the end is the *harmonious unity* which allows all differences, all individualities to exist, but which coördinates and subjects them to a superior aim."

It is with this view that M. Guyot has written his beautiful and philosophic treatise on geography, which we hope no reader of ours will grudge to give half-a-crown for, and which will not only serve as a luminous introduction to the *Manual of Geographical Science*, issued by Messrs. Parker, but will, in and for itself, be prized as a valuable little book. We have no space to follow it chapter by chapter, though the subject is tempting, but will confine ourselves to two more extracts, showing the application of Ritter's conception, and the illustrations of progressive life afforded by geography. After a geological survey, he says:—

"It was thus by a process of admirable simplicity, that the diversity of successive elevations was combined into a few great units, a few continents; these in turn were grouped in two worlds, and formed a whole of which we have already become acquainted with some of the features.

"The same progress is indicated and confirmed by palæontology, through all the successive ages of nature. The variety and the perfection of the types and species keep pace with the increasing diversity of the lands and the seas, and all the physical circumstances which serve as the basis and the condition for the life of plants and animals. In the *insular* or oceanic epoch, that of the palæozoic strata, we have seen animals entirely marine prevailing, and forming the inferior and embryonic types of the four divisions of the animal kingdom; it is the reign of the fishes, if we take the vertebrates as the type of development. During the formation of the secondary strata, which I would call the *maritime* epoch, on account of the great land-locked seas which characterize it, the huge reptiles, the monstrous Saurians, are the prevailing types, and by their amphibious habits mark at once their more elevated position in the animal scale, and the increasing force of the land element. The numbers of living genera and species are much greater than at the palæozoic epoch, but the same types are still spread uniformly over vast spaces.

"The tertiary epoch, which I would call the *continental* epoch, is distinguished by the appearance of the superior animals, the mammifers, the life of which is almost exclusively attached to the firm land. The continental element triumphs; all the faunas become localized; each country of the globe has its appropriate animals; the variety of animal and vegetable species increases almost to infinity. But the unity reappears with the creation of man, who combines in his physical nature all the perfections of the animal, and who is the end of all this long progression of organized beings."

And, recurring to Ritter's view of the varieties of indentations of the coast, let us remember that—

"1. The law of development is applicable to the land, and to the forms of the continents.

"2. In this order of facts, as in all nature, the condition of a more active life is a greater variety of forms, and of relative situations.

"3. It follows, other things being equal, that we may consider those continents as the best endowed, the best organized, the best prepared for the development of human societies, which present the most varied contours, the most diversified forms, the most numerous contrasts, and the best characterized natural regions. *There is here the same relation as between the inferior animal without special organs, and the superior animal richly furnished with special organs.*"

ZOOLOGICAL ANECDOTES.

Zoological Notes and Anecdotes. Bentley.

CURIOUS it is, and interesting, to notice the gradual substitution of intellectual gratification for the appetites of instinct—the substitution of Science for Savage curiosity—in regard to wild animals. In early days the animals that did not immediately subserve to the necessities of man, were only viewed as objects of pomp or of cruel sport; in our days, the bear is no longer baited for the amusement of a brutal crowd, the tiger is no longer

Butchered to make a Roman holiday.

The wild animal is *studied*, takes his place in our science, furnishes the philosopher with endless topics, furnishes the vulgar with strange glimpses into the beauty and the wonder of creation. Not only to the comparative anatomist is the wild animal an object of deep interest; upwards of six thousand visitors to the Zoological Gardens during last year show that the general public is attracted. And since Science has taken animals under its care, the poor creatures have felt the benefit in increased ventilation and exercise, and, during sickness, of medical and surgical aid!

Those fond of bringing past and present times into juxtaposition, may imagine their forefathers, while witnessing a bear bait, being suddenly asked this question—"What say you, my masters, to our calling in the surgeon, and bidding him operate upon Bruin for cataract in the left eye?" The guffaw, loud, inextinguishable, Homeric, that would salute such a proposition! Nevertheless, the operation has been performed. Read the account given in the volume before us:—

"On the 5th of November, 1850, the first operation of the sort was performed on one of these grizzly bears, which was blind in both eyes. As this detracted materially from his value, it was decided to endeavour to restore him to sight; and Mr. White Cooper having consented to operate, the proceedings were as follow:—A strong leathern collar, to which a chain was attached, was firmly buckled around the patient's neck, and the chain having been passed round one of the bars in front of the cage, two powerful men endeavoured to pull him up, in order that a sponge containing chloroform should be applied to his muzzle by Dr. Snow. The resistance offered by the bear was as surprising as unexpected. The utmost efforts of these men were unavailing; and, after a struggle of ten minutes, two others were called to their aid. By their united efforts, Master Bruin was at length brought up, and the sponge fairly tied round his muzzle. Meanwhile the cries and roarings of the patient were echoed in full chorus by his two brothers, who had been confined to the sleeping den, and who scratched and tore at the door to get to the assistance of their distressed relative. In a den on one side was the cheetah, whose leg was amputated under chloroform some months before, and who was greatly excited by the smell of the fluid and uproar. The large sloth bear in a cage on the other side, joined heartily in the chorus, and the Isabella bear just beyond wrung her paws in an agony of woe. Leopards snarled in sympathy, and laughing hyænas swelled the chorus with their hysterical sobs. The octobasso growling of the polar bears, and roaring of the lions on the other side of the building, completed as remarkable a diapason as could well be heard.

"The first evidence of the action of the chloroform on the bear, was a diminution in his struggles; first one paw dropped, then the other. The sponge was now removed from his face, the door of the den opened, and his head laid upon a plank outside. The cataracts were speedily broken up, and the bear was drawn into the cage again. For nearly five minutes he remained, as was remarked by a keeper, without knowledge, sense, or understanding, till at length one leg gave a kick, then another, and presently he attempted to stand. The essay was a failure, but he soon tried to make his way to his cage. It was Garrick, if we remember right, who affirmed that Talma was an indifferent representative of inebriation, for he was not drunk in his legs. The bear, however, acted the part to perfection, and the way in which (like Commodore Trunnion on his way to church) he tacked, during his route to his den, was ludicrous in the extreme. At length he blundered into it, and was left quiet for a time. He soon revived, and in the afternoon ate heartily. The following morning, on the door being opened, he came out, staring about him, caring nothing for the light, and began humming, as he licked his paws, with much the air of a musical amateur sitting down to a sonata on his violoncello.

"A group might have been dimly seen through the fog which covered the garden on the morning of the 15th of the same month, standing on the spot where the proceedings above narrated took place ten days previously. This group comprised Professor Owen, Mr. Yarrell, Count Nesselrode, Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Pickersgill, R.A., Captain Stanley, R.N., and two or three other gentlemen. They were assembled to witness a similar operation on another of the grizzly bears. The bear this time was brought out of the den, and his chain passed round the rail in front of it. Diluted chloroform was used, and the operation was rendered more difficult by the animal not being perfectly under its influence. He recovered immediately after the couching needle had been withdrawn from the second eye, and walked pretty steadily to his sleeping apartment, where he received the condolences of his brethren, rather ungraciously it must be confessed, but his head was far from clear, and his temper ruffled."

The writer adds, in a note,—

"We regret to say that two of the three bears have died since the above was written, the survivor being one of those operated on. It is a singular fact that those which had been chloroformed subsequently grew with much greater rapidity than their brother, so that there was a marked difference in size between them. The deaths took place respectively on 17th Aug. and 30th Sept. 1851."

The growing interest in Zoology to which we have alluded, will secure a large public for the extremely entertaining volume of *Zoological Notes and Anecdotes* now before us. Although anecdotes have a tendency to weary the reader by their want of continuity, the author of this work has, in a great measure, avoided that danger by a skilful weaving together of his notes under separate heads. Thus, in the first chapter, we hear of nothing but lions, their varieties and habits; in the second, of bears; in the third, of panthers, tigers, leopards, and jaguars; in the fourth, of wolves; in the fifth, of horses; in the sixth, of giraffes; in the seventh, of eagles; in the eighth, of birds; in the last, of crocodiles. The book is strictly what it professes to be—a collection of Notes and Anecdotes; and it is so full of interesting pages that we shall from time to time call largely on its stores, and for the present content ourselves with this brief indication of its worth; and as a whet to the appetite we will quote the history of Mr. Buckland's pet bear.

"On a certain memorable day, in 1847, a large hamper reached Oxford, per Great Western Railway, and was in due time delivered according to its direction at Christchurch, consigned to Francis Buckland, Esq., a gentleman well known in the University for his fondness for natural history. He opened the hamper, and

the moment the lid was removed out jumped a creature about the size of an English sheep-dog, covered with long shaggy hair, of a brownish colour. This was a young bear, born on Mount Lebanon, in Syria, a few months before, who had now arrived to receive his education at our learned University. The moment that he was released from his irksome attitude in the hamper, he made the most of his liberty, and the door of the room being open, he rushed off down the cloisters. Service was going on in the chapel, and, attracted by the pealing organ, or some other motive, he made at once for the chapel. Just as he arrived at the door the stout verger happened to come thither from within, and the moment he saw the impish looking creature that was running into his domain, he made a tremendous flourish with his silver wand, and darting into the chapel ensconced himself in a tall pew, the door of which he bolted. Tiglath Pileser (as the bear was called) being scared by the wand, turned from the chapel, and scampered frantically about the large quadrangle, putting to flight the numerous parties of dogs, who in those days made that spot their afternoon rendezvous. After a sharp chase a gown was thrown over Tig, and he was with difficulty secured. During the struggle he got one of the fingers of his new master into his mouth, and—did he bite it off? No, poor thing! but began vigorously sucking it, with that peculiar mumbling noise for which bears are remarkable. Thus was he led back to Mr. Buckland's rooms, walking all the way on his hind legs, and sucking the finger with all his might. A collar was put round his neck, and Tig became a prisoner. His good nature and amusing tricks soon made him a prime favourite with the under-graduates; a cap and gown were made, attired in which (to the great scandal of the *dons*) he accompanied his master to breakfasts and wine parties, where he contributed greatly to the amusement of the company, and partook of good things, his favourite viands being muffins and ices. He was in general of an amiable disposition, but subject to fits of rage, during which his violence was extreme; but a kind word, and a finger to suck, soon brought him round. He was most impatient of solitude, and would cry for hours when left alone, particularly if it was dark. It was this unfortunate propensity which brought him into especial disfavour with the Dean of Christchurch, whose Greek quantities and hours of rest were sadly disturbed by Tig's lamentations.

"On one occasion he was kept in college till after the gates had been shut, and there was no possibility of getting him out without the porter seeing him, when there would have been a fine of ten shillings to pay the next morning; for during this term an edict had gone forth against dogs, and the authorities, not being learned in zoology, could not be persuaded that a bear was not a dog. Tig was, therefore, tied up in a court-yard near his master's rooms, but that gentleman was soon brought out by his piteous cries, and could not pacify him in any other way than by bringing him into his rooms; and at bed-time Tig was chained to the post at the bottom of the bed, where he remained quiet till daylight, and then shuffling on to the bed awoke his master by licking his face: he took no notice, and presently Tig deliberately put his hind legs under the blankets, and covered himself up; there he remained till chapel time, when his master left him, and on his return found that the young gentleman had been amusing himself during his solitude by overturning everything he could get at in the room, and, apparently, had had a quarrel and fight with the looking-glass, which was broken to pieces and the woodwork bitten all over. The perpetrator of all this havoc sat on the bed, looking exceedingly innocent, but rocking backwards and forwards as if conscious of guilt and doubtful of the consequences.

"Near to Tig's house there was a little monkey tied to a tree, and Jacko's great amusement was to make grimaces at Tig; and when the latter composed himself to sleep in the warm sunshine, Jacko would cautiously descend from the tree, and twisting his fingers in Tig's long hair, would give him a sharp pull and in a moment be up the tree again, chattering and clattering his chain. Tig's anger was most amusing—he would run backwards and forwards on his hind legs, sucking his paws, and with his eyes fixed on Jacko, uttering all sorts of threats and imprecations, to the great delight of the monkey. He would then again endeavour to take a nap, only to be again disturbed by his little tormeutor. However, these two animals established a truce, became excellent friends, and would sit for half-an-hour together confronting each other, apparently holding a conversation. At the commencement of the long vacation, Tig, with the other members of the University, retired into the country, and was daily taken out for a walk round the village, to the great astonishment of the bumpkins. There was a little shop, kept by an old dame who sold whipcord, sugar-candy, and other matters, and here, on one occasion, Tig was treated to sugar-candy. Soon afterwards he got loose, and at once made off for the shop, into which he burst, to the unutterable terror of the spectacled and high-capped old lady, who was knitting stockings behind the counter;—the moment she saw his shaggy head, and heard the appalling clatter of his chain, she rushed up stairs in a delirium of terror. When assistance arrived, the offender was discovered seated on the counter, helping himself most liberally to brown sugar; and it was with some difficulty, and after much resistance, that he was dragged away."

Alas! the Dons of Christchurch, indifferent to Tig's fascinations—or jealous perhaps of the presence of any other bear in the University not belonging to their own breed—insisted on Tig's expulsion. Oxford knew Tig no more. Its cloisters no longer echoed the dear growls. Tig was banished; his cap and gown were torn from him, and he was

"Sent off to the Zoological Gardens, Regent's Park; here he was placed in a comfortable den by himself; but, alas! he missed the society to which he had been accustomed, the excitement of a college life, and the numerous charms by which the University was endeared to him; he refused his food; ran perpetually up and down his den in the vain hope to escape, and was one morning found dead, a victim to a broken heart."

INDIA IN GREECE.

India in Greece; or, Truth in Mythology. Containing the Sources of the Hellenic Race, the Colonization of Egypt and Palestine, the Wars of the Great Llama, and the Budhistic Propaganda in Greece. By E. Pococke. J. J. Grimn & Co.

THE ingenious futilities which once amused some restless intellects, banished by the Positive Conceptions which now reign in science, have found a last refuge in etymology. It is no longer fashionable to dabble in astrology, but etymology presents a wide and attractive field. There the intellect which resents the limit of fact may roam at large; there the ingenuity which loves facile discovery, and dislikes the onerous duty of confrontation with realities, may find inexhaustible employment. By the aid of statistics it is said one can prove anything. By the aid of etymology, there is no absurdity which cannot have its erudition. And although we may smile at the extravagances of scholars, it is difficult to affix the line where the legitimate use of etymology ends. No one doubts that words are "fossil history;" that rightly understood, they may be taken as monuments and landmarks of an ancient civilization; and if we may dig from under their ashes some buried cities of the past, how are we to ascertain when and where the old ceases and the new begins? The *changes*, again, which words undergo, are surprising; so that, although we may be certain of the series undergone, we are yet startled at the contrasts of the result, (*e.g.*, *alms* from *eleemosune*, *wig* from *parucca*,) and cannot therefore fix a limit to the caprices of ingenuity in turning and twisting words at will, so that Horne Tooke's celebrated derivation of Pickled Cucumber from King Jeremiah (Jeremiah King, Jerry King, Jerkin, Gerkin), is a legitimate parody of many serious derivations upon which are based historical theories. Thus Mr. Pococke, in the very erudite and extremely absurd volume before us, is able to trace India in every byway of Greece. Even poor Philip of Macedon, the father of Alexander, was no "lover of horses," but Bhili-pos—*i.e.*, Bhil prince, the Bhil Brahmins having, we are told, colonised Macedonia. The inhabitants of Attica, so proud of being true "children of the soil," *autocthons*, Mr. Pococke will prove to you were nothing but *Attacthans*, people of the land of Attac, a town on the banks of the Indus, nine hundred and forty-two miles from the sea, as we are precisely informed. Nor have the Bœotians any more claim to native stupidity—it was an inherited stupidity after all, they boasted of! as, indeed, their name clearly shows; for is it not (read aright) *Baihootians*, or people of Behoot? and is not Behoot a river of the Punjaub? and does this not prove that India is in Greece? especially if you add thereto, as Mr. Pococke does, the striking fact that Corinth, or *Corinthus*, is *Cor Indus—i.e.*, the coast stretching from the Cori to the Indus?

Meanwhile, although a laugh is all we can give to ingenuities like these—and *India in Greece* abounds in such—it still remains true that traces of India are abundant in the Greek language, and that scholarship is worthily employed in sifting them; therefore we indicate Mr. Pococke's volume to the curious student as one both of interest and erudition; if it fail to gain converts, if it excite many a smile, on the other hand it will suggest thought, and amuse the scholar.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Life in Bombay and the Neighbouring Out-stations. Bentley.

IF we gave works a space proportional to the magnificence of their appearance rather than to the significance of the contents, this splendid and Oriental looking volume would claim columns; but pursuing our old and well-defined plan, we can only give the book a few lines. The Life it professes to paint will doubtless be interesting to those who are fortunate enough to be able to interpret its vague and feeble sketches into something like a conception of the original; but for ourselves, we have been fairly nonplussed. We never were in Bombay; this author has certainly not carried us there. The information he gives is meagre; the style slip-slop; the whole book ineffective. Some good lithographs of Indian scenery are the most attractive pages in the volume.

Protection and Communism. From the French of M. Bastiat. With a Preface by the Translator. J. W. Parker and Son.

M. BASTIAT, one of the most renowned of French Economists, has here endeavoured to discredit Protection by establishing the identity of its principles with that of Communism. Throughout, the reader feels uneasy at the sophism. No points of coincidence which ingenuity can discover will ever prevent men seeing that the two systems are fundamentally opposed. Protection is good for landlords only, and is a class "cry": Communism, by its very principle, aims at the good of all, and is a social "cry."

The Slingsby Papers: A Selection from the Writings of Jonathan Freke Slingsby. W. S. Orr and Co.

A REPRINT of several papers from *The Dublin University Magazine*, on Christmas and other *fête* days.

Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the years 1844-6. By M. Huc. Translated from the French by W. Hazlitt. Vol. II. National Illustrated Library

THIS, the second volume of Mr. Hazlitt's translation of Huc's singularly graphic travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, completes the work. There are fifty wood engravings, many of them excellent, and all illustrative.

Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions. By Charles Mackay, LL.D. Illustrated National Library.

THESE two volumes abound in curious anecdote and suggestive facts; some of the topics are naturally a little worn, but all are skilfully treated by Dr. Mackay. We especially refer the reader to the chapter on "Magnetizers;" and to that on the "Influence of Politics and Religion on the Hair and Beard." The first volume is the more amusing of the two. This reprint of Dr. Mackay's book is profusely illustrated, and forms one of the attractive series issued by our contemporary, the *Illustrated London News*.

A System of English Grammar, founded on the Philosophy of Language and the Practice of the Best Authors. By C. W. Connon, M.A. Oliver and Boyd.

EVERY new statement of so useful a subject as Grammar, when made by competent teachers, is a welcome present to the public. Besides great perspicuity of explanation, this Grammar possesses the charm of being illustrated by sentences taken from sources of great interest. To those already inspired with the love of study this is unnecessary. The barest examples, the most insipid cases are as welcome to them as the most philosophical apothegm, or the most sparkling antithesis. They care for nothing but the illustration, and provided that answers their purpose, they are indifferent to its barrenness. There are others, however, who have to be attracted to the indispensable accomplishment of Grammar, and who can feel no interest in it unless they perceive it to contain practical application to the daily business of life. To such, Mr. Connon's work is strikingly adapted. On every page the reader meets a sentence which it is a privilege to read, and some name which it is an honour to meet. This feature is, however, but the popular characteristic of our author's book. The resources of the English language, so continually developing, admit of that periodical "stock-taking" which is here

executed consistently with the highest authorities on the subject. It is the ambition of Mr. Connon that the student shall have nothing to unlearn when he has advanced to Zumpt or to Matthiæ among the Germans, or to Tooke, Crombie, Latham, and others, among ourselves, who have applied a knowledge of Saxon, as well as of philological criticism, to the systematization of the English tongue. What is to be learned of philology, and of the philosophy of language, from Locke, Harris, Kames, Campbell, James Mill, Whewell, Whately, John Stuart, Mill, and other writers, whose works constitute the great fountains of grammar, the reader will here find put before him substantially in a course of study accordant with such eminent teaching. A work at moderate price, with these aims, and of intelligent execution, needs no other recommendation.

Miscellanies. By James Martineau. — John Chapman.
Battle of Waterloo: a Tragedy. By F. H. Pearce. W. Horsell.
Livesey's Progressionists. W. Horsell.
The Lily of St. Paul's: a Romance of Old London. 3 vols. Smith, Elder, and Co.
The School for Fathers. By F. Gwynne. Smith, Elder, and Co.
The Vegetation of Europe; its Conditions and Causes. By A. Henfrey. John Van Voorst.
Robert Blake, Admiral and General at Sea. By Hepworth Dixon. Chapman and Hall.

Portfolio.

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

THE FALLACY OF CLAIRVOYANCE.

By G. H. Lewes.

Believers in mesmerism, and its "higher phenomena," claim our credence for the "facts" which they bring forward, declaring themselves to be comparatively indifferent as to the explanations they or you may give of those facts. But every man who has made any scientific researches will know how excessively difficult it often is to recognise a fact—to know it for what it is. The facts of clairvoyance may seem simple and appreciable enough to persons who "believe their eyes," as they say; but scientific men know the truth of Dr. Cullen's sarcasm, that people are never so little to be believed as when narrating what they have seen. Nevertheless, it must not be concealed that several scientific men have examined clairvoyance, and recorded their belief in it; the testimonies are of such a character, and the "facts" so abundant, that no cautious mind will hastily dismiss them as unworthy of examination.

I have already, on several occasions, expressed my opinions in this journal on mesmerism; but it may be as well briefly to recapitulate them for the simplification of the present paper. For the leading facts of mesmerism, or *coma*, the evidence seems to me ample, convincing. For the facts of clairvoyance there seems to me no evidence at all. I throw no sort of doubt on the veracity of the narrators; but in the authenticated cases that have come under my observation I miss the requisite elimination of all sources of error—I see no *crucial instance* to force my conviction. To go no farther than the letters which have recently appeared in these columns, under the title of *Magnetic Evenings at Home*—when my friend C. narrated the substance of those letters to me, I at once offered them publicity, though expressing to him my complete *suspension of opinion* with regard to the facts related. C., known to the public as a distinguished writer, and known to me as a man of unimpeachable veracity, was certainly entitled to a most respectful hearing, even of marvels. But the facts did not carry the least persuasion to my mind. I am ready to believe, and publicly to avow my belief, the instant a *crucial instance* has been obtained; and not being in any way committed to anti-clairvoyance, I have sought on all sides for this proof, but sought in vain. If Dr. Haddock of Leeds, whose "Emma" has made such revelations, will undertake to assist me to this proof, I hereby undertake to publish the result in these columns. The challenge is made in an earnest desire to get at the truth, and I hope will be accepted in that spirit.

But to my present object. C. narrates how a card given to the clairvoyante was sufficient for her to tell *when* the card was given, *where* it was given, at what kind of entertainment, the persons present there, the ages, sex, and social position of the persons, and their respective seats at the table. That was astounding; but convincing? Not to me. I believed then, and I believe still, that, in point of fact, the gentleman from whom the card was received *told* the clairvoyante all that was necessary for her to tell him—told it, by leading questions, by anxious expressions, by intonations, by the hundred suggestions of voice and manner. He would not accept this explanation, and declared he had been wholly passive. I resolved to try a *crucial instance*. I resolved to test the clairvoyante when she knew nothing, when her operator knew nothing, when no other human being but myself knew what the real case was. If she succeeded in that, my doubts would end.

Accordingly, I wrote a letter, requesting to be told what I had done on the Sunday when that letter was written. To render even a proximate answer more difficult I signed the letter *S. Lawrence*. The magnetizer, in transmitting her reply remarks: "The selection of your friend for an experiment in clairvoyance is not advantageous. It does not bear upon any particular thing upon which one could direct the attention of the somnambule to rest. It generalizes too much. Had he set about doing some particular thing at a given hour, and required that the clairvoyante should see what it was, I think there would have been better chance. I think it probable, that had Mr. Lawrence done anything remarkable in the course of the day the voyante would have seen it; but all that she has said *he did* is, as you will see, the general quiet Sunday-routine of most men; and supposing that all she has said should be right, people would say it was guess work. I am anxious to know how far she has been right." He was told that she had not been right. But let me give the clairvoyante's reply. It is her magnetizer who writes:—

I placed the mirror in V.'s hands, *willing* her to see 'Mr. Lawrence.'

As usual in looking into it she went to sleep in a few minutes, and at the end of about twenty or twenty-five minutes she said she saw Mr. Lawrence, and described him as follows:—'He has the face of a young man about thirty years of age. He is standing before me, looking at me. He looks serious, that is to say, he does not laugh nor even smile. I see him in the mirror, but in the distance, as when one looks through the wrong end of an opera-glass. He is rather tall; his face rather long, and his eyes are grey; he has dark complexion and hair; a nose rather long and thin—when I say thin I mean not large—and an ordinary mouth. It seems that he has a dark-coloured pantaloon, and nothing particular in his general dress.'

Thus far with the mirror. I then put Mr. Lawrence's letter into V.'s hands, *willing* her to see what Mr. Lawrence did on Sunday, 22nd inst. Her answers follow:—'He went out in the morning after 10 o'clock, and in the morning also he went to church. Besides the letter, he wrote other things. He went to visit some one, a lady, at her own house. A man went also to see him and found him at home. He (Mr. Lawrence) had been also doing something which he was looking at very intently, but I do not know what it was. He has read a good deal. He dined in company with two other persons; he went out in the evening, and was in bed before eleven o'clock.'

Here she said she could see no more, and consequently I awoke her.

Those who know me will judge of the portrait. As to the details of what I did, they are almost all incorrect. I had no visitor. I did not go to church. Instead of dining with *two* persons, I dined with *ten*; and when I add that Déjazet was one of the party, I say enough to indicate that the dinner was not one of "ordinary Sunday routine." Finally, I did not go out in the evening, nor did I go to bed before eleven.

Although this experiment failed, I was willing to make every allowance to the objection raised by the magnetizer, as to my not having fixed an hour; moreover, I felt that the use of a false signature might have misled the clairvoyante, and certainly might be used as an argument to stultify the experiment. I therefore wrote a letter in my own name, and fixed the day and hour, asking what I did between the hours of half-past twelve and one; what kind of rooms I was in; and what persons, if any, were in those rooms. At last a *crucial instance* was obtained. The hour was fixed, no one was informed of what I had done, and I awaited the result with curiosity, for the series of things done by me at the hour named were such as defied all guessing—at least, in the order of their performance. This was the reply:—

My dear friend,—I write you here V.'s answers to the questions of your friend Mr. Lewes, which I thus put to her last night whilst in the magnetic sleep:—'What has Mr. Lewes been doing in London on Friday last, March 5th, between the hours of half-past twelve and one o'clock of the noon? what sort of room he was in, what he did there, and whom did he see in it, if anybody?'

Answer. 'Mr. Lewes, he does himself magnetize, and he was, in fact, at that time, viz., between the hours of half-past twelve and one o'clock of the noon, magnetizing somebody—a man, whom he did not put to sleep. The room in which he was magnetizing is large; it has two windows, and one door; there is not much furniture in it; it was not furnished like a drawing-room, and there were quantities of written papers (*beaucoup de papiers*) lying about. There was nobody in the room besides Mr. Lewes himself and the person he was magnetizing.' Here she said she saw nothing else.

I will first remark on the perfect good faith of the gentleman in question, and his readiness to have the experiment fairly tried. Had he had the slightest misgiving of the truth of clairvoyance, he might easily have evaded my test; but he met it in the frankest spirit of truth-seeking, such as inclines me to believe that there must be something in the facts which a man like this believes. I say so after the entire failure of both my experiments. The reply just quoted is, in no one particular, correct. But although these have failed, I am open to conviction yet. Let me place the conditions, and I will abide the result.

In conclusion, let me say that the fallacy of clairvoyance is, I take it, the interpretation of a *dreaming* power as a *seeing* power. The clairvoyante (when not a charlatan) sees the objects of her dreams, and describes them; *what* those objects are depend mainly upon the suggestion of external stimulus, in the shape of words, tones, hesitations, &c. If she sees that a man's hair is black, and you tell her "no," she corrects herself, and will, in course of time, correct herself till she calls it red, if you make her. Once, when I "travelled" with a clairvoyante, *i.e.*, when she accompanied me in thought all over my house, I found that by simple assent to what was wrong, and by feigning an anxious surprise, I could make her say just whatever I anticipated she would say. If she were not duping every one, she was dreaming, and her dreams were swayed by what I said.

The Arts.

RUY BLAS.

That Victor Hugo is a man of incontestable talent, I, for one, will not deny; but that he is a *poet*, with all his fine passages, or a *dramatist*, with all his splendid *coups de théâtre*, I cannot bring myself to admit; and very queer is it always to me when I hear critics scoffing at Racine and applauding Victor Hugo—as queer as it would seem to a painter if Raphael were scorned for R. B. Haydon!

Victor Hugo's talent for *mise en scène*, his invention of striking and terrible situations, his dramatic *intentions*, so to speak, have misled people into the belief that he is a dramatic poet. But there is one fundamental want in all his pieces: a want of life. The figures move, but with the movement of galvanized corpses, and with visages as hideous. There is no heart, no reality, no pulse of life. Nothing but antitheses and tirades. Pre-occupied with "effects," and like a true rhetorician thinking only of literary "effects," he sacrifices everything to an antithesis. When reproached for this unhealthy craving he replied, "People object to my love of antithesis; as if God were not still more antithetical than I!" Apart from the frightful bathos of this reply, do note its absurdity! But neither bathos nor absurdity can have a limit with the poet who imperiously demands from Heaven an explanation of the great mystery in these terms:—

Et maintenant Seigneur *expliquons nous, tout deux!*

I should like to place before him Charles Nodier's opinion of antithesis:—"figure aussi incompatible avec la belle construction poétique qu'elle l'est avec la vérité et la raison; qui brise, qui mutile, qui dénature la pensée; qui contraint l'esprit à s'occuper sans cesse de comparisons et de contrastes." With Hugo it is not a vice of language merely, it is equally a vice of conception. All his works are built up out of antitheses. Let us cast but a glance at *Ruy Blas*, that long and tiresome drama with which we were afflicted on Friday night.

The central position is an antithesis—the lackey loves and is loved by the queen—the minister disgraced because he will not marry a servant whom he has seduced, revenges himself by making his servant the lover of the queen. There is also the eternal recurrence of *l'ange et le démon*, without whom Hugo's muse seems unable to move: the demon is Salluste, the angel the queen. Ruy Blas himself

Au lieu d'un ouvrier on a fait un revêur,

thrown on the streets, friendless and penniless, he becomes, of course, a poet and a dreamer (as Didier, in *Marion de l'Orme*, before him), and the dreamer ends by donning the livery of a valet; and the valet ends by becoming prime minister and lover of the queen. *Peste! comme on y va!* Then there is Don César de Bazan (the original of the character in the celebrated drama)

Drapant sa gueuserie avec son arrogance,

an impersonation of the chivalrous blackguard; and so the play goes on from antithesis to antithesis, much to the fatigue of the spectator, who, for a little touch of nature, a little impulse of feeling, would so willingly give all this cold and glittering epigram.

That there are capital situations in this play, and some energetic lines, will not soften the verdict; it has the irredeemable defect of seeming unreal from first to last; and if the ear is gratified by a fine verse now and then, it is more often offended by such as these:—

Parle! ravis-moi!
Jamais on ne m'a dit de ces choses là, J'écoute!
Ton âme en me parlant *me bouleverse toute!*

These are naïvetes which Hugo and his school naïvely believe are Shaksperian!

Bad as the play is, the acting was worse. You know what I think of Lemaitre, and may imagine the shock my admiration must have received before I could write this sentence: he was as bad as a fine actor *could* be! He whirled his arms about like a delirious windmill; he mouthed and ranted with explosive bursts that would not have disgraced Charles Kean in his most Shakspearian moments; he was neither dreamy, terrible, loving, nor pathetic. To see so fine an actor—one who can be so impassioned, so real, so pathetic—labouring in vain to represent the emotions of his part, and not succeeding in the slightest degree, puzzled and set me meditating on the cause. For observe, the failure was not one of degree; Frédéric was not *less* admirable than on other occasions—he was simply not admirable at all: the failure was total, absolute!

It then occurred to me that the reason of this failure was the *unreality* of the part. Frédéric's greatness consists of two distinct things—his original and fantastic buffoonery, and his intense perception of the details which represent a real emotion. Give him a part like *Robert Macaire* or *Don César*, and his magnificent buffoonery enchants you; give him a part like the gambler in *La Vie d'un Joueur*, or like *Paillasse*, and his pathos goes direct to the heart. But give him an heroic part, and he is out of his element; he does not feel himself at home in it; he knows not the details which incarnate it; he becomes an ordinary actor. This was entirely the case with *Ruy Blas*, which is utterly unreal, and gives the actor no chance. People commonly suppose that it is the actor who makes the play; but although the actor may spoil a part, he cannot make one; and that is the answer to those who assert that Rachel's genius alone makes Racine effective—her genius cannot make the modern writers effective!

Let me, in concluding, say a word in favour of Clarisse, who played the *Queen*, not indeed with queenly dignity, but with as much womanly tenderness as the part admitted.

I had been always told that *Ruy Blas* was Frédéric's greatest part. I have now seen it for the first, and I pledge you my honour, for the *last* time.

THE TRUE CHARLES KEAN AT LAST!

IT has been said, in not very elegant Latin, that vainly do you expel Nature with a fork, she *will* come back again. The fact is, Nature is a woman, and will have the last word. See the truth illustrated in the career of that remarkable actor, Charles Kean, who, bearing the burden of his father's name—a name associated with Shakspeare (but rejoicing, I would have you know, in a genius of a totally different order)—has been condemned by the force of circumstances to strut and fume (and how he strutted! how fumed!) his hour on the stage as a Shakspearian actor, Nature all the while having sternly said to him: "Charles, you have no faculties for poetic representation; Charles, you do not know what poetry is, and there is a vulgar prejudice abroad which demands that before representing a part you should know something of what it means. Why strain your lungs at Shakspeare?" Nature might speak, but there was the conventional fork expelling her, and insisting upon Shakspeare being performed!

Now, Charles Kean could not overcome circumstances; but, like an adroit man, he made use of them. Born with a decided aptitude for melodrama, he exercised himself as a melodramatist in the plays of Shakspeare. He knew he could not play Othello, Macbeth, Lear, Romeo (I should like to see his Romeo!), the public knew it, too; but an actor must learn his art, and all the time he was detonating through Shakspeare, he was silently training himself for Dumas. We critics were all on a false scent! It was not *Othello*, it was not *Macbeth* he was trying to play, it was the *Corsican Brothers*, it was *Pauline*. There lay his taste, there lay his talent. He has revealed himself at last. In *Pauline*, and in the *Corsican Brothers*, he is excellent; one desires nothing better of its kind. He has found his vein, the public appreciates it, success is won. Let him peril it no more by Shakspeare (unless in parts like *Ford*, which he plays admirably). Let him frankly take position as the hero of the BLOOD AND BOGIE SCHOOL, and leave Poetry in unmangled repose.

ELLA'S MUSICAL EVENINGS.

RIDING in an omnibus one day, in company with seven men and a small dog, I was mildly asked by a meek gentleman, with a snub nose and desultory whiskers, whether that dog belonged to me. "No, sir, no," I replied; "I never own anything smaller than a mastiff!" the meek gentleman said, "Oh, indeed!" said my collocutor, with an effort at reply, "you have great ideas!" I startled him into silence by severely asking, "Sir, why do you *impute little dogs to strangers?*" He stammered apologetically, and very soon got out of the omnibus, doubless wondering at the Olympian pride of his persecutor! This mystification—worthy, I venture to say, of Vivier the prince of *mystificateurs*—was recalled to me on Thursday by an ingenuous youth, who wishing "to make a remark," asked me whether I was going to see the new *débûtante*, Mrs. Rose Ellen Temple, in the *Heir at Law*, for I loftily answered, "Why do you impute such intentions to me? and on a Thursday night, too, when Ella's *Musical Evening* lures me to Willis's Rooms! When Mozart's quintet in G minor, Beethoven's Trio B flat, and Mendelssohn's quartet No 4, are to be performed by Leonard, Mellon, Oury, Le Jeune, and Piatti; when Madame Mendi is to sing, and M. Leonard, the new violinist, is to make his first appearance!"

With all my interest in *débûts*, I could not give up such a concert as that for a *débût*, so I went to Ella's. I did well. The concert was delightful. Ella is an enterprising manager, and to his sagacious enterprise the subscribers owe many a treat; for no sooner does some wandering planet come within Ella's orbit, than, sure as fate, the planet is whirled into the Musical Union, (by which lofty and astronomical phrase I mean that "all the talents" are secured, all the great players certain to be engaged). M. Leonard and his wife are on their way to Russia, but Ella knows how to make them pass through London and play at his concert.

M. Leonard—the attraction of the evening—is a fine player certainly; but he seemed more at home in Mozart and Mendelssohn than in Beethoven: he played with delicacy and with purity; but the impetuous iterations of Beethoven's fiery and impassioned phrases were inadequately given. It was Beethoven from the *surface inwards*, so to speak—not from the mysterious depths of passion piercing a way outwards. Nothing could be more delightful than his playing of the enchanting *trio* in Mozart's quintet, or more delicately discriminating than the muted tenderness of the *adagio*—one of the loveliest things Mozart ever wrote. But the Beethoven trio in B flat left me unsatisfied, craving for a Beethovenish *je ne sçais quoi*, the absence of which almost spoiled my enjoyment of that exquisite composition. Ah! what writing! There was a poet! His invention was as exhaustless as it was *primesautierè*; his least effective phrases never have an accent of commonplace: he is a miracle of science and genius!

Of M. Aguilar's pianoforte playing I can say nothing favourable. Coming after such men as Hallé and Pauer, he was subjected to a comparison that must have thrown ten times his talent into the shade; but to come after Hallé and Pauer, and to play in that loose expressionless style was inexcusable. Nor will I say more of Madame Mendi, than that she sang Handel's *Lascia ch'io pianga*—no favourite of mine,—and Isouard's *Non je ne veux pas chanter*. The rooms were crowded.

DREARY LANE

KEEPS up its character of enterprising failure. The immortal Bunn, that *ανηξ ανδρων*, that man of men, whose knowledge, experience, taste, and enterprise are the admiration of the profession, continues to issue bills which are the delight of critics, and continues to revive pieces with a prodigality of invention peculiar to himself. What a brilliant thought that was to revive *Azael!* Mr. Anderson had worn it out during his management, and had himself tried the effect of its revival; and because *Azael* was worn out, because the public was weary of *Azael*, because *Azael* was certain to fail, Mr. Bunn revives it—otherwise, where would be the "enterprise?" what audacity is there in reviving a piece certain to succeed?

VIVIAN.

MR. WYLD'S GLOBE IN LEICESTER SQUARE.

To the attractions of his Great Globe, Mr. Wyld has added a special model of the Arctic Regions, displaying the portion of the world where Franklin and his fellow voyagers have been lost. The model is a section of a sphere, of considerable size, the land raised in relief from the level of the water, and skilfully coloured so as to aid the apprehension of the objects. An oral explanation is given, not only of the structure of the region, but also of Franklin's route, as far as it is known, and of the past efforts to follow him. It is impossible to conceive so distinct an idea of the facts as half an hour spent over the model will supply.

The large globe appears to find increasing favour, certainly not undeserved. The expansion of the map, the striking and really tangible approach to a sculptured relief of the dry land, the truly clear explanation of the guide, are characteristics which render it the best form for searching practical geography that we have seen.

EFFECTS OF CLIMATE.—In the tropical regions the power of life in nature is carried to its highest degree; thus with the tropical man, the life of the body overmasters that of the soul; the physical instincts of our nature eclipse those of the higher faculties; passion predominates over intellect and reason; the passive faculties over the active faculties. A nature too rich, too prodigal of her gifts, does not compel man to wrest from her his daily bread by his daily toil. A regular climate, and the absence of a dormant season, render forethought of little use to him. Nothing invites him to that struggle of intelligence against nature which raises the powers of man to their highest pitch. Thus, he never dreams of resisting physical nature; he is conquered by her; he submits to the yoke, and becomes again the animal man, in proportion as he abandons himself to external influences, forgetful of his high moral destination. In the temperate climates, all is activity and movement. The alternations of heat and cold, the changes of the seasons, a fresher and more bracing air, incite man to a constant struggle, to forethought, and to the vigorous employment of all his faculties. A more economical nature yields nothing, except to the sweat of his brow; every gift on her part is a recompence for effort on his. Nature here, even while challenging man to the conflict, gives him the hope of victory; and if she does not show herself prodigal, she grants to his active and intelligent labour more than his necessities require; while she calls out his energy, she thus gives him ease and leisure, which permit him to cultivate all the lofty faculties of his higher nature. Here, physical nature is not a tyrant, but a useful helper; the active faculties, the understanding, and the reason, rule over the instincts and the passive faculties; the soul over the body; man over nature.—*Guyot's Earth and Man.*

THE ANTÆAN MYTH.—There was a myth prevalent among the ancients, that in Arcadia there lived a certain family of the Antæi, of which one was ever obliged to be transformed into a wolf. The members of the family cast lots, and all accompanied the luckless wight on whom the lot fell, to a pool of water. This he swam over, and having entered into the wilderness on the other side, was forthwith in form, a wolf, and for nine years kept company with wolves; at the expiration of that period he again swam across the pool, and was restored to his natural shape, only that the addition of nine years was placed upon his features.—*Zoological Notes and Anecdotes.*

SCHILLER'S THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—This autumn I have read Schiller's "History of the Thirty Years' War," and, time after time, I have raised my hands in astonishment, not in admiration of the work, O by no means! but in wonder at the possibility that a book like this, which is not even tolerably well-written, and in which the narrative never flows smoothly on, but is ever halting and stumbling, should be allowed to rank as a classical work. Time will assuredly do justice to it, and allow the thing to sink into oblivion.—*Niebuhr's Life and Letters.*

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

FRIDAY MORNING, March 26.

CONSOLS have this week, since Monday, when they closed at 98¼ ⅜, remained pretty steady at 98⅜ to ½.

The fluctuations have been Consols from 98¼ to 98⅞. Bank Stock 220, 221, including dividend, and Exchequer Bills, 67s. to 70s. premium.

In Foreign Stocks the prices yesterday were—Brazilian, 101½; the New Bonds, 100½; Buenos Ayres, 74½; Ecuador, 5¼, ⅜, and ½; Grenada, ex-December 1849, coupon, 24; Mexican, for money, 32¾; for the account, 32⅞ and ¾; Peruvian, 106; the Deferred, 63¾, 64, 63, and 63½; Russian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 103¾; Sardinian Five per Cents., 93¾ and ½; Spanish Five per Cents., 26⅛ and 25⅞; Passive, 5⅛; Spanish Three per Cents., for the account, 43¾; the New Deferred, 19⅜ and ⅞; Spanish Committee Certificate of Coupon, not funded, 2¾ per cent.; Venezuela, 46½; for the account, 45; Belgian Four-and-a-Half per Cents, 93½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 61 and 60⅞; and the Four per Cents., for the account, 95 and 94¾.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	*Mond.*	*Tues.*	*Wedn.*	*Thurs.*	*Frid.*
Bank Stock	.....	221	.....	.....	shut	.....
3 per Cent. Red.	.....	.....	99⅛	.....	shut	.....
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	98½	98⅝	98¼	98⅛	98⅝	.....
3 per Cent. An. 1726...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3 per Cent. Con., Ac.	98¼	98½	98¼	98¼	98⅜	.....
3½ per Cent. An.	.....	.....	.....	.....	shut	.....
New 5 per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans., 1860	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Ind. St. 10½ per Cent.	.....	.....	261	.....	.....	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000 ...	74 p	74 p	78 p	.....	78 p	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000	66 p	66 p	70 p	67 p	67 p	.....
Ditto, £500.....	66 p	66 p	70 p	67 p	70 p	.....
Ditto, Small	66 p	66 p	70 p	67 p	70 p	.....

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Belgian 4½ per Cents.....	93½	Peruvian Deferred.....	63½
Brazilian 5 per Cents. ...	101½	Russian 4½ per Cents.....	103¾
Brazilian New Bonds, 1829 and 1839	100½	Sardinian Bonds	93¼
Buenos Ayres Bonds.....	74½	Spanish 5 per Cents. (div. from Nov. 1840)	25⅛
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	60⅞	Spanish Passives.....	5⅝
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	94⅜	Spanish 3 p. Cent. Acct...	43¾
Ecuador.....	5¼	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	19⅞
Granada, ex Dec. 1849....	24	Spanish Com. Certif.	2¼
Mexican, 1846	32¾	Venezuela.....	46½
Mexican, Account	32¾	Venezuela, Account	45
Peruvian 5 per Cents.....	106		

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, March 19.

BANKRUPTS.—W. GREEN, Coggeshall, builder, to surrender March 30, April 29; solicitors, Messrs. Nichols and Clarke, Cooke's-court, Carey-street; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings.

C. KLUG, New Bond-street, revalenta arabica importer, March 30, April 29; solicitors, Messrs. Sharpe, Field, and Co., Bedford-row; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street.

J. BRANCH, High-street, Camberwell, corn dealer, March 27, April 30; solicitor, Mr. Wilson, Gresham-street; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Aldermanbury.

R. WOOD, Wardour-street, Soho, upholsterer, March 30, April 30; solicitor, Mr. Kinsey, Bloomsbury-square; official assignee, Mr. Graham.

J. DORMOR, Charles-street, St. John's-wood, Portland-town, grocer, March 22, May 1; solicitor, Mr. Cooke, Lincoln's-inn-fields; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street.

B. SMITH, Droitwich, salt manufacturer, March 31, April 29; solicitors, Messrs. Motteram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham.

G. HENNEY, Elmley Lovett, Worcestershire, victualler, March 31, April 29; solicitor, Mr. Smith, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Birmingham.

J. GREENER, jun., Wigan, ironmonger, April 1 and 22; solicitor, Mr. Barrow, Wigan; official assignee, Mr. Lee, Manchester.

Tuesday, March 23.

BANKRUPTS.—J. BRANCH, High-street, Camberwell, corn dealer, to surrender March 27, April 30; solicitor, Mr. Wilson, Gresham-street; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street.

J. CADMAN, Derby, grocer, April 2 and 30; solicitors, Mr. Vallick, Derby; and Messrs. Motteram and Co., Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham.

R. T. CARLISLE, Sheffield, Yorkshire, and Beighton, Derbyshire, builder, April 3, May 15; solicitors, Mr. Bromhead, jun., and Mr. Fernell, Sheffield; official assignee, Mr. Freeman, Sheffield.

R. CHAMBERLAIN, Uttoxeter, Staffordshire, draper, April 3, May 3; solicitors, Mr. Cox, Sise-lane, London; and Messrs. Metteram and Co., Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Birmingham.

G. FOSTER, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Lancashire, builder, April 5 and 28; solicitors, Messrs. Whitworth, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Pott, Manchester.

A. HARDY, Liverpool, general and commission merchant, April 2, May 6; solicitor, Mr. Holden, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Turner, Liverpool.

J. LUXFORD, Market Rasen, Lincolnshire, draper, April 14, May 5; solicitor, Mr. Tweed, Lincoln; official assignee, Mr. Carrick, Hull.

W. STEVENS, High Holborn, upholsterer, April 2, May 7; solicitor, Mr. Taylor, South-street, Finsbury-square; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Aldermanbury.

W. and J. TODD, Liverpool, provision merchants, April 5 and 26; solicitor, Mr. Holden, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Morgan, Liverpool.

C. H. WHITE, Southampton, dealer in china, March 29, May 8; solicitor, Mr. Braikenridge, Bartlett's-buildings; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street.

J. WOOD, Putney, Surrey, brewer, March 31, May 4; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrance and Co., Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Graham, Coleman-street.

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