

# The Leader.

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

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No. 34.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1850.

PRICE 6d.

## News of the Week.

SINCE the troubled spring of 1848 affairs have never looked more disastrous. The bright November sun flashes back, reflected from the bayonets of mighty armies. Absolutism moves its masses right into the heart of Germany; Austria and Bavaria dexterously manœuvring to secure the aid of Russia, and so make three to one against Prussia. Schleswig-Holstein is but the stalking horse behind which Absolutism may advance, and strike a terrible blow at all Liberalism, "constitutional" or otherwise. Prussia is doomed if she concedes. But her game is desperate if she stand to her arms. Except out of hatred to Austria and Russia no human being sympathizes with Prussia; her vacillating policy has brought her to this pass; her courage alone can extricate her. One chance she has. Let her boldly throw herself into the cause of freedom, let her declare she withstands the despotic encroachments of Absolutism, let her fling out to the winds a constitutional standard, and more than half of her German antagonists will pass at once into her ranks. Let her do this uncompromisingly and her chance is not so desperate, for Prussia is a military nation, well disciplined, well armed, strong in innumerable fortresses, and would then be capable of holding a defensive position with much greater effect than her two crippled antagonists, Austria and Russia, could maintain the offensive. Moreover, Italy, Hungary, and Poland are *not* erased from the map!

That war is imminent no one can deny. The armies are face to face; blood has already flowed. Austria becomes more arrogant in her demands. Berlin shows every disposition to carry out the policy of Radowitz, and retires upon Cassel, having evacuated Fulda; her people are roused to a sort of enthusiasm by an insult offered to the nation, though they showed no disposition to fight for a Cabinet policy; journals are belligerent in tone; barracks are animated with hope; and the universal concentration of the forces looks like something more than mere parade. Meanwhile amidst the "clang of arms" and assiduous pipe-clay, while all Europe holds its breath in anticipation of the outburst, the Peace Congress calls a meeting at Wrexham, and there its great orator, Richard Cobden, not at all alarmed by the trundling of artillery parks over the Continent, repeats his "practical" arguments derived from the costliness of war, and standing under the shadow of the now oracular Peel, advocates an increase of that "defencelessness" which throws Sir Francis Head into a fever. The danger we are in he holds to be a possible evil; our taxation is an undoubted one. Of the fifty millions required by the Government for its expenses, about seven millions, he says, are required for the real purposes of Government; the rest goes for pipeclay and blue jackets, *past* and pre-

[TOWN EDITION.]

sent. He will, next session, try what can be done for a sweeping reduction of this "cheap defence of nations."

The President's message, amidst its cheerful statistics and hopeful promises, will give Mr. Cobden a significant fact, viz., that the reduction of the French navy since 1848 has been considerable—from 235 ships to 125—and, although this latter number is insufficient "for the protection of French interests," yet French interests, by his own showing, seem to flourish remarkably well. Nothing can be more encouraging than the condition of France as represented in these dexterous paragraphs. Order and confidence have been restored; those who were malevolent enough to distrust the Government and its supreme wisdom have been silenced by the strong arm of the law, an obedient army, and a purified National Guard. Officials have been removed by hundreds when they happened to be "suspects"; the teachers in primary schools whose opinions were not those of "all well-constituted minds," have been carefully evicted; such of the National Guard as were lukewarm in their adhesion have been disarmed; journalists have been imprisoned, fined, ruined; journals have been "put down"; and by these means unanimity—or something like it—has been restored; and the public coffers are in a state of unexampled prosperity. Commerce increases, taxation is lightened; peace is promised—for France will preserve a strictly neutral policy—and a "revised" constitution may reinstate France in all her glory, with an Emperor to complete a pageant. Making all deductions from the statements of this message, one thing certainly appears in it, and that is, increase of material prosperity. The deficit falls from 300,000,000 to 100,000,000f.; while 1852 holds out the hope of a balance. On the whole, the message is a creditable document, and one that must materially strengthen the position of the President. But what a shameless front he must have to proclaim, in the presence of all Europe, that he has overthrown "the party in Italy which compromised liberty"! The French occupation of Rome was essentially so *liberal* a movement, and the reinstatement of the Pope so conducive to freedom!

The Pope is not regarded with so loving an eye in England: his recent "aggression" still infuriates the Protestants. Meetings are held everywhere; the old stupid arguments are reiterated, the foolish claptraps of rhetoric pass for bursts of irresistible eloquence. Lord John Russell's extremely contemptible composition is eulogized for its "vigorous" style, and its "bold vindication of the principles of the Reformation"; few stop to ask whether it was not an adroit net thrown out among the fishes, though it can be no secret to any party that his object was to make "political capital" out of the folly of the day. Disraeli also seizes the occasion for a hit at Ministers; and the Bishop of Exeter is not sorry to be able to give a side blow to both the Ministers and the Low Church party. So

bitter is the No-Popery feeling that men are demanding a return to the old days of iniquitous persecution. At the Christ's Hospital meeting a Mr. Woods made a sensible motion to omit from the memorial to her Majesty all mention of exacting pains and penalties, on the ground that it was a violation of religious liberty. If Popery was to be successfully resisted, he said it must be by the spread of knowledge among the masses, and by an increase of zeal in the preaching of Protestant truth. Of course, the motion was unanimously rejected. Pains and penalties are so much more summary a method; besides, education might be troublesome to the Church! Meanwhile, to add new fuel to the flames, there comes the announcement that Scotland also is to be "invaded," and its seven new dioceses are already marked out. What will the old Covenanters say to *that*? For the Catholics, they are calmly prepared to meet the storm of obloquy, and to maintain their right. The letter of the Bishop of Northampton is a temperate, but firm, expression of the Catholic view of the matter, which ought to open the eyes of the candid.

In home politics the most significant, though not the most signal, fact of the week is the address of the Democratic Conference to the various bodies of Reformers throughout the country. Want of union, and want of sustained interest, have hitherto been the chief causes of failure in all popular reform movements. The great object of the Conference has, therefore, been, to lay down a scheme of action which shall not only secure the hearty coöperation of the working classes, but which must also command the support of earnest reformers in every class. The programme now issued is simple and comprehensive. It seeks the enactment of the Charter, the nationalization of land, freedom of the press, a national system of secular education, and better employment of labour, with a more just distribution of the fruits of industry. The question is now referred to the country. It is for the People to say whether the Conference has succeeded in meeting their wishes and wants.

Amid these causes of agitation, political and religious, the late terrors of burglary have vanished, and the week is peculiarly "flat" in crimes of violence; so that all the attention of the public can be given to Continental wars and disclosures of "Popish plots." There have, indeed, been two or three suicides, which will, no doubt, confirm the French in their belief touching the tendencies of "gloomy November;" but we question whether the number of deaths from that cause last week have been more numerous than during any week in the dog-days. The disgraceful charge against a clergyman at Brentwood has fallen to the ground for want of evidence. The poor girl has been terrified by her mother into a denial of all that she said in her original statement, and thus the clergyman is allowed to go free, although his guilt is unquestionable.

## THE ANTI-POPERY MOVEMENT.

The following address to her Majesty is in course of signature by members of the English bar. The names of nearly 500 barristers, including those of the Attorney-General, and about fifty Queen's Counsel, have been already appended, and copies remain at the different Inns of Court to receive additional signatures:—

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The humble address of the undersigned members of the English bar.

"We, your Majesty's most devoted subjects, beg leave humbly to approach your Majesty with the strongest assurances of undeviating loyalty to your Crown, and of sincere and fervent attachment to your person.

"We consider it our duty to declare to your Majesty that we regard with feelings of surprise and indignation the attempt made by a foreign potentate to interfere with your Majesty's undoubted prerogative, and to assume the right of nominating archbishops and bishops within these realms, and of conferring upon them territorial rank and jurisdiction.

"We therefore humbly venture to express our earnest trust that your Majesty will maintain and preserve inviolate your Majesty's supreme authority, as by law established within these realms, and our confident reliance on your Majesty's wisdom for the immediate adoption of such measures as shall be most effectual for that purpose."

A general wardmote of the inhabitants of Billingsgate ward was held at Fellowship-hall, St. Mary-at-hill, on Tuesday evening, Mr. Alderman Sydney, M.P., in the chair, when an address to the Queen was adopted, praying her to adopt such measures as may be deemed most expedient at the present crisis. The most remarkable speech at this meeting was that of Mr. Costello, who said:—

"He was a Roman Catholic, and he would take upon himself to say that, whatever aggressions the Pope might make, English Catholics were not responsible, nor in any way blameable for them. He knew that the present Government had taken steps for establishing diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome; they had been in negotiation with the United Society of St. Thomas on the subject; but this the Catholics generally had opposed, because the Government would thereby have obtained a veto on the appointment of Irish Bishops. The recent creation of Dr. Wiseman as Cardinal and Archbishop had arisen out of the negotiations of Lord Minto in Italy; he had urged the Pope to send a plenipotentiary to this country, and the reply of his Holiness was, that he would send no plenipotentiary to England except in a Cardinal's hat. Hence the bestowal of the dignity on Cardinal Wiseman, who was naturally supposed to be not inimical to this country. (*Oh, oh.*) The meeting had no right to blame the English Catholics for what had taken place, for it had been entirely brought about by the English Government." (*Oh, oh.*)

A correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* asks if Lord John Russell can be sincere in his new-born zeal against "the mummeries of superstition" when he allows Mr. Benjamin Hawes, one of his subordinates, to attend a "superstitious" meeting of "Catholics of the London District" at the Thatched-house, for the purpose of raising a subscription "to meet the expenditure attendant on the promotion of the Right Reverend Dr. Wiseman to the rank of a Prince of the Church." Mr. B. Hawes replies, in next day's *Chronicle*, that his attendance at the Catholic meeting was simply out of respect to Cardinal Wiseman, whose friendship he has long enjoyed, and that as soon as he discovered that "the resolutions were such as none but Roman Catholics could support," he explained to the meeting that he was unable to concur in either the address or the resolutions. Unfortunately for the Colonial Under-Secretary, whose memory is often at fault, it turns out, as the *Chronicle* has ascertained by consulting its advertising columns, that one of the resolutions was supported by Mr. B. Hawes, although he expressly denies to have either seconded or supported a resolution on that occasion. He admits, however, that he gave his mite to the subscription for buying Cardinal Wiseman's red hat. Was Lord John Russell aware of this when he denounced the "mummery" of the Church of Rome? Or, does he hold the more reasonable view that there is often quite as much mummery in a Puseyite shovel hat as in a cardinal's crimson castor?

A meeting of the Cordwainers' ward was held in the vestry-room, Bow Church, on Monday evening, "to consider the propriety of presenting an address to her Majesty on the recent attempted assumption of temporal and spiritual authority in this country by the Pope, to protest against such unwarrantable interference, and to assure her Majesty of their unshaken attachment to her person and Government, and of their hearty co-operation with their fellow-citizens and fellow-subjects for the maintenance of all the constitutional rights of the Crown of these realms both in church and state." Mr. Alderman Salomons, who was called to the chair, expressed a hope that the agitation of the present period would be distinguished from all previous agitations, by its respect for the right of private judgment in those who held opposite opinions. Mr. Deputy Lott, who moved the address to the Queen, quoted the following passage from the *Lamp*, a Catholic periodical, to

show the feelings by which Cardinal Wiseman's friends are animated:—

"Poor Anglicanism! What she suffers may be gathered from the insolent ravings of the blatant bullies whose fierce denunciations of Romanism disgrace the leading journals of London and all others accustomed to catch their tone. Are not our children becoming as numerous as the stars of heaven? and out of our abject poverty, has she not studded all the land with beautiful and costly, yea, magnificent temples, dedicated to the honour of religion, and the worship and glory of the living God? What blindness, what rashness, what madness, then, for the heterogeneous mass of conflicting atoms to dream of resisting the progress of a compact, solid globe, rolling forward in happy and ruled order!"

The address having been carried unanimously, Mr. Lake moved a resolution expressive of satisfaction with Lord John Russell, for his letter to the Bishop of Durham. In doing so, he said "he trusted that every Jesuit would be chased out of this land, and not permitted to usurp a religious power over the people."

A crowded and influential meeting of the inhabitants of Paddington was held at the Infant School-room, on Monday afternoon, to address the Queen. The chair was occupied by the Reverend A. M. Campbell, Vicar of Paddington, who denounced the audacious aggression of the Pope as a direct insult to the Queen, and an outrage upon the Protestant feeling of the country. A resolution condemning the arrogant assumption of jurisdiction within these realms by a foreigner, was carried unanimously, but not without a vehement protest against Puseyism as the main cause of Popish aggression, by a Mr. Cox. He told the meeting that—

"They must look at home, and not to the Church of Rome only for Popery, and he asked whether the members of the Church of England had not departed from the simplicity of the gospel in the grossest and most barefaced manner. (*Cheers, and a voice—The white surplice.*) He contended that the dignitaries of the English Church, Henry of Exeter and the Bishop of London himself—(*cheers and hisses*)—yes, he contended that those men had been one means of encouraging this aggression. (*Cheers and 'No, no.'*) Yes, yes. Had not the Bishop of London encouraged Tractarianism, and assisted at the opening of St. Barnabas, which was replete with the mummeries and tomfooleries of Popery?"

A county meeting to protest against the meddling of the Bishop of Rome in the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of this country was held on Wednesday, in the county of Bedford. It was convened by Colonel Gilpin, the high sheriff. The Townhall of Bedford, in which the gathering took place was so crowded, that further ingress was impossible. The high sheriff presided in person, and amongst the gentlemen who addressed the meeting, were Lord Charles Russell (brother of the Prime Minister), Sir Harry Verney, M.P., Mr. Hastings Russell, M.P., Colonel Trevor, M.P., and Sir C. G. Payne. An address to the Queen was carried, expressing a hope that she will command a public denunciation of the Pope's Bull.

Meetings of a similar kind have been held at Norwich, Liverpool, Maidstone, Rochester, Taunton, Bury, Walthamstow, Brentwood, Chester, Exeter, Edinburgh, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, and Lichfield.

Cardinal Wiseman is at present busily engaged, says the *Standard*, in penning a pamphlet, by which he confidently expects to justify the course which he and his brother bishops have adopted; and to show that the new titles were not assumed without at least the knowledge of the Premier. The cardinal may be, therefore, understood to consider that *silence gives assent*. A few days previous to the departure of the cardinal for the Eternal City, the following announcement appeared in the *Court Circular*:—

"Bishop Wiseman had an interview with Lord John Russell yesterday."

The cardinal's friends aver that the pamphlet will place the Premier in a very awkward position; but by others it is very much doubted that the noble lord has committed himself rashly, at least on paper. The cardinal is expected to address the congregation at St. George's new Roman Catholic Church on Sunday next.

A singular ebullition of feeling manifested itself at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, on Wednesday evening. Just at the conclusion of Mr Barker's lecture on the Ballad Music of England, the audience, consisting of some hundred visitors, rose *en masse*, and shouted for "God save the Queen," which was given by the whole of the voices with most astonishing effect.

We are able to apprise the public that the Papal brief for the erection of a territorial hierarchy in the south is about to be followed by a similar deed for the erection of a territorial hierarchy in the north. As England was divided into twelve dioceses, Scotland is to be partitioned into seven. Hitherto the Roman Catholic mission in Scotland has been arranged in three "districts." The eastern and western districts are each presided over by two vicars apostolic; the northern district has but one. So rapid has been the increase of Roman Catholics in Scotland, that the number of their clergy has doubled in twenty years. In 1830 they had 60 priests; in 1850 they have 120.—*Edinburgh Courant*.

## THE OUTRAGE ON MR. MIALI.

We are glad to see that an address to the Dissenters of Islington has been issued, in the shape of a handbill, in which they are warned against signing any address which acknowledges "the supremacy of the Crown" in matters of religion, and upholds "the rights and privileges of the English Church." As a proof that Churchmen hate free discussion as much as Romanists, it calls attention to the brutal and unprovoked attack on Mr. Miall at the meeting of the Protestant inhabitants of Islington last week. That gentleman gave notice to the Reverend Daniel Wilson, the chairman, that he wished to move the following amendment:—

"That this meeting, having had under its consideration the apostolical letter of the Pope, claiming exclusive spiritual jurisdiction in this country, and dividing it into dioceses, expresses its surprise and indignation at the arrogant assumption involved in such a procedure; but it is also equally opposed to similar claims of authority asserted or exercised by any other hierarchy, from whatever source it may profess to have derived its authority."

This amendment, as the chairman knew perfectly well, was quite in order. He knew that Mr. Miall had quite as much right to express his opinions as the Reverend Mr. Weir or the Reverend Mr. Hollis, neither of whom belong to the Established Church, and yet, without ever having read the amendment to the meeting, he asked them if they wished to have an amendment attacking the Church of England. The affrighted Churchmen, taking their cue from the chairman, hissed and hooted without knowing what they were condemning. Emboldened by this two clerical men seized Mr. Miall—who was standing perfectly still, waiting for the clamour to subside—by the collar, and flung him headlong from the platform to the ground. We are sorry to add that neither chairman, clergyman, nor Dissenting minister came to his assistance or tried to gain him a hearing. Till some apology is made for this disgraceful outrage, the Churchmen of Islington ought not to say much against the persecuting spirit of Romanism. This is not the way to put down the rampant spirit of priestcraft.

## THE THREATENED WAR IN GERMANY.

In consequence of the Frankfort Diet having summoned Prussia to withdraw her troops from Hesse, or at least to confine them strictly to the military roads, the Prussian Ministry met in council on the 6th instant, when it was resolved the whole army should be immediately mobilized, as well as the Landwehr. A telegraph order was immediately sent to Count Groben, commander of the Prussian army in Hesse, ordering him to prevent by force all further progress of the Austrian and Bavarian troops. On the other hand, Prince Thurn and Taxis ordered the advance of the Bavarian troops towards Fulda on the 8th, and, as the easily-defended passage of the valley of the Fulda was found unoccupied, it was presumed that no resistance was intended. In this, however, they were mistaken, and the result was that a slight skirmish took place between the belligerent armies, in which several Bavarians were killed. The following version of the affair is from the Prussian papers:—

"CASSEL, Nov. 9.—Letters have been received from Fulda, according to which the first shots have been fired on two points. The Bavarian soldiers, cavalry, advanced with sheathed sabres. The officer commanding the Prussian outposts demanded the meaning of this proceeding, and requested the troops to halt. The Bavarians replied by laughter. Two warnings were then given on the Prussian side, and as, notwithstanding, the Bavarians still advanced and came within 300 paces of the opposite force, the Prussians fired. Several Bavarians fell, the remainder retired. These and other reports have been received with eager joy, since so deeply had the spirit of mistrust sunk into all minds, the people of Cassel believed that the Prussian cabinet had renounced all its former resolutions in favour of this state. A great muster of the Burgher Guard was held to-day for purposes of inspection. We are preparing for every eventuality."

The *Ober-Post Amt Zeitung* (organ of the Frankfort Diet), of the 9th, says:—

"The Prussian troops in Electoral Hesse have commenced hostilities against the troops of the federal executive corps. We give the following facts on official authority, in order to avoid all suspicion of error. On the 8th instant Prince Thurn and Taxis, the Bavarian commander, advanced with the vanguard on the road to Fulda. His intention was merely to change his quarters and make a reconnaissance. The first was necessary, since the federal troops could no longer procure provisions in their former quarters. In order, however, to remove all pretext for hostilities from the Prussian troops, the cavalry of the vanguard had been ordered not to draw their sabres, and even the muskets of the infantry were not loaded. Before the village of Bronzell the federal troops were suddenly assailed by a brisk fire of musketry. A division of the Austrian Fourteenth Light Infantry and the grenadiers of the Eleventh Infantry Regiment advanced to dislodge their assailants. The Prussians were driven beyond the village, which was then occupied by the federal troops. Five of the Imperialists were wounded, two severely. The Prussians were not content with this proceeding, directly at variance



with the law of nations, but subsequently, under the command of Major-General Heilbrunner and Baron la Motte, who had been driven out of Bronzell, again fired upon the federal troops. While this resistance to the resolutions of the Diet was thus confirmed with blood, a Prussian messenger arrived on the 8th in the Bavarian head-quarters with the intelligence that General Gebhren had received orders from Berlin to evacuate Fulda on the 9th, at noon, and confine his occupation to the military roads."

The latest accounts from Hesse were that the Prussians had not only retreated from Fulda, but that they had likewise neglected taking a new position at Hunfeld, and that preparations were making to evacuate even Hersfeld, which is one of the principal points on the military road. The way to Cassel was thus thrown open to the Bavarians and Austrians, and it was even expected at Cassel that the capital too would be given up to the Prussians. The whole of Lower Hesse is thus left open to an invading army, while a treasury containing 30,000,000 of florins is almost unprotected at Cassel. So large a prize might well serve as an excuse for a bold and precipitate movement of the Federal troops.

At the same date Austrian troops continued to pass through Bavaria; 800 men of the Wellington foot came to Nurnberg on the 8th; 1600 men of the same corps were announced for the evening of that day. It was expected that the whole of the Vorarlberg corps would have passed through Bavaria on the 12th. The city of Bamberg was literally crammed with Austrian troops.

The prevailing rumour is, however, that the danger of a war is much less imminent than it was a few days ago.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

The opening of the National Assembly took place on Monday morning. At an early hour the Pont de la Concorde and the other approaches to the Palace of the Assembly were crowded with loiterers, the greater part of whom were in blouses. They remained in the precincts of the Assembly during the day. At one o'clock M. Dupin opened the sitting, which was commenced by reading the *procès verbal* of the 9th of August, being the last day of the last session. The *appel nominal* was then proceeded to, and, 583 members having answered to their names, and M. Dupin having stated this fact, declared that the Assembly might now resume its labours. Nothing of any interest characterized the sitting beyond a demand of prosecution on behalf of the Procureur de la République against M. Charrin, a representative of the people, who lately killed M. Dupont in a duel. The demand was referred to a special committee. The Assembly rose at a quarter to three.

Previous to the opening of the Assembly, the *Presse* threw Paris into a state of the greatest excitement, by publishing what purported to be the message of the President of the Republic to the National Assembly, and signed in full—"Louis Napoleon Bonaparte." This important document was prefaced by a short article, without signature, calling the reader's attention to the message which followed it. Hundreds of persons, including many a representative, were taken in by this clever hoax, which was nothing more nor less than a number of quotations from certain Socialist pamphlets of the President, respecting topics which he would probably speak of in the message. So great a sensation did it excite, that the Government thought it right to have an *affiche* set up at the Bourse, declaring that the message in the *Presse* was completely apocryphal, and that that journal had been seized. Most people, especially those that were taken in, were very indignant. Everybody else thought it a good joke.

At two o'clock on Tuesday the sitting of the National Assembly was opened, and proceeded to the vote by ballot for the nomination of the President of the Assembly. M. Dupin was elected by a majority of 288.

M. Dupin .....	383
M. Mathieu (de la Drôme) .....	121
M. Michel (de Bonages) .....	33
Sundry votes .....	37

M. Dupin accordingly took possession of the Presidential chair. M. Baroche then ascended the tribune and read the message of the President, which congratulated the Assembly on the unanimity displayed by the army in securing order in the agitated provinces:—

"On all sides the army has given its concurrence with that admirable devotedness peculiar to it, and everywhere the gendarmerie has accomplished its mission with a zeal worthy of all praise. Agitation has been calmed in the country districts by putting a restraint on the detestable propaganda which was exercised by the primary teachers. Several have been dismissed. The schoolmasters are no longer the instruments of disorder. Although incessantly occupied with an urgent repression, the Government has adopted all that seemed to it proper to ameliorate the situation of the country."

In reference to the home policy of the Government, the President promises to utilize convicts as much as possible in public works. Prison discipline

has also been studied carefully, and the Government intends to demand the means of creating agricultural colonies for adult prisoners.

The Message goes on to state that the financial affairs have been gradually advancing, owing to the judicious policy of the Government—that public works have been much attended to, particularly the railroads, from which great benefits must arise—that agriculture and commerce, though weighed down by peculiar circumstances, are improving, and that the labours of the executive will never be wanting to alleviate those classes from the sufferings to which they are exposed. As regards agriculture, the Government promises to bring before the Assembly measures tending to give development to the practice of irrigation, to call attention to the modes of drainage promoted in England; measures will also be proposed relative to the use of artificial manures, the improved methods of cultivating and preparing flax, and various schemes calculated to promote agricultural prosperity.

Upon the subject of public instruction and religious worship, great satisfaction is expressed at obtaining from the Holy See the creation of three colonial bishoprics, and the appointment of three new cardinals.

The land forces are described as on a sound foundation. The entire force, which in the month of June, 1849, amounted to 451,000 men and 93,754 horses, is no more at present than 396,000 men and 87,400 horses, and will shortly be reduced to the limits prescribed in the budget, to which it will be confined if political circumstances permit.

The marine is represented as upon a respectable footing, notwithstanding the reductions commanded by the budget. Foreigners have paid homage to the fine organization of the French fleet assembled at Cherbourg. But the maritime force is only composed of 125 ships, instead of 235, which were in activity in 1848. It employs 22,561 men, instead of 29,331 that year. This force, according to the President, "suffices imperfectly for the protection of French interests throughout the globe," but no promise is held out of any increase in that department.

As regards foreign affairs, he speaks in high terms of the "great success obtained in Italy." The "turbulent demagogy," by which the cause of liberty was compromised in Italy, has been put down, and the brave soldiers of France have had "the eminent honour of replacing Pius IX. on the throne of St. Peter." After speaking with much approbation of the late policy of the Pope, he adds that the presence of the French troops is still required in Rome, to maintain order and preserve French influence. In other parts of the world, wherever French diplomacy has had to interfere, it has maintained the dignity of France—wherever her allies have wanted aid they have obtained it. In proof of this, he points to Turkey, Greece, and Spain. As regards the Danish question, he expresses himself favourable to the claims of Denmark, but trusts that a peaceful solution of the differences will be effected. The foreign department he winds up by affirming that, "the position of France in Europe is honourable and worthy of her. Wherever her voice makes itself heard, she counsels peace, protects order and right, and everywhere her voice is listened to."

On the great question of the day he expresses himself very oracularly. He would consider as deeply criminal those who, through personal ambition, should compromise the stability guaranteed by the constitution. His own invariable rule has always been to do his duty and nothing else. A great number of the Councils General have expressed a desire for the revision of the constitution. For his own part he is ready to conform himself to whatever the people may require:—

"The uncertainty of the future gives rise, I know, to many apprehensions by awakening many hopes. Let us all know how to sacrifice these hopes to our country, and let us occupy ourselves alone with her interests. If, during this session, you vote the revision of the constitution, a Constituent Assembly will be called to remodel our fundamental laws, and to determine the fate (*régler le sort*) of the Executive Power. If you do not vote the revision, the people in 1852 will solemnly manifest the expression of its will. But, whatever may be the solutions of the future, let us understand one another, so that passion, surprise, or violence may never decide the fate of a great nation. Let us inspire the people with love of tranquillity by the calmness of our deliberations—let us inspire them with the religion of right (*la religion du droit*) by never ourselves departing from it—and then, believe it, the progress of political morality (*les mœurs politiques*) will compensate for the danger of institutions created in times of mistrust and uncertainty.

"What occupies me above all—be persuaded of it—is, not to know who shall govern France in 1852, but to employ the time at my disposal in such a manner that the transition, whatever it may be, may take place without agitation or disturbance.

"The most noble and worthy aim of a lofty soul is, not to seek, when in power, by what expedients to perpetuate it, but to watch without ceasing the means of consolidating, for the advantage of all, the principles of authority and morality, which defy the passions of men and the instability of laws."

#### MR. COBDEN ON PEACE.

A public meeting to promote the objects and advance the principles of the Peace Congress, was held at Wrexham, on Tuesday. The meeting was held in the Union-hall, and, although the price of admission was 6d. to the body of the hall, and 1s. to the platform, upwards of 2000 persons were present. Shortly after seven o'clock the speakers entered the room, and were received with great cheering, and Mr. Cobden was hailed with three hearty rounds of applause. He was accompanied by Mrs. Cobden, who took her station on the platform, and evidently took great interest in the proceedings. The chair was taken by Mr. Townshend Mainwaring, who briefly stated the object for which they were met. Mr. Sturge then gave an account of the joint mission of himself and Mr. Burritt to Schleswig-Holstein and Denmark, for the purpose of trying to put a stop to the war in the Duchies.

"On their return to England, they sought the influence of Lord Palmerston, in their humane and noble object; and since he had left the continent a correspondence had taken place between himself, his friend Elihu Burritt, and the members of both governments. A letter had been written by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Schleswig-Holstein government to Elihu Burritt, and sent through him to the Danish government, with a distinct view that it should be considered official, and as the minister wished it should be made public, it stated that the Schleswig-Holstein government did not hesitate to submit to arbitration the whole question at issue, to which the Danish government assented. In a subsequent letter, dated Oct. 5, 1850, it was proposed that eight intelligent and enlightened men should be appointed arbitrators by both governments, and in case they should not agree, that they should elect one umpire or more, whose decision should be final. This proposition was duly sent to Copenhagen, and the reply received to it gave an assurance that it should be taken into consideration."

He hoped that the friends of peace would gather courage from this to promote their principles by every legitimate mode, and would learn that where there is a disposition to preserve peace and concord there is no great difficulty in doing so.

Mr. Richards, the secretary to the Peace Congress, next addressed the meeting on the horrors of war, and in ridicule of Sir Francis Head's attempt to frighten the country into an encrease of our warlike establishments.

Mr. Cobden was received with much cheering. He said he had not come there to talk of peace as an abstraction. He came there as a practical man to deal not simply with the question of peace and war, but to treat of that which was hardly of less importance, namely, the question of the enormous burdensome standing armament which has become a question of the greatest moment to all governments if they wish to preserve their very existence in peace. In dealing with the political affairs of the country, he looked at it in the light of a practical politician, and as a member of Parliament dealing with finance, he would treat it solely on the principles of economy, and with a view to lighten the burdens which press so heavily upon the people of this country from the unnecessary and ruinous taxation with which they are oppressed:—

"He had no doubt that the very question now occupying the mind of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his retirement was the danger impending over himself and the Government with respect to the financial affairs of the state if they were not prepared to remit an enormous amount of taxation. (*Cheers.*) There was a budget of nearly £50,000,000 to vote next session, and had it ever entered the minds of gentlemen present to analyze what it was composed of? In the first place, we had to provide £28,000,000, in round numbers, out of the taxation to meet the interest of the funded and floating debt, that debt of nearly £800,000,000 having been almost every farthing contracted in former wars. (*Hear, hear.*) Deducting those £28,000,000, there were left £22,000,000, about £6,500,000 of which (he still spoke in round numbers) were alone required to carry on the civil government, including the expenses of the courts of law, of diplomacy, consular establishments, official salaries, and everything necessary to carry on the civil government. (*Hear, hear.*) After that, they had to vote about £15,500,000 (he spoke of what was done last year) for the expenses of the army, navy, and ordnance; so that out of the £22,000,000 required of you to pay the current expenditure of the State, more than two-thirds were required for military expenses—(*cheers*)—for these two-thirds taken from the taxation of the people were spent on red coats, blue jackets, and their appurtenances—(*cheers and laughter*)—and one-third covered all the other expenses. (*Hear, hear.*) He could not but think that he should deserve to be scouted if he talked to the people of financial reform, if he advocated the principle of free trade, subjecting all classes to the rivalry of the foreigner, and declared that he wished to see the burdens of taxation reduced, and yet concealed from them the fact that out of our current expenditure about two-thirds went to the army, navy, and ordnance. (*Hear, hear.*) He therefore declared that if they wished any remission of the taxation which fell upon the homes of the people of England and Wales they could only find it by reducing the great military establishments, and diminishing the money they paid to fighting men in time of peace. (*Cheers.*) No doubt they would be met next session of Parliament with great clamours for a reduction of a great number of taxes; but if we are to pay our debts, we can-



not remove taxes unless we reduce our expenditure. If they keep up their expenditure they must certainly expect to have taxes to pay; and any sensible reduction in our burdens can only be made by a resolution that we will curtail the expenditure. But how must an independent member of Parliament deal with this question? Amongst others will doubtless be brought forward motions for the repeal of certain obnoxious taxes. Take, for instance, the window tax, the tax on knowledge, another tax on attorneys, who, we are told, are sadly oppressed individuals, and the duty on malt—the last of which appeared to him to have much more reason in it than the rest. All these motions would doubtless be brought forward, and a simple aye or no is required upon the proposition. Now, he could not vote for taking off the tax unless it be clearly shown that with a diminution of income there would be a reduction of expenditure. But he had no hesitation in saying that, when the next session of Parliament came, if the Government do not make a reduction in the military establishments, he should vote for taking off taxes, and they would then see if they could pay the military without the money. (Cheers.) He would admit that this was a clumsy way of doing business, and that it did not stand to his reason or logic; but he would have no alternative if they did not reduce the expenditure before they began to do away with the taxes. What could be a more fair and rational proposal than the one we now make for a reduction in our war establishments? He thought, after such meetings as the present, and after such a straightforward honest declaration of opinion by such a vast assemblage as he now saw before him, that he should be perfectly free in all consistency and honesty, if the Government persisted in their refusal to so reasonable a request, to leave them to cut their coat according to their cloth. Sir Francis Head had told them that they were in very great danger from the French, and that it was, therefore, necessary to keep up great military establishments. It was not necessary to give Sir Francis Head any other answer than that we would rather run the chance of France coming down upon us than keep up our present military establishment. He had done with reasoning on that subject. He would rather cut the taxes down to £10,000,000, and take all chances of danger, be it from one quarter or another. It was perfectly absurd to think of keeping up our present standard of taxes and expenditure. (Hear, hear.) He called those men cowards that could write in such a manner as to talk of France taking possession of London. Who's afraid of them? (Laughter.) He believed there never was an instance in the history of the world of 50,000 men, with all the apparel of war and all the necessary muniments of war, transported over salt water within a twelvemonth. But he would repeat that he would run all risks; but he would say, that as an advocate for the reduction of armaments, he was not one who could plead guilty to the charge of being a coward or one who would submit to injustice."

They were often told that to have peace it was necessary to be prepared for war. That was not Sir R. Peel's opinion:—

"In the House of Commons, on the 12th of March, 1850, Sir R. Peel spoke as he would presently read; and he (Mr. Cobden) well remembered the feeling of surprise, not unmingled with a feeling of dissatisfaction, which pervaded that peculiar assembly when the words were delivered. He remembered when they were finished half-a-dozen of the members sitting round him (Mr. Cobden) congratulated him on having again got Sir R. Peel for a movement in favour of reduction. (Cheers.) The words of Sir R. Peel, to which he now alluded, were these:—

"For what was said about the comparative lightness of taxation he cared nothing, for there were many taxes pressing on the energies of the country and diminishing the comforts of the humbler classes, and their repeal, if it could be effected, with good faith and public security, would be of inestimable advantage to the nation. (Hear, hear.) Nay, more, he would say that in time of peace you must, if you meant to retrench, incur some risks. (Hear, hear.) If in time of peace you must have all the garrisons of our colonial possessions in a state of complete efficiency—if you must have all our fortifications kept in a state of perfect repair, he ventured to say that no amount of annual expenditure would be sufficient; and if you adopted the opinions of military men, who said that they would throw upon you the whole responsibility in the event of a war breaking out and some of our valuable possessions being lost, you would overwhelm the country with taxes in time of peace. (Hear, hear.) The Government ought to feel assured that the House of Commons would support them if they incurred some responsibility with respect to our distant colonial possessions by running a risk for the purpose of effecting a saving. (Hear, hear.) *Bellum para, si pacem velis*, was a maxim generally received, as if it were impossible to contest it; yet one that admitted of more contradiction, or should be accepted with greater reserve, never fell from the lips of man."

When Sir R. Peel delivered those words, discrediting the authority of military men, he spoke in an assembly and especially from a side of the House where the military spirit was dominant; and he must have felt those sentiments strongly, or in such an assembly, and in such an atmosphere, he never could have delivered them."

He referred to the monstrous waste of money in maintaining a European army of 4,000,000 men, living in idleness, under the pretence that all this was necessary to maintain peace. He condemned the Russian loan in strong terms, because it was giving the Emperor Nicolas more power to put down freedom:—

"That loan was raised to pay for the atrocities perpetrated in the Hungarian war, not from the savings of Barings or Rothschilds, for they were not the people who lent the money, but the small capitalists in England, who had small savings, and who wished to get five instead of our per cent. They lent that money, by which they so much cut the throats of the Hungarians, and devastated their villages as if they had gone there and one it with their own hands. (Hear, hear.) He asked whether he, as a Freetrader, was consistent

with his principles when he denounced this use of money? He was told that a man had a right to lend his money without enquiring what it was wanted for. But if they knew it was wanted for a vile purpose had they the right of so lending it? (Hear.) He put this question to a city man—'Somebody asks you to lend money to build houses with, and you know it is wanted for the purpose of building infamous houses—would you be justified in lending the money?' He replied, 'I would.' He (Mr. Cobden) rejoined, 'Then I am not going to argue with you—you are a man for the police magistrate to look after, for if you would lend money for building infamous houses you would very likely keep one yourself if you could get ten per cent. by it.' (Cheers, and laughter.) He (Mr. Cobden) said that no man had a right to lend money if he knew it was to be applied to the cutting of throats. (Applause.) The whole of this system of enormous armaments was built on the system of lending money—(hear, hear);—and thereby were concentrated into one generation the evils of war, which could not otherwise be suffered except by successive generations. (Hear.) The system was indefensible, both on the principles of humanity and political economy; and he believed the time would come—it was coming (for he had witnessed from high intellectual sources the principle broached), when it would be called in question by future generations whether they should be held responsible for debts incurred, often for keeping their own country in slavery, and also for foreign wars, in which they could have no possible interest. (Applause.)"

Mr. Williams, M.P. for Macclesfield, afterwards addressed the meeting. He contended that it was no less the interest than the duty of Great Britain to set the example to the civilized world, by greatly reducing its present extensive armaments.

#### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.

The chief topic of interest in America continues to be the Fugitive Slave Bill. The agitation becomes more and more exciting in the Northern States. It has been condemned in the severest terms by several religious bodies, and the citizens are recommended, on principles of conscience, not to comply with its provisions. Every attempt to put the law in execution has been met with general expressions of public indignation. The opponents of the law in Boston have organized a large and active committee of vigilance, for the purpose of extending protection to the fugitives, and raising every barrier to the execution of the law. Several civil officers have refused the United States marshal at Boston their aid in making arrests; nevertheless, it is said that a number of fugitives, in dread of being captured, continue to fly to Canada. A telegraphic despatch received at Washington just before the America sailed from Boston, states that President Fillmore had announced his determination to call out the military to enforce the requirements of the law.

#### THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

It is satisfactory to learn that, as regards the accommodation of visitors from the provinces, the views of the Commissioners have been cordially promoted by the Directors of the London and North Western Railway Company. We perceive from the *Morning Chronicle* that a deputation from the Executive Committee met the board on Tuesday, on the subject of the passengers by some of the excursion trains, contemplated by the company during the period of the Exhibition, being landed at the Kensington terminus of the West London line, instead of at Euston-square, and that, in consequence, directions have been given to the company's engineers to prepare the West London line for the conveyance of passengers arriving for the Exhibition to Kensington. The effect of this arrangement will be, that the passengers by the London and North-Western, visiting the Exhibition, by proceeding to Kensington instead of stopping at Euston-square, will save a journey through the streets of more than a mile and a half. At Kensington they will be about one mile and a quarter from the building; at Euston-square about three miles. It is contemplated that at the Kensington station more than 2500 passengers per day may be landed without delay or confusion. Assuming that number of excursionists to arrive, it is evident that Oxford-street and the other great arteries of traffic between Oxford-street and Hyde Park will, during a period of pressure, be materially relieved by this arrangement. No doubt the people of Hammersmith will derive some advantage from it; and it is anticipated that omnibusses will be ready at the station to convey passengers at once to the Exhibition at the lowest of the rates now charged by those conveyances.

Mr. Paxton's magic palace begins already to fore-shadow something of its ultimate grandeur. At the end of last week no less than 100,000 feet of glass had been placed in different portions of the roof. This week several parts of the central avenue have been glazed. In contradiction of the report that the workmen employed at the Hyde-park palace are not receiving full wages, the *Morning Chronicle* states that, in all cases, good workmen not only receive full wages, but that many of them, by contracting to perform a certain quantity of work, receive an additional sum in the shape of profit.

We are glad to see that the London companies are

beginning to take some interest in the Exhibition. One of the oldest and wealthiest of our corporations, the Goldsmiths' Company, has unanimously decided to award the sum of £1000 for prizes, to be given to those artists of the craft, of the United Kingdom, who can produce works of the highest design and merit, in gold and silver plate, for the Exhibition of 1851. The £1000 is to be divided into prizes varying in amount from £300 to £20 and £10, for works of the most costly description, which it is more than probable will be eventually purchased by the company. There will be services, candelabra, church plate, and smaller objects, even to a saltcellar, so that the most humble artisan in the craft shall receive his impulse, to encourage him in honourable exertion, as much in proportion as the first goldsmith in the land. The various works for competition are to be forwarded to the Goldsmiths'-hall, without the name of the owner, when each piece will be rigidly scrutinized, and those possessing the highest standard of merit in both design and workmanship will be accepted and forwarded to the Exhibition, and take their stand in competition against the whole world. It has been determined, too, from motives of the most delicate consideration in regard to their own position with the trade, that the assistance of several noblemen and gentlemen of known taste in the fine arts shall be obtained to aid the Court in judging and awarding the prizes. It is said that many of the most eminent gold and silver smiths in the metropolis are working silently, but ardently, and we hope successfully, to produce the most costly and beautiful works, such as will, indeed, gratify the sight of the lovers of exquisitely-wrought work in the precious metals. Some will exhibit the richest centre-pieces, candelabra, vases, goblets, &c.; and it is said that there are many of the great jewellers who are vying with each other to produce the most beautiful specimens from their "ateliers." One Goliath in the trade will exhibit £100,000 worth of jewellery and precious stones.

VIENNA.—From Vienna accounts have reached us of a magnificent and costly contribution, which a furniture manufacturer of that town is sending. It will consist of four rooms of a palace, each appropriately furnished and decorated. We are not yet at liberty to give the name of the manufacturer, or any detailed account of the furniture. The material is a peculiar Indian wood, rather lighter in colour than rosewood, and is sculptured in the most artistic manner after the chastest designs of eminent artists. The bedstead alone, which is already completed, costs no less a sum than 12,000 gulden, about £1200, and the cost of the other articles is in proportion. The manufacturer will be in London in a week or so, to arrange with the Commissioners for the space he will require, which will, of course, be considerable, as his contribution will comprehend all the requirements for the four principal rooms of a palace in a style of the utmost magnificence. The gentleman is one of the members of the Vienna committee.—*The Expositor*.

PROPOSED SUPPLEMENTAL EXHIBITION.—The *Architect* says:—"In consequence of the prospective rejection of numbers of articles from the Exhibition for want of room, projectors have already in contemplation the establishment of a grand supplementary exhibition, which, it is supposed, will bring a large income. Mr. Freeman, the stone-merchant, is working, at the Lamorna stone quarries, a block twenty feet in length, and weighing twenty tons. This will, perhaps, have no English competitor; but we are far behind other countries—Russia for example—in monolithic monuments. London has not one, and yet this is a class of monument which is striking, simple, and quite within the compass of our resources.

HOW TO AVOID CROWDING.—Everybody knows that the Exhibition will, from morning till night, be the most incessantly crowded place that ever all the world was bent upon seeing. Now, a very simple contrivance to obviate all these inconveniences would be to raise a double tier, say of three or four steps, in the centre of every passage; the whole matter would be exactly like a double flower-stand, could be made of cast iron, and need not in any case be more than about three feet high. By this arrangement four or five streams of spectators could, without in the slightest degree crowding upon each other, and with a perfect view of every one, pass through the Exhibition at the same time. Of course these flights of iron paths would cost a goodly sum, and take some time to make; but, as for the cost, they would pay for themselves over and over again in the increased speed with which they would enable spectators to pass through; for one of the greatest difficulties of the Exhibition, indeed, one that will at certain holiday times amount to an impossibility, will be to admit all who come, and yet, if there be delay, numbers will altogether miss their chance of seeing.

#### THE "CRYSTAL PALACE."

There was a very large attendance of members and visitors at the usual weekly meeting of the Society of Arts, on Wednesday, the large hall being filled to overflowing. The principal business of the evening was the reading of a paper by Mr. Paxton, on the origin and details of construction of the building for the Exhibition of 1851. Around the walls of the room were suspended numerous drawings, illustrative of the subject of the lecture, against each of which a strong light was directed as it was referred to in the course of the lecture. After a preliminary account of the various steps by which he has been enabled to effect the most marvellous improvements in the con-



struction of glass houses, Mr. Paxton gave the following description of the Industrial-hall now being erected in Hyde-park:—

"One great feature in the present building is, that not a vestige of either stone, brick, or mortar is necessary to be used, but the whole is composed of dry material, ready at once for the introduction of articles for the Exhibition. By no other combination of materials but iron, and wood, and glass could this important point be effected; and, when we consider the limited period allowed for the erection of so stupendous a structure, the attainment of this all-important point has secured what may almost be deemed the most important consideration. The absence of mortar, plaster, or any moist material in the construction, together with the provision made for the vapours which will necessarily arise, and are condensed against the glass, enables the exhibitor at once to place his manufactures in their respective situations without the probability of articles, even of polished ware, being tarnished by their exposure. The height of the centre aisle is 64 feet, the side aisles 44 feet, and the outside aisles, or first story, 24 feet. The transept is 108 feet in height, and has been covered with a semicircular roof, like that of the great conservatory at Chatsworth, in order to preserve the large elm trees opposite to Prince's-gate. The whole number of cast-iron columns is 3300, varying from 14 feet 6 inches to 20 feet in length. There are 2224 cast and wrought iron girders, with 1128 intermediate bearers, for supporting the floors of the galleries over the large openings of the aisles. The girders are of wrought iron, and those for the galleries are of cast iron. The fronts of the galleries are also supported by cast-iron girders. The dimensions of the building are, 1851 feet in length, and 456 feet in breadth in the widest part. It covers, altogether, more than 18 acres, and the whole is supported on cast-iron pillars, united by bolts and nuts fixed to flanges turned perfectly true, and resting on concrete foundations. The total cubic contents of the building are 33,000,000 feet. The six longitudinal galleries, 24 feet in width, running the whole length of the building, and the four transverse ones, of the same dimensions, afford 25 per cent. additional exhibiting surface to that provided on the ground floor. This extra space is suited for the display of light manufactured goods, and will also give a complete view of the whole of the articles exhibited, together with an extensive view of the interior of the building. In order to give the roof a light and graceful appearance, it is built on the ridge and furrow principle, and glazed with British sheet glass. All the roof and upright sashes being made by machinery, are put together and glazed with great rapidity, for, being fitted and finished before they are brought to the place, little more is required on the spot than to place the finished materials in the positions intended for them. The length of sash-bar requisite is 205 miles. The quantity of glass required is about 900,000 feet, weighing upwards of 400 tons. I have tried many experiments in order to find out the most suitable floors for the pathways of horticultural structures. Stone is objectionable on many accounts, but chiefly on account of the moisture and damp which it retains, which renders it uncomfortable, especially to those wearing thin shoes. The difficulty of getting rid of the waste from the watering of plants is also an objection; but, perhaps, the greatest is the amount of dust from sweeping, which always proves detrimental to plants. I likewise found that close boarding for pathways was open to many of the same objections as stone; for, although damp or moisture was in part got rid of, still there were no means of immediately getting rid of dust. These various objections led me to the adoption of trellised wooden pathways, with spaces between each board, through which, on sweeping, the dust at once disappears, and falls into the vacuity below. Whilst the accomplishment of this point was most important in plant-houses, I consider it doubly so with respect to the industrial building, where there will be such an accumulation of various articles of delicate texture and workmanship. Before sweeping the floors of the great building, the whole will be sprinkled with water from a moveable hand-engine, which will be immediately followed by a sweeping-machine, consisting of many brooms fixed to an apparatus on light wheels, and drawn by a shaft. By this means a large portion of ground will be passed over in a very short space of time. The boards for the floor will be nine inches broad, an inch-and-a-half thick, laid half an inch apart, on sleeper joists, nine inches deep and three inches thick, placed four feet apart. This method of flooring, then, possesses the following advantages:—It is very economical, dry, clean, pleasant to walk upon, admits of the dust falling through the spaces; and, even when it requires to be thoroughly washed, the water at once disappears betwixt the openings, and the boards become almost immediately fit for visitors. The galleries will be laid with close boarding. The ventilation of the building has been most carefully considered. A building where so many individuals will congregate must require a constant admission of pure air; and a most copious supply is provided. Four feet round the whole of the basement part of the building is made of louver-boarding; and at the top of each tier a similar provision of three feet is made, with power to add an additional quantity if required; in the centre aisle, also, the air will be plentifully admitted. By simple machinery the whole of this ventilation can be regulated with the greatest ease. The advantages of this kind of ventilation are several. Louvre boards are very simple in construction; they can be opened and closed instantaneously with the greatest readiness; they nicely distribute the air, and yet admit a large volume of it; and, from the manner in which they are placed over each other they effectually prevent the entrance of wet in rainy weather. In order to subdue the intense light in so large a building covered with glass, all the south side of the upright parts, and the whole of the angled roof, will be covered outside with canvass or calico, so fixed as to allow a current of air to pass between the

canvass and the roof. In very hot weather water may be poured on, which will very much assist in cooling the temperature within. Provision will be made to use the Indian plan of ventilation, if the heat is so intense as to render it desirable to have the temperature cooler than out of doors. A house was fitted up last summer at Chatsworth, as an experimental place to try this mode of ventilating, when it was found to answer the purpose admirably. The temperature was reduced in one hour from 85 to 78 degrees, without any other means being used to encrease the draught through the building. This sort of covering offers the following advantages:—the brightness of the light will be tempered and subdued; the glass will be protected from the possibility of injury by hail; the screen being placed on the outside will render the building much cooler than if it were placed inside, and through this provision the ventilation can be regulated at pleasure. From the side galleries, running the whole length of the building, there will be grand views of the goods and visitors below, whilst the transverse galleries in the middle and at the ends will afford ample means for general supervision, and will serve to communicate between the side galleries. Magnifying glasses, working on swivels, placed at short distances, will give additional facility for commanding a more perfect general view of the Exhibition. After the Exhibition is over, I would convert the building into a permanent winter garden, and would then make carriage drives and equestrian promenades through it. Pedestrians would have about two miles of galleries and two miles of walks upon the ground floor, and sufficient room would then be left for plants. The whole intermediate spaces between the walks and drives would be planted with shrubs and climbers from temperate climates. In summer the upright glass might be removed, so as to give the appearance of a continuous park and garden. A structure where the industry of all nations is intended to be exhibited, should, it is presumed, present to parties from all nations a building for the exhibition of their arts and manufactures; that, while it affords ample accommodation and convenience for the purposes intended, would, of itself, be the most singular and peculiar feature of the Exhibition."

#### THE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE.

The Committee appointed by the above body to draw up an address to the country, met at the Chartist-office, 14, Southampton-street, Strand, on Wednesday evening, November 18—Mr. John Fussell in the chair. Mr. Thornton Hunt moved the following address,\* which, having been seconded by Mr. Stallwood, was unanimously adopted:—

*To the Members of the National Charter Association, Social Reform League, Fraternal Democrats, National Reform League, the several United Trades' Bodies, and the Public generally.*

Friends,—We hope that the terms of the proposed Union will receive your approbation, and that the union itself will have your cordial support. You will perceive that the declaration of the Conference rests on the universal principle, "that all mankind are brethren, and are born with an equality of right to enjoy the earth, with all native raw material on and beneath its surface—its seas, rivers, and the atmosphere around it." The objects for which it is proposed that the National Charter and Social Reform Union should direct the movement of the people are—the enactment of the People's Charter, whole and entire, the nationalization of land, a free and unrestricted press, a national system of secular education, and better employment of labour, with better distribution of the fruits of industry. This enumeration will show that the interest of every society represented at the Conference has been duly taken care of, and that the endeavour has been to effect an union which will be active and powerful in bringing about a better condition of the people politically and materially.

The rules have been made as simple as possible. All persons acquiescing in the objects of the National Charter and Social Reform Union are eligible to become members on the payment of threepence, for which they will obtain a card, setting forth the objects and rules.

The members formed into localities will be empowered to "enact bye-laws for their own guidance," and "impose payments for local purposes."

The general government of the "Union" will be vested in a Central Committee, composed of three members from each body, giving in its adhesion to the Union (all to be unpaid excepting the secretary), who will direct its affairs until the assembling of the National Conference, on or before the month of May of next year. We know that it may be objected "that the members of the Chartist body are much more numerous than those of any other associations, and should therefore return more members to the Council." Truly; but there can be no doubt that, without introducing so great an inequality of numbers, the Charter will receive ample support as the primary object of the Union. It is already a primary object with the Fraternal Democrats and National Reform League. A large body of united trades put forward universal suffrage as one of their leading principles: and at the Conference none gave a more prompt and hearty support to the People's Charter, "name and all," than the representatives of the Socialists.

We now refer the whole matter to you. We would advise that the several associations should immediately call their own members together, to take the proposed Union into consideration. Where no societies at present exist, public meetings may be called for the same purpose.

Since former combined movements in furtherance of

\* This requires explanation. Mr. Hunt, on a bed of sickness, was unable, in person, to move the address, but was allowed to do so by letter.

the Charter, circumstances have materially altered; several obstacles to the power and well-being of the People have, in part or wholly, lost their force. Although the organization of the People abroad has proved too imperfect finally to establish their power, it has made itself felt, and the time has passed when the People is forgotten in the councils of state. Nor is it remembered only by the bounty of Princes and Ministers: the People is remembered because it has been felt to be a power in the state; and as such it is respected. At the same time, the conduct of the People generally has disarmed the fears of those who dreaded popular power, and in this country the opponents of universal suffrage have enormously dwindled in numbers and confidence.

Concurrently with these great changes of opinion amongst influential classes heretofore opposed to us, opinion has been unsettled on other questions of the greatest moment. More than one class is moving towards a radical change of taxation. The tenure of land, even the right of individual property in it, is questioned; the conflicts of protection and free trade have left both parties without the supreme good they expected, and they are obliged to dig deeper into the land itself for the root of the evils that distract the country. A new school of political economy is displacing the cold-blooded Malthusian school which has administered the poor-law for sixteen years.

We feel, therefore, that the time has come when the People may reach forth its hand to take possession of power. The first object of the National Charter and Social Reform Union will be to complete the political right of the People, by moving for the enactment of the People's Charter; and an advance might now be made with a great encrease of support, a great diminution of resistance; even our most inveterate enemies abating their confidence in themselves. At the same time the opportunity might be seized of giving such a shake to the load of taxation which oppresses the People, that it shall soon be lightened, and not slowly be made to fall into a juster settlement. And the state can be made to recognize the right of every man to labour, or to subsistence from the state, while bad laws fetter his labour and withhold him from the land to which he is born. The People might obtain for itself, even anticipating the tardy law making of Parliament, instant accession of power, sudden growth of influence over the councils of the state, and rapid improvement in material well-being.

The things wanted for this glorious movement are knowledge and union among the People of the opportunity which lies before it; union of all who are earnest in the service of the People. It is within the power of those who act for the People to form the nucleus of such a united national party as shall conduct the world at last to freedom.

WALTER COOPER, GEORGE J. HOLYOAKE, THORNTON HUNT, GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS, JOHN SHAW, EDMUND STALLWOOD, ISAAC WILSON, JOHN FUSSELL, Chairman, JOHN ARNOTT, Secretary.

14, Southampton-street, Strand, Nov. 13, 1850.

P.S. We have appointed John Arnott, Secretary of the National Charter Association, of 14, Southampton-street, Strand, London, our Returning-officer, to whom all decisions—affirmative or negative—relative to the proposed "National Charter and Social Reform Union," must be sent on or before Wednesday, the 27th day of November next ensuing.

#### THE NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

A public meeting convened by the King's-cross branch of the National Parliamentary and Reform Association, was held at the Prince Albert Tavern on Tuesday evening, for the purpose of hearing an address by Mr. Leblond, one of the members of the executive committee, on the advantages of union amongst all classes of reformers. Mr. Hinton, who was called to the chair, said he had heard it stated, and he believed there was truth in the report, that the present movement was not to have the support of the millocracy. He was not surprised at it, for he confessed he never expected any aid from that class. But he had no fear of the result on that account. The battle was one of right against might, and he was sure that in the end the right would triumph. Mr. Leblond said it was quite true that the mill-owners were not disposed to favour the movement. The reason was, that the mill-owners were represented in the House of Commons—their own interests were taken care of, and they had no interest in obtaining the franchise for their workmen, or, rather, they supposed they had an interest in keeping it from them. They were afraid, perhaps, that the taxation of the country, if the people were fairly and adequately represented, would fall on the shoulders of those who had the best right to bear it. If the industrious and labouring classes were honestly represented, it could not be supposed for a moment that the same rate of taxation should be levied on the sloe leaves of India, which were imported for the poor man, and the fine and dear teas of China, which were used by the rich. (*Hear, hear.*) He then entered upon an examination of the principles and objects of the association as they were laid down in the laws of membership. The first demand of the association, that every householder who was rated or liable to be rated to the relief of the poor, should be entitled to vote for members of Parliament, was so just and self-evident, that it was difficult to conceive how any person could dispute it, if history had not assured them that those who had enjoyed a monopoly of power themselves were deaf to reason and justice.



when they were called on to resign it. But he was prepared to go further, and to assert for every man of full age, unstained by crime, the right of the franchise.

Mr. Le Blond then went on to develop his argument at much length, which he supported by various facts and figures, principally derived, as he stated, from the tracts of the association, and concluded a very impressive address amidst the applause of the meeting.

#### TESTIMONY IN FAVOUR OF SECULAR EDUCATION.

At the late Educational Conference at Manchester Mr. G. J. Holyoake, delegate from the John-street Institution, London, and two other places, sought an opportunity of explaining the views of secular education entertained by those whom he principally represented. Such an opportunity not occurring, he has given in the *Reasoner* the remarks he wished to make. We quote them as representing the opinions of a party of a different character from what the public expect:—

"Gentlemen,—Your secretary, the Reverend Mr. McKerrrow, has laid it down that they who have a right to speak here 'are those who have travelled far to be with you and are friendly to your objects.' I have both these qualifications. Moreover, I can give you an assurance, which you all profess to need, with which to answer your enemies, and which no one else among you can give. I observe you only propose to extend the great benefit of public instruction to the religious sects among you. Although you exclude my friends, I yet rejoice that fraternity is so far developed among you to enable you to do justice to each other. Though you may not give education to us, yet I will help you to give it to yourselves. You all fear infidelity. You have all said so. Yet I do not fear religion; and though, if we should propose to make national instruction Atheistic, you would have none of it; yet, if you even propose to make it religious, yet would we accept it; for we value knowledge so much, and have so much confidence in the instruction of the intellect, that we will pay any price for it, even that of all your creeds, if they must be mixed up with it. So much for my friendliness to this cause of national instruction. And here let me say that, if all infidelity, as you confidently believe, originates in antagonism, how know you that, were you generous enough to concede schools in which the child of the Atheist could be taught, you might not one day boast of temples in which the child of the Atheist might worship? My assurance is this, that your fears are utterly, ridiculously groundless that secular instruction will be infidel. When I think of the public progress, I wish instruction to be secular; when I think of the present progress of my party, I pray that it may be still mixed up with religion. I have looked where the majority of our converts come from, and I find that they are furnished from the ranks of religious teaching. If any man among you will be the friend of infidel progress, give us religion in abundance, mixed up with scholastic teaching. When I hear the religious standing up contending for Biblical and Crodal teaching in all our common schools, I rejoice over his folly, so far as defeating him is concerned. One whom you call your Master told you to render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's; but you seize upon the undeveloped soul of the young child, and mix up before him the things of the world with the things of Heaven, till he does not know which is which, and he grows up in disregard of both. His perceptions blunted, his taste destroyed, he grows up indifferent to things sacred or secular. He is of no good to the Church, of no good to progress; he is a blot upon society, and a scandal to his teachers. Yet this man I can win, though he is hard to restore to duty and life, because he is accessible. The purely religious man is exclusive, and he will not hear; but the indifferent can be reached, and those we can reach we can win. You make the indifferent by your mixed teaching, and thus you help us. The wisest and fairest of modern Christians has told you that the soul is that side of our nature which comes in contact with infinite. But this can only be developed by pure cultivation. In political economy you have a division of labour, and you know its advantages; in your colleges you have adopted an independent study of philosophy, and you know the profit thereof. When will you act as wisely with regard to religion? Every professor tells you, you cannot learn two things at once; yet you will persist in teaching two things at once. What is the consequence? you tell us that God is the name of that ineffable Being who sits on his throne of stars, the Mighty Arbiter of human destiny. Yet you prostitute that great name to common purposes. You shout it on platforms, you parade it in lectures; it is the word of the hour in every newspaper; it is the catchword of every tract; every man hastens to hoist it as the badge of his respectability; it is abandoned to the mob; it is the war-cry of factions, the shuttlecock of parties, and, that it may nowhere escape the contempt which familiarity ever breeds, you condemn it to be the task word of your schools. Then you come down with the cry that the people have no reverence, and that the Atheist has taken it away. When the Atheist is religious, he will have a religion which he can trust. When he believes in God he will not treat him so. Accept, therefore, the disinterested warning of one you consider an enemy, and make instruction secular if you wish to save yourselves."

#### AN AFFAIR OF HONOUR.

A hostile meeting took place about half-past six o'clock on Saturday morning, at the Fifteen Acres, in the Phoenix-park, Dublin, between the Marquis of Sligo and Mr. Ousely Higgins, M.P. for Mayo. The

noble Marquis was attended by Mr. Moore, M.P. for Mayo, as his second, and Captain Oakes, of the 17th Lancers, acted as the friend of Mr. Higgins. The parties had been placed on the ground, when the second of one of them squibbed a pistol prior to loading it. The noise alarmed a policeman stationed in the vicinity of the Viceregal Lodge, who came up, and all the parties were taken into custody. In the course of the forenoon they were brought before Mr. O'Callaghan, the presiding magistrate at Henry-street Police-office, who required the principals and their seconds to enter into securities to keep the peace, each of them in personal recognizances to the amount of £200, and two sureties of £100 each. The parties were then discharged. It appears that the cause of quarrel arose at a meeting of the Poor-law Guardians of the Union of Westport, where the Marquis of Sligo made some objections to Mr. Ousely Higgins, respecting his qualification as an *ex officio* guardian. That gentleman was not then present, but his father, Captain Fitzgerald Higgins, defended the qualification. Subsequently, Mr. Ousely Higgins forwarded a letter to Lord Sligo, containing language which was considered offensive. The result was a hostile message from the noble Marquis, conveyed through Mr. Moore, M.P., and a meeting was fixed to take place, which was, however, interrupted before any damage had been done.

#### ANOTHER COLLIERY EXPLOSION.

We know not what wages colliers earn generally, but they ought to be paid liberally, considering the risks they run. Another explosion of fire damp has taken place this week, by which twenty-six persons have lost their lives. The scene of this melancholy catastrophe was the Houghton pit, near Newbottle, in the county of Durham. At the time of the explosion, there were 150 men and boys in the pit, engaged in the various workings. The explosion was sudden. A loud report was heard, which reverberated through all the workings, and was soon indicated at bank—a term applied to the entrance of the shaft. Most of the persons who perished lost their lives by attempting to get through the choke damp towards the shaft. Several were burnt. Some were found without heads, others without legs or arms; portions of the same body were found in different and distant places, showing the great violence of the fire. It is impossible to tell with certainty where the fire originated, so great is the havoc made in its vicinity, and the men working near it were blown to a great distance. One of the overmen was in the pit at the time, and on hearing the explosion he ran in the direction whence the noise proceeded, in order to ascertain the cause, when he met the rush of fire, which carried him along in its scorching embrace till death terminated his agony. His body was found a calcined mass. The event has created a deep sensation throughout the district, and thousands have visited the locality from a distance, making enquiries.

#### SERIOUS CHARGE AGAINST A CLERGYMAN.

The Reverend Robert Abercrombie Johnstone, rector of West Horndon, who was charged a few weeks since, on the information of Mary Anne Doe, a young girl living under his roof in the capacity of a domestic servant, with having committed a criminal assault upon her on the morning of the 8th ultimo, and who has been remanded from time to time by the bench of magistrates at this place, in consequence of the absence of the complainant, surrendered on Thursday, for the purpose of meeting the charge. The proceedings excited considerable interest, and a very full bench attended. In consequence of undue influence having been exerted to keep the parties out of the way, the case was again remanded till next Thursday, but at a later hour a telegraphic message arrived, stating that the girl and her parents had been found, the magistrates proceeded with the case. The parties who had brought the complaint and afterwards absconded, were apprehended in the neighbourhood of Islington. As soon as Mrs. Doe saw her daughter in custody, she ran towards her, and, grasping her hand, said, "Now mind, my child, you tell the gentlemen that it was all wrong what you told them before; and, if they ask you how you came to tell such a tale, say you wasn't in your right mind, and you didn't know what you said." Before the examination began, all the witnesses having been ordered out of court, the mother of the girl, who had been sitting beside her, rose to leave the room. As she was doing so, it was observed that she held up her finger in a threatening manner to her daughter. The result was, the girl flatly denied all her former statement. When pressed upon any point in her previous deposition, she invariably sheltered herself by remarking that she did not know what she said when she laid the complaint, and that she was sorry for having done so. After some discussion, in the course of which Mr. Lewis, a magistrate, mentioned that the mother of the girl had complained to him, in his private capacity, of the treatment her daughter had suffered from Mr. Johnstone, and entreated his interference. The Chairman said they had two affidavits made by the complainant now before them. One of them, which had been sworn in his absence, seriously affected the character of the defendant. That which had been sworn in his presence entirely rebutted the other. How the complainant had been induced thus to vary her statement did not appear; but, as the facts stood, there were certainly no grounds for detaining the defendant in custody. The case was therefore dismissed. Mr. Johnstone then retired, and the court was presently cleared. After the proceedings had terminated, the bench gave instructions to Mr. Lewis to prefer a bill of indictment for perjury against Mary Anne Doe.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen held a Privy Council on Wednesday, at Windsor Castle, which was attended by Ministers, who travelled from town by the Great Western Railway. The Queen held a Court afterwards, at which Mr. Baron Martin was presented, and kissed hands on being appointed a Baron of her Majesty's Court of Exchequer. The Queen was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon him. Mr. Charles Locke Eastlake, President of the Royal Academy, was also presented to the Queen by Sir George Grey, and had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him by her Majesty. Luncheon was served to the noblemen and gentlemen present at the Queen's Court.

Prince Albert attended at the Town-hall, Windsor, on Wednesday morning, at eleven o'clock, and was sworn in as a freeman, and as the High Steward of the borough of Windsor. The Mayor, Recorder, and Town Council were present.

Prince Albert arrived at the new palace at Westminster at a quarter before twelve o'clock on Thursday, and went to inspect Mr. Dyce's fresco in her Majesty's robing-room. He afterwards presided at a meeting of the Royal Commission for the promotion of the Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations to be held in the year 1851, and returned to Windsor soon after three o'clock.

In celebration of the birth-day of the Prince of Wales, which fell on the 9th inst., the Royal Horse Guards, under the command of Colonel Bouvier, and the first battalion of the Coldstream Guards, under the command of Colonel Codrington, paraded on the eastern terrace of the Castle in the presence of her Majesty and Prince Albert, who were accompanied by the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice, and were attended by the equerries in waiting. The troops fired a feu de joi in honour of the day. Mr. Roberts, Welsh harper to the Prince of Wales, attended in the evening, and had the honour of performing before her Majesty and the Court.

The Countess de Neuilly, with the Duchess of Orleans, the Count de Paris, and the Duke de Chartres, the Prince and Princess de Joinville, and the Duke and Duchess d'Aumale, visited the Queen and Prince Albert on Wednesday afternoon.

The statement which appeared in the *Standard*, that the Duke of Norfolk would preside at a dinner to be given in honour of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England is flatly contradicted.

The letter dated Liverpool, purporting to be from the Duke of Atholl, and giving a novel version of the famous encounter between that nobleman and the two Cambridge students, turns out to have been a forgery. The *Perth Courier* denies its authenticity "upon authority," and affirms that the Duke has not been out of Scotland for some time.

To the honour of the freemasons of Aberdeen, a numerous signed petition has been got up, praying that the Duke of Atholl may be relieved of the Grand Mastership.

The Bishop of Winchester has appointed his son, the Reverend George Sumner, to the living of Old Alresford; and the Reverend — Pigou to the living of New Alresford; both vacant by the resignation of the Reverend the Earl of Guildford. His lordship has not as yet filled up the living of Medsted, vacant from the same cause.

Mr. George Arbuthnot has been appointed to the Auditorship of the Civil List, one of the most important offices in the Treasury. Mr. Stephenson, one of the private secretaries especially referred to by Sir R. Peel, will succeed Mr. Arbuthnot as private secretary to Sir Charles Wood.—*Times*.

Several Roman Catholic families of distinction intend to take up their residence at Tunbridge Wells during the winter. The Reverend Dr. Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster, has taken No. 16, Calverley-park, and Mr. Wilberforce, brother to Archdeacon Wilberforce and the Bishop of Oxford, two houses recently erected in Mount Ephraim-road.

The announcement in the evening papers of Monday of the sudden and unexpected arrival of Cardinal Wiseman in the metropolis occasioned considerable interest among the Catholics and Protestants, and, at an early hour on Tuesday, a large number of respectably-attired persons, of both persuasions, assembled round St. George's Chapel, in the expectation of catching a glimpse of the newly-created Archbishop, and many, anticipating that he would officiate during the early morning service, entered the edifice; but they were doomed to disappointment, as the Cardinal not only did not attend the service, but had not arrived at his temporary residence up to the departure of those who were induced by curiosity to attend. Exactly at eleven o'clock, however, a private carriage, drawn by a pair of greys, was driven to the entrance of the clergyman's residence attached to St. George's Chapel, from which the Cardinal alighted, attended by his chaplain, who carried a small leather portmanteau and a large packet of letters. His Eminence, who appeared in excellent health, was enveloped in a large blue cloak, and had a superbly-bound Roman missal in his hand. On Wednesday he commenced his duties in London, by performing the eight o'clock mass at the Roman Catholic Cathedral, St. George's-in-the-Fields, which it is said he will continue to do throughout the week. The congregation was very small.

We have much satisfaction in stating that the canvass for Lord Palmerston is now progressing most satisfactorily, and that little doubt is entertained of his triumphant return as lord rector. If our townsmen but join with the students in their course, Glasgow, we trust, will soon have the proud satisfaction of seeing and hearing one of the most effective orators and distinguished statesmen of this or any age.—*North British Mail*.

Mr. Baron Martin, in announcing his "unsolicited"



elevation to the bench, and his consequent resignation of the representation of Pontefract, says, in his address to the electors:—"I am happy to learn that I am likely to be succeeded by a gentleman of a distinguished Yorkshire family, and one whom I am confident will to his utmost maintain the supremacy of the Queen, the civil and religious rights and liberties of her subjects, and the independence of the kingdom."

There is no longer any doubt as to Mr. More O'Ferrall's retirement from the Government of Malta. He has declared that he shall leave in April next, as his constitution will not permit of his risking another summer on the Malta island. Lord Beaumont is to succeed Mr. More O'Ferrall.

Mr. Charles Norris Wilde, of the firm of Wilde, Rees, and Co., in College-hill, a nephew of the Lord Chancellor, and we believe his son-in-law also, has been appointed to the office of Secretary of Lunatics, vacant by the death of Mr. Cartledge. The secretaryship in lunacy is worth about £800 a-year, but its possessor holds his place at the pleasure of the Chancellor, and is removable by his successor.—*Chronicle*.

In consequence of the repairs required at the Mansion-house, the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress will not take up their abode there until after Christmas.

A Court of Directors was held at the East India House on Wednesday, when Lieutenant-General Sir John Grey, K.C.B., was sworn in Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces, and second member of council on the Bombay establishment.

We have great pleasure in stating that her Majesty has been pleased to grant a pension of £100 a-year to Mr. John Payne Collier, the editor of Shakespeare, and author of "The History of the English Stage."

It is confidently reported in military circles that the large sum of sixteen thousand pounds has been offered by the Major of a Lancer Regiment, recently quartered in Brighton, for the purchase of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and refused after two days' deliberation. The highest sum ever given for the purchase of a step was, we believe, twenty thousand pounds.

General Neumayer, having refused the command of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Military Divisions, and demanded to be placed on half-pay, the President, taking into consideration the General's former services, has retained him in active service.

The civil law in Belgium, the same for the royal family as for the other citizens, requires the nomination of a guardian when there are children left minors by the death of either of the parents. In order to obey this law in the case of the young princes and princesses, a family council was held on Saturday at Brussels, under the presidency of M. Peeters, juge de paix. The council was thus composed: On the maternal side—the Duc de Nemours, represented by the Prince de Leiningen; the Duc d'Aumale, represented by General Jacqueminot; the Prince de Joinville, represented by General Evain. On the paternal side—Prince Albert, represented by M. Van Praet; M. de Gerlache, First President of the Court of Cassation; M. Leclercq, Procureur-General of the same court. The king delegated M. Conway, intendant of the Civil List, as his representative. The council nominated the Duc de Nemours to the office, and authorized him to accept the inheritance of the Queen, by inventory, according to the wish of the king.

Professor Kinkel, who was sentenced to death for the share he took in the Baden insurrection, and the story of whose wrongs we lately gave in the *Leader*, escaped on the night of the 6th instant from the House of Correction at Spandau. On his cell being opened next morning it was found empty, and a rope hanging from the window showed that he had descended by it to the ground.

The latest news of Jenny Lind represent her as enjoying quieter triumphs in New York. She had sung at several concerts, one of which was conducted with Barnum's three dollars charge for admittance. Entire satisfaction attended the experiment, and no confusion or rioting occurred. Parodi's arrival, like that of her Swedish rival, had created some sensation, and at midnight she had been serenaded by some of the enthusiasts of New York. Parodi, apt and impulsive, threw a cloak around her shoulders, stepped into the balcony of the hotel, and returned the greeting with a rich cry of "Viva l'America" and "Viva l'Italia!"

Mr. Charles Mottley, one of the most ardent collectors of books, who died in September last, has bequeathed his library to the French Republic, on condition that it shall be placed in a gallery bearing his name as the donor. The *Constitutionnel* states that the British Museum had offered £12,000 for this collection.

The Municipal Council of Paris, in its last sitting, voted 1,139,950*f.* for the year for the expenses attendant on the support of foundlings, and a supplement of 31,000*f.* for the better organization of the service of wet nurses, so as to prevent the casualties which now occur from the want of the proper means of securing the health and good condition of the children confided to their care.

Barbès and Blanqui were removed from Paris in a post-chaise, on their way to Belle-Isle, last week.

A herd of cattle strayed on to the Nevers Railway, near Gortin, one night last week. Presently the mail train came up, and, not seeing them, dashed into the midst. Eight of the poor beasts were killed, and the mangled remains having blocked up the wheels of the locomotive, it ran off the rails, dragging with it the tender and two baggage wagons. The driver and the fireman were thrown off, but not hurt; the conductor of the baggage wagons was thrown high into the air, and fell on the wires of the electric telegraph, but he was not seriously injured.

In a Cabinet Council held at Vienna on the 9th instant, Marshal Radetzky protested in terms of great severity against the aggressive policy of the Cabinet.

An enormous mass of earth fell from the summit of the Semmering, on the outskirts of Lower Austria, on the 27th ultimo. A considerable portion of the Vienna Railway, now under construction on that point, was buried under it, together with labourers at work on the spot. Measures were immediately taken to rescue them, but out of the twelve found hitherto only five are alive.

The catalogue of the book fair of Saint Michael, at Leipsic, which is about to open, consists of 384 pages, and contains the titles of 5033 works which have been published in Germany since the Easter fair. The number exceeds by between 1200 and 1500 that of any fair since the revolution of 1848.

Hungary, in spite of the present lull in its political affairs, appears to be socially in a deplorable condition. Murders by night in the streets of Pesth, highway robberies at the very gates of large towns, and all kinds of agrarian outrages, are of daily occurrence.

A letter from Pesth states that great sensation has been caused in that city by the families of several persons, who were executed in virtue of sentences of the revolutionary court-martial, having commenced actions against the judges of the courts to recover damages.

The President and Secretary of the Navy have granted to the United States Central Committee a first-class national frigate or steamer, for the purpose of transporting specimens of American manufactures, products, and inventions to the great National Exhibition.

Two very smart shocks of earthquake were felt at Malta on Saturday, the 25th of October, at five minutes before one, p.m., which, though they extended over a period of only a few seconds, have damaged the walls of several old buildings. The first shock was accompanied by a loud rumbling sound.

A Mr. Orlandi made a balloon ascension at Barcelona on the 27th ultimo. As no news was obtained of him for two days, great uneasiness was felt lest he should have met with the same unhappy fate as Monsieur Arban. He had, however, a very narrow escape of his life. The balloon was wafted over the snow-covered mountains of Vallvidrera, where it was enveloped in a thick mist, now and then pierced by lightning. The intrepid aeronaut was covered with a thick coating of hail, that fell incessantly. Having ascended above the cloud, he caught another glimpse of the sun, and, seeing that the wind changed in a south-westerly direction, he resolved to descend to the earth, which he could not in the least distinguish. The wind drove the balloon with terrible velocity, and at last it fell into the sea, where M. Orlandi, holding fast by the ropes, managed to keep himself above water during three hours, when he was washed on shore at ten at night, his balloon being carried out to sea again. After two hours spent on the cold sand he recovered his strength sufficiently to get up and look out for shelter. He was stopped by one of the coast-guard, who was about to shoot him as a smuggler or a bandit, but recognizing him as the man of the balloon (*el hombre del globo*) he took him to a village and put him to bed.

M. Fenzi, the Florence banker, and other Tuscans, who have married English women, have called upon all those who are in the same position to join them in an undertaking calculated to diminish the influence of the French press in Tuscany, and to increase that of the English press, by the monthly publication in the Italian tongue of the best articles of British newspapers. This periodical is to be called the "*Rivista Britannica*."

The two German travellers, Overbeck and Barth, who accompanied the expedition of Richardson to the interior of Africa, have been heard of. A report received at Berlin, dated the 16th of August, left them 300 miles south-east of Tripolis, where they intended to await the termination of the rainy season; they were preparing canoes, which will be carried by camels, and used to cross the rivers. The travellers are assisted by contributions both from the King and the Geographical Society of Berlin.

A riot against the Christian population has broken out at Aleppo. A multitude of Franks were killed, and their houses sacked and burnt. The Turkish soldiers remained quiet spectators of these outrages.

The most interesting point of immediate interest, on this continent, says the *New York Herald*, is the successful negotiation of Messrs. White and Vanderbilt, with respect to the Nicaragua canal. They have so far succeeded as to induce the principal capitalists of London to throw open one-half of the stock of the canal for British competition.

A large meeting assembled at Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 23rd ultimo, to consider the question of woman's rights, duties, and relations. Among the more prominent persons present were Lucretia Mott, Abby Foster, Harriet Hunt, Paulina Wright Davis, W. H. Channing, F. Douglas, J. C. Hathaway, Hannah Dartington, and Sarah Tyndale. The discussion took a very wide range, involving the right of woman to admission to the universities, her right to partnership in the labours and gains, the risks and remunerations of productive industry, and a coequal share in the formation and administration of laws. Resolutions in favour of these claims on behalf of woman were passed unanimously, and the convention closed its labours, after having sat two days.

An abortive attempt at revolution was contemplated at Panama last month, the chief object being to separate that part of the Republic of Nueva Granada from the rest, to make it independent as a Republic of Nueva Colombia, and then to join that of the United States. The principal movers in the affair were De Theller, formerly a Canadian rebel, afterwards a naturalized citizen of the Western States; General Espinosa, some other few native, American, French, and Italian residents in Panama. The general opinion was, that their intention was plunder, without any political feeling.

A brilliant and fashionable company assembled on Thursday night in Guildhall, to do honour to the ball in aid of the funds of the Literary Association of the friends

of Poland. Fancy dresses were "few and far between," and military dresses were not so abundant as on former occasions. A transparency of the Palace of Glass for the Great Exhibition of 1851, attracted its share of attention. The arrangements to avoid a crush were excellent, and the refreshments on a most liberal scale. Dancing was kept up with animation till a very late hour. It is said that the institution will benefit more than £1000 by the evening's proceedings.

The Commissioners of Woods and Forests (who, by the last returns, have a cash balance in hand of £171,306 11*s.* 3*d.*) completed the purchase of the Red House, Battersea, last week, and have given directions for Battersea-park to be proceeded with. They have also manifested a laudable interest and concern for the healthful recreation of the 30,000 inhabitants of the borough of Finsbury, comprising the squalid masses of Saffron-hill, St. Luke's, and Clerkenwell. The proposed park for Finsbury has occupied their serious attention; and the committee appointed at the aggregate meeting, held in Sadler's Wells Theatre, have resumed their labours.

The nomination of Sheriffs for the different counties of England and Wales, for the ensuing year, took place in the Court of Exchequer on Tuesday. There was a large concourse of people present on the occasion. On the bench were, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Fox Maule; and the following Judges were present:—Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench; Sir John Jervis, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Sir Frederick Pollock, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Mr. Baron Platt, Mr. Baron Alderson, Mr. Justice Coleridge, Mr. Justice Wightman, Mr. Justice Williams, and Mr. Justice Talfourd. After the usual preliminaries, the names contained in the list were, with some variations, appointed.

A supplement to the *Gazette* of Tuesday contains a notice that Parliament, which stands prorogued to Thursday, the 14th day of November instant, is further prorogued to Tuesday, the 17th day of December next.

Mr. Faraday, at the last monthly meeting of the Royal Institution, announced to the members present his discovery (the subject of a paper sent in to the Royal Society) that oxygen is magnetic, that this property of the gas is affected by heat, and that he believes the diurnal variation of the magnetic needle to be due to the action of solar heat on this newly-discovered characteristic of oxygen—the important constituent of the atmosphere.

We are glad to learn that during the winter months there will be no actual diminution of moment in our communications with New York this year, inasmuch as the United States' mail steamers have very judiciously arranged to run their steamships from New York and *vice versa*, every alternate week, with the Cunard squadron. Mails will thus be despatched weekly, as at the present moment.

The America, mail steamer, went aground, at four o'clock on Saturday morning, close to the Gally-head, coast of Cork; but, on the rising of the tide, she backed off without any damage, and the accident was not known to the passengers for two hours after.

In more than one church the Gutta Serena Company's tubes have been fitted up from the pulpit and reading desk to pews occupied by deaf persons, and notwithstanding they may sit upwards of thirty feet from the pulpit, they can hear every word perfectly.

Upwards of eight hundred hands have turned out at the Brymbo colliery for an advance in their wages of sixpence per day, and no arrangement appears likely to be come to. The company have given notice to all their hands to quit, in order to avoid violence between those men who would continue to work and the turn outs. The strike is expected to be general in the district, the colliers of several adjacent pits having turned out.

A boy, named William Shakspear, was charged before Mr. Lucy, magistrate of Birmingham, with pocket picking last week. The incident caused some amusement in the police court.

An extensive fire commenced in a range of premises belonging to Mr. Haridine, a rag merchant, in Butler's-walk, Bermondsey-street, on Tuesday morning, which speedily extended into Blue Anchor-place, threatening the destruction of the National Schools, and several other erections used for private and manufacturing purposes. It was not until nearly three o'clock that the mastery over the fire could be obtained, and not until several buildings were destroyed, including some belonging to Mr. Murrell, the straw merchant; Mrs. Ock, private house; and Mr. Haridine, the rag merchant. The schools adjoining fortunately received no damage, but several of the contiguous houses were greatly injured by the hasty removal of furniture.

During the Castle Donington feast the keeper of Mr. Batty's menagerie went into the area of the carriages in a state of intoxication, where he came in contact with one of the bears, and after a considerable contest the man and bear rolled down to the elephant, who, seeing the danger of the keeper, immediately seized the bear by the chain with his trunk, by which the bear had been secured, and in a moment extricated the man from the rude grasp of bruin, and kept him suspended until the man had recovered himself from the struggle.

The property taken by the police from Mr. Sirrell's premises in Barbican, pending the charge made against him at the Mansion-house, has been returned to him by order of the Police Commissioners. Immediately after the discharge of Mr. Sirrell, last week, on the several charges made against him, Messrs. Lewis and Lewis, his solicitors, made application to the Commissioners of Police for the restoration of the property seized, which led to an interview between Mr. J. G. Lewis and Mr. Mayne, the chief commissioner, and the result was that the immense property, except some few articles for which parties had applied, was on Tuesday brought from Whitehall to Barbican.

Several acts of incendiarism have recently been committed in the neighbourhood of Fareham, near Ports-



mouth. At the last meeting of the Fareham bench of magistrates, a man named Wheeler, a tramp, was committed to the assizes for trial, for feloniously setting fire to a stack of wheat, the property of Mr. J. G. Martin, of Cams Farm, near Fareham. On Monday morning last, about half-past seven o'clock, a wheat rick, in a field between Fareham and Stubbington, belonging to Mr. John Whettern, was set on fire by an incendiary and completely destroyed. It contained nine loads of thrashed wheat.

A young woman precipitated herself from the first recess on the Surrey side of Blackfriars-bridge, on Monday night, and striking with great violence against one of the buttresses, dashed in her skull and rebounded upon the causeway. She was apparently about twenty-six years of age, short in stature, with fair complexion, and light brown hair.

As the policeman on duty near Gore-house, the late residence of Lady Blessington, was passing along in front of that building, on Thursday afternoon, about half-past four o'clock, he heard the report of firearms discharged in one of the plantations in Hyde-park, abutting on the Great Western-road, almost directly opposite Gore-house. He immediately ran across the road and entered the park at the small wicket-gate close to the spot, and discovered a gentleman lying on his back in the plantation, with his arms extended, and in his right hand was grasped tightly a double-barrelled pistol, one of the barrels of which had just been discharged, and on the lock of the other barrel was a percussion cap, and the lock cocked. The ball had passed out at the back of the head, and he expired in a few minutes. The body was identified as that of Mr. Pennington, of Cumberland-street, Portman-square, a gentleman who for the last fifteen years has been employed in the Treasury.

A case of suspected murder in the neighbourhood of Eaton-square has recently come to light. At an inquest held at the University College Hospital, on Thursday, on the body of a young gentleman who died in a cab, on Tuesday morning, on his way home from the Prince of Wales public-house, Elizabeth-street, Eaton-square, it was stated that prussic acid had been found in his stomach. The cabman said he had been called by the landlord of the Prince of Wales to take the gentleman home. The latter, who appears to have been able to walk, told the cabman to drive to 14, Tavistock-square. On arriving there the gentleman had become insensible, and, as the proprietor of the house could not recognize him, the latter was taken to the police-station, and thence to the hospital, but by that time he was dead. It appeared that the deceased was at the Prince of Wales public-house with two women, that he had a little sherry and soda water, and that the landlord watched the women lest they might drug his drink. The inquest has been adjourned till next Friday.

As a man named James Betts, in company with his wife, was leaving the fair of Newmarket to return to Snailwell, about seven o'clock on Saturday evening, some unknown hand dealt the man a blow, and immediately disappeared. The man, Betts, was taken to Mr. Tyson's surgery, but died in a few minutes. No one is suspected of the offence, and the whole affair is involved in mystery.

A girl named Eliza Smalley has been committed for trial on the charge of having poisoned her mistress, Mrs. Page, residing near Gainsborough, by administering arsenic in coffee. Mr. Page suffered severely also, from having taken some of the poisoned coffee, but he has since recovered.

A daring attempt to murder the valuer of Caldecott enclosure, Monmouthshire, was made one night last week. Mr. Williams had retired to rest at his lodgings, when at about two o'clock in the morning some miscreant fired a charge of slugs through the window. Fortunately he escaped without injury. The authorities have offered a reward of £50 for the discovery of the offender.

At the Repeal Association on Monday, Mr. John O'Connell took Lord John Russell to task for his recent letter on the Pope's appointment of English bishops, and said that so evident was it that this would excite a general hostility against Roman Catholics and their religion in England that he would at once propose to change the name of the association to that of "Catholic Association," did he not fear that his doing so would deprive them of the support of many Protestant Repeal friends. The rent for the week was £53s. 4d.

A fourth candidate for the county of Limerick has sprung up in the person of Mr. Michael Ryan, of Bruce-lodge. He is for repeal, tenant-right, appropriation of the revenues of the church, &c. Referring to his rivals already in the field, Mr. Ryan asks:—"Have they addressed you on the murders of your countrymen? Have they addressed you on the subject of exorbitant rents, and the necessity of enforcing the principles of the Tenant League? Have they alluded to the intended penal enactments, or the threatened repeal of the Emancipation Act? Have they denounced Whiggery? Have they altered a single line in their specious addresses since Lord John Russell insolently pronounced your holy religion a 'mummery'? They certainly have not. They have shirked the question of tenant-right. They have shelved the question of Repeal. They have been silent on the Church question. In a word, they have betrayed a desire in their several appeals to consult merely the several prejudices and varying sentiments of broken, debilitated, and disconsolate constituency."

The corporation of Limerick, in solemn council assembled, on Monday last, resolved to banish *Punch* from their reading-room, as a punishment for his serious offences against the picture of the Pope contained in its last week's number.

The *Newry Examiner* says that the Roman Catholics of that borough are getting up a requisition, calling upon Mr. William Somerville to resign his seat, in consequence of Lord John Russell's letter.

## European Democracy, AND ITS OFFICIAL ACTS.

This page is accorded to an authentic Exposition of the Opinions and Acts of the Democracy of Europe: as such we do not impose any restraint on the utterance of opinion, and, therefore, limit our own responsibility to the authenticity of the statement.

### THE ITALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

#### TO THE ITALIANS.

Italians,—To the loan which Austria is attempting to raise at the charge of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces there are obstacles—and the bankers well know it—which cannot be evaded or overcome. The loan is rendered impossible by the obligations assumed by Austria in the treaty of 1815, with respect to the public debt secured on the Monte Lombardo-Veneto, by those which result from her self-imposed constitution of March, and by the rules which that constitution establishes as to the voting of taxes and the equalization of all provinces with respect to the general burdens of the empire.

But the Italian National Committee is bound to call in aid very different principles from those which derive their sanction from treaties to which the nation was a stranger, and from foreign constitutions. And in the name of national right it protests against this loan attempted by Austria, as it protests against all other loans raised in Italy by foreign governments, or by governments protected by foreign arms.

Interpreting the national will, the committee especially declares null and void every loan which, under any form or pretext whatever, may be imposed by Austria upon the Monte Lombardo-Veneto, or on the provinces and cities of the Italian territories which she occupies.

It declares that no national government will ever recognize, in whole or in part, any such loans; except, only, if they have been extorted by absolute force.

It declares that every act of *voluntary* aid calculated to promote, favour, or realize the preliminary arrangements or the ultimate actual completion of the loan, will give the future national Government the right of compensating the losses occasioned to the country by the aid thus given to tyranny, out of the property of the guilty parties.

It invites the friends of the national cause from this time forth to forward to it the names of such persons, with a statement of the facts proved against them, and of their date, in order that it may at once, and whenever it may appear needful, publish their names to perpetual shame as cowards and traitors.

Italians of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, whilst Austria demands from you a loan in order to maintain the yoke upon your necks, your fellow-countrymen, who labour to break that yoke, have, in their circular of the 10th September, proposed a NATIONAL LOAN, destined to hasten the hour of rescue.

Resist the Austrian loan; and thus hasten the supreme crisis which impends over her financial affairs.

Diligently aid the loan opened by your National Committee; increase their power in the labour of emancipation, and be the first to found the public credit of the revolution.

To the persistence of passive opposition add the living force of action; and ere long you will be conquerors over Austria.

London, Oct. 1850. For the National Committee,

J. MAZZINI.  
A. SAFFI.  
A. SALICETTI.  
G. SIRTORI.  
M. MONTECCHI.

C. AGOSTINI, Secretary.

We have said that the official acts of the Italian National Party would probably occupy a prominent place in our weekly page, and the expectation which we expressed is being fulfilled. In opening a loan of 10,000,000 francs, the national committee has taken a step which is either an act of folly destined to cover its pretensions with ridicule, or an evidence of power which must prove morally and materially of the utmost value to itself and most convincing to the world. Let us enquire what there is in the position and prospects of the Italian National Party to authorize and justify so bold and unprecedented a step.

In the *Leader* of Oct. 19th we gave the first manifesto of the committee to its countrymen. That document explains the origin of the committee, its mandate and authority, and gives a programme for the future. On the 4th of July 1849, after the fall of Rome, certain representatives of the Roman constituent assembly constituted provisionally, and until the people should be enabled freely to manifest its wishes, an Italian National Committee, consisting of J. Mazzini, A. Saffi, and M. Montecchi, with power to add to their number, and with

the special mandate for contracting a loan for the national cause. This act was presented for approval wherever it was possible to the leading members of the party scattered in exile, and thus obtained the signature of sixty representatives of the Roman Assembly, and of 100 other distinguished Italian citizens, known as having filled offices in the National Assemblies of Venice, Sicily, and Naples, and in governments favouring the late movements, or by having served in the armies of Italy. This committee is now therefore the authorized executive, without question or division of the National Republican Party throughout the whole of Italy. It is the central directing body of the great mass of the nation; it is looked upon by them as, although in exile, the legitimate executive of the people, in the words of the act by which it was constituted, "It matters little where such central body exists and acts, provided only that the idea and future of the nation be better represented and promoted by it than by any of the existing governments"; its special mission is the Independence, Liberty, and Unification of Italy; a national war and a constituent Assembly are its avowed means.

Such is the authority of the committee which seeks to effect the loan; what are the prospects of the party?

To all thinking men, revolution in the Roman States is a matter of certainty. A Papal Government exists simply by the force of French bayonets there; or rather, it should be said, by the consciousness of the overwhelming power of France behind.

The time must come in which the movement of events in Europe will deprive the Pope of French aid, or even turn their arms against him; and such a moment inevitably witnesses the return of the national party in Rome. But, quite independently of this, the nation conspires and acts; and it may well be that its own aspiration may be fulfilled, and that itself may take the initiative, and give the signal for revolutionary movement, which in Europe, we have said is destined henceforth to be, no longer partial or isolated, but European. The national party in power again in Rome is the national Government to which the committee, in accordance with the terms of its circular, would immediately make over everything in its possession pertaining to the loan, and all materials for the national war already accumulated through its means. The committee and the 160 subscribers of the act which constituted it, pledge themselves for the recognition by such Government of that loan. We arrive thus at the political certainty of a future Government in Italy, which assumes to be national, and recognizes and adopts the loan. What is the probability of such a Government being national, in fact, and extending itself immediately, or rapidly, over the country? A moment's reflection will show that the answer is involved in the solution of the great European revolutionary question.

Europe is dividing itself into two camps—Republican and Cossack. Our press is beginning to recognize the indisputable fact, and to lament it. Prussia and Piedmont alone excepted, the Government of every state in Europe affected by the movements of 1848, exists by armed force alone, and retains its power by the most flagrant usurpation of popular right, and in barefaced defiance of the constitutions which were hypocritically conceded during the revolutionary crisis.

In the European movement Piedmont cannot direct or resist; she must go with the tide. If the general movement be otherwise Republican, she must participate and be merged in it.

What is the position of Prussia? Her Government also has forfeited its pledge, and suppressed by the sword rights which it had professed to concede; and the Democratic party in Prussia holds aloof from its assemblies, and refuses to record its votes. In Baden and Saxony it was the armed force of Prussia that suppressed the revolutionary movement; she is profoundly distrusted by the German people, and the party which sought to link to her fate the future of a united Germany is extinct. There is a semblance of her being on the brink of a gigantic struggle with Austria and Russia; but if she fights, she yields, and takes her place ere long in the organized alliance of despotism, which, with pure democracy, seems destined to dispute the field of Europe. If the King of Prussia attempts a high game, it will be, like Charles Albert's, a losing one; because, with his ideas of right divine, with his offences against the popular cause, with his dread of democracy, greater than any hatred of a rival house, and with his personal incapability of a great, bold, and persistent ambition, he dare not boldly, frankly stake his crown for Germany against Austria and Russia. Those powers have the moral advantage of a greater boldness, of a clearer policy, and of a less disguised dishonesty. The question of German union, liberty, or independence cannot be solved by the monarchy in Prussia.

But, further, with all the thousand chances of war ready from day to day to confute our reasoning, we still presume not to believe in war. In the face of these mighty armaments, and these imminent possibilities of conflict, we reiterate our opinion expressed in the *Leader* of October 26, that Prussia is drifting under the pressure of Russian and Austrian principles towards a policy which must rank the whole of liberal Germany against her. A short period will suffice to confirm or confute our anticipations. If they be confirmed, if Prussia make defini-



tive terms with her rival, and thus complete her political treachery and her national dishonour, she finally aliens from her all liberal Germany, she abandons the only possible intermediate position between the two great camps—Cossack and Republican—into which Europe becomes definitively divided.

What political man does not recognize here the inevitable convulsion that must ere long ensue? And whenever the signal may be given, the movement will be simultaneous through Europe; not as in 1848, merely by a common instinct and by the force of example, but by a common understanding with a prearranged unity of aim and concert of support. It is to this, thanks to the deliberate intentions of Russia, and to the blindness or treachery of statesmen and dynasties elsewhere, that Europe is now hastening.

In that common, mutually supported European movement, the victory, for better or worse, for a time or to endure, of the national party in Italy, and the consequent establishment of a national government, are matters of course. Apart from all question of sympathy, we have to deal with the question of fact. And it is with such a prospect, making common cause with Democratic parties throughout Europe, and actively concerning itself in their practical common organization, as well as relying on its own vitality, and labouring specially for victory itself, that the Italian National Party boldly, yet deliberately, appeals to all countrymen or foreigners whose sympathies it possesses, to subscribe to its national loan.

This consciousness of a future on the part of the Italian National Party is nowhere more manifest than in the document which we present to-day. It is a protest against the loan which Austria is endeavouring to raise in Lombardy on the security of the revenue of her Italian provinces, which is likely to be of practical influence in confirming its failure. The committee declares that the nation will not recognize the loan; it declares that the attempt to make it a part of the Monte Lombardo-Veneto is inconsistent with the obligations which Austria took upon herself in the treaty of 1815, and in direct contradiction of her self-imposed constitution of March. Two flaws are thus laid bare in the security which the bankrupt state pretends to pledge. But the committee protests against the Austrian loan on wider grounds; the nation, it declares, will never adopt any loans imposed by a foreign power like Austria, or by a Government like the Pope's, maintained by the force of foreign arms. Voluntary aid to Austria is proclaimed an offence punishable by the future nation, and the committee asks for the names of those Italians who commit this act of treason to their country, that they may now and henceforth hold up their names to national obloquy. The only circumstances in which Italy or Lombardy can recognize the claims of creditors under the loan are the absolutely compulsory enforcement of it by Austria. Austria finds already that she cannot find volunteers in Lombardy for her loan, and she threatens to make it compulsory; but she would evidently much desire that that threat should bring her the *voluntary* aid which is hitherto not forthcoming. This hope becomes now impossible; she must dispense with the money she requires, or raise it by positive compulsion, and render herself more than ever odious to Lombardy. Against treaties, against her own constitution, Austria will find it impossible to raise her Lombardo-Venetian loan. Not so with that which the National Italian Party puts forth. Novel and daring as is their experiment there is clearly enough in the considerations which we have indicated to induce the contributions of those who are willing to risk something for their country.

In other countries, and especially here, it is another question; we are not in the habit of dealing in moral securities; but prefer the semblance of a real security, however valueless or uncertain it may be; and our smaller contributors are accustomed to follow the lead of the great capitalists, whose fortunes are bound up with the existing dynasties of Europe. We may, nevertheless, begin by and bye to discover that loans on illegal security to a bankrupt state usurping dominion in a foreign soil, or to a Pope kept on his throne by French bayonets, are even worse speculations than advances to a future republic.

If our Protestantism were as glorious an incarnation of the principles of the Reformation, and as lofty an aspiration for the spiritual emancipation as Lord John Russell would have us believe, we might indeed find other reasons for adopting the most practical mode of aiding the political and religious emancipatory movement of Italy. But with the religious indifference which, consciously or unconsciously, pervades our society, our Protestantism has lost its true character of a proclamation of world-wide principles of religious liberty and spiritual progress, and has sunk to be the rallying sign of a sect. Political antagonism is with us a stronger motive than religious aspiration; Democracy affrights us more than Popery. We repel the advances of the latter power on our own shores as a personal offence; but we have no effective sympathy for the struggles of a nation on which foreign force has, with selfish treachery, reimposed the absolute temporal as well as spiritual dominion of priestcraft. The Pope is the tool of reaction abroad, but the alternative is Democracy; let him, therefore, have free room to work, so long as he trouble us not at home. This is a disreputable morality; it shows our Protestant outcry not only selfish but ridiculous, and it stamps on us the too well merited imputation of religious indifference. If we would save ourselves from the adverse judgment of history we must look a little closer, in spite of our repugnance, into the movement of Democracy abroad in connection with the question of the spiritual emancipation of humanity. Let the religious Protestant public do their duty by this question, even should it result in realizing the imagination of our French neighbours, recently quoted by the *Times*, that the Italian Loan had been taken up by the Protestant clergy of Great Britain.

## Associative Progress.

### WORKING ASSOCIATIONS OF PARIS.

#### ASSOCIATION FRATERNELLE ET SOLIDAIRE DES OUVRIERES EN CASQUETTES.

This is an association of women for making men's caps; their establishment is in the lower part of the Rue St. Denis, No. 162, in a little room about 15ft. by 10ft., on the first floor, which you reach by ascending one of those customary dark, narrow staircases. On entering, by a low doorway, we observed in the middle of the room a deal table on trestles, with two or three caps, and the materials for making others, lying upon it. At this table was seated a pale, sickly-looking young woman, at work on a cloth cap; a smile passed over her countenance on seeing my companion, the *gerante* of the Tailors' Association; the mild, patient expression of her face, the silvery tone of her voice as she saluted us with the usual *bon jour, citoyens*, completely interested me in her favour. At her request we sat down in the two remaining rush-bottomed chairs of the room, when I perceived against one of the walls a number of shelves, containing caps of every variety of form and material. Having selected one for my own use, I asked how it was she was alone on the establishment, and was informed that about a week previously the *gerante* and another member had gone to a meeting of representatives from other associations, for the purpose of conversing on their own affairs, and arranging for a grand association of all trades. Scarcely had they assembled when the police pounced upon them, sent them off to prison, to the number of twenty-six, seized upon their papers, and the next day there appeared in the reactionary journals a long paragraph about the discovery of a secret society, in connection with certain associations, and seizure of numerous papers, though what the objects of the secret society, or what the papers were, the paragraph did not state, leaving it to be inferred by the casual reader that they were of a political and revolutionary character, than which nothing could be more untrue. Such are the means employed by this Government of hatred to prevent the working classes from raising themselves. The effects of such a proceeding may easily be conceived: the members hurried off to prison, the atelier closed, and the papers and books sealed up by the police; so that in a fortnight all business is gone and the association ruined. In the present instance the effect was to terrify the remainder of the cap-makers, and prevent them from coming to the ateliers; so that each worked at her own house, while one only remained on the premises. The number of members, including the two in prison, was seven, who formed themselves into a society in the beginning of 1849, and have had to struggle through the usual difficulties. They have been able, however, to maintain themselves independent, and free from the dangers and temptations that beset young women in large towns; and, though not a flourishing society, they are a remarkable instance of what may be done on the associative principle, when aided by determination, fortitude, and steady industry, even by poor defenceless women. While we were conversing with our amiable and intelligent hostess, a man entered the room with a bundle; he was the husband of the *gerante*, had just come from the prison where she was confined, and brought with him portions of work which she had been doing for the association. He explained that the condition of the women in the prisons was very tolerable, being allowed free communication with each other, and with their friends; but such was not the case with the men who were confined on suspicion. They were kept in solitary confinement, and allowed but an hour or two of exercise in a corridor where they could speak with their friends, only through an iron grating, and in presence of an officer. These unfortunate, unoffending men and women were subsequently liberated on bail, some paying 200f.; but others objected to the sum, bargained with the authorities, and were let out for 100f., or even 50f., as they afterwards discovered on comparing notes! Can a people respect a Government that stoops to such low, jew-practices?

My friend and I purchased our caps, and took our leave with mingled feelings of indignation and respect. So much were our caps admired on our return to England, that we might have sold a considerable number if we had brought them.

#### THE MUSICAL-INSTRUMENT MAKERS

Are a very flourishing association. They make all kinds of instruments in brass and wood—as trumpets, horns, ophicleides, flutes, flageolets, &c. Commenced the 1st of July, 1848, with a small capital and under great difficulties, but are now doing a thriving business, being employed for the army and the National Guard, and send out a large quantity for exportation. When I visited them they were all busy at work, having an extensive order to accomplish. We saw all the operations, from the drawing out the tubes of brass and thus reducing their thickness, by a machine that requires the attention of only one man, to the

final polishing of the instrument. They keep a musician on the establishment to try all the instruments, and allow none to go out that is not perfect of its kind. At first they hired their machine tools and moulds, but afterwards purchased them with the profits they had made, and are now on the lookout for more convenient premises. We started one hot morning from the Faubourg St. Denis, wandered through a labyrinth of streets to the barrière, after which we crossed an open space, nearly sinking under a broiling sun, till we reached the summit of Montmartre, where in the Rue Muller, No. 10, a dreary region of miserable streets, with houses half built or falling to pieces, or looking as though they never would be finished, so desolate that you might almost imagine yourself the last man, surrounded by the debris of a worn out world. Here these industrious men had hired a large room, something like an immense coach-house with a small stable attached to it, now used as the counting-house. The men work altogether in this atelier, and, every one overlooking his brother, they find they can carry out the principle of equal wages without experiencing the usual disadvantages of this plan. In other respects their statutes are very similar to the other associations.

From this remote hive of industry, it being now dinner-time, we proceeded to

#### THE ASSOCIATION OF COOKS AT THE BARRIERE DES AMANDIERS.

Here we had an excellent dinner, *à la carte*, that is, we ordered what we liked and it was brought us; nor could we have been better served at Richefeu's, in the Palais National, either as to the quality of the viands or the attention of those waiting on us, who by the way are always addressed as *citoyen*. This association was established January 18, 1849, with the combined savings of a few cooks previously employed at the various restaurants, who began business at their present house under the sign of the *National Flag*, and have now three branch establishments (*succursales*) in Paris. Every Sunday and fête-day the house and garden is crammed with visitors. Besides a number of rooms on three different floors, some capable of holding upwards of 200 persons, and the roof of the house, a delightful spot with a splendid view of Père la Chaise, they have a sort of tea-garden filled with seats under shady bowers of lime trees and creeping plants, and a capital ball-room, out in the garden, large enough for 300 persons to dance in; beyond this is a fruit and kitchen garden, partly laid out as a vineyard, with a pleasant mound where we reclined smoking our cigars, and enjoying a fine view of the city of Paris. While sitting in the tea-gardens after dinner an interesting little girl came in with a written document in her hand, which contained a statement that her mother was ill in bed, and, her father having died, the family were without the means of support. Whether this was true I know not, but it was pleasing to see every workman to whom she showed the paper put his hand into his pocket and give her the widow's mite.

(To be continued.)

CITY MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, GOULD-SQUARE.—On Monday evening a lecture was delivered at this institution by Mr. Collet, on the "Lays of Sir Walter Scott," with musical illustrations, in which he was assisted by Miss A. Hincks and Miss H. Morrison. One principal object of the lecturer was to bring before the public Miss Flowers' Illustrations of the Waverley Novels, which, as he observed, are less known than they deserve to be. Judging from the attentive appreciation with which they were received by a numerous and highly respectable audience, it would appear that when adequately performed, as on this occasion, these Illustrations, whilst full of genius, are by no means deficient in the elements likely to ensure popularity. We must, however, observe that their effect was greatly enhanced by the artistic manner in which they were introduced and linked together by Mr. Collet, whose prefatory remarks increased the interest of each separate song by bringing its character and meaning clearly into view, like gems whose beauty is rendered more conspicuous by the setting. The Illustrations were not confined to Miss Flowers' works, but included several from other sources. Schubert's beautiful *Ave-Maria* was sung with much pathos and sweetness by Miss Hincks, who was also very successful in giving voice to the wild chants of Meg Merrilies and Madge Wildfire. In the Jacobite song, "Here's a Health to King Charles," Mr. Collet received a well-merited and unanimous encore, and also in Loder's "Barefooted Friar," with which the lecture concluded amidst enthusiastic applause.—N.

THE ICARIANS.—The intelligence from Nauvoo, which is to the 3rd of August, is generally of a favourable character. An accident, however, of rather a serious nature has happened to a young Icarian named Tabuteau. The unfortunate young man imprudently leaped from a wagon that was unloading on to the steam-mill, when his foot slipped down the inclined plane leading to the teeth of the mill, and before the engine could be stopped the limb was torn in pieces. The remains of the leg were promptly amputated by a surgeon of the neighbourhood, and the latest accounts state that Tabuteau was progressing favourably. Preparations are being made for publishing a periodical journal by the colony, a printing press and some type have already been procured for the purpose: it is intended to print the paper in three languages, French, German, and English.—T. C.



## POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY, NOV. 16.

A deputation from the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, waited, by appointment, upon his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace, yesterday morning, and presented an address upon the subject of the recent aggressions of the Church of Rome. The Archbishop expressed his gratification at receiving an address evincing so deep an interest in the great cause which he should always endeavour to promote. After referring to the subject of the address, he said:—

"Perhaps we may be thankful that an opportunity has now offered—though a very unexpected opportunity, and one of which we cannot help thinking without some degree of indignation—of showing how greatly mistaken those must be who supposed, if there be any such, that the Protestant feeling of this country has in any degree diminished. It seemed to be necessary that something of this description should have occurred, in order that the feeling of the country might be drawn forth; and now that it has been elicited with so much strength and firmness, it may, perhaps, be almost more necessary to keep it within due bounds than to add to the existing excitement. But, at all events, those who are anxious to preserve the principles of the Reformation—as, I am sure, those who have the appointment of the holy office like myself do—must always feel it a very great assistance when they meet with the coöperation of the clergy and laity of the country. It must be a matter of regret that anything should have occurred in our Church which should have led to the error to which I have alluded—the supposition that the Protestant principles of this country have in any degree declined. I trust, however, that it will now be seen, if it be not already seen, that those who gave rise to that opinion form a very small minority, not only in our Church, but in the country at large. I think, too, we may now see that to which we have hitherto been blind, but to which we must never be blind in future, that the Church of Rome is an aggressive Church, and that she never will be satisfied without domination so far as it can be obtained."

The following address, which is understood to be from the pen of Cardinal Wiseman—a fact which gives additional importance to it—will, we understand, lie at the various Catholic churches and chapels to-morrow, and will be otherwise circulated, with the view of obtaining signatures to it, to testify to the loyalty of the Catholics of England to "Her Majesty's royal person, crown, and dignity":—

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"May it please your Majesty,—We, the undersigned subjects of your Majesty, residing in England, and professing the Roman Catholic religion, beg to approach your Majesty's Throne, there to express our sentiments of unimpaired and unalterable fidelity to your Majesty's royal person, Crown, and dignity.

"At a moment when attempts are being made to impeach our loyalty, we consider it a duty to give fresh utterance to these our feelings.

"During centuries of exclusion from the privileges of the constitution, and from the rights enjoyed by their fellow-subjects, the Catholics of England remained true to their allegiance to the Crown of this realm, and yielded to none in their readiness, at all times, to defend its rights and its prerogatives against every foe. And now that, under your Majesty's wise rule, we enjoy equal participation with others in the benefits of the constitution, we are more than ever animated with sentiments of fidelity and attachment, and are equally ready to give proof, when occasion may present itself, of the sincerity of our loyal professions.

"The dearest of the privileges to which we have thus been admitted, by the wisdom of the British Legislature, is that of openly professing and practising the religion of our fathers, in communion with the see of Rome. Under its teaching we have learned, as a most sacred lesson, to give to Cæsar the things that are of Cæsar, as we give to God the things that are of God. In whatever, therefore, our church has at any time done for establishing its regular system of Government amongst its members in this island, we beg most fervently and most sincerely to assure your Majesty that the organization granted to us is entirely ecclesiastical, and its authority purely spiritual. But it leaves untouched every tittle of your Majesty's rights, authority, power, jurisdiction, and prerogative, as our Sovereign, and as Sovereign over these realms, and does not in the least-wise diminish or impair our profound reverence, our loyalty, fidelity, and attachment to your Majesty's august person and throne; and we humbly assure your Majesty that among your Majesty's subjects there exists no class who more solemnly, more continually, or more fervently pray for the stability of your Majesty's throne, for the preservation of your Majesty's life, and for the prosperity of your Majesty's empire, than the Catholics of England, in whose religion loyalty is a sacred duty, and obedience a Christian virtue."

A meeting of the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin has been summoned by Archbishop Murray for the purpose of addressing Cardinal Wiseman and of expressing their gratitude to the Pope for the recent measures adopted by him with reference to the Roman Catholic church in England. The advertisement, which has appeared in the *Evening Post* and *Freeman's Journal*, is in the following terms:—

"Archbishop Murray requests a meeting of the Catholic clergy of Dublin and its vicinity, to be held in the parochial house, Marlborough-street, on Monday next, November 18, at one o'clock, for the purpose of

presenting an address of congratulation, through his eminence Cardinal Wiseman, to the Catholic clergy of England, and of expressing their gratitude to our most holy father the Pope for his timely restoration of the ancient hierarchy of the English Catholic church.—Mountjoy-square, feast of St. Laurence O'Toole, 1850."

At a vestry meeting held in the court-room of Bridewell Hospital yesterday, "to afford the inhabitants of the precinct an opportunity of expressing their opinion of the recent attempt made by the Bishop of Rome to invade the rights and privileges of Englishmen, and adopting such measures as may appear possible to frustrate such attempt," the Reverend Mr. Poynder moved an address, in which the creation of Roman Catholic Bishops in England was condemned as an attack upon the Church of England. This was opposed by several speakers. Mr. Anderton wished them to view the Papal interference as an attack upon the supremacy of the Queen and the constitution. The Reverend gentleman contended that it was his duty to mark the aggression of the Pope as an attack upon the Church of England. Mr. Spicer, as a Dissenter, could not support such an address:—

"He was for signalizing the attempt of the Pope as one upon their common Protestantism (*Hear, hear*), because it must be borne in mind that many of the clergy of the Established Church had gone over to the Papal Church, and had in a great degree occasioned the present unhappy state of things. (*Hear, hear*.) None of the Dissenting body had gone over to the Papal Church, but many members of the Established Church had done so, and had betrayed their faith. Let men only look at the influence which the Bishop of London had lent to those innovations in the Church. Let those whom he addressed consider how much of the evil was attributable to the conduct of the bishops and clergy. He would propose to omit the words, 'declaring the supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters.'"

After some discussion, the address, altered so as to characterize the aggression of the Pope as an insolent attack upon the Protestant religion, was carried unanimously.

The last accounts from Germany are of a conflicting nature. Those from Prussia would lead us to believe that war is as imminent as ever, while the news from Austria is entirely of a pacific cast. The following extract from a letter, dated Berlin, November 12, would lead us to expect speedy news of a hostile collision:—

"Every essential military preparation for a possible war is now completed. The intercourse of our Foreign Minister with the representatives of other powers is very brisk. On several hands the greatest pains are taken to persuade mutual concession, and offers of good offices are made. In the incidental question of Hesse, Prussia is only opposed by Austria and the Diet. Russia holds herself aloof from the affair. Russia will not appear in arms against Prussia unless compelled to do so by the resistance of that power to the pacification of Schleswig-Holstein. Under any circumstances, however, Russia will occupy Galicia and Hungary, should Austria be involved in a war. Important bodies of military are already moving from Warsaw westwards, to be prepared for that event."

The Berlin *Moniteur* says, the invitation to subscribe to a voluntary loan has been responded to with great avidity. Prince William, uncle of the King, one of the most beloved members of the Royal family, has volunteered to take a command in the army. The Prince is the senior Prince in the family, being sixty-eight years of age, and is the father of the Queen of Bavaria. The mobilization of the army continues. From the admirable military organization of Prussia, this is easily effected in two or three days. All the superior officers, who had retired from the army for a considerable time, have written to the King to offer their services afresh to the country. The military schools have been dissolved, as the officers who superintended the education have rejoined the army.

Yesterday morning between six and seven o'clock, a fire was discovered raging in a house numbered 4, in a court behind the Effingham Saloon, in the Whitechapel-road. The engines having been set to work, the parish engineer and firemen succeeded in extinguishing the flames. On entering the basement they found sufficient to account for the absence of all parties connected with the building. The cellar was discovered to be fitted up as a distillery, with a number of casks, wash, and spirits in the place. The furnace under the still was burning. The still, furnace, and plant were seized by the officers of Excise and removed to Old Broad-street. Shortly before two o'clock yesterday morning a fire broke out at No. 15, Orange-street, Lomand's Pond, Southwark. The firemen on entering the premises found the bed and furniture in the back room ground floor in a blaze, and in the midst the naked body of a female also much charred. It was ascertained that a female named Campbell died the preceding afternoon, and her body was laid out on the bed. The cause of the fire remains a mystery.—Last night, at a few minutes past eleven o'clock, a much more destructive fire than either of the above mentioned, broke out in an immense range of premises situate in Crimscoot-street, Grange-road, Bermondsey. At one time the destruction of property covering several acres appeared inevitable; but owing to the exertions of the firemen, who were aided by an abundant supply of water, the fire by one o'clock this morning was got under. The damage done by the disaster must be very serious, and up to that hour it was utterly impossible to tell the names of the sufferers with anything like accuracy.

# The Leader

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1850.

## 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 ROOT OF THE EVIL.

LORD ASHLEY has lately been visiting the chief towns in Scotland, and, in most of them, appears to have made a point of inspecting the various charitable institutions which are extending so rapidly in all directions. While in Edinburgh he delivered an address to a number of gentlemen who have formed an association, somewhat similar to the one in London, for improving the dwellings of the working classes. In the course of his address he made one statement relative to the main cause of our social evils which we think highly mischievous, and, as his lordship bears a high character for philanthropy, it is all the more necessary that the error into which he has fallen should be pointed out:—

"He said the domiciliary condition of the people lay at the root of many of the mischiefs which beset this land. He had known many instances of persons coming from the country in a good state of health, but who had been compelled, owing to the arrangement of things in great towns, to take up their abode in pestiferous houses, and even crowded dwellings, with part of their families, and who were in a short time cut off by disease, leaving a number of infant children to roam about the streets, or be thrown upon the parish. . . . He was convinced, from his own experience, and a minute survey of all the large towns in the kingdom, particularly London, that he did not state the matter too strongly, when he said that all the efforts of private persons for the education and benefit of the poor, spiritual or bodily, would be of little or no avail so long as their domiciles were left in their present wretched condition."

Now, the main part of all this is perfectly true. It is undeniable that thousands of healthy persons migrate annually from the country into London and other large towns, and that many of them are soon cut off by disease, owing to the over-crowded, ill-ventilated, ill-drained state of their dwellings. But it is a monstrous error to speak of this crowded state of our large towns as lying at the root of many of the mischiefs which beset this land. If Lord Ashley would only trace the history of those healthy immigrants to whom he refers, back to the rural districts from which they have been driven into the unhealthy towns by harsh poor-law guardians, anxious only to keep down the rates, he would soon discover the true root of the evil. So long as he remains in town, he is only bewildering himself and others among the branches. He fancies that he will improve the condition of the People by furnishing improved dwellings for some four or five hundred persons annually. But, is he ignorant of the fact, that the poor and wretched population of London is increasing at the rate of 20,000 per annum? He has seen many a poor family half starved for want of food, fire, and clothing, and has exerted himself, we doubt not, to place them in a comfortable condition. But, did it never occur to him and his benevolent associates, that for every single family they relieve in the course of a year, there are at least some fifteen or twenty families equally wretched, swarming into the towns to beg, or steal, or starve? Does he need to be told that those wretched immigrants, who continually crowd the towns more and more, ought to be made comfortable on the land, and easily might be made comfortable there, if Lord Ashley and other noble lords who now waste their money and their energies in fruitless efforts to improve the condition of the poor who live in towns, would simply do their duty to the peasantry in the rural districts?

### JUSTICE FOR CATHOLICS.

No one will accuse us of a leaning towards the doctrines of Catholicism. Our antagonism is sufficiently explicit. We combat incessantly for absolute freedom of opinion, and in that combat find ourselves opposed to all that is vital in the organization of Rome. But what we claim for ourselves we accord to others. Our reciprocity is not that



of the Irish kind—all on one side. The right of every human being to his convictions, and to the spiritual government founded on those convictions, we hold to be the most sacred of all rights; and, much as we may labour to uproot what we regard as the errors of certain dogmas, we have uniformly respected the liberty of thought. Those, therefore, who express some surprise at our advocacy of the justice and reasonableness of the new hierarchy, must allow us to express our surprise at their imperfect liberalism. The outcry that has been made, the ridiculous trash that has been uttered, the savage bigotry that has been called forth, the fermentation of foolishness and prejudice that has agitated England on this topic is a disgrace to the nation, and will write a page in history over which our children will be scornful. Nor does it speak well for the journalism of the country that even the "Liberals" should have given in to the popular folly. It would have been easy for us to secure a little extra popularity by humouring the public madness; easy, *but it would have been a lie!* It would have been in direct violation of the very principles we are in existence to support.

What is the *gravamen* of the charge? Do men really believe that the adoption of new titles by one party will alter the convictions of the other party? The new titles are no new arguments; and, if they were, we should be bound to respect them. A month ago the English Catholic Church was understood to be a tolerated Church, governed by Apostolic Vicars, and holding spiritual allegiance to the Pope. It was thought to be a mass of error and "mummery"; but, with a serene smile of pity, it was tolerated as a lingering senility, which bilious women and feeble-minded young men were striving to reanimate. What is the change? The Apostolic Vicars, representatives of the Pope, have been changed into *ordinary Bishops*, representative of the local branch of the Catholic Church. The change instead of making the Church more Popish makes it more English. *Henceforth these Bishops take their titles from the flocks they really govern*, not from distant sees, where they never reside. Does this change in polity effect any change in spiritual power over those *not* in its Church? The question seems too absurd to be asked; but the absurd public has answered it affirmatively.

If any Protestant will come forward and state unequivocally that the security of his religion and the "religion of his fathers" depends upon an *anomalous* condition of the Romish Church, and that to give Catholics a recognized existence is to convert all England to Catholicism—if any Protestant will boldly say that his creed cannot withstand the teachings of that "sink of iniquity" and "mother of harlots" (as Rome is publicly called, to sympathetic cheers), we shall know how to deal with him; but, although no courageous man has yet said that, thousands have said it by implication. Yet as soon as that idea rises into distinctness Protestant pride revolts at it, and echoes Lord John Russell's fanfaronade, that he was "more indignant than alarmed." Indignant at what? At the insult offered to the Established Church? But on this subject hear Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillips—who some years ago communicated to the Pope his ideas upon the importance of this reestablishment of the hierarchy—and who in his *Letter to Lord Shrewsbury* says:—

"But, say the authors of this outcry, the Pope by this act has offered a solemn insult to the Protestant Established Church of this kingdom and to the Government of the realm. How so? Let us hear their reply, though there never was a reply more absurd. They say that the appointment of a Catholic Metropolitan for the Catholics of this country denies and tramples under foot the claims of the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. Now, what do they mean by this? Do they mean to say that the Pope ever recognized, or that the English Catholics ever submitted to, the sway of the Protestant Primate over anything beyond the discordant body of his own nominal subjects? For, if that had been so, to what purpose did the predecessors of the present Pope send Vicars Apostolic into England to govern us in his name, to ordain priests, to administer sacraments to us according to the rite of the Universal Church? No, these writers know very well that they are insulting the common sense of their readers when they make such an assertion as this. From the moment when the Holy See excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and all her adherents, they know as well as we do that the Pope and every member of the Catholic Church, from the rising to the setting sun, anathematized the claims of the Protestant Church of England, and that hundreds are now numbered in 'the noble army of martyrs' for having sealed their testimony to this great and Divine Truth with their blood. In what respect then, let me ask, has the Bull of Pius the Ninth altered the relations of the Catholics of England to the Established Church? How or in what does the claim of the Lord Cardinal

Archbishop of Westminster ignore or annul the claims of the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury to the allegiance of his own divided flock? If Englishmen still choose to venture their souls to the guidance of a Royal Supremacy, they will naturally look up to a prelate who holds his see by the grace of Queen Victoria, and who refuses to give an answer, when he is asked concerning the authoritative teaching of his own Church upon an article of Faith. It is not for such as these that the successor of St. Peter has erected the Metropolitan See of Westminster."

Mr. Phillips recalls the fact that the Free Kirk Secession in Scotland set up Presbyteries in opposition to those of the establishment. But this has been rejected as not a case in point. There is a case in point, however: one quite parallel to that in dispute, viz., the erection in Scotland of a hierarchy in flagrant violation of the Union. The Scotch Church is Presbyterian, yet Scotland is divided into episcopal dioceses, just as England is now divided by the Pope. The Bishop of Edinburgh is as much an "insult" to the Church of Scotland, as the Bishop of Westminster is to the Church of England.

A spiritual hierarchy can only concern the followers of that particular faith for whose behoof it is instituted; and when the Lord Chancellor of England publicly declares that the Papal Bull places Protestant England under a Roman Catholic Hierarchy, he utters a vulgar claptrap which he must surely know is without a particle of common sense. It is a wretched quibble thus to talk of Protestant England. The Pope does not recognize Protestants: they are heretics in his eyes, and until they return into the fold he has no connection with them. The see of Westminster does not mean all the inhabitants of Westminster; it means such of them as are members of the Catholic Church acknowledging his supreme jurisdiction, and spiritually isolated from the rest, as the Jews are.

But the Catholics will attempt to convert us! Very likely. Quite right too. Do you never attempt to convert anybody? Are you afraid of the Catholics beating you in your own parish? Your hands are not tied; your doctrines are not persecuted; logic and eloquence are weapons within your reach, why should you fear them in the hands of others? But the fact is, with all your boasting, you do fear them. You think it quite right to send out missionaries to preach Christianity to heathens; you send them to convert Mahometans, but if a band of Mahometan teachers came over here, would you suffer them to stand at Charing-cross and unfold the truth of the Koran proclaiming its superiority over the Bible? No, you would not suffer it for a day. Exeter-hall would perspire with wrath and terror. That is liberty of opinion.

If Rome should triumph it will be only retributive justice. The Church of England has belied her principle, and has arrested, to the full extent of her power, the vitality of Protestantism. Rome can only be combated by Reason; absolute Authority by absolute Freedom. So little does our Church understand her real position that she expels from her precincts all who do not blindly adhere to her formalities and dogmas; she makes enemies of the liberal Nonconformists; she exasperates all the enthusiastic whose piety happens to assume forms varying from her own; she weakens herself by discarding as "infidels" the whole of those true Protestants who protest against Church infallibility, the Spiritualists who will produce the New Reformation. Germany is her bugbear; because in Germany they "dare to interpret" Scripture. She adopts the same ground as Rome, though without the same logical consistency. She declares that the Church has settled the truth. So says Rome. The Bishop of London, in his answer to the deputation on Friday week, said that by the blessing of God the Church had one test of truth to which she can always have recourse—the pure word of God as explained by the Church herself. What say the Catholics more than this? The question, then, arises which Church is right—who is the infallible authority, the Pope or the Archbishop?

But we have no fears that Rome will triumph. The conquests of free thought are fortunately not limited to the Church of England; and all who are terrified at the prospect of seeing Rome once more dominant in England have only the more strenuously to fight for absolute freedom of opinion.

While thus distinctly tracing the relative positions of religious parties, it becomes evident that if we would act up to our professions of toleration—if we would trust to the real strength of our cause, Freedom,—we must suffer the Catholics to arrange their own affairs according to their own lights, so

long as those arrangements do not interfere with the liberty of our own. As a question of diplomacy it was, perhaps, wrong in the Pope to assume the particular titles in question, because the name could have but a minor advantage, and was certain to rouse the alarm of jealous Protestants; but so long as the Bishop of Westminster does not attempt to control Protestants, so long as he confines himself to his legitimate functions as Catholic bishop, it will be the very madness of bigotry to deny the justice of the arrangement. "Absolute liberty," says the immortal Locke, "just and true liberty, equal and impartial liberty is the thing that we stand in need of. Now, though this, indeed, has been much talked of, I doubt it has not been much understood. I am sure not at all practised either by our governors towards the people in general, or by any dissenting parties of the people towards one another." This, then, is the cry of the *Leader*: SET THE HUMAN SOUL FREE, AND GOD DEFEND THE RIGHT!

#### OUR EXPENSIVE SHOPKEEPING SYSTEM.

THE universal complaint of London housewives is that nearly all kinds of provisions are too dear, even in 1850. How much dearer they will become by next summer we leave the alarmists to calculate. With some eight or ten hundred thousand extra mouths to feed, the butchers and bakers of the metropolis will find no difficulty in making their own prices. But it is not of the dearth of 1851 that we mean to speak at present. We wish merely to notice the prevailing complaint that, in London more especially, free trade has not been accompanied with that fall in the prices of food which most people anticipated. If we ask the political economist to explain this phenomenon he refers to the omnipotent law of supply and demand, and assures us that the evil will soon cure itself. If the butcher or the baker is asking more than a fair profit, competition, we are told, will soon bring prices down to a moderate rate. Now this would be highly consolatory to persons suffering from

"That aggravation of all earthly ills,  
The weekly inflammation of their bills."

if they could only believe that the butcher or the baker is able to sell his goods at a much lower rate than he does at present. This is a point, however, on which we have very strong doubts. Take the case of the butcher, for example, as stated by the *Weekly Dispatch*, in a very sensible article on this topic:—

"Our house is about two miles from the Bank—not at the West-End, but north and east, among the bourgeoisie. We pay to the local butcher 8d. per pound for pork, and 7½d. for sirloin of beef. We know many who pay 9d., and even 10d. Yet, on the very same day on which these prices were exacted from us we saw fine young pork sold in Leadenhall and Newgate Markets for 5d., and sirloin of beef, superior in quality to those supplied to ourselves, at 4d. per pound. We cannot complain of the charges made by our local butcher. He has rent and taxes to pay, journeymen, boys, carts, and horses to keep, gas to burn, and a family to keep. Within a hundred square yards of us there are eight butchers, and the customers within that narrow range choose, apparently, to maintain eight establishments for distribution, where one could serve the purpose. So long as that expensive system is maintained by the consent of the consumers, they must be content to pay cent. per cent. upon the first retail cost of even this prime necessary of life. We do not advise a violent and sudden change of the existing system, which has grown up by the unwise encouragement of the public, and which could not be all at once reformed without great injury to many industrious tradesmen. But it is obvious that the business of distribution is carried on with unnecessary extravagance, to the effect of depriving the masses of the people of the privilege of receiving double the present nourishment, without any increase of cost whatever."

This is well and justly said. But the *Dispatch* does not advert to the main cause of this expensive mode of distributing the products of industry. On a former occasion we drew attention to the enormous increase of the shopkeeping class as one of the dropsical symptoms of our false industrial system, and endeavoured to show that it chiefly arises from the difficulty of investing small or moderate sums of money in the purchase of land. The result is that every person who has saved a few hundred pounds turns to shopkeeping; that all branches of retail trade are overstocked; and that, notwithstanding the high rates of profit charged by most tradesmen, few of them can do more than make a bare living.

#### DON'T LET THE BULL SEE SCARLET!

THE Bull is a noble animal: broad, powerful, substantial, not very sagacious, not very vivacious, not very excitable. He has many solid virtues, and is perfectly respectable; but his intense hatred of



scarlet often deprives him of all reasoning power, rousing him to paroxysms of uncontrollable fury which astonish beholders. Observe the Bull in a pasture land, surrounded by obedient cows, some recumbent in their indolent repose, others knee deep in a pond under the branching shadow of a clump of trees; he stands there whisking away obtrusive flies with his restless tail, turning a calm eye—without any speculation in it—upon the universe at large, and quietly chewing the cud with a sublime indifference to the rest of creation, so that his personal comfort be secured. He suffers strangers to enter the field. He resents no intrusion from insidious M'Crowdys calculating how his food may be reduced with profit to the landlord. He allows the butcher to examine and purchase his eldest born or his youngest born for the market. He allows "tramps" to cross the field unmolested. He allows his drover to treat him with merciless despotism. (Bull has a great respect for the institution of drovers, and at the present moment permits an extremely diminutive and feeble chief drover to sway the bovine destiny as if he were a giant.) He permits—with occasional outbreaks—all kinds of machinations against his liberty, peace of mind, and ample nutriment; but there is one thing he will not permit, and that is the passage through his field of an old woman in a red cloak. Let that misguided female make her appearance, and, although her intentions may be strictly honourable, though her thoughts may wander far away from the Bull, though she be toothless, antiquated, hobbling, foolish, disrespectful, and disrespected, no sooner does her red cloak flash upon his sight than with impetuous bel-lowing he closes his eyes, lowers his head, and thunders in her rear. Nothing but her death can pacify his wrath. His fury is all the more terrible from being perfectly groundless. There is some ineradicable association in his mind of the colour scarlet with all hateful iniquities.

If the appearance of red cloaks agitate the pastoral Bull, and madden him even in his calmest moods, what must be the effect of an appearance of a red hat perambulating Westminster, where the Bulls are overcrowded, overdriven, and agitated by the turmoils of metropolitan confusion! How can the most philosophic of Bulls endure that? What! here in the very market-place, where Bulls already turn a dull fierce eye upon their drovers, awakened as they are to a perception of the fact that their treatment has not, on the whole, been consistent with justice, here where entangled horns and loud cries of rage already indicate that the bovine temper is not amiable, will you flash in their eyes the hated scarlet, and assure them that scarlet will henceforth be abundant! The temerity of such an act is unparalleled.

Those who profess intimate acquaintance with bovine annals declare that the cause of this fierce antipathy to scarlet is simple enough. Originally all Bulls were devotees of red. In their theory of the universe the one true and perfect colour was scarlet. Any speculative young Bull-calf, who happened to demur to this, was roasted at Smithfield for the good of his soul. A great many were so roasted; the whole heavens were ablaze with the fires; but somehow the number of fires drew the attention of numerous Bulls to the matter. They had never troubled their heads about it before. The Papa—or Chief Bull—had declared scarlet to be the one colour, which all Bulls were to worship if they wished to be saved. But now they began to ask themselves, "Why should we see with the eyes of a Chief Bull, why not use our own?" They did use their eyes, and saw various colours, but each proclaimed the colour he saw to be the *only* true and perfect. One stood up for reddish-brown, another for black, another for dappled grey. Fierce wars ensued; roastings were multiplied on all sides; the contest rages still; but, however savagely they hate each other's colours, all the dissidents join in execration of scarlet. The pretensions of scarlet they regard as the most infamous and absurd; bad as other Bulls may be, all are preferable to the "mothers of harlots," the "walking pestilences," the "sinks of iniquity," the cruel, impotent, ambitious, "aggressive" scarlet Bulls!

And that is why the certain method of rousing the malignity and madness of the Bull, is to flutter scarlet rag before his stupid eyes.

#### THE CURSE OF LABOUR AND THE BLESSING OF LABOUR.

THE Old Testament considers Labour as God's curse upon man in punishment of his disobedience

in eating of the Tree of Knowledge; the Newest Testament, in direct contradiction to that superstition, considers Labour as a great blessing to our race, developing man's activity, ministering to his wants, strengthening his nature, and dignifying his life with a noble aim. This new aspect presented by Labour is a natural consequence of the evolution of society from a *military* into an *industrial* regime. Throughout the early epochs of civilization Labour of all kinds was a disgrace—the employment of slaves or serfs, therefore derogatory to the free warrior. But the military spirit is no longer dominant in Europe; the rise of the industrial classes into power has changed the whole constitution of society; and among other changes it has brought a deep and general respect for Labour of head or hand.

But, as in our present heterogeneous and transitional society we trace the most curious juxtapositions of old and new—of traditions and utopias—of remnants and crude anticipations, we must not be surprised to find the old Hebrew notion still living beside the new gospel, and Labour regarded as a curse by some, and by others as a blessing. For in truth it is a curse to some. It is the chain round the ankle of the captive; the heavy burden on the shoulders of the weak. Much as one may glory in the beneficence of Work, one cannot be dithyrambic on the condition of a handloom weaver, or a Dorsetshire peasant. To them Labour is a curse, because it is not the energetic employment of natural powers, it is the degradation of their human nature into the condition of a machine. They do not work to supply their wants and to occupy their own abundant energies; they sell their birthrights for a mess of pottage, give up their whole existences in purchase of the means of living calculated nicely above starvation point—*et, propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas*.

There is hope, however; nay, more than hope—there is the certainty that the world is in a process of evolution which will finally bring peace, plenty, justice, upon earth. Sad as times look, they were never really brighter to the prescient eye. Ours is a noble epoch, and has noble work to do. Never before, in the history of the world, was such a mass of injustice and misery disclosed, because never before were the intellects of the earnest and generous so resolutely bent on discovering and disclosing evil. The great work of our age is the endeavour sincerely to get at the real amount of evil, and at the causes which produce it. Differ as they may among themselves with respect to theories, all parties are united in object. Everyday some fresh disclosure startles the optimist, and forces him to doubt whether the present system really is the best; everyday withdraws the curtain from some new and more appalling manifestation of evil that demands a remedy. The *Times* declares that it has at last discovered the "lowest deep" in agricultural distress; and with that alacrity in exposing abuses, and that undoubted ability in the manner of exposing them, which make the *Times* a gigantic power, and cover a multitude of its political sins, it devotes a leading article to the subject. Read this and ponder:—

"In this country it is the fashion, and happily so, to reflect often on the miserable pittance with which many forms of labour are rewarded. We hear, perhaps, of a Dorsetshire labourer receiving six shillings a-week, and we proceed to calculate the uses to which that sum must be applied, and the amount of comforts which it can procure. We find it to be barely the means of sustenance to a family, and doubt whether human exertion can receive a more barren recompense. A little reflection, however, aided by the details of late investigations, convinces us that an equal amount of toil may meet with a still smaller remuneration. We hear of shirtmakers whose average earnings may be sixpence a-day for twelve hours' labour; we hear of strawplait-workers and lacemakers who bend over their sedentary occupation with unwearied patience, and find their weekly earnings half-a-crown; we dream that this, at least, is the bottom of the scale, and our dream is dispelled by a new discovery, which gives to such pittance the character of wealth. We are only happy to think that the valuation of labour we are now to remark upon is not yet accepted in this country; and, though occurring within the boundaries of this realm, is confined to that land of anomalies separated from us by St. George's Channel. At the petty sessions lately held at Kanturk an Irish farmer, Green by name, was summoned by one of his labourers for the sum of one shilling and sixpence, which we might suppose represented a day's work; it appeared, however, that it was claimed for three weeks' work, done at the rate of one penny per diem during harvest time—for eighteen days eighteen pence; there was no dispute about the fact of the labour having been performed, the farmer's reluctance being grounded on the exorbitant character of the demand. Mr. Green declared that he should never have thought of engaging a starveling like the complainant Walsh at that money, when he could get the best man in the country for as little; he could bring a

witness to prove that the wages really covenanted for were one halfpenny per week: it was purely a commercial question; he had made a bargain, as he averred, in accordance with the state of the labour market in that locality, taking into consideration the capacities of Walsh; he considered that a bargain was a bargain, and ought to be kept; finally he tendered three-halfpence as the amount of the legitimate claim. Astounded by such an offer, the magistrates demanded of Walsh what he had obtained in the way of food from his employer; they received for answer as follows:—'Whilst I was with him I was obliged to be up in the morning about four o'clock, to let the cows out of the sleeping-field, and remain herding them until the other men would come to their work, and used then to be obliged to work with them all day, and get nothing for my support but a bit of dry Indian gruel. They used to give milk to the pigs and calves before my face, but would not give me a drop.' Under these circumstances the magistrates gave orders for the payment of the more exorbitant sum of one penny per day, not, however, without renewed objections on the part of Mr. Green, who stoutly maintained the justice and the sacredness of his bargain."

What, indeed, is more sacred than a "bargain"? The immutable laws of supply and demand regulate the wages of labour, and to suggest any other mode of regulation is to sap the foundations of society; none but diabolic Socialists preaching universal robbery could ever dream of interfering with such a state of things.

Thus it is that the blessing of Labour becomes the curse of Labour; nay, an infinitely greater curse than that of the old Hebrew superstition, for in that scheme of society man did at least earn his bread by the sweat of his brow, but, in our reading of the curse, we wring the sweat from his brow and do not give him the bread. How men can pray to the Almighty Father with daily gratitude for the blessings He profusely tenders them, how they can ask Him for their daily bread, and, rising from their knees, pass out into the crowd of wasted workmen to bargain for Labour at a penny a-day,—thus earning their bread by the sweat of starving fellow-creatures,—how this can be done by Christian men must fill the reflective mind with awe at the appalling contradictions of the human heart, and startle the most careless into a serious consideration of the possible rottenness of our moral Denmark. And do not throw aside the heavy burden of remorse by saying Farmer Green is a "monstrous exception"—he is only the *reductio ad absurdum* of our entire system.

#### SOCIAL REFORM.

EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRORUM.

XVII.—LE DROIT AU TRAVAIL, No. 2.

To THORNTON HUNT, Esq.

Rawden, near Leeds, Nov. 12, 1850.

"England expects every man to do his duty;" we all of us recollect Nelson's famous saying, but how seldom, my dear Sir, do we feel the meaning of what we say. What England expects she surely should allow; let her do so, and divers strange things would happen; among others, "Le droit au travail" would stand confessed by English law the right of every Englishman.

Yes, translated into our dutiful, because practical, tongue—for duty is the ideal of practice, and we pride ourselves on being a practical people—this fearful French phrase simply means *the right to do one's duty*; and this right underlies all the rights of man, it is the principle of which they are the various expressions—"the rights of man" mean it or they mean nothing; for traced, indeed, to their true meaning, rights and duties are synonymous, both, the realization of life's purpose, the one in relation to man's self, the other in relation to his fellows; they are, as it were, the obverse and the reverse of the same coin, God's image stamped on man's soul, and passing current as truth's sign.

A man finds his own weakness or passion, his want of self-control, prevent him from getting through the task life has set him: his effort to supply that want is the fulfilment of his duty; but not alone his own weakness and passion distract him from this task, the weakness and passion of other men, their weak and wild wills, as well as his own, interfere with its performance; his protest against this interference in his assertion of his rights.

Allowing, then, that man has a purpose on God's earth, it is at once his right and duty to fulfil it; but toil is not only part of the purpose, it is the very condition of life; his first duty, then, is to toil—to work for his living; deny that your brother has a duty to fulfil, prove that his life is purposeless, and you disprove his right to labour, you free him, it is true, from the curse—but, how? By banishing him from the earth, which is cursed for his sake. Grant that he is drifted into time to float as



an useless weed upon the waters, and, if a truth, it matters not how soon the weed sinks; but, if this be my brother's fate, what, then, is mine? The same current bears us both to some haven, though we know not where. I feel that to me life is not a whirlpool, and, therefore, I know that it cannot be to him. I cannot deny my own duty, nor get rid of my task, so I am forced to admit my brother's. But, what then? Perhaps, after all, his duty is to die; his task in life may be to take leave of it—to take a becoming leave of it and me—with all the grace he can muster; at least, then, he need not complain of his life being purposeless—there is a duty which will tax his powers to the utmost.

"Il faut vivre," said the Frenchman to his master. "Je n'en vois pas la nécessité," replied the master. If a man has no work, no business to do in the world, why need he live? He has no business in the world; surely, then, his business is to leave it—the sooner the better. Oh, yes, that would then be his business were he alone in the world; but you and I, and all his fellows, are his brethren, and it is our business to keep him with us. I will not believe that his destiny is resignation to death, or to forced idleness, which is death to his soul, so long as he has arms wherewith to work; and I live in the hope to help to free them from their fetters; at least, I will not admit this to be his doom until it be also mine, and then—may I have strength and virtue to bite my lips and keep down quite another French saying, which, I fear, would suggest itself, the counter reply of the man to the master—"Il faut vivre en travaillant, ou mourir en combattant."

Yes, let the Doctrinaires say what they will, it is implanted deep in the hearts of us all, this right that no man shall prevent us from earning our bread, no man, nor power of man, no individual, nor the whole race combined; but then up start our opponents—"Who prevents?" say they, "not we; our great political object is to remove all preventions—all restrictions of labour—are we not Free Traders to the back bone?" But suppose trade itself bends, what then to the labourer is free trade? or what use the loosening of the fetters if the prisoner be dead? True, you give the workman leave to use his tools how and for whom he pleases; what matter, when you leave him no materials on which to use them? Your freedom is a mockery; for one moment you tell him he may roam the earth where he lists, and the next that on this earth there is no room for him.

Alas! the earth is over full, there is no room for how many! they find the land owned, appropriated; from the power to produce for themselves, to pay themselves for their labour, they are shut out by the rights of property; and the stock or savings of past labour, the store of capital, the power to reproduce, the means of living while they work for others' pay; this, too, is property possessed by the paymaster, the capitalist, who wastes it as he wills, and deducts his waste from their pay, until there be none left; and thus they are spoiled of their property, which is labour, by reason of the property of others, the landowner and the capitalist. Thus do they seem at war with society, struggling for their right to do their duty against their fellows, who prevent them from earning their bread. But they cannot be at war with society, for they are part of it; how, then, stop this civil strife—make peace between them and their fellows? Three methods suggest themselves:—

First. To restore the landless to the land, to give him the power to till it, to allow that, inasmuch as he lives on the land, he has, at least, if he can find no other means of living, a right to live by it; this is the simplest remedy, generally the first thought of. Suppose it to be your remedy, or included in it, to limit the appropriation of the land by declaring that property therein is held only on condition that room be made for fresh comers, that fresh comers be allowed to be fresh owners. "The land, the land!" has been the cry of the landless and their leaders from the Gracchi to O'Connor and yourself: but in every agrarian law there seems to me to lurk injustice, inasmuch as in trying to right the landless, you succeed in wronging the landed; in giving the one the ability to earn his wage, you take from the other the wage he has earned. Nor will the injustice escape punishment, no injustice does. Parcel out the land among all the dwellers thereon, give them the same equality of access to it and power over it as men had before civilization had begun its march, and you would quickly place them at its starting point; for in isolating each man, you would barbarize him, and though you might try to parcel out the labour

which has been put into the land along with the land itself, you could not, it would escape you; in seizing the fruits of other men's labour you would blight them. Give each man his "landed estate," place him upon it, and ere long your landowners would become savages and rooteaters—but only for a time; they would again combine their labour and divide it, unite and redistribute themselves, they would soon cease to be rooteaters, but then some would again be landless; for though you dam up the stream you cannot change its course; if you force mankind backwards in its march, it will but retrace its steps; there is but one path to progress, dreary and toilsome though it be. Any attempt, then, to storm the land, to take forcible possession of the means of producing, would be as unsuccessful as unjust; and so would it be with the second method, viz., to seize the stock of saved labour, to take possession of the produce already saved—that is, of the means of reproducing,—to displace the capitalist from the direction of his capital by robbing him of his store, the reward of his labour or his abstinence. This method is the plan proposed by most practical Communists; all who would relieve their theories by forcible changes. They say to the capitalists, "You have forfeited your position by your mistakes,—the results of your ignorance or selfishness,—you have misguided the labourer till you must guide him no longer; society must find other guides, not one of you will do; you shut the worker out of the workshop because you have mismanaged it; therefore, you must cease to be managers." But, if there be no management, there will be no work: if each worker guides himself, "does what seemeth good in his own eyes," there will be chaos instead of concert, and each man's hand will be against his neighbour's; and if there must be a manager, who so fit after all, as the capitalist? There is no infallible Pope in the hierarchy of industry; no man can be guaranteed not to make mistakes; but, capital is a power gained by the avoidance of mistakes; who, then, so little likely to make them as the possessor of that power? Nor must we suppose that the penalty of misdirected labour is paid by the labourer alone; the employer pays his share of suffering—not an equal share, but yet no slight one; hopes blighted—often honour stained, the bitterest disappointment and deep disgrace are the fruits of his failure; and fame and brain wasted and worn by days of toil and nights of care, prove how fearful they are to him. No punishment which you could invent would be more sure or more dreaded than that which the eternal Nemesis already allots him, and no other would be just; officers there must be in the army of industry, or nature would rest unconquered if man would remain her slave; the law of society for their promotion is, that they should raise themselves from the ranks, fight their way up by conflict with sloth and pleasure (mind, I am describing the spirit of the law, its principle, not its perversion,—a system must be judged by its ideal, not its imperfect realization); true, if the army be defeated the soldier suffers most in the retreat; but the superior safety and ease of the officer is part of his pay, for the expenditure of which pay, safety, ease, and all else included,—he is responsible. Moreover, by the discipline of this army the officer is deprived of his power just in proportion as he misuses it; by its martial law he is disgraced if he fails: the capitalist loses—wastes his capital, inasmuch as he misdirects the labourer.

So, then, bad as these guides may seem to be, you cannot get better, none who know the road as well, none more anxious to keep it; one guide may be changed for another, one employer drops down, but another takes his place; still they often guide wrong: is there, then, no help? Mistakes cannot be avoided, their punishment neither can nor should be increased, the only hope is to retrieve their consequences. This, then, seems to me the third and only possible method, viz., to remedy the mistakes of the capitalist—how? by the action of society supplying by means of its government, which is its prime minister, the deficiencies of its subordinate agents, who are the capitalists. The "captains of industry" fall, their troops are scattered by reason of their fall; what, then, does the general do? he sends fresh forces to the rescue.

The labourer is the soldier of society, the Government is his general; this general must succour him, or he, too, must fly.

Here, then, is the hope of the beaten soldier, the surplus labourer; the landowner keeps him from the land, the stockowner refuses him his stock, he dares neither rob the one of his land, nor the other

of his stock, for robbery he feels to be both wrong and foolish; his wish is to work, not steal. "I invade not your rights," he says; "I do but ask you not to invade mine: room to live is all my cry; you will not hear me, you will not make room;—then I appeal to the police, I put myself under their protection, and you into their charge."

To be the policeman of society is the office of Government—some say, its only office—some its first and lowest; but all agree that it is its office, be it of what kind soever—despot Parliament or sovereign people. To keep order in the crowd is a chief duty of the policeman; to force the strong to make room for the weak—not to jostle them down, nor to tread them under foot; for society is not meant to be a reckless, rushing crowd, but a well-ordered community. It is a community, and it aspires to be a well-ordered one; and it is this aspiration which is the fact of, or rather within, Communism, dimly seen behind many a false mask and disguising veil. Yes, amid all this unmeaning jargon of crude schemers and visionary system-mongers, roaring out the rights of robbery and the wrongs of the robber, we shall, if we listen hard, hear one still small voice declaring this solemn, sacred truth—this hopeful, helpful fact—that every section of society, every nation, every commonwealth is no horde of Ishmaelites, but a bond of fellow-workers, the first article of whose partnership-deed is, that each should give his fellow room, should help, not hinder him, in his work.

But enough of aspiration and abstract ideas; let us descend, or rather ascend, to realization. The enforcement of the right to labour would be the entire fulfilment of this duty of the policeman; our Poor-law, the enforcement of the right to relief, is a clumsy attempt at it. Why it is clumsy, how we may hope to make it less clumsy, is the question; but, before trying to solve it—before attempting to show how practically the Poor-law may be made the compensation for the mistakes of the capitalist, and thereby a cure for the pauperism which is their consequence—we must dwell a little longer on other considerations, possibly somewhat abstract, but yet most important—in fact, indispensable.

The mistake of the capitalist—mistaken production—is not the only, often not the chief, cause of pauperism; there are also the mistakes of the labourer: we shall make a sad mistake if we forget them. But enough of this for one week.

Yours truly, W. E. FORSTER.



## 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.

## OUR SCHOOLS AS THEY OUGHT TO BE.

Nov. 15, 1850.

SIR,—It cannot have failed to strike others besides myself, how few are the handsome good-looking men in comparison with the numbers of beautiful children that we daily see. The cause of this change in the "human face divine" is mainly our evil system of education; for, while an enlightened course of training ought, by developing the intellect, by cultivating a love of truth and justice, and by preserving a sound state of health, to give a more lively radiance, a more thrilling charm to the beauty of the human form and countenance, we find that our vicious system mars those budding beauties, changes the natural expression of truth and confidence for a mask of falsehood and distrust, and sets the stamp of Cain upon the once unclouded brow. As an illustration of this, let any one compare the countenances of two youths of ordinary capacities, who have been trained, the one under the usual school system, the other in a ra-



tional and enlightened manner. I have not unfrequently remarked the gradual change in countenance and manner that has, year by year, come over a boy from the first day of his entering school after leaving the watchful care of a sensible mother; and I have grieved in very helplessness to see the fatal poison insidiously but surely creeping through his whole being.

Such ought not to be the case; such need not be the case; but to prevent it will require the united energies of the best and bravest minds. I can merely throw out a few hints on the subject, and these with no pretensions to novelty.

The first and greatest rule in the education of the young is, to observe the way in which Nature acts, and follow that.

She will ever be found the safest guide; and, in as far as we deviate from her course, just so far shall we err, and make an artificial, conventional thing—no real man.

What more than this can be said? He who would educate, must first have studied Nature, and especially her greatest work—the human being. He may then follow the inspirations of his own mind, and will want no directions. But, for the man who has not learned human nature, all the precepts and rules in the world would be of no assistance, he would be erring at every step; and this, perhaps, is the reason why men of good feeling and admirable intentions, but without the necessary judgment and experience have, by their injudicious mode of carrying out correct principles of education, only brought contempt upon them.

Every educational establishment should be surrounded by a certain portion of land sufficient to give occupation in farming and gardening to all the pupils according to their strength and the natural bent of their faculties. The land would thus form the grand basis of education, as it is the great mother and nourisher of us all, and would be found to be the great moralizer and purifier of all, affording healthy, varied, and agreeable occupation; the means of acquiring in the most delightful manner an immense variety of information on the most interesting branches of science; and opportunities for the cultivation of the higher faculties of man in the wonders of creation, the beauty and harmony of nature, so symbolical of love, truth, and justice. This would necessarily require a situation in the country, were there not other strong and powerful reasons for removing our youth as far as possible from the physical and moral contamination of towns. The situation alone of Westminster School would be sufficient to condemn it in the eyes of every sensible man.

In the next place, let there be in connection with the establishment every kind of handicraft trade at which boys are capable of being employed; thus affording them at all times and seasons some engaging, useful occupation, besides educating faculties that are allowed to lie dormant in most schools. The door would thus in a great measure be barred against the entrance of the fiend.

Of course the establishment would be filled up with every appliance of modern invention for the preservation of health, and all regulations of hygiene would be strictly enforced. This will be found as necessary for the moral health as for the physical; the one depending on the other, and both of far more importance at the age we are considering than the cultivation of the intellect.

Above all, the dormitories should be well ventilated, under constant inspection (which might be managed by a system of monitors), and the beds such as to give sound and healthy repose, without encouraging slothfulness. The first occupations in the morning should be of an agreeable character to induce the healthy habit of early rising; the reveillé might be sounded by musical instruments.

All the domestic duties, whether for the comfort and order of the house, or for the preparation of meals, should be performed by the pupils under the direction of one or more suitable persons; for it should be a lesson practically and constantly inculcated that no useful occupation is degrading to a man, and all should be ever ready to assist each other.

"Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," the heavenly precept of our divine teacher, has been preached in the Church, in the school-room, and at the domestic hearth, for nearly two thousand years; with what effect let every one answer for himself. In our educational establishment it must be practised. Every arrangement, every circumstance, must be contrived with a view to make this practice natural, and become a habit. A sound public opinion in the school, the watchful eye of an intelligent educator, who can win the confidence and be the companion of the pupils, the certainty of immediate inconvenience on a breach of this precept; and, by the arrangements of the directing mind, the conviction that the interest of all is the interest of each. Such and similar means that circumstances would suggest would be employed for establishing the practice of Christian charity as a natural habit. Children might soon be made to understand how much better it is for each one to have all the rest for his friends, than for all to be at variance with each other.

With respect to the cultivation of the intellect much would be included in the foregoing arrangements. The rest must depend, in a great measure, on the talents, dispositions, and character of the pupil.

In all cases a vast amount of the most useful information respecting the various objects around us, the first principles of science, and the facts of nature, might be conveyed directly through the senses without the aid of books, and this would be found a much more rapid, effectual, and agreeable mode than that usually adopted.

Until we have introduced some true phonetic system of writing and printing, I fear that the difficulties of our language will never be overcome by the greater number without infinite pains on the part of pupil and teacher; but, perhaps, to many it is of little consequence if they never learn to read or write fluently; those who have the talent will acquire the knowledge with comparative ease. Grammar, as the science of language, should never be taught before the age of fourteen or fifteen, and then only to those of superior intellectual developments, nor should any foreign language unless by conversation.

As for Greek, Latin, and other dead languages, they should be buried, as all dead things ought to be, except to the select few, who showed real talent and taste for such studies; and it would be quite time for them to commence after having passed the age of boyhood, for many of our greatest proficient in language did not commence the study till after this period: for instance, Professor Lee, Elihu Burritt, and many others.

Much of arithmetic, geometry, and algebra might be taught in connection with other subjects, as drawing, geography, natural history; and by a modification of Pestalozzi's plan all the rules of arithmetic might be learned out of doors, and made very interesting. As a general rule, the pupils should be kept as much in the open air as our climate will permit without injury to the constitution.

Engineering, navigation, chemistry, physiology, the arts and manufactures, would afford a thousand opportunities of combining theory with practice for every variety of talent, and would, some of them, be a necessary accompaniment to an agricultural training, the grand basis of all our proceedings.

"A time and place for everything, and everything in its time and place." The strictest order must, of course, be maintained throughout every department. The means for preserving order and discipline must depend chiefly on the directing mind of the principal, and should be kept up rather by the general arrangements of the establishment than by any factitious rewards or punishments, which are at best but bungling substitutes for sound method and management.

The principal of the establishment must be a man of a large mind, great experience in men and things, high moral character, sound judgment, and, above all, "let the corners of his mouth turn up rather than down." He must choose his assistants from the highest to the lowest, with a careful view to their truthfulness and purity of character. There will be, as in De Pellenberg's schools, two classes of assistants: instructors and educators; the former for intellectual teaching, the latter for moral training.

I fear I have already extended my letter beyond all bounds, and will only add, in conclusion, that as it is not likely we shall find any man combining the necessary qualities of mind and the requisite capital for such an establishment, it must be founded by the united aid of a number of persons convinced of its desirability, determined to carry it out in good earnest, and to give it all the publicity possible, that similar establishments may spring up wherever they are required.

I observe you have signed my last letter J. G. instead of J. E. S.

#### LETTERS ON UNITARIANISM.

##### LETTER V.

November 6, 1850.

SIR,—The natural fruit of religious life is the spirit of mercy. The love of God engenders the love of man. Wherever, therefore, the religious life abounds, the spirit of mercy must abound to the same extent. And wherever that life aboundeth not, no agency can take its place by which the spirit of mercy can be created. In the exact degree, then, that the religious life in the Unitarian body has been feeble, the spirit of mercy of necessity has been absent.

There are four things from which I would wish most carefully to distinguish the spirit of mercy: that spontaneous sympathy which prompts us to acts of neighbourly kindness; that commonplace charity which is often nothing more than indifference or calculation; that noisy philanthropy which bawls itself hoarse in chapels and on platforms, and which is one of the many vulgarities of dissent; and that spurious liberalism which is the great stock-in-trade of whiggery, and which is such an admirable substitute for true patriotism, energetic action, every noble quality, every brave achievement. The first is the gracious gift of Heaven; blessed are they that possess it: we can pardon much in him who, amid many defects and offences, has tenderness of heart and the

hand of the bountiful. But pity itself is but the luxury of affection. When not allied to strong convictions, to elevated principle, to comprehensive wisdom, it may do as much harm as good; when not transfused by religion, it has no heroic self-denial, no persistency of purpose, and, though readily lavishing a plenitude of ministrations that the unfortunate may be relieved and that the desolate may be consoled, it shrinks from taking on itself a burden of crushing pangs that the wretch may no longer be wretched, that the eyes of the bereaved may cease to be dim with tears, that the afflicted may mourn and suffer no more. It is akin to the spirit of mercy; it supplies that spirit with impulse and sustenance, and fruitful faith; but, till hallowed by the breath of Heaven, it is not itself that spirit. If, however, natural pity can claim kindred with the spirit of mercy, the charity which the world at present delecteth to honour can claim none. It seldom goes beyond words, and then it is one of our most detestable pharisaisms. When it expresses its sorrow for the poor, it really wishes to persuade you that they only are so who are wicked and improvident. When it offers an apology for some aspects of a man's character and conduct, it is that you may see all that is black and abominable in other and more important aspects thereof. When it softens away the objections to a heretic's creed in detail, it is that it may more surely and comfortably damn him in the lump. When from words it descends to deeds, it is uglier still. It then swells the subscription list for the sake of securing or strengthening a conventional position; or as a sort of imaginary absolution for bygone cruelties or dishonesties; or as a price paid to God for the best room in the Hotel of the Immortals. Go to the hovels where hunger, cold, disease have done their worst; with a long preface on the duties which we owe to each other, pompously present to the miserable inmates all the rubbish in your house which you can no longer use, and are ashamed to sell; give to some old creature a petticoat older than herself with as solemn an air as if you were offering some consecrated relic—the toe of St. Peter or the tooth of the Virgin; tell a family of a dozen, whose whole support has never been more than six or eight shillings a week, that every curse that enters the abode of working men is the just punishment for their want of forethought and economy—for their insatiate and incurable liking for beer and tobacco,—but that, notwithstanding, you are moved by the sight of their distress, as your failing through life has been your inability to keep your hand in your pocket when you saw a fellow-creature in need, and then, after a quotation from Miss Edgeworth or Benjamin Franklin, hand over a soup or coal ticket, it being well known to all the readers of newspapers that you are a subscriber to societies for the distribution of soup and coals;—do these and many similar things and we shall be compelled to confess that you excel as much in that charity which the universal reign of cant has made fashionable as you are destitute of that mercy which is divine. As to the philanthropy which shouts the louder the less it has to say—which feels the keener the remoter the object—which has bowels for Tanky-Wanky-Padderam-Bumpus-Mahoshky, or any other unpronounceable savage in Polynesia with a bushel of consonants to his back, but none for the poor needlewoman who is dying in the next lane—it has so recently and so powerfully been assailed by Carlyle with the mace and the thunders which he inherits from the ancient Scandinavian gods, as to dispense with any attempt of mine to prove how little it has, not only of the spirit of mercy, but even of common sense and ordinary decency. Liberalism, if less pestilent than philanthropy as a nuisance, is still more hollow as a semblance. If it were a reality, it would indicate the generosity of the man, the courtesy of the gentleman, the refinement of the scholar, the breadth of the philosopher in pregnant combinations, but the coxcombry of intellect, the varnish of selfishness, the sophistry of indolence, the slang of political atheism—at once the affectation and the mask of a mind which has lost its faith in all things. Seek in every corner of the universe for the spirit of mercy, but do not seek it here. For the spirit of mercy is that ardour and affluence of love to our brethren which the continual feeling of God's presence, the consciousness of our sins, the weight and gloom of our sorrows, and the spectacle of sin and of sorrow everywhere around us beget. The first act of St. Francis of Assisi, when God had unveiled to him the infinite beauty, but at the same time the infinite awfulness and most tragical import, of the religious life, was to clasp a leper in his arms and to kiss his wounds. Eternal emblem this of the spirit of mercy. For, by that act, St. Francis avowed that, in the midst of foulest darkness and disfigurement, there was still here the soul of a brother; and that he also, though afterwards attaining the summit of holiness, was defaced and polluted by a deadlier leprosy—the leprosy of sin—which only the finger of God could heal. The spirit of mercy, therefore, is humbler than the humblest while pouring itself out in ceaseless sacrifice for others, never seeking joy from aught on earth, but reaping the richest harvest of joys from



the blessings which it scatters wherever it comes. When it thinks of God in relation to itself it sees him only as the God of justice; when it thinks of God in relation to others it sees him only as the God of pity. Deep, therefore, is its abhorrence of sin; but the greater its loathing for sin the greater its love for the sinner, and the more strenuous its efforts to banish his woes, and to deliver him from the thralldom of his lusts. There are few churches but the Roman Catholic in which the spirit of mercy has ever had wealth and width of redeeming action. Those who at present are so furiously declaiming against that church would do well to study its history, and then they would discover, that it is less through what they call its corruptions, that it has acquired and maintained empire, than through its numberless institutions and indefatigable works of mercy. The Protestant churches have generally been destitute of the spirit of mercy through the operation of Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith—which was an admirable weapon for the battle Luther had to fight, but fatal to the growth of the religious life, and the fruits of that life in Protestantism. Because it has made the Protestant devotee think so much of his own salvation that he has had no time or heed for the sinful and sorrowing condition of those around him; or, if he has cared for their souls and bodies, it has only been as a meritorious task by which his own salvation might the better be secured.

Even this inducement the Unitarians have not had. They have talked so much against the absurd and orthodox dogma of original sin that they have almost forgotten that there is any such thing in the world as sin at all. And if there be little sin in the world, then their own share as individuals must be excessively small; and if so small, then they have no cause to be anxious about the future. They have always some nicely balanced phrases ready about virtue and vice; and with these they satisfy their consciences regarding their own sins and sin in general. Yet sin and sorrow are sisters. You cannot feel with the whole fervour and faculty of your nature for the latter till you have discerned all that there is of solemn and profound in the former. But with the intellectual pride for which Unitarianism has always been notable, how is it likely to acquire a crushing sense of sin? It is the proudest of sects; yet the first lesson in the spirit of mercy which we could give it would be humility. It could not learn that lesson, however, without casting aside as filthy rags all of which it has been most inclined to boast. Of the various things from which I have endeavoured to distinguish the spirit of mercy, spontaneous sympathy, commonplace charity, noisy philanthropy, spurious liberalism, it is the last which Unitarianism has always substituted for the spirit of mercy. You have only to tell it that a man is a Liberal in politics and in religion and you have offered an atonement for all his chicanery, meanness, and cowardice. He may be the basest, lowest, most stupid of mankind. What of that? Is he not a Liberal? It is in consistency with this that, when Whiggery has been stinking in the nostrils of a whole generation, Unitarianism has always adored it as the perfection of wisdom. When the Unitarian sect learns what a dismal mockery, how vague and how vapoury this chattering Liberalism is, it will feel on its brow what it never felt before, a faint breath of the spirit of mercy.

ATTICUS.

[Errata in Letter IV.—Paragraph third, for *brings* read *bring*; paragraph four, line ten, for *position* read *portion*; paragraph five, line eleven, after *individual* put a full stop; paragraph five, line forty-six, for *dimnest* read *divinest*; paragraph six, line twenty-four, for *intentional* read *intuitional*.]

#### UNITARIANISM DEFENDED.

"Let me guard myself from the imputation of rejecting this doctrine, because it is mysterious, or of supporting a system which insists upon banishing all mysteries from religion. On any such system I should look with unqualified aversion, as excluding from faith one of its primary elements, as obliterating the distinction between logic and devotion, and tending only to produce an irreverent and narrow-minded dogmatism. 'Religion without mystery' is a combination of terms, than which the Athanasian Creed contains nothing more contradictory; and the sentiment of which it is the motto I take to be a fatal caricature of rationalism, tending to bring all piety into contempt. Until we touch upon the mysteries, we are not in contact with religion," &c., &c.—JAMES MARTINEAU (*Liverpool Unitarian Controversy*, 1839).

Nov. 16, 1850.

SIR,—The above short extract from a discourse, preached and published by an Unitarian minister above eleven years ago (and still to be had from Mr. Chapman), may possibly suggest to your correspondent, Atticus, a fact which his letters have very strongly impressed upon my mind, to wit, that he knows very little of the present state of Unitarian religious opinion, and not a great deal more of the past history of the sect. His idea appears to be, that their theology and metaphysics originated with Priestley, and having been by him put forth, and stereotyped, have remained unaltered to the present hour. Whereas the notorious fact is, that all the English

Presbyterian congregations, having been left unfettered, and that purposely and deliberately, by any tests, articles, or confessions of faith, had been gradually emancipating themselves from the Calvinism of their Puritan forefathers (if Atticus will permit a descendant of Philip Henry to claim such ancestry), had long renounced the Trinity, passing through the various phases of Arianism, were thus prepared to receive and adopt simple Humanitarianism, when promulgated by Priestley and Theophilus Lindsey. But, since with all their respect for Priestley, Unitarians have never dreamed of attributing to him an infallibility which he would have been the first to disclaim; or imagined that he had discovered all possible truth in theology and metaphysics, any more than in chemistry or history, it has so befallen, that the present generation hold very different sentiments (a large part of them at least) from those which he taught; and in particular as to materialism and necessity, it will, I doubt not, be highly consolatory to Atticus to learn that these doctrines (which I love as little as he does) are in great measure renounced by modern Unitarians, are preached against from Unitarian pulpits, and that many of the most able and influential of their ministers—especially the rising race—"think nobly of the soul, and no wise approve of such opinions." I admit that the opinions do nevertheless linger amongst us, chiefly, perhaps, with those elders who cannot change the views acquired in youth, and with the disciples of Combe and Phrenology, from whose influence may the Almighty deliver all whom he has fitted for anything better than a miserable mediocrity of soul or of intellect!

Not to be further tedious, though Atticus is open to correction on several other points, I will only say a word upon the "pride of intellect," wherof he accuses the Unitarians. If he had said "pride of intellectual freedom," he would, I believe, have been nearer the truth; and to this I, for one, should plead guilty. I conceive that the Unitarians have a right to be proud of being the only Christian Church which shuns no question, and imposes no dogmatical fetters upon the minds and consciences of ministers or of their hearers; the only Church which makes no attempt to stifle doubt with threats of damnation; which denies that a faithful search for truth everywhere and by all means can ever be sinful, or other than laudable and virtuous; and which never seeks to silence inconvenient questions with the gag of "mystery"! In this freedom we "do rejoice; yea, and we will rejoice."

AN UNITARIAN.

P.S. By the way, where did Miss Walbey find her version of the Unitarian view of future retribution? I conceive that she, at least, has not discovered the reasons why we are not of those, who "compass sea and land to make one proselyte."

#### DR. SMILES AND THE WORKING CLASS.

Glasgow, Oct. 28, 1850.

DEAR SIR,—I do not suspect the patriotism of Dr. Smiles because his views of the condition of the working classes are not full of grumblings. I have every reason to believe in the sincerity of his motives. But I think it essentially necessary that both sides of the question should be stated, so that we may be thoroughly acquainted with the whole subject. It is not the politics of despair that is now inducing the generous men of all parties to enquire into the condition of the most miserable classes of society, but rather a desire to know the extent of the evils to be remedied. I have no fear that the extent and alarming nature of these evils will induce despair in the minds of any class. The poor and miserable, who are the objects of these enquiries, will perceive that an increasing interest is being taken in their condition, and the more fortunate classes will be stimulated to greater exertions to remove the misery that surrounds them.

I perceive many indications of the progress of society, and a growing sympathy which will yet link the different classes in a universal bond of brotherhood; but I cannot see the practical results of this sympathy in operation in the present working of society; but, lest I should be accused of grumbling, I will quote Dr. Smiles's own words to bear me out in this assertion:—

"Every invention of a new and improved tool throws thousands idle. Thus, S. Wellwood and his whole class of handloom weavers fall a sacrifice to the invention of improved machines, and we deplore the individual loss, but we see the mass advancing nevertheless."

In a properly constituted society the invention of new and improved implements for the production of wealth would benefit the whole mass, and would be the means of giving more opportunity for the cultivation of the higher faculties of our nature, instead of at present being an advantage only to the few, and the means of throwing thousands idle. Those who reap the advantage may perceive the advance; but I and others, who are thrown idle by it, cannot perceive it except as a backward advance. I may also confess that I cannot see how mere education can improve the condition of our class, without first placing us in a position where it would be possible for us to receive and appreciate the advantages of education.

Mr. Smiles says:—"Help is in men themselves, far more than in institutions." This is not applicable to us as a class. We are so widely scattered, and our wages so insufficient, that we cannot organize so as to effect our emancipation.

It would require an universal reorganization, to effect our elevation by an alteration of the present system of society. Where have we room to help ourselves when hundreds and thousands of square miles of the land are locked up in the hands of our dukes, lords, and marquises, and cannot be unlocked till the institutions of society are altered? We therefore say to the leaders of the people, organize the whole people for the freedom of the land, and, when that is effected, give us education. We are sufficiently enlightened already to know that we are both socially and politically degraded; consequently we are ready for an organization that will free the land, without which education would only make us more miserable.

The Doctor, in his first communication, proposed only the schoolmaster as a remedy for all our social evils; in his last he has added the land, only we are to wait till we are educated before we get it. Other parties withhold the land, and maintain that mere education will effectually eradicate all our evils. These I would ask, of what use would education be to the class to which I belong, so long as we remain in our present position, with machinery and competition making inroads on our wages? What time have we to spend on education, when we are obliged to labour fourteen or sixteen hours per day for a bare physical existence? Is the body or mind in a condition to receive education or to cultivate the common amenities of life after such a day's toil? No: rather the stern necessities of nature compel us to hurry ourselves and children to bed, lest we might not obtain sufficient sleep to enable us to perform the next day's labour. What motive have we to stimulate us to educate either ourselves or our children, when we have no prospect but a dreary continuance of the same monotonous toil, and, when no longer able to continue it, nothing but the grim visage of grudging pauperism in the gloomy vista of the future?

Would it make us more content if our minds were well stored with knowledge, so that we might be able to converse freely on literature, science, poetry, and philosophy? If our minds were thus clothed with the necessary requisites of the gentleman and the scholar, how would we feel when the instinctive and Christian principle of equality would rise up unbidden in our breasts? On the one hand, we would observe the wealthy gentleman, surrounded with every luxury—a splendid mansion, beautiful gardens, green fields, pure air, an elegant and accomplished wife, healthy, well-dressed, and beautiful children, music, dancing, and frequent assemblages in elegant drawing-rooms, decorated with all the beauty and taste that art and genius can bestow.

On the other a miserable, low, damp dwelling, no garden, no green fields, no pure air or good water; husband, wife, and children, having to "work, work, work, as prisoners work for crime." No music but the everlasting din of the wheel, the lay, and shuttle; no periodic assemblages for amusement or instruction; no decorations of art to make our homes more cheerful, and thereby to reconcile us in some measure to our lot. Would education make us content while we are in want of all these and many other temporal advantages I might here enumerate? If our education qualified us to converse and associate with men of fortune in the higher walks of life, would the great disparity between their condition and ours be no trouble to our minds, even admitting that it would be no barrier to our intercourse with them? No; there could be no relationship, no fellowship, no communion with them, because equality not only in education but in condition is an essential element in friendship and social intercourse. But let it not be supposed that we aspire to the conditions of the gentleman of fortune. We are content with the decree of the Almighty, and desire to live by the sweat of our brow. We are also as strongly impressed with the necessity and importance of education as any other class; but, before it can be successfully introduced, we must first produce the indispensable conditions of a more equitable and elevated social arrangement, so that we might obtain time and means to cultivate our moral and intellectual natures. We do not wish the cold hand of charity extended to us by way of gratuitous education, charitable subscriptions, and benevolent contributions of old clothes. We wish to cultivate a spirit of independence and self-reliance, and, being convinced that our trade in its present state does not afford us an opportunity of so doing, we look to the removal of the fetters which prevent our free access to the land. Free the land and establish a law of partnership, so as to give encouragement and protection to the great power of association and coöperation, and the work of progress will go on with increased acceleration. Organize a great league for these purposes, and you will find that we have sufficient education already to give you all the aid in our power, so that our education may be finished under the necessary conditions for its proper development. Yours, &c., S. WELLWOOD.



## RATIONALISM VERSUS THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

Nov. 12, 1850.

DEAR SIR,—I think the charge of the Bishop of London ought not to pass away without our noticing that it very strongly confirms the theological Rationalist in his position. Why, I ask, should the Bishop be so much afraid of the Rationalist, if he does not clearly see that neither current Christianity nor the constitution of the Church will bear the investigation of the free and honest understanding of man—of men who rely upon reason rather than upon churches and creeds, Popes or priests, for their faith? It is too plain to be overlooked that the Bishop's charge contains a confession of weakness—a confession that prevailing theological systems (and of the Church of England in particular) are incompatible with the free and legitimate use of the intellect—a confession that Rationalism is so strong in the truth, so powerful in argument, as to be able greatly to damage the Church systems, if not to destroy them. Now, this is very extraordinary, for it looks as if a good and sufficient reason could not be given for either the doctrines or practices of the Church, and this is precisely one of the positions of the honest Rationalist, who disbelieves, for the want of a sufficient reason, in the face of much positive and presumptive evidence to the contrary of what he is required to hold as true faith.

Can it be possible that the Bishop or his clergy should be afraid of the Rationalist, unless he is well aware that the foundations of his system are rotten? For only look, what powerful aids the Church has on her side. Surely, the eight or ten millions a-year (if not more) should do a good deal to sustain her drooping courage. Is she not countenanced by the bulk of the rank and fashion of mighty and glorious England? She has the Universities in her hands, where she can train her sons to the use of every weapon in defence of the truth, if the truth indeed she has in her heart. Then, again, the strong arm of the law has been often invoked in her favour. And her people through their ignorances and prejudices will form a bulwark around her, most probably long after the Rationalists have proved with indubitable evidence that she has not a leg of truth to stand upon. Thus, while the Rationalist has nothing but the truth for his object and reason for his guide, the Church has a thousand other helps, and some of them so potent, that if she held the doctrines of either Mahomet or Confucius instead of what she now teaches, it would be astonishing if with such helps she should not be able to sustain her ground. If, therefore, there is great strength in Rationalism, and much reason to fear its progress, there must be a corresponding weakness in that upon which the Church ought primarily to rely, viz., her proofs, and especially when her position and influence is so greatly strengthened by adventitious assistance.

Were it not ill-natured one might easily have suspected that the Bishop was a Rationalist himself, held in connection with the church only by the powerful attraction of the leaves and fishes; or otherwise, but for the same reason, one might have charged him with infidelity, since he appears to have so little reliance upon Divine Providence. For how else can he have been led into such a betrayal of weakness?

As a Rationalist I feel grateful to the Bishop for the encouragement he gives us, and for the confession implied in his charge that "Magna est veritas et prevalebit;" for, in the face of so many obstacles and impediments, it is difficult at times to believe that correct notions of truth and duty will obtain their just supremacy in the world.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

A THEOLOGICAL RATIONALIST.

## THE BISHOPS OF ENGLAND AND THE BISHOPS OF ROME.

Nov. 13, 1850.

SIR,—Having resided many years in Italy, and sojourned in its principal cities, I have had an opportunity of making enquiries into the revenues of the prelates of that country. You will, perhaps, be surprised to know, as I was myself to hear, that all the bishoprics in the patrimony of St. Peter (excepting the bishopric of the Sovereign Pontiff) and they are very numerous, amount to less in value than the single bishopric of London! The prelate who now rejoices in that see, or rather regality, cannot deny, although he will not confess it, that in sixteen years he has received from it £1,000,000 sterling! No inconsiderable share of this enormous wealth accrued to him after the passing of the Reform Bill, and after the formation of the jobbing Ecclesiastical Commission, in which "Charles James," although so interested a party, did not hesitate to take a place!

Surely national indignation, which is so loud against external aggression on the part of the comparatively poor Church of Rome, will compel the House of Commons to make renewed and searching enquiries into the intrigues and inconsistencies of our magnificent and, I fear, crumbling church; crumbling only because of her internal divisions and corruptions, evincing that in her worldly system she

is essentially of this world. The real foes of the Church of England are those of her own household, always the bitterest and the most treacherous.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

PROVE ALL THINGS.

## LORD LEIGH ON CALVINISM.

Manchester, Nov. 2, 1850.

SIR,—The recent death of Lord Leigh has called attention to his now almost-forgotten poems. Perhaps you may not refuse a place in your paper to the following beautiful and earnest protest against the horrors of Calvinism, which occurs in his poem called "The View":—

"But, gloomy Calvin, how could'st thou prevail  
With thy dark doctrines, and ascetic pride,  
Where the ripe harvest smiles along the vale,  
Where glows the vintage near Lake Leman's tide,  
And all is mirth and cheerfulness beside?  
Why didst thou not to northern regions hie,  
Or in some dreary wilderness abide!  
Why spread thy faith where heaven and earth deny  
The truth of thy heart-withering creed of destiny!"

Sylvia, by CHANDOS LEIGH.

H.

## POLITICAL UNIONS.

Lower Russell-street, Shelton, Nov. 3, 1850.

SIR,—Cognizant as I am of the fact that a vast amount of ignorance exists among the masses in reference to progressive ideas, I feel deeply anxious that some plan of propagandism should be adopted by reformers generally, to make those ideas fully known and understood. Ecclesiastical reformers, wiser than ourselves in this respect, have long since developed plans and constructed machinery, than which nothing can be more admirable or complete. In each section of the religious world the means employed for propagandism are pretty near the same. Preaching, lecturing, tracts, and schools—with these the world has been turned almost upside-down. And why should not these means be employed in spreading higher and nobler sentiments? If adopted in diffusing a knowledge of political and social principles among the people, the condition of the entire community would soon be improved.

The old system of "open-air" preaching, suggested by Mr. Creed, cannot, in my humble opinion, be productive of much good. In ruder times it might, perhaps, have been serviceable; but in these days men are controlled more by reason than by the harangues of street brawlers and demagogues. I regard the plan of no use whatever. Truth can gain nothing by being puffed off like a quack medicine. We have had too much of this already. If reformers are to succeed, a higher tone must be given to their proceedings, and a wiser mode of advocacy adopted. We must have more to do with the head and less with the passions.

Respectfully yours,

W. WOOLLEY.

## EXHIBITION OF 1851.

London, Oct. 29, 1850.

SIR,—A clergyman of the Church of England, with the approbation of his Royal Highness Prince Albert, proposes to give a prize or prizes to the amount of 100 guineas for the best essay or essays on the following subject: "In what manner the Union of all Nations at the Grand Exhibition in 1851 may be made conducive to the glory of God in promoting the moral welfare of mankind."

As the proposer of the prize is very desirous that full scope should be given for the discussion of the subject, and that the candidates and the public may have security for the strictest impartiality in the award, he is anxious previously to the final arrangement to avail himself of the opinions of the leaders of the public mind, and will, therefore, be extremely obliged by any suggestions from the editor of the *Leader*, or his correspondents, which may enable him to present the proposition before the public in a form most calculated to accomplish the object he has in view.

His wish is at present at least to be CLERICAL.

**LAWS OF ENTAIL.**—One of the greatest evils arising from the English laws of settlement and entail, is that they present obstacles, direct and indirect, to the free transfer and transmission of land. Land ought to pass—as Mr. Milner Gibson well said, in 1847—as freely from hand to hand as hops or cotton, tallow or tobacco, or any other article of commerce. It is so in almost every other country under the sun; even in the most despotic countries. And in consequence of this facility of transfer, the number of years' purchase in all the better countries of Europe is much higher than in England. According to the opinion of an ex-conveyancer and actual Master in Chancery, the number of years' purchase in almost all the better parts of Europe is much higher than in England. Mr. Senior alleges that the principal reason for the difference of value is the different law of conveyancing. Our system, says he, diminishes the value, and, in the land plan, excludes all small purchasers. — *British Quarterly*, No. 24.

## 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*.

THE publishing season has fairly begun, and our library table assumes a somewhat formidable aspect in the amount of work—for reading to a critic is work, and not a pastime; sometimes very laborious, too—which it warns us must be gone through. There in all the coquetry of uncut temptation lie several books which promise a recompense of delight, books which make the critic's task not altogether laborious, plums in the vast expanse of dough, to make the bread a cake—

"Many a green isle needs must be  
In the deep waste of scribbled;  
Or the critic worn and wan,  
Never thus could voyage on.  
Day and night, and night and day,  
Drifting on his dreary way."

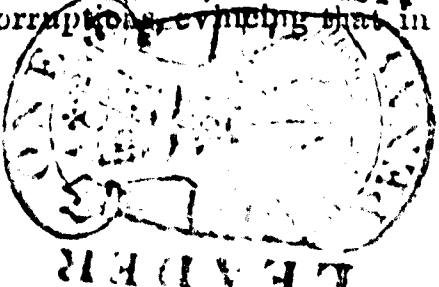
There lies, for example, the collected edition of the Poems of ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING—a writer, to our shame be it spoken, whose acquaintance we have yet to make, but whose reputation lends a peculiar lustre, in our eyes, to these two handsomely printed volumes. Into that "green isle" of poetry we shall curiously wander, and report thereon in due season. Then there is CRAIK'S *Romance of the Peerage*, completing by this fourth volume the first series of that valuable supplement to history. For a pleasant alarm, a delightful titillation of terror, there is Sir FRANCIS HEAD'S new romance, *The Defenceless State of England*, wherein we are satisfactorily shown to be an inviting prey to rapacious France. Indeed, the weakness of England just now is a matter for deep sadness to the reflecting patriot. The Pope has only to send over a few bishops, and "yielding Englishmen" will straightway renounce their errors to fall repentant at his feet. So much for our spiritual defencelessness. France has only to cast a longing eye upon the broad lands of her "natural enemies," and Frenchmen are forthwith billeted in London, placing Herne Bay in a "state of siege." So much for our material defencelessness. DICKENS has nothing more extravagant in his *Sketches by Boz*, the new cheap edition of which smiles upon our table. In this, his earliest work, the student of belles lettres may be interested to notice how early all his qualities showed themselves. Inferior in many respects to what he has since written, the *Sketches* nevertheless present a perfect image of the man, and contain memorable drolleries.

Mr. BOHN has given a grave aspect to our Table by four works, all addressed to students—KITTO'S *Scripture Lands and Bible Atlas*—the third volume of PLATO—a translation of HORACE—and one of CICERO'S Offices. Beside them stands the new novel, *Olive*, by the author of the *Ogilvies*—a book to captivate all women by its picture of a woman's life. To conclude our enumeration of works to be hereafter criticized, let us mention the seventh volume of SCHLOSSER'S very valuable *History of the Eighteenth Century* (a volume comprising an elaborate account of BONAPARTE'S career, from the Directory to the Peace at Schönbrunn), and the magnificent *Oriental Album*, which Mr. MADDEN has published of *The Valley of the Nile*, illustrated by E. PRISSE, with letterpress by Sr. JOHN.

A correspondent in Germany informs us of two new works above the average merit; one is a *Life of Mirabeau*, by PIETZ, of Vienna; and the other a novel by ALEXANDER JUNG, called *Der Bettler in St. James's Park*, which may interest our readers by its pictures of English life by a German. A new journal, of promise, has also appeared, called the *Deutsches Museum*, edited by PIETZ and WOLFSOHN: the virile energy of these editors may be estimated by the fact that they reject all contributions from *Ladies*! The avatar of the female mind in German Literature is comparatively recent, but it would appear from this interdiction that the "evil" has grown serious, and needs "putting down."

It was only last week we referred to a proposal made for the union of Literary men to petition Prussia for KINKEL'S freedom. We have now the satisfaction of announcing that he has procured his freedom for himself—he has escaped.

We are never tired of reading what Frenchmen





write of us. New glimpses into our social and national peculiarities are perpetually given us by this ingenious people. They always teach us something we had never before suspected. Our character presents a new aspect; our virtues and defects assume quite a startling novelty. In the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, an author for whom we have great respect, M. D. NISARD, gives the result of his inspection of English society. Having resided in England on more than one occasion, and having married an Englishwoman, he is more than usually qualified to form an opinion. His admiration of our greatness, our real liberty, and our solid respectability is unequivocal. But he does not admire our conversation. You may fancy, perhaps, this arises from our speaking French to him, or from his speaking English to us; and LEIBNITZ himself would own either to be a "sufficient reason." But, no. M. NISARD finds our conversation dull because it is not animated by egotism. In English society no man is suffered to speak of himself or of others; confining himself to generalities, he abstains from all that is personal; consequently, the conversation lacks individuality, physiognomy. "True it is," adds M. NISARD, "that not speaking of themselves nor of others, vanity and scandal are unknown. I have never seen a conceited Englishman, I have never heard an evil speaker." Well, that is new. In our small experience of society we believe we have heard men speak of themselves and not a little of others; we think, moreover, that such a phenomenon could be found as a conceited Englishman, and not a few lovers of scandal. Rare, perhaps, but certainly discoverable within the limits of the United Kingdom these individuals are. M. NISARD has not met with them, and, in consequence, he finds English conversation wanting in those graces of animation and personality which enliven that of the French; but, in default of those graces, our conversation is distinguished by such precision and boldness—the qualities of our race—that M. NISARD declares you necessarily mistake the first man you meet for *un homme distingué*. Strange that we should not have been deceived by JONES, that we should have at once detected ROBINSON to be anything but "distinguished": but our sagacity is, perhaps, preternatural, for M. NISARD says that, if it is difficult to recognize *un homme d'esprit* in the uniformity of English conversation, it is still more difficult to recognize the stupid. Now, it has always appeared to us that the stupidity of those who are "men and brothers" is alarmingly patent, and that no one can utter twenty sentences without betraying, by the very intonation of his voice and the idiom of his thoughts, whether he be *distingué* or stupid.

As a bit of gossip not without interest, we may mention that LAMARTINE has just completed a continuation of his *Girondins*, in four volumes, to be called *L'Histoire du Directoire*; and his publishers promise another novel shortly, *Le Tailleur de Saint Points*. The former work will be certain of an immense sale. Let us also add that ARMAND MARRAST has for a long time been writing a *Histoire des Montagnards*—but we fear the world has been overdone with the French Revolution to make that work very successful. A cheap reissue of PIERRE LEROUX'S works has been commenced, and the Père LACORDAIRE is actually publishing an introduction to a work called *Le Monde Occulte*—a revelation of the mysteries of magnetism by means of somnambulism.

#### THE HISTORY OF WOMAN.

*Histoire Morale des Femmes.* Par M. Ernest Legouvé.  
Dulau and Co.

The noblest study of mankind is woman. That was what the moralist meant to say. Of late years it has become more and more a belief that woman is not merely the Sultana of a harem, but the worthy companion of man: equal to man though dissimilar; ranking as high in any moral estimate, though organically diverse; and if placed in a lower scale lowering the whole standard of civilization. In assigning to woman an equality with man, we are not joining those who declare woman should exercise all the functions of citizens. We believe that Nature has unequivocally pronounced in the matter. She has shaped the woman's career, and against her laws it is fatal to rebel. By constituting woman with an organization, the main function of which obviously is maternity, she has given to woman the empire of domesticity. If we consider for a moment the enormous part which maternity plays in a woman's life,—

and in maternity we here include all the collaterals of maternal influence,—it will be seen how fitly to fulfil her function in the world she must devote herself to *Home*; and how in the social world her action must for the most part be indirect, that of influence rather than of guidance. Whatever direct action women may hereafter take in public affairs, it remains clear that their main exertions must be devoted to the family.

But has the subject hitherto been rationally treated, even with respect to this restricted circle of her life? Far from it. Men have uttered sounding sentences to the effect that women must restrict themselves to household duties, and not interfere in the affairs of men; women have been harshly ordered to keep their "proper place," and yet, instead of permitting them to be free agents in their own sphere, the tyranny of legislation has uniformly kept them slaves. The history of woman is a startling picture of irrational legislation. The idea of a woman claiming "rights" as a human being is thought so anarchical, that to promulgate it brings down upon your head a storm of obloquy, and the accusation of wishing to undermine all morality, to ruin the family! In this Journal we are proof against cries of the wolf. We have the utmost possible contempt for any society that is to be ruined by common sense and justice. If truth is anarchical, we respect anarchy. If flagrant injustice is necessary for the "preservation of society," we demand that society be scattered to the winds. No prospective terrors shall cause us to "stand by" the nonsense of our grandmothers.

Accepting the plain indication of Nature, which gives to woman the supremacy of the affections, we may be quite willing that men should have supreme direction in matters of state, but we are not willing that laws should arbitrarily declare woman to be the mere slave of man, without a voice of her own, a will of her own. We do not believe with Rousseau, that "woman was made for the special gratification of man." That is but a corollary from the theory of might. It is a part of the same arrogance which teaches that all the beasts of the field and birds of the air, and all the starry glories of the universe were made for man's especial gratification. One might with equal justice say that "man was made for the special gratification of woman." We hold, with Tennyson, that:—

"Woman is not undeveloped man,  
But diverse: could we make her as the man  
Sweet love were slain, whose dearest bond is this:  
*Not like to like but like in difference.*  
Yet in the long years liker must they grow;  
The man be more of woman, she of man;  
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,  
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;  
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care:  
More as the double-natured Poet each:  
Till at the last she set herself to man,  
*Like perfect music into noble words.*"

But to admit of this development, man must forego the brutality of his legislation and woman be suffered to act as an independent being.

The *Histoire Morale des Femmes* which calls forth these remarks is a work so temperate in expression, so moderate in its views, and so healthy in its morality, that we should be glad to see it translated and widely circulated, for even prejudiced minds would listen to its winning advocacy. It is written by the son of the author of *Le Mérite des Femmes*, a poem of the last century which has gone through fifty editions. We cannot highly praise its erudition or its eloquence; nevertheless, although many lacunae are left in the historical portions, the facts here collected are both curious and indisputable. The book is not equal to its "high argument;" but it is, perhaps, the better adapted for popularity.

The plan of the work is good. He begins with woman on her entrance into the world, and passing in review the separate conditions of girlhood, wife, mother, and citizen, he sketches rapidly the historic evidence of woman's position in all countries; bringing thus the past and present face to face, he shows how slowly woman has been emancipated from the deconsideration which her physical weakness originally caused in a state of society where Force was King.

In early times the birth of a daughter was always a melancholy event, often a shame. The hopes of the world seemed to repose on men; the birth of a girl was a bitter disappointment. In Sparta all deformed children were strangled immediately after birth; and about seven out of ten of these infanticides were reckoned to be those of girls,—their sex

was equivalent to deformity! We are more humane now; but even in our century how much disappointment and vexation is caused by the birth of a daughter, and that, too, not in families where a son is necessary for the preservation of hereditary wealth and grandeur, but in bourgeois families, where the cause of anxiety is how to get children "on in the world." In this anxiety is involved a whole code of unjust legislation.

Then, as to education. We give to girls a frivolous education, and use their frivolity both as a pretext for not giving them solid instruction and for not allowing them to play a serious part in life. Ask a man whether his daughter may learn science and philosophy, he will say, "She will have no use for it—it will only make her pedantic;" ask him whether women ought to have any control over the affairs of life, and he will say, "Bah! they are too frivolous; they have not the strength of intellect for such things." We forbear to estimate the strength of intellect possessed by the men who thus exclude women from it.

There is a chapter in this work on seduction, to which we refer those readers curious about the revolting tyranny of legislation; but the subject scarcely admits of treatment here, the more so as English laws are different from French, and it is of France mainly that Legouvé writes. The chapters on "the Wife" are full of examples of legislation made by husbands for husbands. A married woman can scarcely be said to have rights. The ring enslaves her. She is, as a wife, in perpetual tutelage; her signature is without value, her will is powerless, her children do not belong to her, her fortune is her husband's. In depriving woman of all power over her own fortune we place her in the same category as idiots, madmen, and children. Our very law which declares every individual a responsible being—"of age"—on reaching one-and-twenty, is violated by the laws of marriage, which throw the wife into a perpetual minority—and this minority exists for the woman of forty as for the girl of twelve. She has no legal right over her property, very little legal responsibility even of her actions. We forbear to enter into the other questions of marital right. Enough if we cite the deliberate opinion of the greatest of modern lawmakers—Bonaparte:—

"A husband should have absolute power over the actions of his wife; he has the right to say to her, 'Madame, you shall not go out; you shall not go to the theatre; you shall not see such and such a one; Madame, you belong to me body and soul.'"

A chorus of husbands responds to that sentiment as perfectly just. "There must be a master everywhere." To whisper the notion that women are human beings equally capable of rational conduct with men, and equally entitled to the free exercise of their volitions, would be to "destroy society."

We all know that in point of fact, women do exercise their volitions; but they do it often by finesse and cajolery, seldom by the considerateness of their husbands. Is that a good training for them? And if in point of fact women are suffered to have a voice in the conduct of affairs, why is not the fact expressed in our laws? The absolute power of the husband over the wife is seldom exercised because men are better than their opinions; but every now and then we find a man who does exercise that tyranny accorded him by the law; you call him a brute to enforce the law; but why do you place such a weapon in the power of a brute? We refer to M. Legouvé for illustrations of this point, and translate the following example he gives of the present system:—

"All kinds of treachery obtain public sympathy or pity for the betrayed person; if a man is duped by his friend, the world pities him; if a man is duped by his daughter, the world weeps with him; but let a husband be deceived by his wife, and the world laughs! And yet such a deception is, perhaps, more to that man than death itself would be; his heart bleeds, but to others it is a matter for laughter. Yet this misfortune is called dishonour, and in consequence of the senseless state of opinion, the fault of the guilty becomes the shame of the innocent; no matter, the world laughs, and such is the force of this ridiculous opinion, that, in order to efface it, the husband must kill or be killed.

"Whence this cruel contradiction? Is it from human malignity which rejoices in the spectacle of the sufferings of others? No; since no other misfortune excites these feelings of raillery. It has another stronger, deeper cause, and that is marital autocracy! Man has obtained full powers from the laws; he may bar windows, bolt doors: *Bartholo* appears, and with him comedy. The more keys hang from his waist, the more piquant becomes the evasion of the captive. The husband is ridiculous as an overreached gaoler, because the wife is helpless and touching as a victim sent to the Bastille.



Do you wish to strip all comedy from the part? Open the doors."

That the husband should be the head of the family, and that he should control affairs M. Legouv  never doubts; but he insists that this authority should not be absolute and irresponsible. A general is responsible, a minister is responsible, a king is responsible; but a husband suffers no court of appeal! M. Legouv , therefore, suggests the institution of a court of appeal—a family council:—

"Then let the legitimate defenders of the principle of authority (for that is the point used to oppose all reform) cease to alarm themselves. Far from weakening the rule of order, the thing wanted is to render it more just, more wholesome, more legitimate and consequently stronger, by control. All control is the salvation of the authority it limits. By the side, then, of the marital power over the actions of the wife, let us create a family council as inspector and protector. Called together with prudence, in grave cases only, and animated with feelings of affection, this tribunal would have none of the dangerous and irritating publicity of public decisions. It would patiently penetrate into details which necessarily escape justice. The wife, feeling herself supported, would have fewer temptations to rebel; the husband, feeling himself watched, would have fewer arbitrary fancies; the morality, as well as the happiness of both, would be increased by it, and the creation alone of this tribunal might suffice, perhaps, to prevent most of the abuses which would have led to its formation."

An admirable suggestion! There are more topics in the book, and we may return to them.

#### MARSTON'S PHILIP OF FRANCE.

*Philip of France and Marie de M ranie.* A Tragedy, in Five Acts (as performed at the Royal Olympic Theatre). By J. Westland Marston, Author of *The Patrician's Daughter*, &c. C. Mitchell.

GOETHE somewhere says that the Dramatist does historical personages the honour of borrowing their names and nothing more. We forget whether he says it in sarcasm, or as an excuse for the necessary imperfection of all historic dramas considered as historic. But the result of our experience in historical novels and historical plays is unequivocally adverse to the propriety of admitting known personages except in what a painter would call the "middle distance"; to bring them into the foreground—to make them heroes and principal actors—is a wanton sacrifice of history to the purposes of fiction. Scott has given us models of what should be done, in his *James the First* and *Louis the Eleventh*; and models of what should not be done, in *Cromwell* and *C ur de Lion*. The misdirection given by novelists and dramatists is a serious evil: their art makes their representations so much more vivid than the historian's, that from them, properly, one ought to demand the strictest veracity; but, in point of fact, they bend truth to the caprices of their subject, and plead "poetic licence" in excuse.

We have already expressed our opinion of Mr. Marston's deviation from history, and are, therefore, sorry to see him in his preface, putting forth claims to historic exactitude which must provoke criticism that otherwise would willingly have allowed him any licence he chose to assume by the divine autocracy of a poet's pleasure. Frankly, if he means his Philip of France to be accepted as a portrait of Philip Augustus, we must deny that any resemblance exists; nay, more: not only is Philip unlike the king who sat on the throne of France, but he is not decidedly like any human being. We do not say that he is untrue to nature, but we say that he is superficially presented—deficient in those sharply defined markings by which we recognize a likeness even in a sketch. The character is drawn in generalities. It is an antithesis rather than a portrait. Marie de M ranie is more substantive, and is, in one or two passages, delicately touched. Fontaine, though but a sketch, is vigorously drawn.

In reading the play we are more sensible of the pains bestowed upon it, and of the poetry which brightens it, than we were during the performance; but we also become more distinctly conscious of its essentially modern and even feminine tone. There is also a uniformity in its versification which tires the ear and gives an impression of weakness. We miss the rhythmic freedom and variety of dramatic blank verse; probably the reason of this is that the play was written some years ago, before the author had acquired sufficient mastery of this important and little-understood portion of his art. But, although austere criticism finds these things to blame in the new play, it also finds many things to applaud. Compare the lines quoted last week from one of our

old dramatists (Nabbs), descriptive of fortitude, with this modern variation:—

"Marie. Lavish of life!  
The panther is so when he gnaws the javelin,  
The wild boar when he rushes on the spear.—  
No; he who loves his being, in whose eyes  
The world is beautiful, who clings to life,  
And then for justice, freedom—for the wronged  
And helpless—if need be—adventures it,  
Yea, loses it, contented—he's the hero!  
The man's not brave who never feared to die!"

The following explains itself, and is sweetly written:—

"Enter MARIE.  
Anne (aside, regarding her).  
Beneath pride's robes grief hides its throbs in vain:  
The fluttering folds betray the heart beneath.  
Marie (suddenly turning and observing her).  
Well, mistress! What offence?  
Anne. Madam! Offence?  
Marie. Ay; where's the flaw? Where fails my tire-woman  
See'st thou my robe awry, or hair unbound?  
From head to foot, where's my defect?  
Anne. Indeed,  
I mark none, Madam.  
Marie. What has made me, then,  
So curious in your sight—Lucien's and yours?  
Why meet and follow me, your constant eyes?  
My face is not a dial. If it were,  
It lacks the sunshine!  
Anne. They who seek its face  
In sunshine use the dial; but who bends  
O'er it in cloudy hours is won to gaze  
By gratitude alone.  
Marie (sitting). A fair conceit!  
My footstool!—And who taught my joyous Anne  
These grave moralities? Be blithe, my girl!  
Thought comes with sorrow; sorrow comes with years.  
Alas! sometimes with few!—For me, I'm vowed  
To mirth so deeply, no calamity  
Shall e'er make me less happy than I am."

True and pathetic also is that passage wherein Marie is exhibited as sorrowing for Ingerburge, on hearing of the divorce: she does not triumph in her rival's downfall, but feels her kindred sorrow awaken kindred sympathy:—

"I have a partner in calamity  
In this wronged Queen. I could not weep till now."  
Philip comes to her—comes after having divorced his wife—hoping to find a willing bride in Marie. This portion of their interview we extract:—  
"Marie. Comprehend me, Sir.  
I do not feign that you have used me well,  
Or that I have not suffered. But the wrong  
Heaven strengthened me to bear, it bids me pardon.  
As these are parting words, believe their truth.  
Philip. Speak'st thou of parting?  
Marie. To my Father's land  
The morrow lights me.  
Philip. Sooner be it quenched!  
I come to atone the madness which awhile  
Shut out thine image. To the throne of France  
I bear thee. There no haughty rival towers:  
Her chains are rent for thee!—Why beams thine eye  
With such stern comment?  
Marie. King! One woman's heart  
Glow not with triumph at another's fall;  
But shivers 'neath the warmest robe of love  
Rent from a sister freezing in her woe,  
And naked to the insult of the world!  
Philip. She loves me not: our differing wills recoil.  
A grant in land to compensate her dower  
Will medicine all her grief. Besides, in this,  
Count me the Church's echo. Can thy voice  
Cancel our prelates' judgment, or recal  
Whom they have exiled? No: on me alone  
Thy vengeance falls. Alas! I have deserved  
Thou shouldst forget or scorn me!  
Marie. I forget!  
I scorn, whose memory hath no other wealth  
Than those blest hours which, diving in the past,  
She bears me back—dear relics of Hope's wreck! [Aside.  
I scorn! No, Philip! It will make my pulse  
Beat quicker in its silence, when I hear  
That you are happy; and, should perils come,  
The faltering prayer your ear will never know  
May yet reach Heaven's.—And so we do not part  
In anger. From my inmost heart I bless you!  
Philip. What words are these that bless me in their sound,  
And curse me in their sense? Oh, Marie, hear me!  
Thy love is not alone my fortune's crown!  
'Tis Nature's need! not to my branch of life  
An added blossom; but the vital essence  
Replenishing the root!—You changed my being!  
I measured glory once by daring deeds,  
Extended empire and prostrate foes.  
You taught me, first, to think *Deliverer*  
A holier name than *Victor*—That the rod  
Of terror rules but shrinking clay, while Love  
Sits throned in living hearts! I thought of thee,  
And from the captive dropped his chain—of thee,  
And, pardoned, rose the traitor at my feet—  
Of thee, and bade the tyrant-stricken serf  
Look up and greet a Father in his King!  
Oh, Saint of Mercy, I have built thee shrines  
By happy hearths through France! It is thy life  
That thrills in every pulse, thy soul that floods  
Each artery of my own! Each thought of good  
Is but thyself reflected! Spurn not, crush not

That which thou didst create! [Sinking on his knee.  
Marie. My feet are fixed.  
I would depart, but cannot. [Aside.  
Philip (rising). Listen, heed!—  
Thou seest me contrite,—pardon;—weak,—sustain;  
Erring,—direct me! Snatch me from the toils  
Of selfish brains, the chill of frigid hearts,  
The infected air that stifles and corrupts  
The soul that pants to live!—Unpitied still,  
Still silent! Then, farewell! But when the years  
Of woe unshared, of struggles with the base  
Who taint even what resists them, aims unguided,  
Have frozen impulse into apathy,  
Mercy to rigour; when the man whom once  
You might have raised, bless'd, saved—becomes—  
Well, well,  
Whate'er I might become, think what I was,  
And what I might have been, had Marie loved me!  
Marie. Had Marie loved thee!  
Philip. And I dreamed she did.  
Marie. Oh, Philip, I am thine! [Throwing herself into his arms.  
Philip. Mine! 'T is a sound  
I could repeat for ever. Mine, mine, mine!"

The great scene in the third act must also be given:—

"(Enter PHILIP with Attendants. He ascends the throne.)  
Philip. Greeting kind to all.  
'T is late; but ever should a people's need  
Make a king's season. To the issue, friends;  
I know that peril threatens.  
Bishop of Paris. It may strike,  
Sire, while we plot to shun it. Let the knell  
Of Rome's dread wrath be sound, and France is lost!  
Her guardian saints desert her; in her streets  
A curse alights on labour; in her plains  
Withers her harvest; warps her policy;  
In war makes her sword edgeless, and her shield  
'Gainst the first lance to break; chokes in her fanes  
The very breath of prayer; unto her dying  
Denies the rites and solace of the Church,  
And burial to her dead! Sweet Providence—  
When daily sent by Heaven to bless the world—  
Shall make her pilgrimage circuitous  
Rather than cross this kingdom! Wrath divine,  
Like doom, hangs o'er the realm, upon whose brow  
Earth shall write infamy, and God—despair!  
Philip. 'T is well: the woes ye so much lay to heart  
Ye will be prompt to remedy.  
Archbishop of Rheims. Alas,  
With us no succour rests!  
Bishop of Paris. 'T is the King's task.  
Philip. The King's and yours. The marriage ye annulled  
Upon your oaths—the Pontiff would enforce  
By spiritual menace.—He commands;  
Obedience rests with you. Disown his sentence;  
Abjure his unjust vengeance; let the Church  
Through you her holy offices dispense  
Spite of his edict! Harmless falls his ban;  
The kingdom is your debtor, and ourselves  
Will through your sacred functions bear ye safe!  
Bishop of Paris. We may not question Rome's prerogative.  
Philip. Ye may not palter with your sworn allegiance.—  
Your oaths!—I have your oaths.  
Bishop of Paris. All bonds are void  
That Rome annuls; allegiance self is void  
In this behalf.  
Archbishop of Rheims. Sire! Your late union—[hesitating.  
Bishop of Paris. Your cancelled union with the Lady Marie—  
Philip. Paris!—The foe has been held bold who broke  
His lance on Philip's buckler; yet he's bolder  
Who'd snatch from Philip's arms the love he claps  
Unto his naked breast!  
Bishop of Paris. Even that love  
Must thou renounce; 'T is Rome that speaks through me.  
Archbishop of Rheims. My Liege, the Pope—  
Philip. The Pope, my Lords! Four letters!—things, not  
names!  
The Pope! Did earth receive him from the stars;  
Or sprang he from the ocean? Did the sun  
Wake earlier on his birthday?—Will eclipse  
Turn the skies sable at his death? He came  
Into this world by nature's common road,  
Needs food to succour life, is chill'd by cold,  
Relaxed by heat, would drown in a rough sea  
Soon as a serf would!—Let him ban the fields,—  
The grass will grow in spite of him!  
Bishop of Paris. Impiety!  
Bar'st thou thy front so boldly?  
Philip. I will speak.  
Man's love—the growth of heaven—of nought below  
Admits control. Heaven's ministers should know it!  
First Noble. True; by the Oriflamme!  
Second Noble. Upon my knighthood,  
We shame ourselves to see this lady shamed!  
Third Noble. Than whom did none more gracious e'er tread  
the earth.  
My lords, you are miscounsell'd! [To the Bishops.  
Bishop of Paris. What are ye  
Revolters too? Then— [Bells are heard to toll.  
Hark! The time is past,  
The time for duty.—King! Those sounds declare  
Thy land cursed for thy sake. With it and thee  
The heavens break off their league. Whereof on earth  
We lay the sacred symbol of our faith  
In token of the grace profaned and lost!  
[They lower the crucifix.  
Submission and repentance—deep, entire—  
Are all that now remain. [A long pause during which the  
tolling of the bell is alone heard.  
An Officer. Way there; the Queen!  
Enter MARIE, followed by her Ladies.  
Marie. Philip! My Lord! What mean those fearful sounds?



Like echoes of pale death's advancing tread,  
They drove me to thine arms, and I am safe.

[*Sherushes to the steps of the throne; at a sign from PHILIP, she takes her place at his side.*]

But thou?—Speak! has my love provoked the curse?  
The lone tree that would yield thee grateful shade  
Attracts the lightnings now!—Is it so?

*Bishop of Paris.* Ay;  
For thee he stands accursed.

[*A pause; the bells are again heard.*]

*Philip.*  
Peal on! We hear!—  
Mark ye, ye mitred oath-breakers! But raise  
One finger; move one step; or breathe one word  
In furtherance of this curse—and ye shall beg  
For leave to beg. Of rank, revenue, power,  
We dispossess ye, cast ye forth from France,  
Wherein if found against command, ye die!  
Nobles, ring round the throne!

*Bishop of Paris.* Back from that chair!

*Marie.* Philip!

*Philip.* On your allegiance!

*Bishop of Paris.* To the Church!

*Philip.* Mayenne!  
I flung thee knighthood's spurs ere well thy neck  
Had lost the page's pliant curve. Dumont!  
I knew the when thine arms and steed composed  
Thy sum of fortune. George Menjour! we fought  
Abreast at Palestine.

*Enter GUERIN.*

*Guerin.* My Liege, all Paris  
Shrieks wildly at your gates!

*Bishop of Paris (to the Nobles).* Hear, gallant sons!  
On your souls' love, break up that fatal ring.

[*They fall back from the throne.*]

*Guerin.* Be warned, my Liege.  
*Bishop of Paris.* Learn wisdom from his lips.

Know haughtier crests than thine have crouched to Rome.  
*Guerin.* Sire, patience for the time!—But for the time.

*Philip.* Shrink into silence 'neath my giant scorn!—  
Deem ye, my sires, whose tombs were glory's shrines,  
Have left their sceptre to a bastard hand,  
That I should crouch?—Speak! plains of Asia, speak!  
That saw me singly cleave through paynim hordes,  
As I had wrung death's truncheon from his gripe!  
Speak for me, rescued bondsmen! speak for me,  
Fierce vassals who have knelt to take my yoke!  
You, you, and you!—No, perjured priests! had Fate  
Lent her polluted lightnings to your hands,  
Even as ye boast, I'd bid ye rain your fires  
On an unshrinking front, that earth might cry—  
He was consumed; but not subdued. He perished  
Upon his father's throne; their stainless crown  
Circling his brows in death! He died—a king! [Rising.  
Way, there! Sweep back this tide of yeasty froth,  
That where we pass no spray profane our robes.—  
Way there, I say—THE QUEEN OF FRANCE would pass!  
Come! [To Marie.

*Marie.* Not a step.

*Philip.* How?

*Marie.* Not to thy ruin.

*Bishop of Paris.* Away; all to your homes! His doom is sealed.  
Who stays to parley with his guilt, partakes it.

*Marie.* Yield, Philip, yield! Stay, I command you stay!

[*To the Bishops*]

The King is saved—is saved! Ye little knew  
The Queen ye would degrade. Take back thy crown.

[*Takes off the crown, and kneeling lays it at Philip's feet.*]  
Take back the oath thou gav'st me! thou art free,  
And I no more thy wife? [She descends from the throne.

*Philip (following her).* What hast thou said?  
Marie forsakes me? Canst thou?

*Marie.* Yes, to save thee.

*Philip.* To save!—to crush me,

*Marie.* Philip, grant one boon,

And I remain. Unto the Pope appeal,  
Or those he shall appoint, to judge our cause.  
Plead with them thy divorce, thy right to wed me,  
Owned by these Prelates. Then, whate'er the sentence,  
Thou must abide it.

*Philip.* It shall be so. [To the Bishops.] See!  
Her breath has bowed the pride that mocked your tempests.

*Bishop of Paris.* And yet, my Liege—

*Philip.* My Lords, you stand dismissed;  
Unless I hold my palace, as my wife,  
On tenure of your pleasure.

[*Impetuously embracing MARIE, as the rest retire.*]

When again  
They meet thee, love, it shall be on their knees!"

We can only find room for this eloquent apostrophe,  
gloriously given by Helen Faucit:—

"*Marie.* Worse! What were worse  
Than treachery in my Lord? Rash girl, that word  
Stretches to woe so infinite, it fathoms  
An ocean of despair! Uncrown me, slay me,  
Honours and life must end. Not love! The grave  
Is as a port where it unloads its wealth  
For immortality. But rob or taint  
The merchandise of love,—then let the bark  
Drift helpless o'er the seas, or strike the shoals!  
They can but wreck a ruin."

#### YATES'S VINDICATION OF UNITARIANISM.

*A Vindication of Unitarianism, in Reply to the Reverend Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.* By James Yates, M.A., &c.  
Edward T. Whitfield.

THE mellowing influence of time upon the temper  
of theological disputants is happily exemplified in the  
advertisement to this new edition, the fourth, of Mr.  
Yates's celebrated *Vindication of Unitarianism*. The  
first edition was published in 1815, being provoked

by the "Discourses" of Mr., now Dr. Wardlaw,  
"on the Principal Points of the Socinian Contro-  
versy." It was met by a rejoinder entitled "Uni-  
tarianism Incapable of Vindication," which again  
received, in the opinion of Mr. Yates, its answer in a  
"Sequel," which he published in 1817. The con-  
troversy has been going on with mutual satisfaction  
from that time to the present, and the works of the  
learned exponents have been, as Mr. Yates observes,  
reckoned by "the patrons of each of the opposite  
systems among the most satisfactory defences of their  
respective opinions." But while the patrons have  
rejoiced in the polemical vigour of the champions,  
they, in their later days, have relaxed much of the  
severity which characterized their early encounters.  
Like warriors who have learned in battle to respect  
each other's prowess and integrity, contending with  
courtesy and gentle bearing, Mr. Yates and Dr.  
Wardlaw have ceased to speak of each other with  
acerbity. They have laid aside personalities  
and imputations: each recognizes in his "able  
and much respected adversary" more of a seeker  
for truth than a seeker for victory: and if, in  
the last edition of his work, Mr. Yates has been,  
through the conditions of his controversy, compelled  
to retain any sentences harsher than may accord  
with his own feelings of charity, he has done so with  
a full understanding with Dr. Wardlaw that they  
shall be taken in no uncharitable sense. "The author  
has further wished," he says, "in concurrence, as he  
believes, with the sincere desire of his opponent in  
this controversy, to render it more free from severe  
or censorious language. Although he has not found  
it possible, consistently with a due regard to the re-  
quirements of truth and sincerity, to expunge every  
expression of disapprobation, he has been able to do  
this to a considerable extent. At the same time he  
hopes that his work will be the better fitted to assist  
his readers in discovering the truth in consequence  
of retaining its controversial form." Would that a like  
spirit to this pervaded all religious discussions!  
Then we might hope that their issue would be the  
establishment of truth, instead of its being smothered,  
together with its kindred grace of charity, beneath  
the weight of intolerance and acrimony with which  
such discussions are, for the most part, overlaid.

Dr. Yates's work is a candid and learned defence of  
his own religious views; and, as such, will be valued  
by those who conscientiously embrace them. By  
the religious enquirer, of whatever creed, the work  
will be prized as well for its example of tolerant mo-  
deration, as for the light which it throws upon many  
doubtful and disputed points of theology, and its  
application of philosophical enquiry to the purpose  
of their elucidation. The new matter in this edition  
is chiefly found in the appendix, from which we ex-  
tract the following as at once illustrative of the uni-  
versal tendencies of Mr. Yates's heart; and expres-  
sive of the aspirations of many a sincere and ardent  
lebourer for religious peace and unity:—

"Having been led to animadvert thus freely, but I  
hope not in a harsh or uncandid spirit, upon the lan-  
guage and conduct of some of the bishops and clergy of  
the Church of England, whom at the same time I cannot  
but respect and admire for their learning, their talents,  
and for that measure of honesty, ingenuousness, and  
sincerity which their strange and unenviable position  
allows them to retain, I think it may be right to suggest  
what I conceive, after much reflection, to be the most  
practicable and effective remedy. Whatever there may  
be to be condemned in them, it arises from the disgrace-  
ful state of the law as affecting the church. The first  
and most indispensable alteration of that law, which I  
would propose is, that whenever it requires subscription  
to the Thirty-nine Articles, it should be done with a  
*quatenus*, viz., a declaration that the subscriber assents  
to them, so far as he finds them to be agreeable to Holy  
Scripture. . . . Moreover, as the evening service of the  
Church of England is in the main quite agreeable to the  
sentiments of Unitarians, and, with very little alteration,  
would exactly suit their views, I would suggest that in  
this service, which in its present form may be used at  
any hour after noon, a Scriptural doxology should be  
allowed to be substituted for the doxology of Flavianus  
at the option of the minister or of his congregation.

"My own opinion is that a National Church ought to  
be as comprehensive as possible, and ought consequently  
to allow of all such differences as may unavoidably arise  
among persons, who nevertheless agree in essential and  
fundamental points. I think, therefore, that the Angli-  
can Church ought to embrace both Trinitarians and  
Unitarians, both High and Low Churchmen, both the  
so-called Puseyites and the Evangelicals. The first re-  
quisite ought to be sincerity, and that those to whom the  
rest of their countrymen are taught to look up as  
spiritual guides should be neither hypocrites nor slaves.  
Although numerous reforms might be suggested, and  
have been often discussed and recommended by men of  
authority in the church, yet the two above-mentioned  
appear to me to do the least violence to the present  
feelings and convictions of the great mass of religious

persons in this country, and to be the most likely to pro-  
duce the only unanimity which wise and good Christians  
can desire, namely, the unity, not of belief in the bond  
of ignorance, nor of profession in the bond of hypocrisy,  
but 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.'"

There are those who go beyond the views of Mr.  
Yates with regard to the comprehensiveness which  
should be the characteristics of a National Church;  
but they will sympathize with him as far as he does  
go, and thank him for his labours towards the ad-  
vancement of that unity which he sees, with them,  
to be indispensable to the due development of the  
religious idea, and to effective working for the ma-  
terial and spiritual advancement of the human race.

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*Robert Owen's Journal, Explanatory of the Means to Well-Place,  
Well-Employ, and Well-Educate the Whole Population.* Nos.  
1 and 2. J. Clayton and J. Watson.

In this periodical Mr. Owen unflinchingly and undauntedly  
labours, as heartily as ever, after more than half a cen-  
tury of toil, to convince mankind of the truth of his  
fundamental principle for the reconstruction of society,  
viz., that "the formation of man's character is most  
essentially determined by the circumstances which are  
made to influence him before and after his birth;"  
and that "even these circumstances may easily be so  
ordered by society as to determine the formation of a  
highly superior character in all." The confidence in the  
truth of his principles, that has borne the Nestor of  
Social Progress through so much of disappointment and  
hope deferred is conspicuous in this new Journal;—in  
the first two numbers of which will be found a valuable  
account of his proceedings at New Lanark; an exposi-  
tion of "The Truth of the Rational System;" Observa-  
tions on Spade Cultivation; and many other articles  
calculated to interest and instruct the general reader,  
and to satisfy and encourage the friends of Associative  
Reform.

*The People's Provident Magazine; a Journal of Life Assurance,  
Building, and Benefit Societies, and Monthly Record of Pro-  
gress.* No. 1. New Series. Houlston and Stoneman.

The people will find in this periodical a store of useful  
information on subjects in which they are practically and  
deeply interested. The advantages of the Scotch system  
of banking, introduced among us Southrons by the  
establishment of the Royal British Bank, are set forth  
in connection with an account of the opening of the  
Islington branch of that establishment, a well-executed  
cut of which by Gilks is introduced in the present  
number. The "Science of Life Assurance" is fully and  
lucidly treated, the advantages of its application to the  
circumstances of the working classes, and the difficulties  
in the way of that application are convincingly indicated.  
The proceedings of various benefit and building societies  
are recorded; and we can altogether recommend the work  
as a comprehensive and valuable guide.

*The Romance of the Peerage; or, Curiosities of Family History.*  
By G. L. Craik, Professor of History in Queen's College, Bel-  
fast. Vol. IV. Chapman and Hall.

*Olive.* A Novel. By the Author of "The Ogilvies." 3 vols.  
Chapman and Hall.

*Sketches by Boz.* With a Frontispiece by G. Cruikshank.  
Chapman and Hall.

*Poems.* By Elizabeth Barrett Browning. New Edition. 3 vols.  
Chapman and Hall.

*History of the Eighteenth Century, and of the Nineteenth, till  
the Overthrow of the French Empire, with particular reference  
to Mental Cultivation and Progress.* By F. C. Schlosser.  
Translated by D. Davidson, M.A. Vol. VII.  
Chapman and Hall.

*Scripture Lands; described in a Series of Historical, Geographi-  
cal, and Topographical Sketches.* By John Kitto, D.D., and  
Illustrated by a Complete Biblical Atlas, comprising Twenty-  
four Maps. (Bohn's Illustrated Library.) H. G. Bohn.

*The Works of Plato.* A New and Literal Version. Vol. III.  
Translated by George Burges, M.A. (Bohn's Classical Library.)  
H. G. Bohn.

*The Odes and Epodes of Horace.* Translated Literally and  
Rhythmically. By W. Sewall, B.D., Fellow and Sabretor of  
Exeter College, Oxford. H. G. Bohn.

*Poems.* By W. C. Bennett. Chapman and Hall.

*The Medical Recorder.* First half-year. Palmer and Clayton.

*The British Controversialist.* No. 7. Houlston and Stoneman.

*The Journal of the Exposition.* No. 1.

THE LAND AND THE LAW.—The strong have disposed  
of the fruits of the earth, and political economists have  
dignified their method of distribution by the name of  
law. The priests have preached the doctrine of the in-  
herent depravity of man, and the cunning and the  
powerful have taken them at their word, and trafficked  
in the ignorance and waxed fat upon the frailties of their  
fellow-men. But the law spoliators were not less igno-  
rant than the law despoiled. Nature avenged herself  
upon them. The accumulation of land in the hands of a  
few, and the reckless prodigality with which they squan-  
dered its fruits produced poverty, destitution, pauperdom,  
as its inevitable consequences. The curse fell upon all.  
The lord of thousands of acres lavished his rents and  
mortgaged his property, the peasant, the disinherited  
peasant, became the hopeless demoralized pauper. The  
lord had the power of law, and he made law to protect  
himself from the consequences of his extravagance; the  
peasant had the power of vengeance, and he burnt the  
stacks, captured the game, sometimes, as in Ireland, shot  
down the lord of acres. We are not come to that yet.  
But

"We know what we are—we know not what we may be."

The pauper kicks his heels against the workhouse wall  
in idleness, or breaks stones, or picks oakum, or digs  
holes and fills them up again, or grinds pepper or bones.



Men turn thieves who would be glad of healthy, honourable employment. Women turn prostitutes who would delight in honest labour. Thousands pine and die, too proud to become paupers, too honest to become thieves, and too chaste to become prostitutes. And all the while farms are under-cultivated, and land lies actually waste! The safety of the country depends upon the solution of the land question. There are many reasons why the question has not been solved hitherto, and why men have not attempted to solve it. Among these, to specify them broadly, are, our territorial constitution, entailing exclusive legislation; the ignorance of our rulers of moral doctrine and the laws of nature; the priestly doctrine of human depravity, original and inherent; the invention of rent and wages, necessary in a certain state of society, fast reaching the climax of their usefulness now; the bigoted adherence to precedent, which is one of those virtues whose excess is vice; and, above all, that declaration of the law which confers absolute and irresponsible property in the land upon those who have it in possession.—*The Freethinker's Magazine.*

## The Arts.

### THE TEMPLAR.

The new play at the Princess's Theatre ought to be a lesson to our aspiring dramatists. Its brilliant success will show them where lies the secret of theatrical excellence (and a drama that is not theatrical is a mistake in art, because it employs a machinery incapable of effecting the very purpose of the machinery); but let it be hoped that the success will not seduce them into the mistake of supposing that theatrical effect is all in all—that the higher qualities of a drama can be dispensed with. *The Templar* is not a poem. It is worth little as an intellectual effort. It is not a work of art in the high sense of the term. But it effects its purpose: amuses the audience and fills the theatre. The strength of the play lies in the story, which is simple, progressive, and interesting—in the situations, which are varied and striking—and in the spectacle, which is picturesque and magnificent. Except in a somewhat tiresome first act of exposition, the animation is incessant. Now, although ambitious poets may sneer at these qualities, calling them the "properties" of a playwright, it is incontestable that such "properties" are necessary as the vehicle even for the finest poetry. *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Othello* are preëminently what is called "melodramatic" in their theatrical structure—take away the noble poetry, the masterly exhibition of character, the thought, beauty, grace, and fancy of these plays, and they still remain effective melodramas. Clothe *The Templar* with poetry and it will become a drama. That which makes *The Templar* effective—and theatrically preferable to far more ambitious works—is the movement and interest of its story. That which makes it dramatically insignificant is the poverty of its thought, imagery, psychological revelations, and the superficiality of its passion—loud but not deep. Nowhere does the writing come up to the situations. The eye is captivated, the attention fixed, but the tears lie untroubled in their source, the heart beats equably, the soul is startled into no sudden introspections. The curtain falls; the theatre empties; you go home, having spent a pleasant evening, but would never think of the play again if it were not brought before you in conversation.

Now, it seems to me that on both sides of this matter there is useful instruction to be gained: first as to the causes of success, next as to the causes which prevent that success from being complete. But as the reader is not himself a dramatist—lucky dog!—my preaching may be out of season. Let me, then, be "critical," if anything.

If I were the author of *The Templar* I would undertake to vindicate my play by ample extracts from Aristotle (I sometimes read that respectable authority—on wet mornings), showing how the end and aim of the tragic poet is to produce a good story with striking situations; for, as he judiciously observes, without these no tragedy can be written, whereas it is very possible to write a tragedy without any poetic excellence, such as imagery and characterization (a free translation of *ἀνὰ δὲ ῥῆσιν*!), and he moreover declares that the parts which most captivate the spectator are what we call "situations," and the Greeks called *περίεργαι καὶ ἀναγνώσεις* (the "recognition"—*ἀναγνώσεις*—has always been a tremendous "effect," from the discovery of *Œdipus* of his relationship, to the last "scar" which the hero avowed to be on his "left breast," and which extorted from his anxious questioner the burst of joy, "Come to my arms my long lost child!"), but not being the author of *The Templar*, I save my erudition.

Bertrand is a gallant young gentleman, of obscure parentage—a founding turned Templar—but whose heart revolts against the unsacred laws of his order, which forbid love as a sin. He has accidentally saved the life of Isoline, the daughter of Gaston de la Marche, an Albigen noble, who, disguised as Hubert, a poor fisherman, lives near the preceptory of Roche Bernard, where the Templars are under their Grand Master, Aymer de la Roche. The young

lovers meet in secret, and the first act closes with the horror and grief of Isoline on discovering that Bertrand is a Templar, and as such forsworn in loving. In the second act Hubert learns first, that Bertrand is the son of the Grand Master, of which both father and son are ignorant; and next, that his daughter loves this Bertrand. After explaining to Isoline the reasons of his hatred towards the Grand Master, who had killed his wife and boy, he tells her that he lives now for vengeance, and to secure this vengeance he demands an audience of Aymer de la Roche. He does so; informs the Grand Master that one of his knights has broken his vow, and brings him where he overhears Bertrand swear eternal love to Isoline. The arrest follows. The father has to condemn his own son to death. He offers respite, however, on condition that he gave up the name of his mistress who has escaped. This Bertrand indignantly refuses; and Hubert who, disguised as a monk, witnesses the trial, is so struck with his magnanimity, that he resolves to save him. He reveals the secret of his birth; but the revelation never reaches the Grand Master's ear till Bertrand is led to the block, to be rescued by the king's troops, who destroy the Temple and release the Templars from their vows.

This skeleton of the plot gives no idea whatever of its effectiveness; but, as that depends upon technical points not easily explained, I may content myself with saying that the piece is effective. The skeleton is useful in rendering criticism intelligible. First, observe how very old all the materials are; and then observe how a little originality would have heightened the effect. Had Hubert, for example, told Aymer de la Roche that the recreant Templar was his son, and forced him to condemn his son, like another Brutus, moved thereto by the intense bigotry of the Templar's faith, merging the parent in the Grand Master, the collision might have been thrilling; and to do this he would have been forced to represent the Templars as they were, with a little more attention to historic accuracy than he has thought needful. The Templars were the fiercest and most terrible of all the religious orders of the Middle Ages: they were the incarnation of the spirit of the Crusade. Their renunciation of the world was absolute, as may be seen in the frightful symbol which accompanied their initiation: *they spat upon the cross*, in order that they might thus sink to the depths of iniquity ere they were admitted to the purification of the Temple; the lower they fell, the higher their ascent. Now, do you not conceive the use which a skilful dramatist might have made of such fierce bigotry on the one hand and parental tenderness on the other? Mr. Slous has, however, let the chance slip. He delays the explanation until the last moment, when it is comparatively useless.

Charles Kean has had no part so well suited to him as that of Hubert. He acted it with a naturalness, a pathos, a concentration of will, and a power of bringing out minute touches which "took the house by storm;" even those who strenuously decry him in other parts, were unanimous in praising him in this. So much vigour and so much truth I have rarely seen combined. The first scene with his daughter, and the fine scene where he confronts the Grand Master, "live in my memory" as without blemish; and I am not in the habit of paying compliments. Mrs. Kean had fine "moments," as the French say—touches of feeling and accents of despair which so accomplished an actress could hardly miss. But I have seen her to better advantage. Mr. Belton, as Bertrand, showed decided improvement; but he must get rid of his imitations of Anderson and the tendency to drawl. Mr. Ryder looked superb as the Grand Master, and played well in the early scenes; he marred his last scene, however, by ranting so fiercely that his voice made my throat uneasy. That is Ryder's serious error as an actor, and one which prevents his rising to a position he might otherwise attain. The scenery, dresses, getting-up, and grouping of the piece are so splendid that, even as a spectacle, it would be attractive. But a query for the managerial ear: Is there no person of a sensitive musical organization to look after those blaring trumpets? They were positively discordant on the first night.

The success of the piece was unmistakably genuine. At first you distinguished the applause of friends, and I noted that the said friends were not over numerous; but as the play advanced the audience warmed, and the applause was uproarious. Charles Kean announced it for repetition every evening, and we anticipate a "run." The author, Mr. Slous, then acknowledged the call from a private box. *The Templar* is his first work. I have earned, by frankness, the right to tell him that, theatrically, his *coup d'essai* has been a *coup de maître*.

VIVIAN.

### NOVELTIES AND REVIVALS.

A hearty reception awaited Charles Mathews last Saturday evening, on his first appearance since his accident. On Monday the Lyceum bills suddenly brightened with the titles of two new pieces—the *White Hood*, a translation by Planché of a French operetta; and a "morality" (as we must call it, not having the bill at hand to help us to the author's

descriptive title), the *Romance of the Rose*. The first-named piece is laid in Flanders, and turns on the conspiracy of the *Chaperons blancs*. It was not very successful, though got up with admirable taste, and well played throughout. Charles Mathews, who acted with his hand in a sling, has a part which affords him little scope for his peculiar ability, but he certainly makes the most of it. Mr. Basil Baker, Miss Baker, and Mr. H. Horncastle, all new to the theatre, may each be commended for talent and assiduity.

In the second piece a certain Count Hubert de Roseville, under the gloomy influence of a pretended Chevalier de Sombre, who is really the fiend Astoroth, becomes exceedingly misanthropic; and the Count's good Genius, the Queen of the Roses, determines to reclaim him by means of a course of *poses plastiques*. That dyspeptic nobleman, however, persuaded by the logic of tableau number one, suffers a relapse in consequence of listening to a song in praise of melancholy by Miss St. George, who plays the Chevalier, and whose *diablerie* is the best thing in the piece. The real purpose of the entertainment was to exhibit a species of grouping which has been successful on the Continent; but old Andrew Astley's advice about cutting out the "dialect" might be advantageously remembered here. A word for the groupings themselves: they are cleverly arranged, and the floating figures are not suspended in the usual manner, but supported, with no apparent constriction of the limbs, by the mysterious agency which serves Robert Houdin in his celebrated trick, the *suspension étherienne*. Herr Pigall, who made his first appearance on any stage, was introduced in the character of a goatherd to sing a couple of Tyrolean songs. His execution of a prolonged labial shake on a high falsetto note was greeted with furious applause.

Not having seen the new farce at the Princess's, we quote from the *Times*:—

"The successful drama of *The Templar* was last night followed by a new farce, entitled *Betsy Baker; or, Too Attractive by Half*. The hero of this piece is Mr. Mouser (Mr. Keeley), a gentleman in the legal profession, who is so completely devoted to his wife (Miss Murray) that his attentions annoy her. Mr. Crummy (Mr. J. Vining), the wife's cousin, remedies this unpleasant state of things by bribing Betsy Baker (Mrs. Keeley), a coarse laundry girl, to win Mouser's heart. She unwillingly consents, and succeeds so well that Mouser, in spite of much resistance, is subdued at last, and actually sends her a letter, which, being opened in the establishment of which Betsy is a member, renders him an object of attention to some fifty washerwomen. The wife's jealousy is aroused, and she is forced to confess that too much attention at home is, after all, better than attention bestowed elsewhere.

"The expedient of the cousin, on which the plot of this piece depends, is neither very wise nor very ingenious. The story sometimes grows unnecessarily improbable, and there is a tendency to dwell too long on each situation. On the other hand the dialogue is frequently humorous, and, what was more conducive to the success of the piece, the acting of Mr. and Mrs. Keeley was absolutely perfect. Mrs. Keeley's indignant demand of her pawns, that she may depart, when first she hears the cousin's proposal, and is not yet persuaded to consent, and the gradual thawing of Mr. Keeley's stern morality on hearing that he has made a compact, are little touches of nature that could not be surpassed. The pair were loudly demanded at the fall of the curtain.

*The Bridal*—a version, by Sheridan Knowles, of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*—has reappeared after a rest of two years. Since the production of this play, under Macready's management, some time ago, it has been a stock piece at Sadler's Wells and elsewhere; and it now promises to be as attractive as ever. Phelps played Melantius with spirit; and, as the tragic interest heightened, he allowed the character to develop itself naturally and gradually.

### PICKERSGILL'S COMPOSITIONS FROM THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

This is a marvel of cheapness: six elaborate compositions in outline, by an admired artist, for one shilling! It would be an insult to Mr. Pickersgill to lower our standard of criticism to the proportion of *price*—to say that these compositions are transcendent at twopence each; we shall regard them, therefore, as if they had been published at two guineas, instead of twopence, for he has produced them conscientiously without regard to price at all. As works of art, they have his well-known merits and well-known defects. A technical mastery, an academic excellence, such as will gratify the many and interest students, cannot be overlooked in them; but they are lifeless, mannered, and what one may call *obvious* in expression, *i. e.*, the surface view is given—the *first* thought, not the *best*. They are essentially compositions: the "o'er informing spirit" of art is feebly manifested. The finest figure in the whole is that of the woman taken in adultery; there is a transfixed bewilderment of shame in her attitude, and a voluptuous beauty in her form, which are very suggestive; but the attitude of Christ is undignified—it reminds one of Macready in the trial scene of *Shylock*—and his face conventional and meaningless. The rebuked Jews are striking examples of the want of dramatic life before noted.



## Portfolio.

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

## KINKEL IS FREE!

Kinkel is free!  
Let the wind bear the sound  
The sphered earth around,  
And whisper, as it flies  
Beneath Vienna's wall,  
Where Blum in silence lies,  
The words so dear to all—  
"Kinkel is free!"

Kinkel is free!  
Let lightning's rapid flight,  
These accents of delight,  
Flash on its fiery wings  
From Warsaw to Biscay;  
And in the Courts of Kings  
Write, in the face of day,  
"Kinkel is free!"

Kinkel is free!  
From far Kutayah's wall  
I hear the answering call  
Of Kossuth's manly voice;  
And o'er Atlanta's brine  
The Exiled shout—"Rejoice!  
Our Brother of the Rhine,  
Kinkel, is free!"

Kinkel is free!  
A beaker full of wine,  
Fresh from the rocky Rhine!  
Brave Kinkel, health to thee!  
With beating hearts, and eyes  
Moist with glad tears, do we  
Shout back the welcome cries,  
"Kinkel is free!"

Nov. 12, 1850.

GEORGE HOOPER.

## TRINKETS FROM DEUTSCHLAND.

BY A MYSTERIOUS CONTRIBUTOR.

LAST Monday, at five o'clock in the afternoon, we took a third class ticket for Dover at the office of the South-Eastern Railway, near London-bridge; walked, as is our wont, up and down the platform until starting time, and were then huddled into a kind of cow-pen, and dragged like a malefactor through the cutting air. Our sufferings, however, on the occasion, were more sympathetic than directly physical. We are old campaigners, and came fortified with our customary munitions of rugs and Russian fur. But there were two thin-clad chattering petrifications of Frenchmen at our side, and two women crouching behind the shelter of a parasol in the next pen: we were partakers of their pains, and it is to be feared also respondents to their sweet invocations on behalf of the South-Eastern directors. At twelve o'clock the steamer moved her snoring fins, and pointed towards Ostend. She pitched drunkenly and we bolted downstairs, stretched ourselves along the seat, with our carpet-bag for a pillow, and in this attitude preserved the equilibrium of our interior. Reached Ostend at five o'clock, and at six the trumpet sounded from the railway platform; the engine yelled answer, and away we started. Through Bruges, through Ghent, through Malines—the country all along being as flat as a pancake, until towards evening we approached Liege. Here nature began to give some signs of energy, set her arms a-kimbo and looked into our face with alternate smiles and sternness. Some twenty tunnels pierced the hills, and new scenic features greeted our escape from each. The woods were drawn like many-coloured scarfs over the shoulders of the hills; the larch sprung like a tapering mist beside its darker brother the mountain pine; grey rock-knobs jutted through the painted leaves, and along the bases of the hills the streams crept and tumbled alternately. Picturesque houses, cottages, castles, and blue wood-smoke must round off the reader's conception of this delightful land. Reached Cologne at nine o'clock, and soon found ourselves swathed in the blankets of the Rheinberg.

On Wednesday morning before day dawn clouds spread like an umbrella over all the zenith, but a horizontal fringe of clear blue gave promise of a fine day. At six o'clock we loosed from the quay and steamed upwards. Two hours brought us in sight of the white walls of Bonn. To the left rose the ragged summits of the seven mountains, and upon the wildest peak, recoiling against the storm, stood the castle of Drachenfels. Right opposite stood the ruin of Rolandseck, "a noble arch in proud decay," clasping in its hoary arms the cankering atmosphere which ruined it piecemeal.

Beauties, geological and psychological, hang about these scenes. Here and there the fluted basalt exhibited itself as a solidified outcrop of the central fires. The hills are very singular. Imagine four inches cut from the apex of a sugar loaf, six inches more from the centre; fancy the latter put aside, and the conical top placed upon the broad base that remains, and you have the general characteristic of the hills about here. The smaller cones appear to have been forced up at a later period from the bowel-furnace underneath, and are encased by the older hills as the skin of certain warts encloses the protruding papillæ.

In the rotation of moods we are geologists and psychologists in turn. The understanding and the soul possess us alternately; and it is the habitual fixation of one mood which often gives it its predominance. Jean Paul, I doubt not, could have conquered mathematics had he been pushed to it;

and Faraday, I imagine, might have composed a poem had Shakspeare, instead of Humphry Davy, operated upon him. An image sometimes flashes out upon you in the writings of this man which irradiates his whole subject, and throws a poetic flush into the face of science. Doubtless Faraday finds pleasure in his permanent mood; and doubtless Murchison, with his geologic hammer, would delight to wander along "those banks of Rhine"; but we must confess an infidelity to the pursuits of both as the steamer bore us along. Our mood was psychologic; not that we would have it so, but it came—shall we tell whence it came? There is within every human breast a solar system which has not yet found its Newton. Aphelions and perihelions, attractions and centrifugal divergences, night and day, full moons and eclipses, which have thus far baffled philosophic calculation. We watch from the earth the entrance of Jupiter's fourth satellite into the planet's shadow, we see it issue at the other side, creep round him, and again dive into the shade; and we find that to complete the circle, some two-and-forty hours are necessary. Centuries ago it was also two-and-forty hours, and centuries to come it will be the same. One unchangeable law stretches through ages, and Professor Airy converses with the Chaldean sage through their interpreters, the stars. But, have those inner orbs fixed laws of revolution; or, are not their phenomena meteorological, like the wind blowing where it listeth, and telling not whence it cometh or whither it goeth? Their motions are certainly irregular, but may they not hearken to a common law, notwithstanding? Some years ago a comet was twisted from its path by the planet Jupiter, and sent swinging round the Sun again; after making a few revolutions, it escaped once more from the thralldom of our system and departed, God knows where! Here was deviation produced by a constant cause. The visible universe is pregnant with one force acting from different centres, and may not the invisible be so too? That brown rock which thrusts its crystalline forehead through the moss and fern, is a centre of force for me. The Rhine-land, with its ascending forests and vine terraces etched into crags; those smitten ruins festooned with centennial memories; the noble river which "foams and flows" beneath them—each and all possess their radiant forces which act as certainly upon the human soul as magnetism upon the ferric mass. Nor is it these alone which determine my mood just now. Emerson is beside me, and the music of his "Wood Notes" mingles with the silent warbling of the hills. Tennyson is also here, and so is Longfellow, with his genial, sunny heart: and there is still another influence due to a neighbouring mass of bone and muscle which clasps a heart and arches round a brain, both of hopeful calibre. He has dissolved Hyperion, and now pours the fluid mass laden with the perfume of his own feelings into me. In plain words, reader, my young friend with the beaver coat reads to me, and his voice blends harmoniously with the tints of beech and hazel, with the bloom of the sky, and the rush of the river.

These were the influences which, combined with the projectile force due to our proper individuality, determined the sunny orbit of our thoughts that day. But, whither has this sentence brought us? In sooth, face to face with "Robert Owen's first principle." Well, this shall not frighten our orthodoxy into fits. This creed of circumstances, like every thing else, partakes of the lights and shadows of a man's moods. It is sometimes unanswerable, and sometimes not worth an answer. Nor is there any inconsistency in this, for our first insight is by no means a constant quantity; it oscillates between mere dog insight and the insight of a God. In the dog-days circumstances loom upon us like *Fata Morgana* on the coast of Naples, but the God's day comes, and the sky is clear once more. If, however, this creed of circumstances were granted, I do not see that we should be much the gainers. Grant that houses are made of bricks, the house is not built by the admission: before we can turn it to practical account, we must be able to distinguish bricks from buns. In other words, we must understand circumstances before we can apply them. How is this knowledge to be attained? "By experiment," replies an apostle of this creed. But, where are your experiments? I know that Harmony Hall, in Hampshire, was built at enormous cost; that its erection was hailed as the commencement of God's millennium upon earth; that even at the present moment letters significant of this are stamped on one of its gables in silicic acid; but, I know also, that it soon became a failure. Either too much or too little circumstance; or, perhaps, a wrong dose altogether must have been applied here. Have you any guarantee that your next attempt will be more successful? I merely cite the experiment to show that, plain as your case appears, there are stern difficulties behind it; for you work with materials of which you are ignorant; and, probably, will ever remain so. "Given the circumstances," I have heard you say, "we can predicate the man." Now, given a Jesus Christ, or even a philosopher Fichte, will you oblige me by calculating his effect? Is it not like asking your four-year-old boy for an investigation of the oscillatory circle? Such men enter as transcendental functions into the social problem, and refuse to be solved by your feeble geometry. But, I doubt not, you would "regulate" Christ's "enthusiasm" and Fichte's "ideality," and thus convert them into wholesome citizens of your "new moral world." Chronometers in ships have their springs sometimes polarized by a flash of lightning. In such a case, what would you think of a proposal to abolish the earth's magnetism, so that Dent's £50 patent might still keep time?

But, we have spun too long in this funnel of speculation. Forward, then, under the cannon of Ehrenbreitstein, and by the walls of Coblenz—through the Lurlei, past Bingen, into Mainz—then by rail to Frankfurt; forward to that brave little land, Hesse Cassel, at present the cynosure of political Europe; whence, from the tranquil shadow of an acacia, we have had much pleasure in conducting in thought the foregoing discussion with our respected English reader.



# HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The increase of mortality, noticed in the previous week, is still apparent to nearly the same extent in the week ending last Saturday. The deaths registered in the metropolitan districts, which, in the two preceding weeks, were respectively 845 and 945, numbered last week 921. In the corresponding weeks of the ten years 1840-9 the average was 963, which, if raised in the ratio of supposed increase of population, becomes 1051, and shows a difference in favour of last week to the amount of 130. The mortality from pneumonia (or inflammation of the lungs) and asthma nearly equals the average, while that from bronchitis exceeds it; and though the deaths from all diseases are diminished, as compared with last week's return, those from that class of complaints of which the above are the most important have increased; for, in the preceding week, the deaths from diseases of the respiratory organs were 138—last week they were 171. But it will be seen that phthisis (or consumption), which has this year been less fatal than usual, is not included in this observation; for, while in the previous week it was fatal in 112 cases, last week there were only 93—a considerably less number than in any of the 10 corresponding weeks in 1840-9, when they ranged between 107 and 138. The present time seems to be unfavourable to the health of the aged, but more propitious to the young. Eleven children died of smallpox, besides a man who had nearly attained the age of 60; 22 of measles, 23 of whooping-cough, 33 of scarlatina, and 7 of croup. Fever is now the epidemic which is most productive of fatal results; last week 55 persons, of whom about a half were of middle age, were its victims. In connection with various deaths from fever, the registrars draw attention to local nuisances.

The births of 851 boys and 726 girls were registered in the week.

	Ten Weeks of 1839-49.	Week of 1850.
Zymotic Diseases .. .. .	2257	206
Dropsy, Cancer, and other diseases of uncertain or variable seat .. ..	480	37
Tubercular Diseases .. .. .	1648	133
Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Marrow, Nerves, and Senses .. .. .	1103	101
Diseases of the Heart and Blood-vessels ..	309	47
Diseases of the Lungs and of the other Organs of Respiration .. .. .	1638	171
Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and other Organs of Digestion .. .. .	611	58
Diseases of the Kidneys, &c. .. ..	76	11
Childbirth, diseases of the Uterus, &c. ..	120	5
Rheumatism, diseases of the Bones, Joints, &c. .. ..	77	8
Diseases of the Skin, Cellular Tissue, &c. ..	11	1
Malformations .. .. .	19	3
Premature Birth and Debility .. .. .	237	29
Atrophy .. .. .	159	23
Age .. .. .	509	55
Sudden .. .. .	95	5
Violence, Privation, Cold, and Intemperance	217	17
Total (including unspecified causes) ..	9633	921

**TAXES IN ROME.**—The *Giornale di Roma*, of the 26th ultimo, publishes the regulations for the execution of the new law imposing a tax on trades and professions, together with a tariff in which they appear subdivided into ten categories, containing six classes each. Bankers and wholesale merchants are taxed 180 scudi (1050f.) in the highest class, and 80 scudi in the lowest; and dealers in corn, cattle, wool, timber, &c., are taxed within the limits of 120 and 20 scudi (700f. and 115f.). Iron foundries, glass manufactories, tan yards, and silk manufactories, pay from 100 to 25 scudi yearly. Coffee-houses, bakers, butchers, dry salters, chemists, &c., pay, according to the communes they inhabit, from 80 scudi to 1 scudo (48lf. to 6f.). Locksmiths, masons, joiners, &c., from 80 to 4 scudi. Dealers in hardware, jewellery, fashions, &c., from 90 to 6 scudi. Contractors for theatres, the construction of roads, &c., captains of vessels, &c., from 80 to 15 scudi. Vehicles for public conveyance of every description, by land or water, from 60 to 6 scudi. Dealers in articles of vertu and the fine arts, from 60 to 18 scudi. Innkeepers, furnished apartments, &c., from 60 to 4 scudi, according to the communes in which they are situated.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

This has been a very exciting week in the English Stock Market, and yet the fluctuations have not been so great as might have been apprehended. The news from Germany on Monday was decidedly warlike; and, though there was no very definite intelligence of hostile proceedings having fairly commenced, the funds fell considerably. The first quotation of Consols, which had closed on Saturday at 96½ to ¾ for money, was 96½ to ¾, whence they receded to 96½, at which price they were for a moment offered, and from which there was only a very slight reaction, the closing quotation being 96½ to ¾. On Tuesday the market improved a little. Consols opened a shade higher, and gradually improved towards the close, when they were ¼ per cent. better. Next day the improvement was maintained, and prices even rose towards the afternoon. The absence of any decidedly unfavourable intelligence from Germany, yesterday morning, and the arrival of higher quotations from most of the continental markets, caused the English funds to open with an appearance of much firmness at an advance of a quarter per cent. A reaction speedily took place, however, in consequence of large sales on provincial account, the result of orders transmitted on receipt of the intelligence regarding the threatened war. Consols, which at an early hour rose to 97, left off at 96½ to 96¾. The market was much rmer yesterday morning; the closing prices were 96¾.

In Continental securities a complete panic prevailed on Monday. Russian Four-and-a-half per Cents. in the early part of the day were 3 per cent., and Mexican 1½ per cent., below the last prices of Saturday, but a partial recovery took place before the final close of the market. On Tuesday the market still continued depressed, and a further heavy fall took place. Dutch Stocks declined 2 per cent.; Brazilian, 2 per cent.; Russian Five per Cent. Bonds, 2 per cent.; Belgian, 1 per cent.; and Danish, 1 per cent. A slight rally took place, but still prices did not advance much. There was little business done yesterday. The bargains in the official list comprised—Brazilian at 82½; the New, 86½; Ecuador, 3½; Mexican for money, 31½ and ¾; for the account, 31½; Peruvian, 79; Portuguese Five per Cents., 85 and 86; Russian Five per Cents., 108; the Four-and-a-half per Cents., 96½, ¼, 95½ and ½; Spanish Five per Cents., 17½ and 18; Spanish Three per Cents. for money, 38½; and for the account, 39½; Dutch Two-and-a-half per Cents., 56½; for the account, 57½; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 87½ and 87.

MARK-LANE, FRIDAY, NOV. 15.

The supplies of all grain since Monday are shorter than they have been for some time. The value of both English and foreign Wheat is firmly maintained. The best qualities of Malting Barley bring rather over Monday's rates; other descriptions sell readily at our recent quotations. The market is very bare of Oats, and an advance of 6d. to 1s. per quarter is obtained. In other articles there is no alteration.

Arrivals from Nov. 11 to 15:—

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.	Flour.
Wheat .. ..	2260	—	3500	1930
Barley .. ..	2740	—	2040	—
Oats .. ..	720	2950	2850	—

## BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 9th of November, 1850.

### ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

£	£
Notes issued .. .. .	29,414,795
Government Debt, 11,015,100	
Other Securities .. .. .	2,984,900
Gold Coin and Bullion .. .. .	15,358,628
Silver Bullion .. .. .	56,167
£29,414,795	£29,414,795

### BANKING DEPARTMENT.

£	£
Proprietors' Capital, 14,553,000	
Reserve .. .. .	3,136,240
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) ..	7,302,189
Other Deposits .. .. .	9,718,433
Seven-day and other Bills .. .. .	1,330,665
£36,010,527	£36,010,527

Dated Nov. 14, 1850.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock .. ..	213½	214	213	212	213	213
3 per Ct. Red .. ..	96	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
3 p. Ct. Cons. .. ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	97½	96½
3 p. Ct. An. 1726 ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. Ct. Cons. Ac. ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. Ct. An. .. ..	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 5 per Cts. .. ..	121	—	—	—	—	—
Long Ans., 1860. ..	7½	7½	7 13-16	7 13-16	7½	7 13-16
Ind. St. 10½ p. Ct. ..	—	271	271	269	—	268½
Ditto Bonds .. ..	87	86	85	86	88	85
Ex. Bills, 1000f. ..	70 p	69 p	66 p	69 p	66 p	69 p
Ditto, 500f. .. ..	70 p	69 p	67 p	69 p	66 p	69 p
Ditto, Small .. ..	70 p	69 p	67 p	69 p	66 p	69 p

### FOREIGN FUNDS.

(Last Official Quotation during the Week ending Friday Evening.)

Austrian 5 per Cents. 93½	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc. 32
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct. 89½	Small .. ..
Brazilian 5 per Cents. 86½	Neapolitan 5 per Cents. —
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts. —	Peruvian 4½ per Cents. —
Chilian 6 per Cents. —	Portuguese 5 per Cent. 86
Danish 5 per Cents. —	— 4 per Cts. 33½
Dutch 2½ per Cents. 57	— Annuities —
— 4 per Cents. 87½	Russian, 1822, 5 p. Cts. —
Ecuador Bonds .. ..	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts. 18½
French 5 p. Ct. An. at Paris 93.20	— Passive .. ..
— 3 p. Cts., Nov. 15, 57.95	— Deferred .. ..

## SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for the Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.	BANKS.
Caledonian .. ..	Australasian .. ..
Edinburgh and Glasgow ..	British North American ..
Eastern Counties .. ..	Colonial .. ..
Great Northern .. ..	Commercial of London ..
Great North of England ..	London and Westminster ..
Great S. & W. (Ireland) ..	London Joint Stock .. ..
Great Western .. ..	National of Ireland .. ..
Hull and Selby .. ..	National Provincial .. ..
Lancashire and Yorkshire ..	Provincial of Ireland ..
Lancaster and Carlisle ..	Union of Australia .. ..
London, Brighton, & S. Coast ..	Union of London .. ..
London and Blackwall ..	MINES.
London and N.-Western ..	Bolano .. ..
Midland .. ..	Brazilian Imperial .. ..
North British .. ..	Ditto, St. John del Rey ..
South-Eastern and Dover ..	Cobre Copper .. ..
South-Western .. ..	MISCELLANEOUS.
York, Newcastle, & Berwick ..	Australian Agricultural ..
York and North Midland ..	Canada .. ..
Docks.	General Steam .. ..
East and West India .. ..	Penins. & Oriental Steam ..
London .. ..	Royal Mail Steam .. ..
St. Katharine .. ..	South Australian .. ..

## GRAIN, Mark-lane, Nov. 15.

Wheat, R. New 38s. to 40s.	Maple .. .. .	30s. to 32s.
Fine .. .. .	White .. .. .	25 — 27
Old .. .. .	Boilers .. .. .	29 — 31
White .. .. .	Beans, Ticks .. ..	26 — 28
Fine .. .. .	Old .. .. .	28 — 30
Superior New 48 — 50	Indian Corn .. ..	28 — 30
Rye .. .. .	Oats, Feed .. ..	17 — 18
Barley .. .. .	Fine .. .. .	18 — 19
Malting .. .. .	Poland .. .. .	19 — 20
Malt, Ord. .. ..	Fine .. .. .	20 — 21
Fine .. .. .	Potato .. .. .	19 — 20
Peas, Hog .. .. .	Fine .. .. .	20 — 21

## FLOUR.

Town-made .. .. .	per sack 40s. to 43s.
Seconds .. .. .	37 — 40
Essex and Suffolk, on board ship .. ..	32 — 34
Norfolk and Stockton .. .. .	30 — 32
American .. .. .	per barrel 22 — 23
Canadian .. .. .	21 — 23
Wheaten Bread, 7d. the 4lb. loaf. Households, 6d.	

## GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.

WEEK ENDING NOV. 9.			
Imperial General Weekly Average.			
Wheat .. .. .	40s. 5d.	Rye .. .. .	26s. 7d.
Barley .. .. .	21 4	Beans .. .. .	29 0
Oats .. .. .	17 0	Peas .. .. .	29 11

## Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.

Wheat .. .. .	40s. 7d.	Rye .. .. .	25s. 8d.
Barley .. .. .	21 2	Beans .. .. .	29 3
Oats .. .. .	16 10	Peas .. .. .	30 0

## AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 12th day of November, 1850, is 28s. 3½d. per cwt.

## BUTCHERS' MEAT.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.*		SMITHFIELD*.	
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef .. .. .	2 4 to 3 2	2 6 to 4 0	
Mutton .. .. .	2 4 to 3 4	3 6 to 4 4	
Veal .. .. .	2 8 to 4 0	2 6 to 4 0	
Pork .. .. .	2 10 to 3 10	3 4 to 4 2	

\* To sink the offal, per 8lb.

## HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Friday.	Monday.
Beasts .. .. .	1031	3741
Sheep .. .. .	4700	25,510
Calves .. .. .	251	149
Pigs .. .. .	480	380

## PROVISIONS.

Butter—Best Fresh, 12s. 0d. to 14s. per doz.	
Carlow, £3 14s. to £4 0s. per cwt.	
Bacon, Irish .. .. .	per cwt. 46s. to 48s.
Cheese, Cheshire .. .. .	42 — 69
Derby, Plain .. .. .	44 — 54
Hams, York .. .. .	60 — 70
Eggs, French, per 120, 4s. 9d. to 5s. 6d.	

## FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, Nov. 12.

**DECLARATION OF DIVIDENDS.**—F. Golding; first div. of 2s. 6d., any Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—S. Mobbs; third div. of 7d., any Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—C. Cooper; first div. of 8d., any Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—R. Knight; first div. of 3s. 9d., any Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—F. Tapley, Sidmouth, Linendrapers; second div. of 3s. 9d., on Saturday next, and three subsequent Saturdays; Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane—J. Welch, Westbury, innkeeper; first div. of 2s. 4d., on Saturday next, and three subsequent Saturdays; Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane—J. H. Veitch, Durham, printer; first div. of 9d., on Saturday, Nov. 16, and any subsequent Saturday; Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—R. Millar, Princes-street, Spitalfields, oilman; first div. of 3s. 4d., any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—J. Eade, Byworth, Sussex, tanner; final div. of 20s., and interest according to law, any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—F. and J. Giles, Stewart-street, Spitalfields, silk manufacturers; third div. of 3d., any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—D. Marlay, Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire, lieutenant in the Royal Marines; second div. of 5s. 7d., any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—R. Jellicoe, Turnwheel-lane, Dowgate-hill, merchant; second div. of 1s. 4½d., any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—W. Clayton, Cheapside, carpet warehouseman; final div. of 20s., with interest according to law, any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—G. Barnard, Portsea, coal merchant; first div. of 1d., any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—D. and F. D. Smith, Beevor-lane, Hammersmith, drysalers; div. of 2s. (on account of the first div. of 7. 5d.), any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—B. Smith, Threadneedle-street and Bow, copper smelter, and Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, silversmith; first div. of 4s., any Wednesday; Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—W. Jackson, Lichfield, Staffordshire, wine merchant; first div. of 3s. 6d., on Thursday, Nov. 14, and any subsequent Thursday; Mr. Valpy, Birmingham.

**BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.**—G. P. Hill, late of Fleet-street, common-carrier.

**BANKRUPTS.**—G. S. JENKS, King-street, Hammersmith, cheesemonger, to surrender Nov. 19, Dec. 19; solicitor, Mr. Smith, Barnard's-inn; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street—W. TREGO, Coleman-street, builder, Nov. 25, Dec. 24; solicitors, Messrs. Walters and son, Basinghall-street, and Messrs. Sheffield, Old Broad-street; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—J. L. FINLEY, jun., Birmingham, tailor, Nov. 26, Dec. 17; solicitor, Mr. Suckling, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Birmingham—R. STONE, Corby, Lincolnshire, Nov. 29, Jan. 10, 1851; solicitor, Mr. Thompson, Grantham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham—H. HIGGINS, Bilston, Staffordshire, grocer, Nov. 23, Jan. 6; solicitors, Messrs. Mottram, Knight, and Emmett, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham—S. VICK, Brecon, victualler, Nov. 26, Dec. 24; solicitors, Mr. Hill, Worcester, and Messrs. Abbott and Lucas, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. Miller, Bristol—T. Brown, Preston, draper, Nov. 22, Dec. 13; solicitor, Mr. Bell, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Hobson, Manchester—W. SIMPSON, Manchester, starch manufacturer, Nov. 26, Dec. 17; solicitors, Messrs. Atkinson, Saunders, and Atkinson, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Pott, Manchester—W. HARRISON, Tynemouth, Northumberland, merchant, Nov. 21, Dec. 20; solicitors, Messrs. Griffith and Creighton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; official assignee, Mr. Baker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.



**DIVIDENDS.**—Dec. 5, H. W. Farrer, Old Fish-street, wine merchant—Dec. 3, M. Merentie, King William-street, merchant—Dec. 3, H. Scholefield, Clare, Suffolk, chemist—Dec. 6, W. F. Fenton, West Smithfield, lead and glass merchant—Dec. 6, J. P. Graves, Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, auctioneer—Dec. 6, J. Pestell, Sandy, Bedfordshire, corn factor—Dec. 3, J. Sanders, Manor-place, King's-road, Chelsea, baker—Dec. 3, J. Joyce, Warwick-lane, corn dealer—Dec. 3, A. Portway, Braintree, Essex, tea dealer—Dec. 10, J. Turner, Eastbourne, Sussex, draper—Dec. 11, J. Bonifas, jun., Dorchester, woollendrapier—Dec. 4, T. Floud, Exeter, banker—Dec. 18, W. Weekes, Inward-leigh, Devonshire, edge-tool maker—Dec. 11, G. Shephard, Medbury, Devonshire, linendrapier—Dec. 5, S. Staniford, Plymouth, innkeeper—Dec. 5, W. Richards, Devonport, printer—Dec. 5, W. J. Ebell, Gloucester, shipbuilder—Dec. 10, J. Kirkland, Stockport, joiner—Dec. 9, J. Burt, J. Burt, jun., and W. T. Watson, Manchester and Leeds, commission agents—Dec. 5, J. Lester, Pen-y-gelle-lodge, Denbighshire, farmer—Dec. 6, W. Kaye, Liverpool, paper dealer—Dec. 6, T. Wheeler, Liverpool, fruit merchant—Dec. 5, R. D. Evans and D. M. Evans, Wrexham, Denbighshire, drapers—Dec. 6, S. Glenney, Liverpool, corn merchant.

**CERTIFICATES.**—To be granted, unless cause be shown to the contrary, on the day of meeting.—Dec. 3, J. Turner, Eastbourne, Sussex, draper—Dec. 5, T. Fielding, Rhyl, Flintshire, hotel-keeper—Dec. 5, J. Meredith, Tattenhall, Cheshire, maltster—Dec. 5, T. Wilson, Hill-top, near West Bromwich, Staffordshire, iron manufacturer.

**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.**—A. Brown, Old Monkland, Lanarkshire, spirit dealer, Nov. 18, Dec. 9.

Friday, November 15.

**DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.**—J. Robinson and E. Moore, Wakefield, spinners; first div. of 10s., on Tuesday, Nov. 19, and any subsequent Monday or Tuesday; Mr. Hope, Leeds—J. Potts, New Mills, Derbyshire, engraver; second and final div. of 10s., on Tuesday, Nov. 20, and any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Pott, Manchester—G. Rogers, Compstall-bridge, Cheshire, grocer; first div. of 2s. 7d., on Tuesday, Nov. 19, and every subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Hobson, Manchester—S. Knight, Broughton Astley, Leicestershire, hosier; first div. of 7d., any Thursday; Mr. Christie, Birmingham—D. W. E., and A. J. Aeraman, W. Morgan, T. Holroyd, and J. N. Franklyn, Bristol, ship-builders; second div. of 1s., together with a first div. of 2s. 6d., on new proofs, on Wednesday, Nov. 20, and any subsequent Wednesday; Mr. Hutton, Bristol.

**BANKRUPTS.**—J. WATKINS, Belmont-row, Vauxhall, draper, to surrender Nov. 29, Jan. 10, 1851; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence and Plews, Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—W. F. HARRIS, Friday-street, Cheapside, Manchester-warehouseman, Nov. 27, Dec. 20; solicitor, Mr. Teague, Crown-court, Cheapside; official assignee, Mr. Stansfeld—W. CARTER, High-street, Southwark, bootmaker, Nov. 22, Dec. 20; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Stansfeld—G. HAND, Wolverhampton, grocer, Dec. 3 and 17; solicitors, Messrs. Loveland and Tweed, Lincoln's-inn-fields; and Messrs. Motteram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham—J. WITTE, Birmingham, hay dealer, Dec. 2, Jan. 6; solicitor, Mr. Suckling, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham—J. AMOS, Coventry, trimming manufacturer, Nov. 18, Dec. 19; solicitors, Messrs. Dewes and Son, Coventry; and Messrs. Motteram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Valpy, Birmingham—W. RANDALL, Manchester, calico printer, Nov. 30, Dec. 19; solicitor, Mr. Burdett, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Hobson, Manchester—J. F. BRETT, Gateshead, Durham, tailor, Nov. 27, Dec. 20; solicitors, Messrs. Bell, Brodric, and Bell, Bow-churchyard; and Messrs. T. and W. Chater, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; official assignee, Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

**DIVIDENDS.**—Dec. 10, J. Goldie, High-street, Whitechapel, distiller—Dec. 10, G. W. Tucker, Tottenham-court-road, furrier—Dec. 10, F. Macnaghten, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, merchant—Dec. 3, W. Norris, Cambridge-villas, Great College-street, Camden New-town, builder—Dec. 6, R. Swansborough, Grimsby, Lincolnshire, and H. Oake, Ringwood, Hampshire, warehousemen—Dec. 7, T. Day, Three Crown-court, Southwark, secretary to the Southwark Savings-bank—Dec. 7, W. C. Banks, Lee, Kent, builder—Dec. 7, C. Farmer, Edgware-road, ironmonger—Dec. 7, B. Lawrence, Crown-court, Old Broad-street, merchant—Dec. 9, A. A. Sutterby, Stoke-ferry, Norfolk, grocer—Dec. 7, J. Seaber, Newmarket, scrivener—Dec. 9, J. Winn, Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road, gasfitter—Dec. 13, D. Field, Frome, Somersetshire, linendrapier—Dec. 4, G. Weiss, Liverpool, music seller—Dec. 4, J. King, Liverpool, licensed victualler—Dec. 4, T. Smith, Liverpool, cheesemonger—Nov. 26, G. Dan-son, Lancaster, merchant—Dec. 9, W. S. Fox, Narborough, Leicestershire, miller—Dec. 10, T. and W. Hardwick, Leeds, auctioneers—Dec. 9, W. Hardwick, Leeds, auctioneer.

**CERTIFICATES.**—To be granted, unless cause be shown to the contrary on the day of meeting.—Dec. 10, G. Little, Holborn-bars, and Commercial-place, Commercial-road, New Peckham, maker of electrical apparatus—Dec. 6, G. E. Baker, Deptford, grocer—Dec. 9, J. Donovan, Oxford-street, fishmonger—Dec. 6, J. V. Scantlebury, Conduit-street, East, Paddington, carpenter—Dec. 9, A. A. Sutterby, Stoke-ferry, Norfolk, grocer—Dec. 10, J. Clarke, Bury, and Radcliffe, Lancashire, grocer.

**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.**—R. McEntire, Glasgow, commission agent, Nov. 20, Dec. 7.

## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

### BIRTHS.

On the 4th inst., the wife of Frederick Field, Esq., surgeon, Birmingham, of a son.  
On the 7th inst., at Kensington, the wife of John Buckmaster, Esq., of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law, of a daughter.  
On the 7th inst., on the Bank, Highgate, Mrs. W. W. Scrimgeour, of a son.  
On the 8th inst., at Bath, the wife of Major T. C. Burmester, Royal Engineers, of a son.  
On the 9th inst., in Clarendon-square, Leamington, the Honourable Mrs. C. E. Petre, of a son.  
On the 10th inst., in Park-crescent, the wife of Captain William Baring, of the Coldstream Guards, of a daughter.  
On the 10th inst., at the Admiralty, the wife of James Coutts Crawford, Esq., of Overton, Lancashire, of a son.  
On the 10th inst., in Burton-crescent, the wife of G. Herbert, Esq., of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law, of a son.  
On the 11th inst., the wife of the Reverend M. T. Farrer, of a son.  
On the 11th inst., at Longford Rectory, in the county of Derby, the wife of the Reverend T. A. Anson, of a daughter.  
On the 12th inst., the wife of A. J. Horwood, Esq., barrister-at-law, of a daughter.  
On the 13th inst., in Gordon-street, the wife of the Reverend Henry Hughes, M.A., of a daughter.

### MARRIAGES.

On the 5th inst., at St. Peter's, Isle of Thanet, the Reverend T. White, vicar of Norton Cuckney, Notts, to Charlotte Bates, only child of R. Crofts, Esq., of Dympton-park, Isle of Thanet.  
On the 6th inst., at Locking, James Copleston, eldest son of the Reverend J. Smith Townsend, vicar of Coldridge, to Annie Elizabeth, youngest daughter of F. V. Fox, Esq., of Locking.

On the 6th inst., at Corrimony, N.B., Colonel John B. Gough, C.B., Third Light Dragoons, aide-de-camp to the Queen, and quartermaster-general of her Majesty's forces in India, to Elizabeth Agnew Arbuthnot, third daughter of the late G. Arbuthnot, Esq., of Elderslie, Surrey.

On the 7th inst., at Bath, Henry Terry, Esq., F.R.C.S., Northampton, to Juliana, only surviving daughter of the late Reverend J. Sanford, rector of Cottesbrook, in the same county.

On the 9th inst., at Cottismore, Rutlandshire, John Startin, Esq., surgeon, H.E.I.C.'s service, to Ann Caroline, eldest daughter of Richard Westbrook Baker, Esq., of Cottismore.

On the 11th inst., at Marylebone Church, Frederick Bernal, Esq., youngest son of Ralph Bernal, Esq., M.P., to Charlotte Augusta, only surviving daughter of James Brewster Cozens, Esq., of Woodham Mortimer-lodge, Essex.

On the 12th inst., at St. George's, Hanover-square, Alex. C. Stuart, to the Honourable Elizabeth Frederica Lennox, Maid of Honour to the Queen.

On the 12th inst., at the Collegiate Church, Southwell, Notts, the Reverend J. Gordon, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, to Frances Octavia, third daughter of Colonel Sherlock, K.H., of Southwell, deceased.

### DEATHS.

On the 4th ult., at Granada, West Indies, Charles Shuldham Fraser, Esq., stipendiary magistrate for the district of St. George, aged 67.

On the 15th ult., at Cairo, J. G. Jeyes, eldest son of the late F. Jeyes, Esq., aged 34.

On the 17th ult., at Madeira, aged 17, Elizabeth Cotgrave Forbes, daughter of the late J. Forbes, Esq., and granddaughter of the late Sir C. Forbes, Bart.

On the 28th ult., at Paris, H. L. Phillips, Esq., youngest son of the late C. Phillips, Esq., of Ruxley-lodge, Esher, Surrey.

On the 6th inst., in Keppel-street, Russell-square, John Lane, Esq., R.N., aged 82.

On the 6th inst., at Leith Fort, N.B., Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, R.A., aged 64.

On the 8th inst., at Wells, Somerset, Eliza Best, daughter of the late W. Burge, Esq., Q.C.

On the 10th inst., at Camberwell, Hannah, relict of the late C. Alsager, Esq., of Walworth, aged 81.

On the 11th inst., at Woolwich-common, Agnes Spearman, widow of the late Brigade-Major Spearman, R.A., aged 80.

On the 11th inst., at Fulbeck, Lincolnshire, Maria, wife of the Reverend E. Fane, aged 53.

On the 11th inst., at Claremont-cottages, Old Kent-road, Lieutenant C. Lloyd, R.M., aged 61.

On the 12th inst., Maria Dover, wife of C. W. Dilke, Esq., of Lower Grosvenor-place.

On the 12th inst., J. H. Wilson, B.A., Oxon, F.L.S., F.R.B.S., member of Lincoln's-inn, and of the Botanical Society of London, translator of Jussieu's "Elements of Botany," only surviving child of J. H. Wilson, Esq., of the Grange, Worth, in the county of Sussex, aged 24.

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Most important is the part allotted to the digestive organs in the economy. It is there the first of a series of changes commences, concerned in effecting, ultimately, the nutrition of the individual—changes so necessary to the continuance of life, that almost every other act is subordinate to them, inasmuch as these organs affording the material of action for the others, may be regarded, physiologically, as original powers, which maintain the wonderful and complete machinery of the body in continuous action. These facts premised, the claims of these organs to our attention will be sufficiently obvious, more particularly with reference to a diseased condition.

The disorders of the digestive organs, which impair the health, have a two-fold operation: first, by the local symptoms of indigestion, arising from the detention of ill digested matters, morbid in quality and quantity, and secondly by the constitutional disturbance occasioned by the absorption of these matters into the circulation, and powerfully irritating the nervous system. The treatment of such disorders must be palliative and curative: the first, of course, would consist of regulated diet, &c.—the second, of aromatic, tonic, and aperient medicines.

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## OCTOBER CIRCULAR, 1850.—We wish to

draw a comparison between the different classes of Tea, viz., the Commonest, which is always subject to extreme fluctuations; the Medium, which maintains a more equable value, and forms the great bulk of Tea used in this country; and the Finer Sorts, which, owing to their limited use, are (like the commoner) speedily affected in price by a large or insufficient supply. In addressing ourselves to this point, we would remind the public that all Tea, bad or good, the best or the most worthless, pays a uniform duty, of 2s. 2d. per lb., and is necessarily subject to equal charges for freight, portage, wharfage, dock dues, &c. &c.; consequently the commonest is much heavier taxed, in proportion to its real or marketable value, than either the medium or the finest class Teas: thus, whilst at present—

The price of Common Congou, in Canton, is . . . . . 7d. to 8d. per lb.	It follows that Common Congou pays, in charges & duty, 400 per cent.
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The duty . . . . . 2s. 2d. —	
The price of Middling Congou, in Canton, is . . . . . 12d. to 15d. per lb.	It follows that the Medium Class of Tea pays, in charges and duty 200 per cent.
The freight, dock dues, &c. 4d. —	
The duty . . . . . 2s. 2d. —	
The price of Finest Class Tea, in Canton, is . . . . . 20d. to 2s. 6d. per lb.	It follows that the Finest Class of Tea pays, in charges and duty, only 100 p. ct.
The freight, dock dues, &c. 4d. —	
The duty . . . . . 2s. 2d. —	
So that the Commonest Tea, which costs 7d. per lb. in China, is sold in England at . . . . . 3s. 4d. and 3s. 6d. per pound.	
The Middling quality, which costs 15d. per pound in China (or more than double) is sold in England at . . . . . 3s. 8d. and 4s. per pound.	
Whilst the Finest, which costs four times the price of the Commonest, realizes in England only . . . . . 4s. 4d. to 5s. per pound.	

It must be thus apparent that, with a fixed charge of 2s. 6d. per lb. upon all Tea, mere price alone is no criterion of either good value or cheapness; and we especially direct the attention of those who are solicitous to economize their expenditure to this fact, and in their determination to purchase at the lowest prices they voluntarily tax themselves double or quadruple what they have any necessity for doing.

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" (Signed) WILLIAM SMITH,  
"(frequently called EDWARD.)"

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