

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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News of the Week.

REVOLUTION has again encamped in Paris, Belgravia warmly approving; the official and officious organs of Russia and the Foreign-office in ecstasies; British aristocracy rejoicing in the overthrow of parvenu Conservatism in France, and saluting with rapture the last move of a used-up political adventurer. Tuesday brought with it the startling intelligence, by submarine electric telegraph, that M. Bonaparte had broken down all the barriers of order and legality, and, by a military revolution, possessed himself of supreme power. On Tuesday morning, Paris awoke in a "state of siege," with its Assembly of incapables dissolved, its generals arrested, its press "suspended," the whole constitution broken up and set aside, and in the place of the will of France, the will of M. Bonaparte! Never was surprise more brilliant and complete; that is to say, never was surprise more unscrupulous and immoral. By the aid of brigand Prætorians the "nephew of his uncle" violated his oath, as he would demolish a bonbon; and under pretext of appealing to the people, placed himself above and beyond the law. Tuesday was the anniversary of Austerlitz, and the crowning of the Emperor. The Marengo of M. Bonaparte was at Satory, his Lodi at Dijon, his Austerlitz at the Cirque National, his Imperial crowning—the Place de la Grève?

Possibly, in the history of nations, a more insane parody was never perpetrated than this of the proceedings of the Napoleon in 1804. M. Bonaparte borrows even the constitution of Sièyes. He borrows the hypocritical appeal, he gags the press, he declares the state of siege, he makes similar flattering overtures to the soldiery. This close parody is at once the characteristic and the condemnation of the new revolution of personal ambition. It is too transparent. We laugh at the absolute want of genius. It is a mere common burglary of power. But we grieve when we read that this miserable Special-Constable Emperor has caused the death of an heroic Charras, an eloquent and noble minded-Esquiro. Thiers goes to prison unlamented by any one; and we cannot repine if Cavaignac, and Changarnier, and Bedeau, and Lamoricière have fallen victims to their distrust of the people. The "majority" deserve their fate. But clearly these events are only the beginning of the end, which is not yet. All the army, a portion of which voted for the Montagnards in 1849 and 1850, cannot be more devoted to M. Bonaparte than to their country. After all, successful as things now appear, the hero of unpaid debts, sausages, cigars, champagne, and Imperial parodies, may yet be the convict of Belleisle, or Nuka-Hiva.

Stated nakedly, and without a waste of phrases, this assumption of supreme power by Louis Napoleon.

[Town Edition.]

leon is nothing more nor less than an incident in the grand Russo-Austrian conspiracy now in progress against Continental liberty, and *gradually advancing to the attack of England!*

As Louis Bonaparte was planning ignominy, like a thief in the night;—far away, in quiet rural solitudes, the last of a race of giants in an age of heroes, was sinking peacefully and full of years into his last, well-won repose. Jean-de-Dieu Soult, the astute, the far-seeing, the cool-headed, the impassible—Soult, who, albeit a Frenchman to the core, had lived to look on Wellington and on England without envy—nay, with heroic sympathy. Brave old Soult sleeps well—a monumental sleep—before the pigmy nephew has turned Imperial glory to contempt and shame. Brave old Soult! sprung from the People—a Republican at heart, but a Frenchman too—attached to his country as well as to his principles—Soult is dead. "Felix non vitæ tantum felicitate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis." What miseries, what degradations, has he not escaped!

In Italy, the peculiarities are of "seizing," but not unusual, interest. Insult and obstruction to English travellers in the Neapolitan states; inundations in the North; and the restoration and renewed activity of that most conservative of institutions—the Guillotine, at Rome.

The great Reform Conference at Manchester has proved a respectable failure. Numbers attended, but the spirit was neither harmonious nor animated. The meeting almost negatives the maxim, "Happy the people whose annals are flat." The record of the Manchester Conference is flat, but those who were there were not happy. The meeting was at first understood to be one only for Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire—Manchestershire and Cobdenshire; it was also regarded as a secession from the Parliamentary Reform Association. A deputation from that Society was not invited, but did attend; and people from other parts of the country also volunteered a presence not to be repelled. Mr. Bright was put forward as the spokesman for Manchester, to the amazement of many who thought him too advanced and sturdy for the mere Free-trade party. Sir Joshua Walsley attended for the Parliamentary Reformers, with Mr. George Thompson as second in command; Mr. Cobden played the part of mediator, and patted the President of the Parliamentarians on the back with an encouragement only too transparent to conceal the latent sarcasm. The project which so many people were summoned to Manchester to consider, was one that might quite as well have been submitted to them by post—a poor rate qualification not defined, but apparently to be unlimited in lowness—that is, every man rated to the poor should have a vote; also, a certain copyhold or leasehold forty-shilling franchise for town as well as county; consolidation of small boroughs, leaving no constituency smaller than 5000; ballot, abolition of property qualifica-

tion, and triennial Parliaments. This is very like Mr. Hume's little Charter, and the Parliamentary plan. It extends the franchise *all but* to universal suffrage. In a political sense it is not striking, and it has astonished nobody. The reading of the programme fell flat upon the meeting; and we venture to say that if any one had raised a cry of "Universal Suffrage," it would have drawn out the real spirit latent in the body of the assemblage. The Parliamentarians appear to us to have made two mistakes: by way of amendment they proposed, not their own plan, but Mr. Hume's! and they lost their temper. However, it was understood that they did not go there to divert, so much as to test the meeting; and that if the Manchester section should prove recreant, the Parliamentary would take up stronger ground elsewhere. The public, therefore, awaits the result of the mission to Manchester.

Your judges are the boys for revolutionizing the Statute Book. They have knocked a desperate hole in the Newspaper Stamp Act, by declaring Charles Dickens's Household Narrative not liable to the tax. The majority of the judges held, against all the rules of syntax, that the different sections of the schedule must be taken, not severally, as indicating different classes of publication amenable to the tax, but cumulatively, as indicating all the attributes to be found in any publication to make it amenable to the tax. At least, such is the general effect of the judgment; Baron Parke dissenting. Talk of "repealing" acts of Parliament: only get enough "judgments" on them, and you soon reduce them to mince-meat. This Newspaper Stamp Act, for instance—it is evident that in five or six bouts a few Judges could knock it to pieces.

Manchester has not only been active in the political, but in the educational movements of the day. The Public School Association met on Monday, and, to add to clause vi. powers for taking possession of existing schools supported on the voluntary principle, provided that said schools should agree to impart secular instruction and doctrinal religion at stated and separate times. This was stealing a march on the Manchester and Salford Society, which the latter resented at its meeting on Wednesday. These gentlemen, consistently represented by the State Churchism of Dr. Lee and of Mr. Canon Stowell, were grievously annoyed at thus having the ground cut from under their feet: so they reasserted their old positions, indulged in copious self-applause, assailed honest Dr. Watts and noble George Anthony Denison, and expressed their determination to persevere. The Public School Association might as well expect to amalgamate with Mr. Baines as to conciliate Dr. Lee, Mr. Entwistle, and Mr. Canon Stowell. At the same time it is quite clear that no scheme of instruction will obtain the support of the masses unless it be secular, and none will be effective unless it also provide a physical discipline for the people.

Among the vicissitudes of the law courts, which have been rather abundant this week, is the disclosure of the betting enormities in the case of Regina versus Alleyne. Young captains and clergymen mingle with fancy men, exchange characters with them, and play their part, sacking booty to the amount of several thousands sterling; and the Times accepts the scandal as a picture of "life" in "fast" society. Enough substance was wasted among the young men and their companions to have provided for many a poor family, or to have set many an honest man up in business.

THE BONAPARTIST REVOLUTION IN PARIS.

"The atmosphere is charged with Revolution," said a representative, a few days since, as he passed through the restless and agitated groups in the *Salle des Conférences*.

Knots of men absorbed in anxious consultation, now in hoarse whispers, now breaking into angry murmurs, now with hurried and eager gesticulations, as contempt, suspicion, or rage seemed to be uppermost; standing apart in corners, or undulating to and fro; dispersing into fresh groups; darting at every fresh comer with a fire of questions; drinking in all kinds of desperate and alarming rumours, according as the wishes or the fears of the reporters and the listeners prevailed; such was the physiognomy of the *Salle des Conférences* of the French National Assembly towards the close of the last week.

In the streets, profound indifference to the political agitations; the boulevards thronged with loungers in pursuit of the "poms and vanities"; Paris, in a word, in its happiest, gayest mood of elegant vivacity and buoyant activity of art and pleasure. Such at least was the superficial aspect of a city and of a People to whom every "situation" seems normal, but dulness and tranquillity. In the faubourgs, no unusual excitement; the workshops busy, and all hands employed.

But in the high places of power and law, mischief is brewing; violence, intrigue, distrust, irresolution in the very citadels of order and legality; the factions plotting and counterplotting; arming and disarming; conspiring, and denouncing conspiracies; each lying in wait to take the other by surprise. From the first day of meeting after the recess, the Executive and the Legislative became irreconcilable enemies.

The President's Message, proposing the abrogation of the law of limited suffrage, and hinting vaguely, but not obscurely, at a personal appeal to the national will, in favour of an unconstitutional prolongation of his term of office, was held by the majority to be a declaration of war. We have recorded week by week the phases of the growing discontent, and the increasing exasperation, and our readers will have foreseen an inevitable struggle. By every form of insult and provocation that could sting a reckless ambition to madness, the Parliamentary chiefs hastened the crisis of which a gang of adventurers who had neither character nor fortune to lose, but rather all the prizes of power to gain in the chances of a conflict, would not be slow to take advantage. The audacity of professional brigandage was not wanting at the Elysée. Neither menace nor warning was spared to the distracted and decrepit Parliament: the military force ostentatiously paraded and sedulously debauched by inflammatory appeals and artful promises: the President would lead them ("the élite of the nation") to the conquest of Imperial favours; his Minister of War, a rash and ready instrument of unscrupulous ambition, a thorough despoiler of constitutional fictions and civil oaths, tore down from the walls of the Barracks the effete decrees of the Assembly as so much waste paper, and laughed to scorn the right of "direct requisition" of troops for the protection of a set of useless palaverers: the Bonapartist organs in the Press announced a quick solution of all obstructive forces, without ambiguity and without reticence: the pen of the crapulous quack doctor was exchanged for the *stylus* of the Gascon fire-eater—then came the speech in the circus denouncing alike Royalism and Democracy: stigmatizing the Legislative Power, and proclaiming a fixed resolve to fulfil the mission (of Imperialism) "even across a space where there was no road marked out": altogether a Homeric harangue before the combat.

The Assembly, meantime, vacillating and vindictive at a moment when vigour and decision were most urgent; ever willing to wound, and ever afraid to strike, inviting the assaults it denounced; flinching from its own acts, endeavouring to burke at the last moment the bill on the responsibility of the Executive, and once more, when it was too late, to patch up an alliance of hypocrisy and hate; suffering itself to be outstripped in every popular advance, and allowing away the glory and the thanks of an amendment—or at least of a commutation of punishment to the prisoners of Lyons; a fatal and wilful blindness—a suicidal incapacity for all but sound, fury, obstruction; and then, at the last, a dishonest and corrupt falsification of an uncertain ballot;—such was the latest aspect of the National Assembly

—misled, depopularized, sacrificed by the impotence of a factious majority to the most inglorious of despotisms.

Rumours of an intended Socialist insurrection on Sunday (the day of the election of a representative), in Paris, were industriously circulated by the Government, in order to afford an opportunity for the concentrating of a large force in the capital; for never was the Socialist party more calm within the Assembly and without. Ministerial circulars had warned the Prefects of Departments to take measures of precaution against the outbreak of a general insurrection. The War department had surrounded the railway stations with troops, and had given orders for the conveyance of regiments from all points. These pretended insurrections had been so often announced, for the purpose of similar demonstrations, with the complicity of the Royalist factions, that they had ceased to alarm; but on this occasion the farsighted alone discerned that beneath the pretended, lurked a real, insurrection,—an insurrection of power—the long-threatened *Coup d'état*. The forced resignation by General Perrot of his command of the civic force, and the appointment of M. Vieyra (a man made infamous by acts of brutal violence, and by the wanton destruction of property in the affair of the 13th of June, '49), as the chief of his staff, and the substitution of General Laewestine, a devoted familiar of the Elysée, in the place of a man esteemed by all parties for his long services and his moderation and integrity of character, was in itself a revolution of authority of the gravest nature. Yet at the same moment M. Guizot was endeavouring to reconcile the two powers, on the ground of an adjournment of aggressive laws and of a proposed revision of the constitution, with some incipient success; but the hour of reconciliation was past. M. de la Moskowa presents seventy-five Bonapartist petitions, and is received with jeers. He says, "It is no laughing matter, however." M. de Tinguay, from the opposite benches, sounds his alarm:—

"If the National Assembly should be obstructed in the exercise of its mandate by a revolutionary event, the members of the Councils General will meet immediately and on pain of dismissal, at the capitals of their Departments, in order to form with the civil and military authorities, which are required under the same penalty to lend their concurrence, a council of public safety, the duty of which shall be to organize and maintain legal resistance until the restoration of the Parliamentary power."

The election of the candidate of the Electoral Union, discountenanced by the Executive and by the Opposition, proceeds in the midst of an ominous tranquillity. M. Devinck (the candidate) obtains about 4500 votes above the lowest number required to render the election valid. A protest against the law of the 31st of May, and so in favour of the President's initiative in proposing its repeal. Another fatal blow to the dignity and popularity of the Assembly—represented by the majority.

On Monday last, Paris was calm, lively, and indifferent; but in the *Salle des Conférences* of the Assembly disquiet, indignation, ill-concealed alarm and suspicion of the Executive seem to blanch every cheek, and to make every lip quiver with a presentiment of the gathering storm. Where is the pretended republican outbreak? Wherefore these circulars to the prefects, organizing a panic throughout the country, paralyzing industry, and disturbing commercial operations at this critical season of the year? Is this the way to promote tranquillity? Yet he told the people not to fear disturbances this winter, but to trust to his fulfilment of the mission, &c., "in a path not traced out!" But it is traced out—by the Constitution? "Here is a letter I have received from an elector asking the meaning of it all: he says his town is occupied as in a siege; the National Guards disarmed; and yet never were matters more calm." A crowd of representatives speaking all at once, not without gesticulations, reading letters from the Departments, written by indignant and timid commercial bourgeois, asking the meaning of it all! "Interpellations from the Tribune." "Ah, bas! nothing comes of it!" "But the obstinate silence of the Elysée on revision, and re-election, and prorogation: the doubtful threats in the Circus!" Doubt, indecision, rage, at once ludicrous and painful, on every face.

Passports for Belgium! The new emigration has begun. It was whispered that M. Molé had privately obtained this obliging leave of absence. M. Molé, the *Premier emigré* forsooth! Have you seen the new pamphlet, *Revision of the Constitution*? a rampant diatribe against representative institutions; a glorification of Caesarism; said to be from the pen of a high functionary—"M. Romieu, par exemple!" Interpellations, Interpellations; To such a depth of weakness and of fear this poor Assembly has fallen. On this Monday, too, M. Leo de Laborde has to make inquiries about a certain proposition of his on the re-establishment of "the legitimate and traditional monarchy." What has M. Dupin, that ancient admirer of the right divine, done with this wholesome proposition? M. de Larochejacquelin flies to the succour of his brother cavalier. He, too, had laid a similar proposition on the table; so had M. Bouchier

de l'Ecluse, another most respectable name. "I want to know (says M. Leo de Laborde) if when, and how we are to get out of this 'Republic.' I only propose an 'Appeal to the People.'" Some bantering between the honourable Legitimist and the *main* President, who, it seems, had advised the withdrawal of the proposition as likely to injure its own cause. No! No! says M. Dupin, "don't put words into my mouth; I said it did not affect me in any way." "Surely," replies M. de Laborde, "the responsibility of our President would not suffer by the acceptance of my proposition more than by his silence at the Banquet of Dijon" (when M. L. N. Bonaparte denounced the bad will of the Assembly, and hinted at a "personal" Government).

"I am not here (says M. Dupin, with all the dignity at his command) to put the Monarchy to the vote. President of a Republican Assembly, for me, as for all, the Constitution, is the law of laws; to infringe upon the Constitution so long as it exists unrevised, is the shortest road to anarchy." These words are saluted with general cheers.

The order of the day is carried by an immense majority; only four voices in favour of Legitimacy! Even M. Berryer, the *Avocat du Roi*, and the conciliator of the Elysée, smuggles himself into a corner and invisibly interrupts his friend. Ah! M. Berryer, you would serve two masters; and you, MM. de Laborde and de Larochejacquelin, propose an Appeal to the People! Really a capital solution; perhaps the best and the only one; if you should have it sooner than you expect; Appeal to the People!

So on Monday, December 1, 1851, *exit* Right Divine; its pall borne by three devoted friends of the family! But the Appeal to the People; that is a game others can play too.

On Monday night there was a grand reception at the Elysée. Never was M. Louis Bonaparte (we are told) more gay, more light hearted, more self-possessed. Perhaps there was even more of ease and abandon in his manner than usual. It was more like the air of a man whose heart grows lighter with his purse, and who feels all the world before him where to choose. The saloons of the Elysée were crowded. The Minister at War is the last to take his leave at two A.M. The other Ministers were present as usual. All Paris is gone to bed quietly, without dreaming of revolution. The Cercle de l'Union, the *Maison Dorée* are alive with lamps and *petit soupers*, and sparkling with wit, and beauty, and frolic. The new partition of MM. Limnander and St. Georges, at the Opéra Comique, is critically discussed, and the delicious melodies of the score are "humming" about you. Others are planning mischief for the approaching Bals d'Opéra. At the Jockey Club, whist parties, at high stakes, are taking no note of the hour. Among the players is M. de Morny an intimate of M. Louis Napoleon, an *habitué* of the Jockey Club, a nightly player. He cannot be thinking of *coups d'état*. All the rest of Paris, the bourgeoisie, the English *quartier*, the Faubourgs, the prisons, are asleep; happily forgetful of President and Assemblies, of revolution and reaction, M. de Morny is playing whist at the Jockey Club.

All the guests have left the Elysée. The President has retired into his cabinet, and is writing "an affectionate letter to M. de Thorigny, and also to the Ministers, declaring that his mind is made up—that he cannot allow himself to be sacrificed by his enemies, who are conspiring at that moment; but that, as he is unwilling to compromise them in any way by implicating them in his acts, he thinks it better they should resign."

Between two and four A.M. a whole army is suddenly in motion. Before certain houses, notably at 3, Faubourg St. Honoré, soldiers are grounding arms; and an officer demands admittance at this untimely hour for a visit to Changarnier, who attempts to harangue the soldiers, but they drown his voice with the beat of drums. At the same moment in other streets similar visits are taking place.

On the morning of Tuesday, the 2nd of December, the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, the peaceable citizens of Paris awake to find the streets occupied by troops, and to read the proclamations on the walls, announcing a military revolution commenced if not accomplished, and "a more sweeping extinction," says the *Times*, "of legislative authority, and a more utter contempt for the representatives of a great people, than has been witnessed since the dissolution of the Long Parliament, or the expulsion of the Council of 500 from the Orangery of St. Cloud."

The long-threatened *coup d'état* has at last come off. It has been prepared *de longue main*. Not between two and four A.M. could these proclamations have been written, printed, and posted, the new Ministers summoned, a host of representatives arrested, and all Paris covered with troops. The proclamation to the People, is countersigned by M. de Morny, the new Minister of the Interior, who was playing cards at the Jockey Club at two A.M.

This is the first proclamation we are invited to read:—

"In the Name of the French People.
"The President of the Republic decrees—
"Art 1. The National Assembly is dissolved."

"Art. 2. Universal suffrage is reestablished. The law of the 31st of May is repealed.
 "Art. 3. The French people are convoked in their elective colleges, from the 14th to the 21st of December.
 "Art. 4. The state of siege is decreed in the whole of the first military division.
 "Art. 5. The Council of State is dissolved.
 "Art. 6. The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of this decree.
 "LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

A second proclamation is in the form of an "Appeal to the People":—

"APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE."

"Frenchmen,—The present situation cannot last much longer. Each day the situation of the country becomes worse. The Assembly, which ought to be the firmest supporter of order, has become a theatre of plots. The patriotism of 300 of its members could not arrest its fatal tendencies. In place of making laws for the general interest of the people, it was forging arms for civil war. It attacked the power I hold directly from the people; it encouraged every evil passion; it endangered the repose of France. I have dissolved it, and I make the whole people judge between me and it. The Constitution, as you know, had been made with the object of weakening beforehand the powers you intrusted to me. Six millions of votes were a striking protest against it, and yet I have faithfully observed it. Provocations, calumnies, outrages, found me passive. But now that the fundamental part is no longer respected by those who incessantly invoke it, and the men who have already destroyed two monarchies, wish to tie up my hands in order to overthrow the Republic, my duty is to baffle their perfidious projects, to maintain the Republic, and to save the country by appealing to the solemn judgments of the only Sovereign I recognize in France—the people.

"I, then, make a loyal appeal to the entire nation; and I say to you, if you wish to continue this state of inquietude and *malaise* that degrades you and endangers the future, choose another person in my place; for I no longer wish for a place which is powerless for good, but which makes me responsible for acts that I cannot hinder, and chains me to the helm when I see the vessel rushing into the abyss. If, on the contrary, you have still confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the grand mission I hold from you. That mission consists in closing the era of revolution, in satisfying the legitimate wants of the people, and in protecting them against subversive passions. It consists especially to create institutions which survive men, and which are the foundation on which something durable is based. Persuaded that the instability of power, that the preponderance of a single Assembly, are the permanent causes of trouble and discord, I submit to your suffrages the fundamental bases of a constitution which the assemblies will develop hereafter.

"1. A responsible chief named for ten years.
 "2. The Ministers dependent on the Executive alone.
 "3. A Council of State formed of the most distinguished men, preparing the laws and maintaining the discussion before the legislative corps.
 "4. A legislative corps, discussing and voting the laws, named by universal suffrage, without the *scrutin de liste* which falsifies the election.
 "5. A second Assembly formed of all the illustrious persons of the nation; a preponderating power, guardian of the fundamental pact and of public liberty.

"This system, created by the First Consul in the beginning of the present century, has already given to France repose and prosperity. It guarantees them still. Such is my profound conviction. If you partake it, declare so by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a Government without force, Monarchical or Republican, borrowed from some chimerical future, reply in the negative. Thus, then, for the first time since 1804 you will vote with complete knowledge of the fact, and knowing for whom and for what you vote.

"If I do not obtain the majority of the votes, I shall summon a new Assembly, and lay down before it the mission I have received from you. But if you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol, that is, France regenerated by the revolution of '89, and organized by the Emperor, is still yours; proclaim it to be so by ratifying the powers I demand of you. Then France and Europe will be preserved from anarchy, obstacles will be removed, rivalries will have disappeared, for all will respect, in the will of the people, the decree of Providence.

"Done at the Palace of the Elysée this 2nd of December.
 LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

A third is to the Army:—

"PROCLAMATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE ARMY."

"Soldiers!—Be proud of your mission; you will save the country. I rely upon you not to violate the laws, but to command respect for the first law of the country—national sovereignty—of which I am the legitimate representative.

"You long suffered, like me, from the obstacles that prevented me doing you all the good I intended and opposed the demonstrations of your sympathy in my favour. Those obstacles are removed. The Assembly sought to impair the authority which I derive from the entire nation; it has ceased to exist.

"I make a loyal appeal to the people and the army, and I tell them—Either give me the means of insuring your prosperity, or choose another in my place.

"In 1830, as well as in 1848, you were treated as a vanquished army. After having branded your heroic disinterestedness, they disdained to consult your sympathies and wishes, and, nevertheless, you are the *élite* of the nation. To-day, at this solemn moment, I wish the voice of the army to be heard.

"Vote, then, freely as citizens; but, as soldiers, do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief

of the Government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the soldier. It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare.

"As for you, maintain entire the rules of discipline and honour. By your imposing attitude, assist the country in manifesting its will with calmness and reflection. Be ready to repress all attempt against the free exercise of the sovereignty of the people.

"Soldiers, I do not speak to you of the recollections attached to my name. They are engraved on your hearts. We are united by indissoluble ties. Your history is mine. There is between us in the past a community of glory and misfortunes. There shall be in the future a community of sentiments and resolutions for the repose and grandeur of France.

"(Signed) LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.
 "Palace of the Elysée, December 2."

The Prefect of Police to the inhabitants of Paris:—

"Parisians,—The President of the Republic, by a courageous initiative, has baffled the machinations of parties and put an end to the anguish of the country. It is in the name of the people, in its interest, and for the maintenance of the press, that the event is accomplished.

"It is to the judgment of the people that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte submits his conduct.

"The greatness of the act makes you understand with what imposing and solemn silence the free exercise of the popular sovereignty ought to be manifested. To-day, as yesterday, let order be our watchword; let all good citizens, animated as I am by the love of the country, aid me in my unalterable resolution.

"Have confidence in him whom 6,000,000 of votes have raised to the first dignity of the country. When he summons the entire people to express their will, the factious alone would place obstacles in the way. Any attempt at disorder shall be promptly and inflexibly repressed.
 DE MAUPAS, Prefect of Police.

"December 2, 1851."

The following circular has been addressed to the Commissaries of Police by the Prefect:—

"Monsieur le Commissaire,—The more circumstances become serious, the more important do your functions also become. Watch with courage and with unflinching energy for the purpose of supporting and maintaining the public tranquillity. Do not tolerate the slightest assemblage on any point of the capital; do not permit any meeting, the object of which may appear to you to be suspicious. Let no attempt at disturbance take place without immediately putting a stop to it by inflexible measures of repression. I rely on your devotedness; rely on my support.
 DE MAUPAS."

It does not appear how many of the representatives are positively arrested. Probably all who can be found are at least *gardés à vue*.

This morning (says the correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing at three in the afternoon of Monday), at four o'clock, General Changarnier was arrested at his lodgings, where several other representatives were assembled, who were also arrested. They were all conveyed to Vincennes. General Lamoricière and M. Thiers were among these. (Another account states that M. Thiers did not sleep at home on Monday night.) At the moment of his arrest General Changarnier harangued the troops sent to take him; but the soldiers refused to listen to him, and his voice was drowned in the noise of drums. A battalion is still posted close to his lodgings, and is employed in making searches in the neighbourhood. General Cavaignac is arrested, as are also the following Members of the Assembly: Charras, Roger du Nord, Bedeau, Leflô, Baune, Greppo, Baze, Miot, Nadaud, and Valentin. Among those you will recognize several names of the Mountain. The whole Board of the Assembly is said to have been arrested. Charras is said to have killed one of the men who attempted to arrest him. M. Dupin has returned to his former house in the Rue du Bac, and has invited the representatives to meet there. His hotel is occupied militarily. M. Mallac, former *chef de cabinet* of M. Duchatel, has been arrested. Several offices of papers have been occupied militarily; among these are the *National*, *Opinion Publique*, *Messenger*, *République*, *Ordre*, and *Avènement*, which papers are suspended. (By a late account we find that all the papers, except the *Constitutionnel*, *La Patrie* (Bonapartist), and the eternal *Journal des Débats*, always on the right side, are suspended. *La Presse*, which promoted the election of M. Bonaparte, to avenge its suspension and the imprisonment of Emile de Girardin by Cavaignac, in June, '48, has not escaped the gratitude of princes. The Director-General of the Post has been ordered to reserve to-day and to-morrow all the places of the *malles-postes* for the Prefects, Sub-prefects, and other functionaries who are repairing to their posts.

The President is making, at this moment, the round of the principal quarters of Paris.

General Roquet, his aide-de-camp, has just ridden, at a walk, along the Boulevards, with two or three orderlies. He is received with deafening cheers of "Vive la République!"

All the avenues of the Legislative Palace are beset with troops. A line of infantry extends from the Port Royal along the Quai d'Orsay. The cavalry occupies the Place de la Concorde as far as the Rond Point, the Quai Billy, and the bridge.

The boulevards and streets generally are at this hour, three P.M., crowded with people.

The President is removed from the Elysée to the Tuileries. The entrance to the gardens is of course inaccessible. The Carrousel is full of troops and cannon.

M. Baze, the Questor of the Assembly, and the most obnoxious and implacable of Louis Napoleon's personal enemies, is said to have escaped.

It was at five o'clock this morning that they took possession of their departments. At the same hour the troops were directed in great numbers to the neighbourhood of the Assembly, and the other points of Paris which they were directed to guard.

The arrest of the representatives, who were arrested at their own houses, took place this morning at six o'clock, by detachments of police, assisted by the Republican Guards. The number of arrests amounts, it appears, to about sixty-seven. The prisoners were carried, not to Vincennes, as was generally supposed, but to the Prison Mazos.

The approaches to the National Assembly and the Elysée were guarded at an early hour, but at the outside of the line of troops a considerable crowd had collected, and many persons exclaimed, "Il a bien fait"; but there were fewer cries than usual in political demonstrations.

At about eleven o'clock an attempt was made by about forty members of the Assembly to force their way to the Legislative Palace, but they were all turned back.

A regiment of lancers was drawn up along the quay towards Passy. No carriages were allowed to cross the bridge opposite the Assembly. The steps and garden of the Legislative Palace were occupied by the Republican Guard in their yellow cross-belts.

A correspondent of the *Times* writes:—

"I have walked through the principal thoroughfares of Paris from seven o'clock this morning until twelve o'clock, the moment at which I am writing. I have entered into conversation with the Blouses reading the President's decree, and I have not heard one word of disapprobation by anybody at the President's coup d'état. The general remark of the operatives was, 'Ma foi, il a bien fait; maintenant nous voterons puisqu'il a retabli le suffrage universel.' I was passing the Pont de la Concorde about ten o'clock, when I overtook M. Larochejacquelin, who was proceeding to the Chamber of Deputies, followed by a number of persons who appeared to wish to prevent him, by representing to him the danger. He, however, persevered, and the Iron Gate was opened to him, and he was permitted to enter. Whether he was allowed to return I know not. The troops who occupied the Chamber of Deputies, when they saw a crowd advancing over the bridge, showed by the earnestness with which they raised their muskets, that they were determined to maintain their ground. When I passed there again, in about half an hour, the troops were reinforced by several pieces of artillery. I met the President of the Republic at eleven o'clock. He was crossing the Pont Royal, from the side of the Tuileries. He was surrounded by a numerous and brilliant staff of general officers, and was preceded and followed by a strong body of Cuirassiers and Lancers. He wore his usual uniform of a general of the National Guard and the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour. He bowed right and left and raised his cocked hat to the crowds, who then began to fill the streets. Most of the men raised their hats in return, and there was some cheering, but no enthusiasm. He was followed by an immense mob, shouting 'Vive la République!' which they were permitted to do in full liberty. I can safely assert that there was not one cry of 'Vive Napoleon' as long as the cortège was within my sight."

The question most asked when Louis Napoleon's proclamations became known was, "But what will the assembly do?" That body has not allowed its answer to be long waited for. As early as eight o'clock some representatives assembled at the residence of M. Odilon Barrot, but it was immediately after decided to go to M. Daru's, one of the Vice-Presidents of the assembly. Towards eleven o'clock nearly 200 representatives were assembled. They decided that they ought to proceed to the Legislative Palace, and formally claim their right to hold their sitting. They then proceeded to the Palace, and advance in a body towards the usual gates of entrance. They were there refused admittance, the officer of the troops on guard at the gate informing them that the Legislative Assembly no longer existed, having been dissolved by a decree of the President of the Republic. Some of the representatives expressed themselves warmly, it is said, at such language, and even attempted to force their way in, in doing which one of them, M. de Larcy, was, I understand, wounded with a bayonet.

The representatives, after formally summoning the officers in guard of the entrance to afford them admission, left the place, and on the invitation of M. Daru, one of the Vice-Presidents, proceeded to his apartment to deliberate. They were on the point of commencing, when a message arrived from General Lauriston, colonel of the Tenth Legion, declaring that he placed the Mairie of the Tenth arrondissement at their disposal, and that the Tenth Legion was prepared to defend them from all violence.

Thither the members of the Legislative Assembly repaired, and taking possession of one of the great rooms of the Mairie, proceeded to deliberate, M. Daru being in the chair. After a deliberation conducted in due form, and at which the short-hand writers of the *Moniteur* were present, the conduct of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was declared to be illegal, and contrary in every respect to the constitution. In consequence they affirmed him to have forfeited all claim to the high dignity of President of the Republic, and passed a decree pronouncing his déchéance, in conformity with art. 68. of the constitution.

Another decree frees the officers of the army and navy and the public functionaries from their oath of obedience to Louis Napoleon.

The High Court of Justice is convoked to judge the President and his Ministers. This decree was signed by all the members present, with M. Daru's name at the head. Amongst the other names are those of O. Barrot, De Broglie, Molé, Dufaure, Passy, De Tocqueville, Gustave de Beaumont, Quentin Bauchart, Dufour, De Tracy, Coquerel, Mortimer Ternaux, De Kerdrel, and Piscatory.

all the accounts come through the Government, and are, therefore, extremely doubtful. And just yesterday morning as we were writing the last words before going to press, the *Morning Chronicle* published the following:—

[BY SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH.]
(From our own Correspondent.)

PARIS, Thursday Evening, half-past Six.—Fighting is going on in the streets of Paris, and will probably not end to-night. It is said that General Castellane, at Lyons, and General Neumayer, at Lille, have declared against the Government. But this is denied by the Government. Strasbourg and Rheims are also said to have risen. M. Carlier has been sent as Commissary to Lyons. Great doubts are entertained of the fidelity of General Magnan.

Despatches half an hour later state that the barricades were carried; but they also state that nothing certain could be known, except that a bloody struggle had been fought in the streets.

PROCLAMATION OF THE REFUGEES IN LONDON.

The following proclamation has been sent to Paris by the French refugees whose names are subscribed to it:—

TO THE PEOPLE.

THE REFUGEES IN LONDON, WHOSE NAMES ARE SUBSCRIBED:—

Will you be debased? Will you be enslaved? Will you become henceforth an object of eternal contempt and ridicule to the oppressed Peoples who awaited their deliverance at your hands?

Louis Bonaparte has just crowded into a few hours more crimes than it would have been thought possible to include in the life of man.

Like a thief, he has seized upon the liberties of his country by a nocturnal surprise. A vulgar artifice, which certain people have been rash enough to call courage.

He has audaciously trifled with the sanctity of the domestic hearth.

By the aid of his swaggering soldiery and Police he has silenced every voice in Paris except his own.

At one blow he has suppressed all the journals, and has cast forth into the streets of Paris, without bread, those of your brethren whom the press supported.

He has outraged, stricken down, and trampled under foot the national representation, not only in the persons of your enemies, but in that of Greppo, the energetic and loyal representative of the workmen of Lyons; in that of Nadaud, the mason, who has so often and so nobly defended your interests at the tribune.

Do you want to have a Master? and 'do you wish that that Master should be Louis Bonaparte? You have seen the air with which he traversed the streets of Paris, hedged in by soldiers and covered by cannon, and causing himself to be borne in triumph by his staff; adding to the crime of high treason the insolence of a conqueror, and treating France as a conquered country—he, whose military annals can boast of nothing except the opprobrium of the Roman expedition!

That the members of the majority are expiating the ill which they have done; that the constitution which they have violated in you, is violated in them; that they are undergoing the chastisement through that universal suffrage which they destroyed; that they who have made a portion of France pass under the yoke, in the state of siege, now feel upon themselves the full weight of the state of siege; that they who have sanctioned the transportation of our brethren, en masse, and without judgment, now find force where they sought justice—is a lesson not more hard than merited. It is the penalty of retribution which is inflicted on them, and it is not for us to complain.

But what it concerns us to understand now is, whether you are in the mood for a change of tyrants?

For does this crime belong to that Assembly of which he was the inspirer and accomplice?

Was it not he that, by his Ministers, proposed and passed that odious law of May, against which he now rises up, because the candidature of Joinville has made him afraid?

Is not he, still worse than the Assembly, charged with the responsibility of having drowned the Italian Republic in the blood of the Romans, mingled with that of the French soldiers?

Among so many shameful and liberticide measures, let one be mentioned, a single one, which did not exhibit Louis Bonaparte acting in concert with the Assembly.

As soon as his ambition was threatened by the Assembly, he became the enemy of that body. But forget not that he has been its accomplice, so long as it acted to oppress you.

He now comes forward to tell you that the People is Sovereign; and at the same time he dares to demand ten years of power—that is, the abdication of that sovereignty for ten years.

He sets himself up as the man of the Republic—of that Republic which is the Government of equality, and at the same time he proposes the establishment of a Senate—that is, an Assembly of Dukes, Counts, Barons, and Marquises. Come, let us hasten, debased and clownish as we are,—let us hasten, in virtue of our Sovereignty, once more to instal an aristocracy, after so many battles fought and so much blood shed to put down that aristocracy for ever! It is the man of the Republic that invites us!

He boasts of restoring to you universal suffrage; but on condition that it be worked for his private advantage and not for yours; since he is going, for ten years, to be your Master.

"No scrutiny of the list," he says. Do you quite understand what that means? It means that the elec-

tions are to be made by registers lodged in the office of the Mayor. The great swindling manoeuvre which has been practised upon France once in her history, is to be renewed. Will you permit, precisely when it is pretended to restore your right, that it shall be filched from you?

Moreover, to exercise the right of the suffrage you must be free. Let him begin, then, by restoring free speech to the journals; let the doors be flung wide open to popular meetings; let every man speak his mind and learn that of others. Why those bayonets? Why those cannon? To restore universal suffrage combined with the state of siege, is to add mockery to falsehood. To the People proclaimed sovereign it is the mantle of slavery which is thrown over your shoulders; even as the barbarian chief, in the time of the Lower Empire, threw the purple over the Roman Emperors in placing them among his camp followers. Do you wish to be enslaved? Do you wish to be debased?

Such is the cry wrung from us by an indignation impossible to restrain. We, who in our exile can at least speak, do speak. But we owe more than speech to the Republic—our blood belongs to it. We know it, and shall not forget it.

Bernard (le Clubiste). Louis Blanc. Landolphe. Lyonne. Lémard. Robillart Suireau. Percy. Lyaz Bonœur. Le Capitaine Hémont. Cadet. Méteyer. Colin. Shanly. Paget Lupicin. Baron. Mercier. Herzog. Cachet. Philippe. Pathéy. Boura. Soubit. Rotillon. Maugenet. Langue-doc. Florentin. Rousseau. Frossard. Bauer. Auroy. Daranchi. Michon. Bartholomé. Charles. December 3, 1851.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

We find in the organ of the Polish Democratic Society, the *Demokrata*, the following extract from a letter, written in a very severe and indignant tone, by a correspondent who was an eye-witness of the reception of the Boy-Nero in Galicia. It corroborates, we regret to find, to a certain degree, the statements of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, mentioned in a recent number (p. 1102):—

"Foreign Governments (writes a Polish friend) keep in bondage the subdued nations by extirpating from their breasts the virtues of good citizens, by effacing their manly self-respect; their astuteness teaches that by this kind of moral paralysis, better than by violence and by the force of bayonets they secure a servile submission. The greater the corruption the weaker the faith in virtue. The more a foreign potentate succeeds in diffusing the venom of corruption, and in shaking the faith of the subjugated people in virtue and self-respect, the more resistless becomes his domination. It is not by the greater or lesser material resources of the country, or by the value of its sons, that you can judge of the vitality and of the future of a nation; but by the greater or lesser corruption, by the preservation or loss of its national dignity and its civic virtues.

"The time of emancipation of oppressed and subjugated nations can almost to the day, nay to the hour, be predicted. The more a nation is gangrened by corruption the more protracted is its slavery, and the later strikes the hour of its resurrection.

"We are loth to confess that in Galicia, at least a certain political atony prevails, a kind of torpor having its source both in the spread of corruption by the oppressors, and in a deep-seated decay of national organization.

"The Emperor of Austria, struck by the general panic of his fellow-despots, and being anxious to personally convince himself on which of the Peoples under his sway he might rely for a more lively attachment to his throne, and for a more ready acquiescence in oppression, visited Italy. Such a cruel derision, flaunted by an alien monarch in the face of an unfortunate and subjugated People, was chastised by silent contempt; and all the endeavours of parasites were of no avail to break the passive but terrible manifestation of the national self-consciousness, and of the detestation of a foreign thralldom.

"Regardless of their political position, nobles and peasants, rich and poor; in short, every Italian soul declared, by an eloquent silence, that to-day or to-morrow he might rend his chains, that he spurned the favours of an alien, strong in his faith in his own rights; that from such a quarter he infinitely preferred disfavour as the earnest of a better future.

"And, indeed, the Austrian felt himself vanquished by the power of the national will. The minions of the court dared not leave their master in such a state of discouragement, they confidently pointed out to him Galicia, whose fealty and slavish attachment was to blot out the humiliation he had suffered in Italy.

"And they were not mistaken in their infernal calculations—their reliance on the debasement of the country was verified.

"Throughout Galicia, in every direction, the same profuse servility was exhibited, everywhere decorations that debased the wearer, adorning the necks of the abused, were perceivable; and the Polish nobility—whose virtue, indigenous hatred of foreign oppressors, was undisputed—were the foremost in those riots of abasement and national disgrace.

"Princes and counts vied in the display of their degradation. Old and young did all they could to render the sojourn of the foreign oppressor amongst them as agreeable as possible. A state ball, public performances, nothing was neglected; and certain ladies reckoned those days among the happiest of their life. No; they do not deserve the name of Polish women! The Polish women always, even in days of the greatest sorrow and despair, set an example of unbending love of country and contempt for foreign yoke. The lower classes in Galicia, especially the peasants, kept in ignorance and

darkness, drew the Emperor's carriage, and bore in triumph the worshipped idol of authority! But how can we blame them? Can we complain of their abasement, when the nobles show the same idolatrous worship, when by their actions they deny their national dignity? With the loss of the Polish independence, the people of the villages lost the living history of their native country; for, as to the written history it was inaccessible to them; this treasure was, miser like, kept from them by the nobles, without any advantage to themselves and to the people. From whence, then, were the latter to draw the love of their nationality? Traditionally the peasants preserved no other recollection but that of their past social misery and oppression. Such to them was all the history of the past! It is, therefore, not to the people, but to the majority of the Galician nobles that belongs a place in the pillory of universal contempt. It is not of the people at large, but of the nobility that we must despair; it is not the ignorant people, deprived of all sources of enlightenment, but the leading Galician nobles who have entered, with the fullest knowledge, into a compact with the invaders, and have forsaken the cause of liberty and national independence.

"Are we, then, to despair on that condemned soil of finding one true Pole? Oh no!—there are many, and our hearty thanks are due to their abstention from that inglorious humiliation!

"In exchange for so much vileness, for such an abasement of the nation, the oppressor will distribute orders and titles amongst you, rejoice ye in them, show yourselves in the saloons of the governor, boast of your ignominy and degradation; but mind, the day of retribution is at hand!"

Now, the fact of the people of Galicia being, to a great extent, Austrianized is not to be wondered at, if we bear in mind that this part of Poland has been ever since 1772, uninterruptedly in the hands of the Austrian Government, and that that Government had a mighty lever at their disposal for denationalizing the superstitious peasants of Galicia, namely, that of being of the same religion (Catholic), and having at their command legions of priests, and especially Jesuits, for influencing the peasants. But on the authority of men who are thoroughly acquainted with the moral condition of the provinces groaning under the yoke of Russia and Prussia, we are authorized to give a flat denial to the assertion of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, that in them the people are Russianized or Prussianized, the reverse being the case. The position of the two latter parts of partitioned Poland is altogether different. In the first place, they were only since 1796 under the sway of the Russian and Prussian Governments, and moreover not uninterruptedly so, for the so-called Kingdom of Poland enjoyed from 1806 up to 1830, a national self-government; and the Duchy of Posen, from 1806 to 1815. Thus, whilst Galicia has uninterruptedly borne the thralldom of Austria for seventy-nine years (almost a century), Russia—deducting twenty-four years of a national existence (from 1806 to 1830)—has only done so for thirty-one years, and Prussia, deducting the interruption of nine years, for forty-six. Besides, these two powers (Russia and Prussia) have not the same religious means to dispose of as has Austria; the first is Schismatic, the other Lutheran; whilst the Polish populations are chiefly, and the peasants entirely, Catholic. Up to this moment the Polish peasantry in the so-called Kingdom of Poland, and in the Grand Duchy of Posen, most cordially hate the very name of a Muscovite or German. It is enough to tell him that he is to take a part in a coming war against the Muscovites or the Germans (as he calls the Prussians), and he, without any hesitation, leaves his domestic hearth and family, grasps his scythe, and rushes to the battle-field with enthusiasm.

There is, moreover, one circumstance which ought to be taken into consideration, viz., that the Polish peasants of Galicia are insidiously oppressed by the Government, and through the nobles; hence a class-hatred which does not exist in Russia, or Prussia, or Poland.

Some days ago the *Times* quoted, without any comment, from the *Austrian Correspondence* (*Oestreichische Correspondenz*), an organ of the Imperial Government, the following assertion:—

"Austria has always respected existing treaties and the rights of independent States."

This is one of the most barefaced falsehoods ever thrown into the face of the world, even by the Chanceries of Vienna; for is it not notorious, that of all the kings of the Austrian dynasty, who from 1561 up to 1851 (290 years) have reigned in Hungary,—about twenty in number—not one but has violated the treaties which recognized the independence of that state, as for instance, that of 1606 with Bocskay, of 1622 with Bethlen, and that of 1645 with George Rákoczy; that they have ever trampled upon the Hungarian free constitution, and have every one of them (Matthew—1608-1619, perhaps excepted, who, to a certain extent at least, maintained the Hungarian Constitution) committed perjury by breaking the oath they had sworn to that constitution.

Did not this same Austria, which "has always respected existing treaties," take possession (only five years since) of Cracow and its surrounding territory, which, according to the provisions of the existing treaty of Vienna, was to be an independent

republic, under the protection of Russia, Prussia, and Austria?

If the system of *laissez-faire* (not to say complicity) be maintained, we shall soon see how much sincerity there is in the declaration of this official paper, that "Austria aspires to no greater influence in Tuscany than is secured by treaties and her reversionary rights."

As to the solemn phrase—"though hatred and revenge are passions unknown to this Government,"* what can we say when we think of the frightful slaughter of Eperies, in Hungary (1687), by the Austrian hangman, General Caraffa; of that in 1846 in Galicia, perpetrated by Austria's hired assassins, who were paid by the Government so much per head for the slaughter of the defenceless nobles; and that of 1849, in Hungary, during and after the war, by the modern Caraffa, Haynau, and his atrocities in Italy, especially at Brescia?—or are these butcheries to be called "punishments deemed necessary"?

How these Austrian scribes who fabricated the "semi-ministerial reply" to an article of one of our evening papers, will prove the assertion that "in the Spanish war of succession, Austria battled at the same time for the interests of England," we are at a loss to conceive. Exclusively waged for the dynastic interests of the Hapsburg dynasty, viz., to conquer Spain, it was begun in 1701 by Leopold (1701-1705), who in all his undertakings was the tool of the Jesuits, his constant advisers, and the express instigators of this war. His eldest son, Joseph I., unsuccessfully continued what his father had rashly commenced; and after Joseph I., his brother Charles III., who was already in 1703 designated by his father successor to the expected throne of Spain, and who, having been by his family proclaimed actual King of Spain, hastened thither with Hungarian troops to maintain his illegal claims; but the Spaniards so valiantly defended their own rights, that in 1711 he was entirely driven out. Such was the issue of that war. Now, is it likely that England would have incited Austria, through the Jesuits, to enter into a war against Spain, to conquer that country, and to occupy its throne, and all for her (England's) interests?

The last phrase, "Austria remains the same, but England has changed its tendencies," is a reproach which, for our part, we are disposed to accept with thankful pride. Austria is still what she ever has been—viz., perjurious, a violator of treaties, tyrannical, cruel, revengeful; and England has changed, because she has ceased to subsidize with her blood and treasure Austrian infamies.

The ukaze, forbidding the Jews of the Prussian empire to wear beards, and the married Jewesses to shave their heads, issued by the Tsar in 1846, is executed with the utmost rigour. According to the German papers, a detachment of Cossacks has lately surrounded the Jewish synagogue at Peterkoff (a small town in the so-called kingdom of Poland), and the commander of the detachment, accompanied by the mayor, upon entering the synagogue, made a strict survey, and inscribed on a list all the Jews who had shaved their beards, and separately all those who had not. The *Cologne Gazette* mentions that at all the gates of Warsaw military barbers are posted, who at once shave every abnormal beard, with a sharp or blunt razor according to the sum of money paid in advance for that uncalled-for service.

The *Constitutionelle Blatt* of Bohemia states, in a correspondence from the Prussian frontier, as follows:—"The German papers startle us, at first sight, with their very odd tidings, viz., that, in the Russian provinces of the Baltic, the Estonians, Livonians, and Finlanders pass over in crowds to the Christian faith." Our correspondent very justly considers that news as very ridiculous; one would think, indeed, that the villages of the Baltic provinces are inhabited by heathens, to whom Christian missionaries are being humanely sent. Still, it cannot be denied that there is some truth at the bottom, only misrepresented. For many years the Russian Government has sent its schismatic missionaries into these provinces, to convert their Protestant populations to the Greco-Russian creed. In the towns peopled by Germans the number of proselytes was very insignificant; but among the raw and ignorant people of the villages of Esthonia, Livonia, and Finland, being easily allured

* Francis I., for instance, who was not the worst of the Austrian rulers, and who reigned for forty-four years (1792-1836), was in reality the most revengeful and refined of tyrants. For example, he had a model of Spielberg, representing all the inner cells of the prison, with little figures in them personating the political Italian and Polish prisoners incarcerated therein. Every day at breakfast time that model was put before him, together with the daily report of the governor of Spielberg. He then looked over the said report, and if the prisoner so and so had not made the confession he wished, and which would have procured him more victims to torture, he took out the little figure representing that prisoner, and put it in another cell, in which the prisoner was to be submitted to a torture more cruel than that he had hitherto undergone—he having himself invented different kinds of tortures for different cells. Such was the pastime of the paternal ruler of Austria, which fully shows his good-heartedness, and proves that "hatred and revenge are passions unknown to the Austrian Government."

by promises, they reaped an abundant religious harvest. Their apostolic zeal has, for the last few years, lain somewhat dormant; for they did not think it prudent to provoke excitement at a moment when the neighbouring German countries were revolutionary disposed; but the schismatic missions have been lately successfully resumed, for there is now not one village in the above-mentioned provinces in which some converted Greco-Russians could not be found.

The German papers state, that in Besarabia Russian troops are being numerously concentrated, and among them are many regiments which acted in the Hungarian war, and are inured to war.

Russian recruits deserting to Prussia were never so numerous as now. They are, of course, given up to Russia by the Prussian authorities. Their severity is especially directed towards the deserters belonging to the Mosaic creed. By the zeal the Prussian Government manifests on this occasion, it pretends to be especially prompted by goodly feeling towards the inhabitants of the so-called kingdom of Poland, where the communes are obliged to furnish three recruits for one deserter.

From the frontier of Poland a correspondent writes to the *Baltic Gazette*:—

"Russia is the country of palace conspiracies and revolutions. Scarcely has one conspiracy been subdued, when the Government tracks out another. A rumour is again current, that a formidable conspiracy of the nobility was discovered at St. Petersburg, purposing to bring about this winter a revolution, and that, consequently, many persons of high rank have been arrested. The plot, it is said, was betrayed by some Circassian officers of the Emperor's lifeguard, whom the conspirators endeavoured to enlist into the conspiracy.

In virtue of an ordinance issued by Prince Poskevich, classed functionaries, and retired military officers, are entitled to possess firearms, without asking for a special permission; but they are not allowed, under any pretext, to lend them to others, under the penalty of being deprived of the permission, and under the severest responsibility.

The funeral of the late King of Hanover took place on the 26th ultimo. The public were not admitted to the ceremony.

The King of Prussia returned to Berlin from Hanover on the 27th ultimo. The members of the two Chambers dined with the king at the Palace, on the day following. Covers were laid for 600 guests. The state of siege in the Grand Duchy of Baden has again been prolonged.

The opening of the Session of the Prussian Chambers took place on the 27th ultimo. The address was read by the President of the Cabinet. It contained no reference to the foreign policy. The convocation of Provincial States, which has been granted, is to stand as a Provincial Representative Assembly *ad interim*, and their decisions are to have no other force than the expression of an opinion. An additional grant will be necessary for the army. The state of the finances was satisfactory. Every hope was cherished of the September treaty being brought to a successful conclusion. With respect to the prevailing scarcity, no encroachment would be made on the freedom of commercial intercourse. In conclusion, the king rested his trust on the patriotism of the Chambers.

The Schleswig-Holstein question seems to be at last arranged in what may be called a satisfactory manner; if it be satisfactory to find that an obstinate struggle and a protracted negotiation has resulted in the *Status quo ante*; in other words, that things remain exactly where they were before the war. Schleswig will not be incorporated with Denmark; but will form an independent part of the Danish Monarchy, with its own provincial representation. Holstein remains in its former position with regard to the Confederation; and the separate provincial system of Government, as it existed before 1848, will be again established there. In fact, wherever it is possible, and as far as is consistent with the integrity of Denmark, the administrative independence of both duchies will be strictly adhered to.

The *Austrian Gazette* contains a Ministerial edict, signed by Dr. Bach, and dated November 16, forbidding all meetings of the brotherhoods known by the name of German Catholics, or Friends of Light, *alias* Free Christians. The reason assigned for closing these associations is that they have been ascertained to conceal, under the cloak of religion, designs against the State, and that one of the chief aims of the sect is to undermine the foundation of society. All the unions existing under either of the above names are therefore declared unlawful, and a ban placed upon them. The formation of any other societies which, with a different name, are derived from, or connected with these, is also strictly forbidden.

The accounts from Upper Italy are most deplorable. The municipality of Milan exhorts the inhabitants of that city to raise subscriptions in aid of the sufferers by the late inundations. In almost every part of the Peninsula similar disasters have to be deplored.

Capital punishments are now of frequent occurrence in the Roman States. On the 15th of last month, three men were executed at Fabriano, for the attempted murder of a priest. This attempt occurred on the 16th of May, 1849, at Rome; and now, three years having nearly elapsed, these unfortunate men, one of whom was an ex-officer of the National Guard, of the name of Ventroni, have been executed.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH REVOLUTION OF THE TWENTY-NINTH OF NOVEMBER, 1830.

Last Saturday evening the Polish Democratic exiles resident in London, met at Lambert's Tavern, Red Lion-court, Fleet-street, to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of their revolution of 1830. The chair was taken at eight o'clock by M. Zabitski, member of the central committee of the Democratic Society; who opened the meeting with an eloquent speech full of hope for a high regeneration of Poland. Lieutenant-Colonel Stolzman delivered a discourse on the duties of a Pole and a Democrat, both to his own country and to mankind at large. He severely reproved those exiles who accept, or beg for, an amnesty from a foreign despotic usurper; no less severely did he censure the un-Polish conduct of his Galician countrymen in their reception of the Austrian spoliator. M. Lopatsinski, who, like the Chairman, was a member of the Polish-Hungarian Legion, very eloquently and documentarily showed, that in all parts of Poland the new generation, to which he himself belongs, is truly Democratic.

The exiles, thirty-nine in number, afterwards partook of a modest supper, after which they chaunted national hymns and songs appropriated to the occasion, and separated at twelve o'clock.

As the Polish exiles in Paris were not allowed this year to assemble, they were compelled to content themselves with commemorating the anniversary of the 29th of November by attending divine service. Thus, in the Church, Notre Dame de Bonnes Nouvelles, the Polish Democrats assisted at the celebration of a mass. A sermon was afterwards preached by a priest belonging to the Polish Democratic Society. In the Church de l'Assomption the Polish refugees, belonging to the aristocratic party, joined by those who have no political opinion whatever, assisted at the celebration of a mass, and offered up prayers.

If in Vienna the proceedings of the Exchange are watched by the police, the Parisian police in a large body, assisted by some *sergents de ville*, were on this occasion no less active; and the divine service performed in the two above-named churches was rigidly watched by them, so much so, that the slightest motion of the hearers, deemed by the sceptic *sergents de ville* as unsuitable to the ceremony, was severely admonished by them. It is, perhaps, not out of place here to mention that, even under Louis Philippe's Government, the Poles were never prevented from holding anniversary meetings, as well in Paris as throughout the whole of France. Is not that a proof that Louis Bonaparte is a tool in the hand of Nicholas?

THE REFORM CAMPAIGN.

The long talked of Manchester conference and public meeting took place on Wednesday. The attendance was large, so large, indeed, that the delegates were compelled to adjourn to the Spread Eagle. Almost every district in Lancashire and the West Riding was represented. There were also ten members of Parliament present. Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., Sir J. Walmsley, M.P., Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., the Right Honourable T. M. Gibson, M.P., Mr. James Kershaw, M.P., Mr. G. Thompson, M.P., Mr. L. Heyworth, M.P., Mr. J. B. Smith, M.P., and Mr. John Williams, M.P.

Mr. George Wilson occupied the chair. He made the customary opening speech, and introduced Mr. John Bright, M.P., who came forward with the cut and dried resolutions agreed to at a preliminary meeting. Mr. Bright described the meetings in which the resolutions were adopted as refreshingly unanimous. Of the resolutions themselves, he said:—

"I do not propose now to submit any set of abstract propositions; but rather, knowing the great differences of opinion that exist in various classes—from the man of wealth and station down to the enthusiastic artisan who has no stake but his labour,—looking at these things, I say, we should submit a plan of reform that would give a large measure of political liberty to the people, and also conciliate the largest amount of public opinion among the more wealthy and intelligent classes of the community. (*Hear, hear.*)"

He considered that a new reform bill every five years would be a nuisance—

"We therefore are bound, in my opinion, at once to hit upon some scheme which shall settle this question, at least so as that whatever future amendments may be necessary can be effected, carefully and gradually, without interrupting the general business of the country. Now the resolutions I have to propose are drawn up with a definiteness which some gentlemen may think undesirable, and at the same time with a vagueness to which others may have an equally strong objection. We have endeavoured to prepare them in such a shape as to lay a basis on which the superstructure of a reform act might be erected on understandable and definite grounds. At the same time we have been disposed to leave some matters and details open for discussion and for settlement in Parliament while the bill is passing through committee."

The following are our resolutions, exclaimed Mr. Bright:—

"1. That this conference has maturely considered the existing state of the representation of the United Kingdom, and has deliberated upon the changes which are required to satisfy the just and moderate expectations of

the people, and to render the House of Commons, in conformity with the spirit of the constitution, a fair representation of the property, the industry, and the intelligence of the nation.

"2. That with regard to the franchise, this conference is of opinion that the right of voting should be widely extended, and that the franchise should be made more simple, with a view to the easy formation of an honest register of electors; and it recommends that the elective franchise be based upon occupation and liability to the poor rate, with such limitation as to period of residence as shall be necessary to afford a guarantee that the occupation is bona fide. In addition, the conference would urge the extension of 40s. franchise, and its extension to the owners of property in the United Kingdom of that annual value, whether derived from freehold, copyhold, or leasehold tenures, with the view to open a way to the right of voting to many, who, from various causes, would not be in the direct occupation of premises rated for the relief of the poor, but whose claims to the franchise, from industry, character, and station, are undoubted. The whole constituency of the United Kingdom would thus consist of occupiers rated to the relief of the poor, and of the owners of property, freehold, copyhold, or leasehold, of the annual value of 40s.

"3. That this conference is of opinion that no extension of the franchise will make the House of Commons a fair representation of the nation without a very considerable change in the distribution of the electoral power, and it therefore strongly urges that, where practicable and convenient, small and neighbouring boroughs be united and form one borough; that where such arrangement is not practicable, small boroughs cease to return members, and that their existing constituency form part of that of the county in which they are situated. That, corresponding to the extent to which small boroughs shall be united, or shall cease to return members to Parliament, new boroughs be created from the populous towns now unrepresented, and that additional members be conferred on the metropolitan and other first class boroughs in the United Kingdom. A guiding principle in the changes here recommended should be, that hereafter no small constituency should exist, and that no constituency should consist of fewer than 5000 electors. (Cheers.)

"4. That this conference is of opinion that the adoption of the ballot is indispensable to an honest representation; that it would make the convictions of the elector, rather than his personal interests or fears, the leading motive in the exercise of the franchise; that it would greatly depress the demoralizing practices so humiliating to candidates and so degrading to electors, which were almost inseparable from a canvass and a poll under the existing system; and that it would aid most effectually in preventing the turbulence and riot with which elections have hitherto been too often attended.

"5. That this conference is of opinion that the present legal duration of Parliaments is much too extended to secure to constituencies a proper control over their representatives, and would strongly urge the repeal of the Septennial Act, and the limitation of the duration of Parliaments, in accordance with ancient precedent, to a period not exceeding three years.

"6. That this conference entirely concurs in the view expressed by the Prime Minister during the last session of Parliament, that the property qualification for members of Parliament ought to be abolished.

"7. That in the proposition now agreed to and now submitted to the consideration of the country and the Government, this conference has been anxious to adhere to the ancient landmarks of our representative system, and within their limits to introduce such changes only as experience has shown to be wise, and so to widen the basis of the representation, as to satisfy the best expectations of the people, improving in industry, in comfort, in education, in morals, and in the appreciation of their public duties and public rights."

Mr. Bright commented on the resolutions in detail, laying it down as a broad principle that "the elector should be a resident and a ratepayer." Sir Joshua Walmsley asked what was meant by a ratepayer, to which he received no satisfactory reply. Further discussion was objected to until the resolutions were seconded, which Mr. Alderman Kershaw agreed to do. Mr. William Coningham, of Brighton, at once objected to the resolutions, declared that they were far short of what the people would demand, and asserted that the only good point in the whole programme was the ballot. Mr. Alderman Carbutt, of Leeds, agreed with the resolutions, and defended them warmly.

Mr. George Thompson, M.P., objected strongly to the resolutions, as the programme of the popular party. They were not so comprehensive as the Richmond programme seventy years ago. They were not so liberal as the resolutions agreed to at the Free-trade Club, which formed the basis of Mr. Hume's annual motion; and Mr. Thompson would move that the actual words of Mr. Hume's motion be inserted in the resolutions.

"He would tell Mr. Bright that if his scheme was adopted in March or April next, it would not settle the question for a day; in as far as he was able to invoke the help of his fellowmen, it should not settle it for an hour. (Hear, hear.) He held that every man should be qualified to vote, if you found no cause of disqualification in his character or mind. He agreed with Mr. Bright that they must draw the line somewhere, but do not let them narrow it too much. He wanted a measure which would be satisfactory to the country. He was prepared to tell them they could not go too far on that question—the question of the suffrage. Tell him why should any class of our adult community, having a home, no matter where, be disfranchised? Why should they

be marked out as the pariahs and lepers of society? They were going to put a brand of disgrace upon their fellowmen by this resolution. (Loud cries of 'No.') They were going to include part, and if they did that, did they not deepen the disgrace of those they left out? (No, no.) If any of those present were left out, how would they feel? They were answering for the men outside, and why should any man be left out of the pale of the constitution? (A Voice: 'Why should not the women have it?' and much laughter.) Well, he thought seriously that that was a question which might be left to the discretion of our children after us. (A laugh.)"

Mr. Bright in general terms denied that he was inconsistent, and claimed for his resolutions more liberality than pertained to those of Mr. Hume.

Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, M.P., who had no doubt that every man who paid taxes had a right to vote, approved of the resolutions on the ground that they were met to secure a practicable measure.

Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., gave a qualified assent to the resolutions, which fell far short of what he deemed necessary; but as nothing could be done without the coöperation of classes, therefore he supported the resolutions under protest.

Mr. Baines, of Leeds, agreed most heartily with the whole proposition, but would best like it more restrictive still.

Mr. Forbes, on the part of the town of Bradford, and Mr. Harrison, of Wakefield, concurred in Mr. Bright's proposal.

Mr. Bright opposed Mr. Thompson's amendment, as enforcing the necessity of making a claim. His plan was to have the rate-book the register, and he had no objection to insert twelve months' occupation. With respect to the payment of rates, he had thought it better to leave the question open; but on the whole he thought his resolutions more liberal than Mr. Thompson's.

Mr. Thompson: I totally repudiate Mr. Bright's—(interruption, noise, "withdraw the amendment")—Does Mr. Bright propose bona fide household suffrage? (Interruption.)

Mr. Forbes: Mr. Thompson mistakes the Bradford men if he thinks they will support him. Sir Joshua Walmsley's letter did more harm than anything that had ever come from the association. ("Hear, hear," "No, no," and excitement.)

Sir J. Walmsley rose, but was met with loud interruptions.

The Chairman: Another speaker is in possession of the chair.

Mr. G. Thompson: I rise to order. If Mr. Bright is to speak in the first instance—if an evident attempt at—(noise, and cries of "Sit down")—and if Mr. Forbes is permitted to say that Sir Joshua Walmsley did injury to the cause in that locality—"So he did," "No, no"—if we are prepared to debate that question, let us do so; but I am as honest as Mr. Bright, and will not submit to be ridden over roughshod. (Uppur, and a general endeavour to drown the honourable member's voice.) I am not a Lancashire man, but I am an Englishman; and I am here, in as far as I understand them, to represent the wishes of the people of England. (Cheers and interruption.) I tell Mr. Bright that neither here nor elsewhere shall he daunt me. (Great confusion.)

Sir J. Walmsley: One moment. (Interruption.) I will be heard. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Harrison: Mr. Forbes has made a charge which I had much rather had been left unmade. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") But as it has been made, would it not be much better to allow Sir Joshua Walmsley to explain, and so end this personal matter? (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Watts: Let Mr. Forbes retract.

Mr. Forbes: I cannot retract, but I will express my regret for the observation. (Hear, hear.)

Sir J. Walmsley: One single syllable. I tell Mr. Forbes that if he will do me the favour to call a public meeting in Bradford or elsewhere, I shall be ready to give the fullest explanation of everything I have done. (Cheers.)

Mr. Lighthowler (Bradford), as a working man was dissatisfied with Mr. Bright's words. He believed that the working classes would not be satisfied with anything short of universal suffrage.

Sir Joshua Walmsley, M.P., said that he had attended 549 reform meetings in England, Scotland, and Wales, and, therefore, ought to know something of the opinions of the great masses of the people. Up to that period it had been impossible for the middle-class Reformers to hold public meetings without interruption from the operatives; but since those meetings the two classes could meet in any part of the kingdom. (Loud cheers.) At those meetings he had proposed Mr. Hume's motion—a motion which Mr. Bright had insisted on drawing up, and which Mr. Cobden had signed, and he had always found the working classes reasonable and conciliatory. (Cheers.) He begged of the meeting to remember that they were legislating, not for themselves, but for the producing classes; and he hoped that, though late in the field, they would propose a comprehensive measure of reform. (Hear, hear.) He wished to ask again whether the payment of rate was to be made the condition of the right of voting?

Mr. Dewhurst approved of the resolutions, but would have preferred an arrangement of electoral districts based on population.

Mr. David Green (Leeds) said he had taken the opinion of the working classes in that town, and that they would not be satisfied with a two years' residence clause.

Mr. J. Heywood, M.P., made a mild, Liberal Whig speech; and following him Mr. Cobden made known his views.

The first portion of his speech was occupied in proving the proposition that none of the speakers, except those positively belonging to the working classes, had a right to speak in their behalf exclusively. He showed that the amendment, proposed by Mr. Thompson, was less liberal than the resolution. Mr. Cobden thought the great advantage of the plan was in making the ratebook the register, and he was willing to enfranchise lodgers where they could be enfranchised.

"Another question is the payment of rates. I know many gentlemen who think it would be a very conservative and moral test that you should require that a man had paid up his rates. But don't you think there is great immorality going on at present, in inducing men to vote by paying their rates? (Hear.) I tell you honestly, my firm belief is that, if ever corruption on a gigantic scale were to be tried, if ever concentrated wealth were to be poured on a multitudinous constituency for purposes of a certain sinister character, the very best field of operations would be a constituency where the rate-paying clause existed, and where, by paying the rates of thousands, thousands of votes might be bought. (Hear, hear.) And I would go so far as to say, that with any very large constituency the payment of rates is the only corruption I should fear in this country. I believe that Sir Joshua Walmsley is induced to press this point from his knowledge of what was done with the not over-pure constituency of Liverpool, and where the payment of rates is practised on a larger scale than in any other part of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.) Besides, I do not think we are bound to provide in an act of Parliament for the payment of rates, any more than we are bound to provide for the payment of tradesmen's bills. (Hear, hear.) Let the overseer see to the rates, as the law empowers him to collect them; but while I say this, I admit that many intelligent gentlemen take a different view of the question."

Mr. Cobden spoke warmly of the efforts of the leader of the Parliamentary Reform Association who, he was sure, had done great service in laying the bases of public confidence in Mr. Hume's motion. Turning round upon the Parliamentary Reformers, and taking advantage of their error in tactics, he wound up by the triumphant sentence.

"I can say, from the fullest knowledge of all the circumstances, that Mr. Bright has in his resolution amply represented all that Mr. Hume intended, and, therefore, there cannot be the slightest ground for even the whisper of a suspicion that Manchester men contemplated going further than Mr. Hume. But I wish it to be understood that, in this meeting there are men employing thousands of the working-classes, who are willing to give to the unenfranchised millions a share in the representation, such as should satisfy reasonable men, and place them on the road to success in all their just demands. (Loud cheers.)"

Mr. Thompson was requested to withdraw his amendment; but he declined, and the original resolutions were carried. A deputation was appointed to wait on Lord John Russell.

In the evening a public meeting was held in the Free Trade-hall. The front seats were well packed with the respectable ratepaying classes, and in the distance were bodies of the people "watching proceedings." Mr. George Wilson presided. The resolutions were read in dead silence until the ballot clause was reached when there was a grand cheer. The conclusion fell still-born—respectable ratepaying classes not being boisterous applauders, and the people being indifferent. No amendments were moved. The speakers were Mr. Bright, M.P., Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., Sir Joshua Walmsley, M.P., and Mr. Cobden. The resolutions agreed to at the morning conference were submitted, and carried, no active opposition being organized on behalf of thorough reform.

The Reformers of Lambeth met the Parliamentary Reform Association at a public meeting on Monday. Resolutions were passed embodying the principles of the Association. Sir Joshua Walmsley, M.P., Mr. George Thompson, M.P., Mr. S. Williams, M.P., and Mr. W. Williams, M.P., were present. There was a good muster, and considerable enthusiasm.

CUSTOMS' REFORM.

Obviously no administrative system can stand against the amount of hostile opinion now directed against the Board of Customs. A great meeting, over which Mr. John Masterman, M.P., presided, at which eminent men of all political shades attended, including the Conservative Chairman and the Radical William Williams, M.P., was held on Wednesday in the City. The object of the gathering was to receive a report from the Committee of Merchants and Traders on Customs' Reform, and to pass certain resolutions condemning the Board of Customs, demanding the reappointment of the select committee on Customs which sat last session, and voting thanks to the various persons and bodies who have energetically backed the movement. The most decided and hostile spirit prevailed. Every speaker added some new fact which told against the Board of Customs, and the conduct of the Law Officer of the Crown and the Treasury was unsparingly condemned. The out-ports were well represented, and the most perfect una-

nimity prevailed. The speakers were Mr. J. Ingram Travers, Mr. R. W. Crawford, Mr. W. Williams, M.P., Mr. James Clay, M.P., Mr. W. S. Lindsay the great shipowner, Mr. Gassiot, Mr. M. Clarke, Mr. Pascoe Grenfell, M.P. and one of the directors of the St. Katherine's Dock Company, Mr. W. Hawes, Mr. J. D. Powles secretary to the London Dock Company, Mr. W. J. Hall, who has been so long persecuted by the Board of Customs, and who has so ably and courageously resisted them; Sir James Duke, M.P., Mr. M'Gregor, M.P., Mr. D. C. Guthrie, and Mr. Somes. Altogether, every branch of commercial and trading industry was represented at the meeting. The following are the important resolutions agreed to:—

"That the extraordinary and unexpected issue of the oppressive, unjust, and enormously costly proceedings instituted by the department of Customs against the London and St. Katherine's Dock Companies, furnishes a new and alarming example of the irresistible power of this department to overwhelm a defendant with costs, and of the unscrupulous manner in which that power may be used while exempt from public control; and proves that neither public companies, nor the character and property of private merchants and traders are safe, so long as the present irresponsible system of management is allowed to exist; and that a deputation from this meeting do wait upon Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister of this country, and member for the city of London, to represent to him, in the strongest possible manner, the dissatisfaction of the mercantile community with the management of that department of his Government having the control of the Customs, and to urge upon him the necessity of the reappointment of the select committee of the House of Commons, to continue the inquiry commenced last session into the management of the department of Customs, at the earliest period of the coming session."

There was not a sparkle of opposition, and no Government was ever more severely censured "by any public" meeting.

MANCHESTER EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT.

Mr. Henry, M.P., presided over a meeting of the council, on Monday, at Manchester. There were present Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. T. M. Gibson, M.P., Mr. George Combe, and Mr. Simpson, of Edinburgh.

Mr. Henry said that the time had come when mere passive sympathy with the principles of the association would not serve the promotion of its objects, and active promulgation of those principles was necessary. The bill intended to be brought before the House of Commons was in the hands of the printer, but had not quite been settled.

The following resolution was moved and seconded by the Reverend W. F. Walker, incumbent of St. James's Church, Oldham, and the Reverend F. Tucker, Baptist:—

"Resolved,—That the following be adopted as an appendix to clause vi. s. 3:—

"That schools already in existence may become free schools under the direction of their present or future managers, and receive — per week for each scholar educated in them.

"Provided,—

"1. That on inspection they are found in a satisfactory condition.

"2. That "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not take place in them between the hours of — and — in the morning, and — and — in the afternoon.

"3. That the attendance of the scholars on the "inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not be compulsory.

"4. That "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not be a part of the duty of the teachers under this system.

"5. That no part of the school payments derived from the rate shall be directly or indirectly applied to the inculcation of doctrinal religion."

The extension of the association embodied in the resolution was supported both by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Gibson, and carried unanimously. The effect of this addition to the proposed bill would, it was admitted, be to approximate the plan of the National Association to that of the Manchester and Salford Society. Mr. Cobden looked hopefully upon this as a sign that parties were coming to an understanding; and Mr. Gibson thought that they only gave a fair consideration to the views of others and preserved the principles of the association intact. The new clause would, in fact, amount to taking powers to purchase of the denominational schools that part of their teaching which was secular, leaving doctrinal religion still in the hands of the sect to which the school belonged. In short, the addition to clause vi. s. 3. is an attempt to nullify the objections of the voluntaries.

A large meeting was held in the evening at the Corn Exchange; and, as at the morning conference, Mr. Henry, M.P., took the chair. The speakers were Mr. Gibson, M.P., Mr. Baynes, M.A., of Nottingham, Mr. George Combe, of Edinburgh, Mr. Cobden, M.P., Mr. Simpson, of Edinburgh, and Dr. Watts, of Manchester. The resolutions were of a more popular character than those of the conference, and are chiefly remarkable for taking ground strongly in favour of secular education. The main point of Mr. Combe's speech was a demonstration of the necessity for instruction, and a description of what that

instruction ought to consist in. Mr. Cobden, who followed Mr. Combe, thought that they had hardly arrived at the point where they could define specially as to what the instruction should be, and he insisted at length on the necessity for instruction generally, and on the injustice of any system supported by public rates which should exclude the children of any sect whatever.

Antagonistic to this meeting of the Public School Association, the Manchester and Salford Society held a meeting next day, for the purpose apparently of counteracting the effect produced by their opponents. Mr. Entwistle presided. There were present the Bishop of Manchester, Mr. Canon Clifton, and Mr. Canon Stowell. These gentlemen addressed the meeting, and complained bitterly of the unfair treatment they had received at the hands of their antagonists. The Bishop of Manchester moved the following resolution:—

"That this meeting gratefully concurs in the desire publicly expressed by her most gracious Majesty that the youth of these kingdoms should be religiously brought up, and that the rights of conscience should be respected."

The Bishop occupied himself in defending his own conduct, chiefly in attacking his opponents, including the High Church party and the secular instructionists in the severest terms.

Mr. Alderman Shuttleworth moved—

"That it is expedient to provide, by legislative enactment, for the free education of all the children in this district, by means of local rates; such rates to be administered by local authorities."

Mr. Canon Stowell spoke to the resolution in his customary tranchant style. He characterized Archdeacon Denison as the impersonation of Tractarian bigotry, and Dr. Watts as the impersonation of an extreme and unmitigated latitudinarianism. He likened the one to Caiaphas and the other to Pontius Pilate. All the speakers were greatly annoyed at the step taken by the Public School Association, described above. The following resolutions were also adopted:—

"That the rates so levied ought to be applied in support of existing schools affording religious and secular instruction, and of similar schools to be hereafter erected by voluntary liberality; and also in the erection of schoolrooms in destitute districts; That in the case of schools not receiving Parliamentary aid, and not publicly recognized as affording religious instruction, provision should be made for the daily instruction of the children in the Holy Scriptures; and, That in all cases the right of the parent to select the place where his children shall be educated, and to exempt them from any distinctive religious teaching to which he shall conscientiously object, must be sacredly maintained."

A deputation waited accordingly on Lord John Russell, headed by Mr. Entwistle. They made their statement, and Lord John Russell received them with great and particular attention. He approved of a rate, provided the difficulties as to religious scruples could be smoothed away. He was prepared personally to accede to the general principles of the Association.

THE STATUTES OF THURLES.

It is understood that Archbishop Murray has come to the conclusion not to publicly promulgate the statutes of Thurles. In this resolution he is supported by the bishops in whose dioceses the "godless" colleges are situated; each of whom firmly protested against the synodical decrees placing the colleges under the ban of the ultramontane party. Two parish priests of Waterford have issued jointly a letter in reply to a fierce attack on them by another priest, charging them with disobedience to the Pope, for having supported the national board of education, and assisting to found what is called a "model" school in Waterford. The defence is manly and direct, and warm even in defence of "mixed" education.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MARSHAL SOULT.

Nicolas-Jean-de-Dieu Soult was born at St. Amand (Turn), on March 29, 1769. His father, who was a notary, seeing that he had no taste for his own profession, allowed him to enter the army. The future Marshal of France entered the Royal Regiment of Infantry in 1785, where he was soon remarked by his aptitude for the functions of instructor. He was made non-commissioned officer in 1790, and then passed rapidly through the intermediate grades, until he reached that of Adjutant-General of the Staff, when General Lefebvre attached him to his own service, with the grade of Chief of Brigade. In that quality he went through the campaigns of 1794 and 1795 with the army of the Moselle, and owed to his talents, as well as to his Republican principles, a rapid promotion.

The battle of Fleurus, fought in this campaign, materially advanced his prospects. There, indeed, he first came prominently into notice, and an anecdote of his courage and conduct on that occasion is well-known to all who have studied those first marvellous campaigns of the armies of the Young Republic. Soult was chief of the staff to General Lefebvre, who headed the advanced guard of the army of the

Moselle. When the right wing under Marceau was routed, and the general himself forced to fall back on Lefebvre's division, he entreated, in an agony of despair, a succour of four battalions, that he might seek to recover his lost position. "Give these battalions to me," said Marceau to Lefebvre, "or I will blow out my brains." Lefebvre hesitated and consulted Soult. Soult remonstrated, and represented that to lend these battalions would endanger the safety of the whole division. Marceau was indignant that an obscure aide should venture to have any opinion on such a subject. "Who are you?" cried Marceau. Soult responded, "Whoever I am, I am calm, which you are not." The indignation of Marceau was extreme. He threatened, and then challenged Soult to fight him the following day. "Good," said Soult; "I will not treat you with disrespect; but I must speak the truth. Do not kill yourself, general; lead on your men to the charge again, and you shall have our battalions as soon as we can spare them." The result justified Soult's self-reliance. Lefebvre's division was almost instantly afterwards assailed by the enemy. In the middle of the battle, when the French, as Lefebvre thought, were being beaten, Soult's advice was again asked. Lefebvre wanted to retreat. Soult pointed out signs on the enemy's side which indicated that they were themselves giving way. An order from Jourdan arrived to charge; and Soult was right—the enemy was retreating. When the battle was over, Marceau confessed the superiority of Soult, and protested that he had won the battle.

Successively raised to the rank of General of Brigade, and then to that of General of Division, he took part in all the campaigns of Germany, until 1799, when he followed Massena into Switzerland, and thence to Genoa, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. Set at liberty after the battle of Marengo, and raised to the command of Piedmont, he returned to France at the peace of Amiens, and was named one of the four Colonels of the Guard of the Consuls. When the Empire was proclaimed, in 1804, he was nominated Marshal of France; and during the campaign which terminated in Austerlitz, held the command of the fourth corps of the grand army.

In all the great German battles Soult took a conspicuous part. At Austerlitz he commanded the centre of the French army, and Napoleon's instructions to him were, "Marshal, act as you always do."

In the heat of the battle, orders came from the Emperor, who had waited a long time for Soult to move, to attack without delay, and gain the heights of Pratzen. The aide-de-camp returned to the Emperor with the Marshal's reply, "It is not time yet." The Emperor enraged, and fearing a fatal blunder, sent a second order. It was unnecessary—Soult had put his columns in motion. The Marshal had been watching the Russians, who were extending their line to the left, and so weakening their centre, which rested on the heights, and he had waited for the right moment. Napoleon saw the brilliancy of the movement. He galloped to the ground where Soult stood, and in the gladness of the assured conqueror, he said, "Marshal, you are the ablest tactician in the army." "I believe it, sire," responded the Marshal, "since your Majesty tells me so." Shortly afterwards Marshal Soult was created Duke of Dalmatia.

It was, as we have said, in 1808 that the Marshal entered Spain; and, falling upon Sir John Moore's division, caused the disastrous retreat to Corunna—only, however, to be repulsed with loss when the English turned to bay below the walls. By his orders the French cannon fired minute guns over the grave of Sir John Moore, and he caused a record of the death of the brave English general to be carved on a rock near the spot on which he fell. For some time thereafter, success attended every operation of Soult's arms. He invaded Portugal, took Oporto, and governed the country so vigorously and fairly that the opponents of the Braganza family made overtures for the permanence of his sway—a proposition which has been turned to the disadvantage of the Marshal, but which there is no evidence for believing that he ever entertained. But the evil luck of the Marshal was approaching. Wellington was advancing to meet him; he was attacked and routed at the famous passage of the Douro—one of the most gallant exploits ever attempted by an assaulting army, operating, in spite of a broad river, against one of equal force, entrenched on the opposite bank. So complete was the surprise and so utter the rout that all the French artillery were taken, all their sick in the hospitals captured, and then, after all was over, Wellington quietly sat down to Soult's dinner. The French general, however, rallied his forces during the night, the disorder of the army was partially mended, and he quickly continued his retreat, when he was stunned by the intelligence that Marshal Beresford had crossed the Douro higher up than Wellington, and held the bridge over the Amarante. He was thus ultimately obliged to leave the whole of his baggage behind him, and retreat by forced marches through the mountains. The British pushed rapidly on, and shortly afterwards came the great battle of

Talavera. Soult, as soon as he had heard of this disastrous check to the French arms, managed, by a series of rapid movements, to join Ney and Mortier, and the combined masses of French troops forced Wellington to retire back upon Portugal. The pursuit not being urged beyond the confines of Spain, the French divisions separated, and Soult overran Andalusia. He took Seville, but failed before Cadiz. About this time it was that the Marshal issued an ill-judged proclamation against the patriotic Spaniards, menacing them with the fate of murderers if taken in arms. A British counter-announcement warned the troops of his "Catholic Majesty, Joseph Napoleon," that for every Spaniard shot in cold blood, the next three Frenchmen captured should be hanged—a species of reprisal which effectually cowed Soult's rash resolve.

This is one of the passages in the Marshal's life which substantiate, to some extent, the charges of unscrupulous cruelty so often made against him. The fact was that, like most of his military compeers, he was careless of life, and thought little of the means, provided he could gain his ends. The stationing only of Spanish troops in the important key fortress of Badajoz it was which probably prompted Soult's next movement against it. The attack was triumphantly successful. The Spaniards made no effectual resistance, and after leaving a garrison in the fort, the Marshal retired towards Andalusia. But the important post of Badajoz was destined to be speedily recovered. Marshal Beresford was advancing towards it, and Soult, when he heard the news, hastened to meet him. The English Marshal duly invested the fort, but his operations were protracted by floods in the Guadiana.

On the approach of Soult, the whole of the allied forces were prepared by their commander to meet him, and the desperate and most important battle of Albuera took place. The details form some of the most vivid chapters of *Napier's History of the Peninsular War*. The French lost 8000 men—the allies 7000, of whom 4300 were British, and the number of wounded, from the extent of hand to hand fighting, was excessive. Soult lost Albuera, and retreated from Badajoz. Beresford gallantly followed him, but the junction between Soult and Marmont caused the allies again to give ground. But at this moment King Joseph, suspicious of Soult, wrote a querulous letter to Napoleon, complaining of the Marshal's ambition. Napoleon replied by recalling Soult, it is true; but also by naming him one of the Generals of the Imperial Guard.

The withdrawal of Soult from Spain virtually caused its loss to the French. The Marshal played an heroic part at the field of Bautzen, and again at Dresden; but south of the Pyrenees Wellington was advancing with rapid strides, and when at length the news of Vittoria reached the Emperor, Soult was the only one of his marshals whom he believed he could pit against Wellington, and accordingly Soult flew to Spain, and assumed the command. But the game was all against him. He knew it to be hopeless—the enemy triumphant, flushed with a series of well-earned victories, the country dispirited, or inimical, and his own army beginning to doubt if the Emperor always won. Yet, upon taking the command of the army in July, 1813, as the "lieutenant" of the Emperor, his proclamation to the troops breathed the haughtiest confidence in his cause, and in his chances—declaring, as it did, that if the French had been well commanded at Vittoria, they would have beaten the English. Soult found his troops in the Pyrenees, not far from Bayonne. For two successive days he obstinately defended the entrenched camp; but on Wellington manœuvring to turn his flank, he continued the retreat. Soult's resistance, while threading the file of the Pyrenees, was desperate. He was continually turning to bay, and once succeeded in materially checking his pursuers, while on another occasion he was all but taken prisoner. At length the British forces entered France. The Bidassoa was passed, Soult's position on the Nive carried, and the allies became an army of invasion. Still Soult fought every step of ground with the desperation of despair. The battle of Orthez ensued, and a victory was won by Wellington inferior, in moral effect to none of his greatest triumphs. Beresford and Picton were his worthy subordinates, and the French were rapidly driven towards Toulouse, where was fought the last and crowning action of the long Peninsular war, a battle claimed by both sides, and in which it is not to be denied that on both sides were displayed consummate military skill and the most determined and stubborn bravery. But the French had the worst of it. On the announcement of the event at Paris, he signed a suspension of arms, and adhered to the reëstablishment of Louis XVIII., who presented him with the Cross of St. Louis, and called him to the command of the Thirtieth military division, and then to the Ministry of War (December 3, 1814). On March 8, learning the landing from Elba, he published the order of the day which is so well known, and in which Napoleon is treated more than severely. On March 11, he resigned his portfolio as Minister of War, and declared for the Emperor, who, passing over the famous proclamation, raised him to the dignity of Peer of France, and

Major-general of the Army. After Waterloo, where he fought most energetically, the Marshal took refuge at Malzieu (Lozère), with General Brun de Villaret, his former aide-de-camp. Being set down on the list of the proscribed, he withdrew to Dusseldorf, on the banks of the Rhine, until 1819, when a Royal ordinance allowed him to return to France. He then went to live with his family at St. Amand, his native place, and on his reiterated representations his marshal's bâton, which had been withdrawn from him, was restored. Charles X. treated Marshal Soult with favour, creating him knight of his orders, and afterwards making him Peer of France. After the revolution of July, 1830, the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies of August 9, excluded him from that rank; but he was restored to it four days later by a special nomination of Louis Philippe, who soon after appointed him Minister of War.

In 1837 her Majesty ascended to the throne, and in 1838 she was crowned. On that auspicious occasion Soult visited, as may be conceived for the first time, the shores, of which, from the heights of Boulogne, he had anticipated the conquest. Soult's visit was gracefully made, gracefully timed, and gracefully received. He had long outlived the mere glitter of military glory. The statesmanlike and purely intellectual and moral powers of his mind had achieved a perfect triumph over the habits and associations of his early life, and he came amongst us cordially and trustfully as a generous and chivalric enemy converted into a wise and true friend. The occasion, too, was a grand one. The old foe of Wellington arrived as Ambassador Extraordinary from Louis Philippe, to represent France at the great ceremonial in Westminster Abbey. He was received with a degree of popular enthusiasm which deeply gratified the veteran, and greatly astonished his friends at home, who ingeniously made it out that the reception was the result, not of a generous feeling in favour of an old and gallant enemy, but a demonstration against the Government. Soult, however, understood and appreciated the impulse. First and foremost he was fêted by the Duke of Wellington; and the two aged heroes were received with unbounded acclamation on their public appearance together. Soult, indeed, became highly popular, and his splendid carriage was constantly attended by a cheering mob. Nor did the higher ranks of society remain behindhand in the general manifestation. The Duke of Dalmatia became the lion of a brilliant season, and achieved the *comble* of his popularity at a grand banquet given by the Corporation of London in Guildhall. Upon that occasion the healths of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Soult were proposed together. The Duke, in replying, expressed his delight that so great and illustrious a man as the Marshal had been received in this country with the honours which were so much his due; and the Duke of Dalmatia, amid profound silence, made a short acknowledgment. He said the expressions of the illustrious Duke had entered into his very heart. Never was there a nobler-minded or more honourable man. The French nation had learned to appreciate the worth of the English army. But he hoped that there would be no further appeal to arms between the two peoples, but that the future would be distinguished by (laying great emphasis on the words) "*une alliance perpétuelle*." Before his departure from England, the Ambassador Extraordinary paid a visit to the manufacturing districts, and the head-quarters of the iron and cotton trades. He was everywhere received with a reflex of his London popularity; and altogether, his visit must be described as a rare instance of the outbreak of generous and noble national sympathies.

Soult spent his latter days at his château in the land of his birth. The revolution of 1848 found him superannuated. He lived privately, took no part in politics, and died on the 26th ultimo, at the great age of eighty-two.

"FAST" LIFE IN THE ARMY.

To understand aright the case of "*Regina v. Alleyne and others*," which was tried the other day at the Queen's Bench, we must connect it with a former trial, which took place on the 29th of October last, at the Central Criminal Court. In the Old Bailey case a certain Ignatius Francis Coyle, who had been mixed up in the Running Rein affair, was indicted for forging an acceptance for £1150, with intent to defraud Lord Clifden. This nobleman was not, however, the real prosecutor. The fraud had been committed upon a certain Captain Alexander M'Geachy Alleyne, formerly of the Eighty-Ninth Regiment. It appeared in evidence that Captain Alleyne, who is at present about twenty-six years of age, had returned from Canada in the year 1846, and from that time until quite recently had been mixed up with horse-racing in one shape or another. In the course of the year 1848, he became acquainted with the prisoner Coyle, then a bill discounter, and the keeper of a betting establishment in the neighbourhood of Leicester-square. When the Derby race came off in 1850, Captain Alleyne paid a considerable sum of money on the prisoner's account, for bets that he had made upon his behalf and with his sanction. In the month of January, 1850, Coyle owed Alleyne a sum not less than £1700, and in part payment of that debt paid into his hands a promissory note, signed by Lord Clifden, for the

sum of £1150. The note turned out to be a mere forgery on the part of Coyle, who subsequently admitted the fact in the presence of Captain Alexander Alleyne, and of his brother, Captain Holder Alleyne. He said that he was perfectly ruined; begged to be forgiven; promised to work for Captain Alleyne all his life if he would pardon him; and threatened to throw himself from the Monument unless the transaction were overlooked. We may at this point take our leave for the present of this respectable member of society, adding simply that he was convicted, and by a most merciful sentence was ordered to be imprisoned for only twelve calendar months.

Hitherto we have looked upon Captain Alexander M'Geachy Alleyne as a silly young man of fortune, who had fallen into the hands of a crew of sharpers, and been defrauded of his money. We must now regard the gallant captain and his brother, Captain Holder Alleyne, from a very different point of view. Already in the course of the trial at the Old Bailey a series of very untoward facts had come to light with respect to the brothers Alleyne. At the very time they stepped into the witness-box at the Central Criminal Court, it appeared that an indictment in the Queen's Bench was hanging over their heads for defrauding a certain Mr. Kennedy of a large sum of money. Nor was the fraud destitute of its own peculiar features of interest. We all know that our Yankee cousins have been fortunate during the last twelve months in their race against the world. They have managed to get passengers through the Panama Isthmus—they have outploughed us, outsailed us, and picked our very best locks. In addition to all this they have outtrodden us upon our own turnpike roads. The celebrated Yankee mare, "*Fanny Jenks*," has been among us in disguise, "*trotting our heads off*," in the language of the stable-yard. We had supposed throughout that an English mare, "*Pigeon*" by name, had accomplished these marvels; but, lo! it turns out that Pigeon is Fanny Jenks. The celebrated Yankee mare had, by some means or other, come into the possession of Captain Holder Alleyne, who straightway proceeded to disguise her and changed her name. Here we arrive at the Queen's Bench trial of the present week, and here we shall find Coyle convicting the Alleynes of fraud, as the Alleynes had recently convicted Coyle of forgery. With the two brothers there was included in the indictment a young man upon town named D'Arcy, whom, by the result of the investigation, we must accept as a participator in the fraud and the booty of the two brothers. Holder Alleyne, the owner of Fanny Jenks, *alias* Pigeon, was the principal, and the two others were charged with having conspired and coöperated with him to defraud Mr. Kennedy. This young gentleman had been a brother officer of the two Alleynes, and of D'Arcy in Canada. He was stationed with his regiment at Hull in the year 1846, the two Alleynes, as we believe, having previously left the regiment. Be this, however, as it may, Holder Alleyne presented himself at the quarters of the regiment, and busied himself in getting up a race between "*Pigeon*" and Castanet, a mare of young Kennedy's, for £300. Upon this occasion Holder Alleyne said that "*Pigeon*" was an English mare, that she had never run in public, but he thought her pretty good. This match never came off, but immediately another bet, or rather series of bets was proposed by Holder Alleyne, and accepted by Mr. Kennedy. Not to trouble our readers with the details of the arrangement, it did in effect amount to this, that the sum of £7300 was involved in the decision of the question whether or not "*Pigeon*" could trot fifteen miles within the hour. Shortly afterwards Pigeon fell lame. We accept this fact as proved, although of course there was a discrepancy of statement upon this, the most material point in the whole trial. The defendants, however, were not able to obtain the acquiescence of the judge or jury in their view of the case.

It appears, then, that the mare fell dead lame, and that Captain Holder Alleyne entirely concealed the fact from Mr. Kennedy. When this foolish young gentleman, by the assiduous efforts of M'Geachy Alleyne and D'Arcy, had been cleverly brought to the point of asking for a compromise of his bet, Holder Alleyne still concealed from him the essential point of the mare's lameness. Thus he screwed out of him the total amount of the stake, on the condition that Kennedy should become half owner of the lame mare. It was proved in evidence that M'Geachy Alleyne and D'Arcy had received sums of money from Holder Alleyne just after the perpetration of the fraud. For this reason, and the reasons stated above, the jury connected them with the guilt of the principal in the fraud.

Such, then, is the history of the brothers Alleyne, men well educated, well born, and with good prospects in life. For some time before the trial they had found that the turf would no longer answer their purpose, and had devoted themselves to making beer barrels in Bermondsey.

A HARD CASE.

James Hockley, saddler, living in the Fulham Union, is ill and obliged to apply to the Board of Guardians for relief. He is taken into the house; and his home of course broken up. Naturally, when recovered he asks to be allowed to seek work, is met by a refusal, and offered stone-breaking. He declined. The stone-breaking was too evidently intended as a punishment for his being a pauper. The Guardians then took him before Mr. Paynter, at the Police Court on Thursday week, who at once declared that the man had been very shamefully and absurdly treated in not being allowed to seek work, and being compelled to break stones. He sent the case back. On Friday, Hockley was again placed in the dock on the same charge. Mr. Paynter severely censured the Board. He said that he thought the prisoner had been treated in a very cruel manner. The man had been compelled to break up his home through illness, and enter the house with his wife and family; and now, having recovered, he was not

allowed an opportunity of seeking for employment at his trade. There was no law in this country that would countenance such proceedings. Mr. Stovild, the master of the workhouse, said the prisoner, during the time he had been in the house, had been allowed two days to seek for work. Mr. Paynter said two days were not sufficient. The man ought to have been allowed an opportunity every day to seek for work. Honest tradesmen were not to be treated as vagrants. He would not support the parish authorities if they followed such a system. They should obtain a mandamus from the Court of Queen's Bench before he would commit in cases of that description. It was quite intolerable that a man who was a tradesman should not be allowed an opportunity of seeking employment. He was sorry the prisoner had broken the rules of the house, as he could not say the law justified the act. The law was in a certain extent with the parish officers; but the law was not to be carried out in cases where there were special circumstances. The present case was a special one. The upshot of the case was, that Mr. Paynter requested Hookley to comply with the law, and break stones for one day; but if the guardians compelled him to break stones for more than one day, Mr. Paynter would apply to the Poor-law Commissioners.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The action brought to recover penalties from Mr. Alderman Salomons comes on to-day.

The Bishop of Oxford reconsecrated Upton Old Church, on Tuesday.

There has been a further and general reduction and rearrangement of omnibus fares.

On Wednesday, a meeting was held at the London Tavern, of Postmasters, Mr. Tattersall in the chair, for the purpose of originating a movement to abolish or reduce the post-horse duty.

Intelligence up to October 4, arrived from the Cape on Wednesday, but no new facts are communicated. The same state of things still continues. Cattle stealing was on the increase near Somerset, and the Tambouks were reported to have been coming out in strong numbers.

The influence of the gold discoveries in Australia has not yet sensibly increased emigration. An agent on the part of the agricultural interest has arrived from Port Philip, for the purpose of procuring agriculturalemigrants.

Cardinal Wiseman publicly laid the foundation-stone of a new Roman Catholic church, now in the course of erection in Westmoreland-terrace, Westborne-grove, Bayswater, on Wednesday.

Dr. Hendren, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nottingham, was publicly enthroned with great ceremony on Tuesday. Dr. Hendren is famous for his share in the Talbot case. Two officers, one in the regulars, the other, Mr. Ambrose Phillips, in the uniform of the Leicestershire Yeomanry, assisted in bearing the canopy over the Bishop.

The Royal Society held its anniversary meeting on Monday. The Earl of Rosse delivered the annual address. Professor Owen received the Copley medal for his discoveries in comparative anatomy and paleontology, published in the *Philosophical Transactions*; one of the Royal medals was given to the Earl of Rosse, for his observations on the nebulae, and a second to Mr. G. Newman for his paper on the impregnation of the ovum.

Judgment was delivered in the Court of Exchequer, on Monday, in the long-pending case of the Attorney-General *versus* Bradbury and Evans, or rather the Board of Inland Revenue seeking to recover penalties from the printers of a monthly publication called *Household Narrative of Current Events*. The case is well known to our readers, and turned on the question, what is a newspaper? Three judges, namely, Baron Platt, Baron Martin, and Chief Baron Pollock, decided that the *Household Narrative* was not a newspaper, and Baron Parke held that it was. Judgment, therefore, was for the defendants.

Since the Anti-state-church Association commenced its agitation for the winter, six weeks ago, it has been holding a succession of public meetings in different parts of the kingdom, all of which have been attended by deputations from the executive committee. The north of England has been visited by Mr. Carvell Williams, the secretary, and the Reverend J. G. Miall, of Bradford, who addressed public meetings at Hartlepool, Stockton, Middlesbrough, Sunderland, Newcastle, North and South Shields, and Scarborough. Mr. Edward Miall and the Reverend J. A. Baynes, of Nottingham, have been still further north, holding meetings at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, Aberdeen, Montrose, and Dundee, taking Huddersfield on their way. At the other end of the kingdom, Mr. Kingsley has been lecturing at Frome, Bristol (twice), Bath, Bridgewater, Glastonbury, Plymouth (twice), and Tavistock; and is to visit several other towns in the diocese of Bishop Philpotts. There have been also a few similar gatherings in the metropolis. The meetings have, of course, varied in numbers and character; but have, in some cases, been very large.

In the sitting of the Second Prussian Chamber, on the 29th, Count Schwerin was elected President with 151 votes, in opposition to Count Arnim, who had 120.

The third report of the Manchester and Salford Public Library has been published. The experiment has hitherto been highly satisfactory. The number of volumes has been increased from 6300 to 10,000. The number of readers during twelve months has been 276,000. Within the year, ending August, 257 persons became donors to the Museum. The conduct of the readers, chiefly of the working classes, has been very exemplary.

Henry Harrington has been fully committed on the Coroner's warrant, for the wilful murder of Mrs. Cobb, at Tollesbury.

The body of George Bush, a milkman, was found in a wood near Bath, on Monday, with his throat cut and his pockets rifled.

The body of a woman was found in a ditch near Battersea fields, on Monday morning. She appears to have fallen in during the fog on Sunday night. There were marks on the bank indicating severe struggles to escape.

John Soffe went with his horse and cart, on Thursday week, to Romney. He had a load of corn, which he left at the town mill, and proceeded to a public house, where he met with two vagabonds and two women, who drank pretty freely with him. By the evening he was greatly intoxicated, and started on his way home; the men and women, however, seduced him again into a public-house. He had money in his pocket, and when he left they followed him. The next morning he was found in the river Test, and all his money gone.

Miss Eliza Maria Amphlett, a "lady" who called herself the Honourable Mrs. Colonel Ripon at Brighton, and thus obtained goods of considerable value, has just been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and the hardest labour she can endure. She is said to be rich, to have mixed in "fashionable watering-place society," and when captured to have been keeping a "first-rate establishment" in Town.

The North Shields Theatre was burned down on Tuesday.

The following is the official return of the different regiments and battalions now stationed in the metropolis and its vicinity for the ensuing winter:—Cavalry—First Regiment of Life Guards, Albany Barracks, Regent's-park; Second ditto, Knightsbridge Barracks, Hyde-park; and Royal Horse Guards (Blue), at Windsor, forming the cavalry of the Household Brigade; Royal Horse Artillery and Fourth Regiment of Light Dragoons, Woolwich; Eighth ditto, the King's Own Royal Irish Hussars, Hounslow; Seventeenth ditto, Lancers, Canterbury. Infantry—Grenadier Guards, first battalion, Wellington Barracks, Birdcage-walk, St. James's-park; second ditto, Windsor; third ditto, St. John's-wood Barracks, Regent's-park; Coldstream Guards, first battalion, Chichester; second ditto, Portman-street Barracks, Portman-square; Scots Fusilier Guards, first battalion, Tower of London; second ditto, St. George's Barracks, Trafalgar-square, forming the infantry of the Household Brigade. At Woolwich—Royal Foot Artillery, Royal Engineers, &c., one division of Royal Marines.

The following is the official return of the present military force in Ireland, with the head-quarters and depots of the different regiments:—Cavalry—First Regiment of Dragoon Guards, Newbridge; Second ditto, Cahir; Fifth ditto, Longford; Sixth ditto, Ballincollig; and Seventh ditto, Newbridge; Seventh Hussars, Dublin; Royal Horse Artillery, ditto. Infantry—First Regiment of Foot, second battalion, Fermoy; Third ditto, or Buffs (depot), Boyle; Sixth ditto (depot), Nenagh; Ninth ditto, Athlone; Fourteenth ditto, Dublin; Seventeenth ditto (depot), Galway; Twenty-seventh ditto, Dublin; Thirty-first ditto, Enniskillen; Thirty-fourth ditto (depot), Mullingar; Thirty-fifth ditto, Dublin; Thirty-ninth ditto, Dublin; Fortieth ditto (depot), Cork; Forty-first ditto (depot), Castlebar; Forty-third ditto, Buttevant; Forty-seventh ditto (depot), Waterford; Forty-ninth ditto (depot), Birr; Fifty-second ditto, Limerick; Fifty-fifth ditto (depot), Tralee; Fifty-seventh ditto, Dublin; Fifty-ninth ditto (depot), Fermoy; Sixtieth ditto (Rifles), second battalion (depot), Kildare; Sixty-second ditto, Dublin; Sixty-third ditto, Limerick; Sixty-sixth ditto (depot), Youghal; Seventy-first ditto, first battalion, Newry, for Australia; Seventy-third ditto (depot), Londonderry; Seventy-fourth ditto (depot), Fermoy; Eighty-first ditto, Templemore; Eighty-ninth ditto, Clonmel, for Australia; Ninetieth ditto, Cork; Ninety-first ditto, Belfast; and Ninety-second ditto (depot), Dublin. Royal Foot Artillery, Royal Engineers, &c., Dublin.

The proceedings of the Executive of the National Charter Association, on Wednesday last, were important. A letter was read from Mr. Thomas Cooper, agreeing to serve if elected on the next Executive. A resolution, declining to consider the mooted question as to whether the Executive should consist of nine or three, was passed, on the ground that the Committee had no powers. The following have been duly nominated as fit and proper persons to act as the future Executive Committee of the National Charter Association:—Feargus O'Connor, Ernest Jones, G. Julian Harney, G. J. Holyoake, Thornton Hunt, Robert Le Blond, John Arnott, J. Grassby, Charles Frederick Nicholls, T. M. Wheeler, Thomas Cooper, John Shaw, J. J. Bezer, H. T. Holyoake, A. J. Wood, George Haggis, J. B. Leno, J. C. Ollivenshaw, Gerald Massey, J. B. O'Brien, Robert Oliver, A. E. Delaforce, Robert Cooper, J. M. Bryson, P. M. McDouall, W. J. Linton, Arthur Trevelyan, James Leach, Edward Swift, and Edmund Stallwood. N.B. The last day for receiving votes will be Tuesday, December 30. Members only holding a card for the present year will be allowed to vote.—Signed on behalf of the Committee, John Arnott, General Secretary.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

Mr. G. Dawson delivered a lecture at St. Martin's Hall, Long-acre, on Thursday, in furtherance of the principles sought to be carried out by the Co-operative Associations. The lecturer drew a vivid picture of the many disadvantages arising from the present system of retail trade, and proceeded to argue that the only true remedy was to be found in a right and timely application of capital, skill, and experience to the establishment of the principle of co-operative agency. The objects of the associations were to counteract the practices of adulteration and fraud now prevailing in trade; to act as agents for the consumers in making their purchases, and for the producers in selling their produce; and to find employment for the disciples of the co-operative system, by the collection of orders through a regular channel. Mr. Dawson contended that this co-operative

agency was deserving of public support, because it was the most effectual means which had ever been devised for giving the working classes the benefit of their labour. He argued, moreover, that it was impossible that Christianity, which was so much vaunted in this country, could be kept up amongst the people, unless a true spirit of brotherhood were established upon the principle that men should labour together for the general advantage of all. After dwelling with much argumentative skill upon the loss of money sustained by the people in their dealings with retail tradesmen, Mr. Dawson concluded a very able lecture by pointing out the numerous benefits which would accrue from co-operative establishments if properly organized, and he earnestly called upon all present to support him and the friends of these associations in the view they had taken of this important subject.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 26th of November, in Berkeley-square, the wife of Sydney Smirke, Esq.: a son.

On the 26th, at the Parsonage, Buckhurst-hill, Chigwell, the wife of the Reverend John Smith, Head Master of Mercers' School: a daughter.

On the 27th, at Woolwich, the wife of Brigade-Major Charles Bingham, Royal Artillery: a daughter.

On the 28th, at Wickham-place, Essex, the wife of Sir Claude C. de Crespigny, Baronet: a daughter.

On the 28th, at Greystoke Castle, Cumberland, Mrs. Howard: a son.

On the 28th, at St. James's Palace, the Honourable Mrs. Grey: a son.

On the 28th, at Chesham-place, Lady Caroline King: a son.

On the 30th, at Gloucester-place, Hyde-park, the wife of Beaumont Hankey: a son.

On the 30th, at Apley, near Ryde, Isle of Wight, the wife of Commander Colin Yorke Campbell, Royal Navy, now commanding her Majesty's ship *Devastation*: a daughter.

On the 1st of December, the wife of the Reverend Samuel Clark, National Society's Training College, Battersea: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 18th of August, at St. Thomas's Church, Mauritius, Captain Arthur Mansel Alexander Bowers, her Majesty's Thirtieth-seventh Regiment, A.D.C. to his Excellency the Governor, only son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Bowers, her Majesty's Thirteenth Dragoons, to Frances, second daughter of Hugh Hunter, Esq., Lieutenant, Royal Navy.

On the 25th of November, at Whitehaugh, Robert William Rickart Hepburn, of Rickarton, Esq., North Britain, to Helen Maria, second daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel James John Forbes Leith, of Whitehaugh, North Britain, and of his widow, Williamina Helen Stewart, and granddaughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, of the Forty-second Royal Highlanders.

On the 26th, at St. John's Church, Richmond, George Scotland, jun., of the Middle Temple, Esq., barrister-at-law, to Philippa Augusta, eldest daughter of Henry Fuller, Esq., late attorney-general and member of council in the Island of Trinidad.

On the 26th, at St. Thomas's Chapel, Edinburgh, the Lord Gilbert Kennedy, to Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir David Baird, of Newbyth, Bart.

On the 26th, at St. Saviour's Church, St. Helier's, Jersey, E. F. Tranchell, Esq., Ceylon Rifles, to Eliza Isabella, only daughter of the late Major Blake, of the Forty-fifth Madras Native Infantry.

On the 27th, at Lyndhurst, Hants, Georgiana Theophila, daughter of Rear-Admiral Dashwood, to Charles Spencer March Phillips, Esq.

On the 27th, at Heddon-on-the-Wall, Northumberland, Hill Wallace, Esq., Bombay Horse Artillery, to Harriet Sophia Burgoyne, youngest daughter of the late Captain Frederick William Burgoyne, Royal Navy.

On the 27th, at Lyons-sur-Rhone, Captain Elie de Roquier Count de Vellefoley, Third Regiment of Cuirassiers, to Augusta F. Wynne Aubrey, fourth daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Wynne Aubrey.

On the 27th, at St. Michael's Church, Pimlico, George, eldest son of George Atherley, Esq., of Southampton, to Ellen, youngest daughter of Arthur Frederick, Esq., of Chester-square, and niece of Colonel Lloyd Watkins, of Penmoyre, M.P., and Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Brecon.

On the 29th, at Dudley, Edward Kenealy, Esq., LL.D., of Gray's-inn, to Miss Nicklin, of Upper-green, Tipton, in the county of Stafford.

On the 2nd of December, at Dunsby, the Reverend G. Carter, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and of Saxby Rectory, Lincolnshire, to Elizabeth, only daughter of T. M. Lawrence, Esq., of Dunsby-hall, Lincolnshire.

DEATHS.

On the 2nd of November, at Madrid, the Honourable Urania Caroline, widow of the late Honourable Lieutenant-General John Meade, and youngest daughter of the late Honourable Edward and Lady Arabella Ward.

On the 22nd, at Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, Dame Elizabeth Dryden, widow of the late Reverend Sir Henry Dryden, Baronet.

On the 24th, at Beverley, Rear-Admiral Henry Gage Morris, in the eighty-second year of his age.

On the 24th, at the Deanery, Rothsay, Isle of Bute, Mary, wife of the Very Reverend Samuel Hood, Dean of Argyle and the Isle.

On the 24th, at his residence, Quay-street, Manchester, aged seventy, Peter Clare, F.R.S., the intimate friend and companion of Dr. Dalton, and for many years Secretary, and afterwards one of the Vice-Presidents, of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.

On the 25th, at Dover, Kent, the Honourable Sarah Newnham Collingwood, eldest daughter of the late Cuthbert Lord Collingwood, and relict of the late George Lewis Newnham Collingwood, Esq., of Hawkhurst, Kent, in the fifty-ninth year of her age.

On the 26th, at his residence, at Wimbledon, Surrey, Mr. William Winch, of the Inspector-General of Inland Revenue's Department, London.

On the 27th, at Hastings, of decline, aged seventeen, Robert Horatio, second son of Robert M. Westmacott, Esq., late of the Fourth (King's Own), and grandson of Sir Richard Westmacott.

On the 27th, at Boulogne-sur-Mer, Basil Montagu, Esq., Q.C., in the eighty-second year of his age.

On the 28th, at his residence, in Old Burlington-street, John Durand George, Esq., aged thirty-six.

On the 29th, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, the Reverend Arthur Onslow, rector of Crayford, Kent, and Merrow, Surrey.

On the 29th, at the Terrace, Kensington, Elizabeth, relict of the late William Andrew Bond, Esq., of Ashford, Kent.

On the 30th, in the eighty-fourth year of her age, at South-wood, Highgate, Mrs. Judith Longman, the last surviving sister of the late Thomas Norton Longman, Esq., of Paternoster-row.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

Several letters have been received by our publisher complaining of the non-receipt of papers, or the non-arrival of the *Leader*, until Monday. We have made inquiry, and find that the errors have not arisen in our office. The Country Edition of the *Leader* is published on Friday, and the Town Edition on the Saturday, and Subscribers should be careful to specify which edition they wish to receive. Complaints of irregularity should be made to the particular news-agent supplying the paper, and if any difficulty should occur again it will be set right on application direct to our office, 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

In reply to inquiries we may state that the Office of the Friends of Italy is No. 10, Southampton-street, Strand.

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

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, December 6.

The news from Paris is so little satisfactory, that we cannot do better than present our readers with a selection of the various editorial summaries of the morning journals, and the telegraphic despatches which arrived yesterday. The *Morning Chronicle* of this day writes:—

“Louis Napoleon maintains his position with his characteristic courage and coolness; but the news of another day has not diminished its danger. He still seems to stand on the verge of a precipice, with his feet planted upon ground which, in some parts, is trembling under the pressure.”

In the leading columns of the *Post* we find a paragraph framed in the following mild and discriminating language.

“The struggle in Paris between Authority and violence has been fiercer, but not less decisive, than we anticipated. That desperate spirit of insurrection which seems to recoil before no danger, and to shrink from attempting no impossibility, has received a terrible lesson from the vigorous, unhesitating, and well-directed power which it so madly defied. For two days the heavy boom of artillery, and the sharp rattle of the *tirailleurs* have proclaimed to the capital how stern a sentence had been passed—how fearful a judgment was being executed—on what are significantly called the ‘bad quarters.’”

The *Daily News* has at length written something about the revolution.

“Never were the antagonist elements of brute force and moral opinion more clearly and universally arrayed against other, than in the struggle which Louis Napoleon has had the rashness to enter upon. Each hour brings testimony of his bayonets prevailing in the streets, and his cause being condemned and denounced by every man of sense and character; the citizens and the masses who were well inclined to side with him in his first quarrel with the Assembly, all turning the more fiercely against him, since the selfish insolence and insane ravings of his ambition have been promulgated.”

The *Times* has all along just suspected the strict accuracy of the intelligence received, and has liberally continued the scanty and disjointed supply.

“The barricades first thrown up on Wednesday evening, were speedily carried by the soldiers; but the night was spent in further preparations for war. A large column of troops was silently moved along the Boulevard towards the Faubourg St. Antoine, and the positions between the Canal and the Porte St. Martin were strongly occupied. Shots were occasionally fired from houses on the line of march, but these acts of hostility were instantly punished by the summary seizure or slaughter of the inhabitants. A permanent court-martial was sitting, by whose orders some, and we are told a large number, of the prisoners taken between the barricades were shot. Yet these operations and this rigour did not prevent the popular movement from increasing in extent and in violence. An immense body of troops, or rather an entire army, described to consist of 50,000 men, poured towards the scene of action. Yet we find by the latest accounts that barricades had been raised as far to the west as the Rue Grange-Batelière; the upper Boulevards were continually swept by charges of Lancers; and the cannonade had almost reached the fashionable quarter just beyond the Rue Vivienne. It is, of course, impossible to answer for the accuracy of intelligence despatched under such circumstances; but, if these facts are correct, the struggle has extended far beyond the limits of the Marais and the Faubourgs, and the popular forces can hardly be confined to the revolutionary sections of those districts.”

There is another reason why it is “impossible to answer for the accuracy of the intelligence.” It is disclosed by the correspondent of the *Post* (Bonapartist organ)—decidedly an indiscreet, garrulous, young man. He says, writing on Thursday:—

“When I reached the Ministry of the Interior, whence all telegraphs are sent, the employes had just gone—I was too late to send any despatch. I was not sorry; for the minister would not have let me send anything alarming, and I did not care to tell you that Paris was tranquil, for I feared in but a few hours it would be far otherwise.”

And as the same journal is deeply implicated in supporting the treachery of M. Bonaparte, a few more

words from its talkative agent in Paris will be suggestive.

“The President is resolved to do or die. The most energetic measures are being taken. This, for instance, I have just ascertained: all the provincial journals are to be suspended. The Government intends to give the populace of Paris a terrible lesson, and, therefore, has not done much to prevent the commencement of hostilities. When fairly engaged, the army will do its best to punish the insurgents, and think what ‘the best’ of 100,000 men is.”

Is this not *spoliation*, pillage, and disorder? The correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* writing on Thursday, says:—“In my letter of Monday I mentioned that M. de Casablanca, the Minister of the Finances, had effected a loan of twenty-five millions of francs, on simple *bons du trésor*. The Minister, on making this demand, alleged simply the want of money to make the necessary payments; and the Bank of France, suspecting nothing worse, replied that, if the Government intended to abolish the octroi duties, it could not consent to advance the money. Upon this, M. de Casablanca went to the Elysée, and returned with the answer that ‘for the moment the octroi duties were not to be meddled with. A loan of money being no very rare thing on the part of the French Government, this affair passed at the time with the simple remark that the Treasury was hard-up, but it assumes a very different aspect now. It now appears that the money was borrowed for the purpose of carrying out the coup d’état, and it is said that the whole of it has got into the hands of the soldiery.’”

Last night we received the following message by Electric Telegraph, without any signature to verify it as having been sent by our Paris correspondent:—

“From Submarine Telegraph, Dover, to the *Daily News*, London.

“DOVER, Fifty minutes past Nine, P.M., December 5.—The telegraphic communications with Paris have been much delayed, owing to the great pressure of business on account of the French Government.

“Intelligence from Paris this evening states—
“All fear of further disturbance is at an end, and circulation completely reestablished.”

This despatch appears also in the *Times*.

A decree appears, ordering that the voting, opening on the 20th instant, be secret instead of public.

“PARIS, Eight o’clock P.M.—Insurrection in Paris completely subdued. The mode of voting—universal suffrage by secret ballot—has been favourably received. The troops are returning to their barracks. Paris is perfectly tranquil. The number of persons killed yesterday is very considerable, but it is impossible to form an accurate estimate. The Government warns the public not to believe in the thousand false rumours that are flying about.”

The persons in possession of the Government have published accounts stating, that the coup d’état has been received with immense satisfaction in the provinces. Yet rumour asserts that General Neumayer, the sworn friend of Changarnier, is advancing with four regiments, and that Castellane will not support the Government at Lyons. Unquestionably, there was a bloody struggle yesterday in the streets of Paris; and although the prætorians of Louis Napoleon may hold the metropolis for a time, the popular party must succeed in the end.

The Essex, which arrived yesterday, brings Cape papers up to the 10th. Generally speaking, the news is of the usual character; it consists of small conflicts, cattle stealings, and promenades. The reinforcements had arrived at King William’s Town.

The recent intelligence from the Sovereignty is anything but of a satisfactory character. Bloem Fontein is represented as in a very precarious situation, and Major Warden has brought difficulties upon the country which he finds it no easy task to obviate or remove.

By the *South African Advertiser* of the 15th of October we learn that, on the 6th of the same month, the inhabitants of Cape Town assembled in public meeting, and agreed upon a protest to the effect that they had no confidence in the local Legislature, and considered their acts a defiance of public duty. They wished for the constitution of the 23rd of May, 1850, to be adopted in the colony as speedily as possible. If this were not done and other measures passed, they should hold the Governor-General and the local Legislature responsible for any results; and, further, they expressed their belief that the adoption of the course which they recommended, would have the effect of immediately restoring peace and order in the colony. The protest was signed by 750 inhabitants in Cape Town, 160 in Malmesbury, 640 in the Paarl district, 70 in the Graaf district, and 35 in the Tulburg district.

The Sultan steamer reached Southampton yesterday. We learn that the ports of Saltee and Rabat have been bombarded and nearly destroyed by the French Admiral, and Tangier was threatened with, and probably has by this time suffered, a similar fate.

By the mails which arrived on Thursday, with papers dated 23rd ultimo, we learn that a terrible catastrophe occurred at one of the ward schools at New York, by which upwards of forty children were killed and about fifty wounded. It appears that, during an alarm caused by the fainting of one of the teachers, the children, about 1800 in number, hearing a cry for water, apprehended that a fire had broken out, and made a rush for the stairs, which gave way and precipitated the unfortunate children to the bottom.

The Leader

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1851.

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 CATILINE OF THE LOWER EMPIRE.

ALEA JACTA EST. The die is cast, and on the hazard of that die is thrown the peace of France, the freedom of Europe, the progress of Humanity. The long lie is now complete, and the Era of the Cæsars is inaugurated at last, by perjury as foul and treason as contemptible as the gang of heartless swindlers into whose hands the destinies of a glorious nation have fallen. The Era of the Cæsars is ushered in by the violence of midnight burglars let loose by the debauched and hungry gamblers who for three years have swarmed in the antechambers of the Elysée and preyed on the vitals of France. It is well that the civilized world should learn to what a traitorous and ignoble usurpation France has succumbed, if, indeed, she has succumbed. It is not three years since M. Louis Napoleon, in the face of the Constituent Assembly, representing ten millions of free electors, swore before God and man to observe faithfully the Constitution and the laws. On the 10th of December, ‘48, the Chief of the Executive laid down his powers before the majesty of the national will. Five millions of votes had carried the man whose name had obscured from his country’s gaze the miserable conspirator of Strasburg and Boulogne. General Cavaignac even anticipated the moment of resignation, and by that one act of dignity and self-sacrifice atoned, in some degree at least, for the iniquities of a brief and sanguinary Dictatorship. Nothing in his career of power became him like the leaving of it. So noble an abdication would have pardoned even more flagrant tyranny. M. Louis Napoleon may have been carried to power partly by the brutish ignorance of peasants driven like sheep to the poll to vote (as many of them did) for the return of the Emperor, who was not dead, to their belief. But it was the faults of his predecessor, and the written opinions and promises of the Prisoner of Ham, the professions of a large and earnest social faith, of compassion for the people’s sufferings, of an ambition to amend their lot by a new organization of labour, that made the masses, failing in heart and hope, stamp their hearts on their bulletins, and name a name associated with patriotic glories and patriotic misfortunes.

M. Louis Napoleon has elected President of the French Republic. What has he done in these three years past to fulfil his promises to ameliorate the social condition of the People, to organize labour, to encourage association, to respond to the hopes of the Revolution, which restored him to his country and to a life of activity? What are the fruits of his tenure of power? He has handed over the national dignity abroad to the caprices of despotism; he is the avowed lacquy of the very tyrannies the great Napoleon crushed and humiliated; he has converted French soldiers into shirri of Priests and Cardinals, to do the dirty work of obscurantist terrorism; he leagues with the autocracies of Vienna and St. Petersburg against the oppressed Peoples; for a riband or a star he sells the past traditions of the French Democracy, and abjures the Republic; he sends ships to assist the Nero of Naples, and troops to restore the Pope. He is in all places and at every moment the mannikin of monarchies, whose favour he craves and whose pomp he apes. And at home? Every form of freedom effaced—every conquest of the Revolution suppressed; the whole country bound in a network of police spies and gendarmes; thought, speech, writing, made a crime, when not a servitude.

M. Louis Napoleon has been all his life a conspirator and nothing more; he will die as he has lived, a conspirator against law and liberty. If he ever breathed a thought in behalf of liberty, it was like all his acts a miserable falsehood. If he once followed a liberating army, Heaven knows! he has since more than atoned for the youthful folly by

the degrading treacheries of his maturer years. Italy is no more his debtor, except for bonds and death. When he attempted to seduce the army from their allegiance at Strasburg, was it to serve his country's liberty and glory? When he let loose the tame eagles at Boulogne, was he fired with patriotic inspirations? Or was he not rather the mountebank of a name, a mere cutpurse adventurer, bankrupt in all but an inexhaustible exchequer of perjury, on paper, payable at some distant date!

When the Republic was proclaimed in February, he rushed to offer his services to the Provisional Government: and when his patriotism was dispensed with, he returned to London to foment and to organize a conspiracy of which we have only now reached the dénouement. It is certain that a Bonapartist plot was sowing the seeds of discontent and disaffection in May and June of that year: it was traceable in the attack on the Assembly of the 15th of May (which he was afterwards to complete), and in the terrible days of June, which he was to renew and to exceed. Before the insurrection of June all who were in Paris may remember the Bonapartist agitation that prevailed: there had been even a skirmish at the gates of the Constituent when Lamartine denounced the plotters; and the streets of the capital were deluged with Bonapartist emblems. Many of his infamous adherents were in Paris at the time; but the threads of the conspiracy were held at London and Richmond. From June to December he conspired incessantly against the established powers. He has only now thrown off the mask to appear once more in his true character of a debauched conspirator, surrounded by accomplices only less desperate and abandoned than himself. How is it that, ever since he has obtained the Presidency, France has been kept in perpetual apprehension of a *coup d'état*? Have not all his addresses at Dijon, Chalons, Tours, to his last appearance in the Circus, been those of a conspirator hostile to the Institutions he had sworn to protect? Has not the National Assembly been ever on the defensive? Has not civil war been ever trembling in the balance, and the sword of usurpation for ever suspended over the heads of peaceful citizens? With "peace" and "order" and "tranquillity" always on his lips, has he not troubled the Legislature from day to day by seditious appeals to the violence of military chiefs, to be explained away, forsooth! by stammering Ministerial accomplices? We do not excuse: we scarcely know how to regret the Assembly,—the insulted, betrayed, abandoned Assembly. It is hard that the crimes and errors of the majority should have destroyed the Tribune from which so many eloquent voices have so often appealed to the sympathies of free Europe against the complicities of the libicide reaction; it is grievous to think that not only the Press is extinct, but that the National Tribune is dumb. But we cannot shut our eyes to the damning fact that the Assembly was already lost in character; dead to the People's heart, impotent for all but obstruction, vacillating, contemptible: it was identified with increased taxation, with enormous budgets, with every anti-popular and anti-national measure. It was not until the President had abandoned the law which he himself had presented, proposed, and promulgated, mutilating the suffrage and undermining the basis of the national will, that the Two Powers became irreconcilable. All the popularity the one gained was lost by the other of the contending powers: and representative Government itself is the victim of an unholy alliance and of a fatal disruption. The majority in their blind hatred of the Republic, refused to maintain the inviolability of representatives outraged in the persons of the Opposition. It was blind to the principle of reciprocal danger and mutual protection. It preferred to be depopularized by the very instrument of its reactionary legislation; and the consequence is desertion in the hour of peril by the People it had sacrificed and betrayed. What a Nemesis there is in Political history!

Mark the faults committed since February, '48! If Lamartine had not exalted the importance of M. L. Napoleon, and made a martyr of a pretender, he would have taken his place in the Constituent as a simple citizen, where he would soon have been reduced to insignificance.

If Cavaignac had not abused the doctrine of State Necessity and Public Safety, by suspending journals and maintaining the state of siege, a most fatal precedent had been avoided. If the majority of the Constituent had not for their own purposes urged dissolution, and brought that Assembly into contempt, a fatal example had been spared!

If the majority of the Legislature had been more susceptible of the rights of the Opposition, if they had brought forward liberal and popular measures, if they had given up compression, this terrible explosion had been averted.

As it is, no warning has been spared them; but they have had the courage to insult, and not to strike.

Distracted by Royalist intrigues, they have been at Wiesbaden, or at Frohsdorf, or at Claremont, when Louis Napoleon was at Satory. They were aiming at a White Dictatorship; a Monk for the resuscitation of antediluvian thrones; and their reward is to be a Bastard Empire, based on a surreptitious popularity, a usurpation strengthened by a quasi return to popular principles.

But has France indeed fallen so low as to submit to the domination of outlaws and brigands? Are the traditions of sixty years of struggles and the conquests of three revolutions to be effaced by the stroke of a perjured robber's pen? Is the man who casts all law to the winds to be suffered to attitudinize before Europe as the Saviour of Order and Society? Will the People forget the injuries, the disappointments, and the humiliations of France since December '48? Will they forget that the last act of this President was to consign to a desolate and deadly island, at four thousand leagues from home and country, and in the depth of winter to send, chained, tortured, and exposed to the rigours of the season, to their port of embarkation *three political conspirators*! whose crime was to have served what they deemed the People's cause, at least as faithfully, as disinterestedly, as M. L. N. Bonaparte.

We conjure all who love peace, law, and order, to consider whether it is not the most frightful of anarchies that this miscreant has set up in the place of institutions, imperfect perhaps, but regular and moderate? It is the most brutal and savage of anarchies; the anarchy of the sabre and the musket; the anarchy of force, destitute of all moral sanction; the anarchy of drunken Prætorians; the anarchy of the Lower Empire. For it is to the "Lower Empire" in its most degrading and detestable sense that France is condemned.

It is this spurious Catiline, this incendiary spendthrift, who, after condemning monarchical hallucinations and "demagogical ideas," rends his country asunder in the throes of civil war, in order that out of a Chaos of ruins and miseries he may raise a gilded pedestal for an insatiate ambition. Ambition, do we say? Rather—Spoliation.

The debauchery, without the grace and wit of the Régence, the servitude without the genius and glory of the Empire, the miseries without the traditions of the *bon plaisir*—such is to be the inheritance of the land of noble instincts, of chivalrous impulses, of *honour*! France is to change her place in History—to be dragged at the heels of we know not what sanguinary despotism. No! it will not be. Five hundred thousand bayonets are powerless to achieve the ignominy. Louis Napoleon may parody the 18th of Brumaire, he may parody the perjuries of crowns; but the People (whose blood already, as we write, cries out for vengeance—the blood of men slaughtered in the defence of law) will point the way to the prison of his adoption—Noukahiva. The comparison and the contrast of the Uncle and the Nephew will be complete. But the ocean that moans around Noukahiva may even prove a more incorruptible gaoler than the rock of St. Helena.

THE MANCHESTER FINALITY REFORM BILL.

"MANCHESTER" has declared itself incompetent to the occasion. We beg pardon of that respectable town for using its name; but we do so in a conventional, semi-official way, meaning by "Manchester" those quondam leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League, who have adopted the name for themselves. Reform Bills being in fashion, they determined to manufacture one of their own pattern. They foreshadowed it in a local paper, but were laughed out of the first notion. They have now produced their matured plan. Its staple is a franchise based on the mere fact of being rated to the poor, with a forty-shilling freehold, copyhold, or leasehold franchise.

It is something like the scheme of the Parliamentary Reform Association, only that the main point is expressed in vaguer language. It is not absolutely bad in itself; but look at its political relations. We regard it as simply an attempt to open a rival shop. But *why*? Possibly out of

mere competition. More probably for an ulterior object. Let us suppose a case. The National Parliamentary Reform Association has a certain plan before the country, and it is understood that the Association is not prepared to compromise that plan. Now, some Manchester diplomatist may be ambitious of making a market out of that plan; but he cannot obtain possession of it. A counterfeit is forged, as like the original as possible; with that false Florimel as many of the faithful as can be deluded are to be drawn off; and then the false measure and the deluded followers will probably be sold in a Whig compromise. On this hypothesis, with ground thus prepared beforehand, Lord John could determine exactly what he would concede; fixing that as the middle term, he would then only have to make his outward proposal exactly as much smaller as the "Manchester" plan is larger, and the compromise would give precisely the result forecalculated. No problem in practical geometry could be more beautifully neat.

"Sic transit gloria." The Radicals were the dreadful go-ahead tribe of their day; the Tories gone, the Radicals, having accomplished their destiny in the Reform Bill, have become the effective Conservatives of our day. The Free Traders, called by Peel to the Walhalla of departed heroes, are now but living gravestones proclaiming their own virtues when alive; and this Manchester scene is their political death. They did not perceive what was going on amongst themselves. They did not detect the Manchester Gorgey. It certainly was not Mr. Edward Baines, of Leeds, who most openly and naïvely deprecated the fargoning of the project, because it would create a feeling hostile to Lord John's scheme when that should come out in contrast! Mr. Bright proposes the plan as one to settle organic questions once for all: he is "Finality John" the Second!

It would be idle to discuss the details of a scheme which has no substantive position, but is a mere piracy from the Parliamentary Reform project, "with a difference." Otherwise one might ask how it will apply to *Scotland*? No doubt, it would be "very easy" to make a separate bill for Scotland; but then what becomes of your perfect and final comprehensiveness?

There was indeed one move open to "Manchester," which would have made it still the leader of the country—to go for the *enfranchisement of the whole People*. But Manchester has lost the lead—has left the post vacant.

JEWISH RIGHTS AND OFFICIAL WRONGS.

OATHS and oath-taking are amongst the respectabilities of our island. Unquestionably they are matters of great importance, involving vast questions of polity, and striking their roots deeply into human nature itself. Not lightly, nor with indignant hands, should oaths be altered or plucked up. The substance of an oath and the fashion of it belong to the sacred formulae of a nation, and may not be touched without great and reverent consideration. But even an oath, a set form of binding the soul, may grow old, become an obstruction and a nuisance in the public ways of life, and demand swift removal; and this is precisely the case with that oath which is held to exclude Jews from seats in Parliament.

On the mere question of policy, the public has long made up its mind, and found, for once at least, that justice and policy coincide. The public have decided it to be both fit and just that Jews should be admitted to Parliamentary dignities; and the Lower House, led on by the First Minister, has backed the opinion of the public. But the Upper House, ignoring the decision of the public, has refused its concurrence, and in the Lower House a majority, brandishing certain offensive words in the face of the Hebrew members, words which are held to be the sanction of a useless oath, has effectually excluded them from the legislative precincts.

The proceedings in July last will be fresh in the memory of all our readers. Mr. Alderman Salomons, with modest persistence and civil courage, took his seat, spoke, and voted, without having uttered the obnoxious words, "On the true faith of a Christian." For doing this he is held liable to heavy fines and very severe civil penalties; and to recover those fines and inflict those penalties two notices of action were served upon him soon after the famous proceedings at the close of the session. One of those actions will be tried next week. Of course, if this action be decided in favour of the defendant, Mr. Alderman Salomons and Baron

Rothschild will be entitled to take their seats in the ensuing session, *without* the consent of the Peers.

But what now is the position of Mr. Salomons? He has taken his seat, spoken, and voted, in the House of Commons, without having taken the oath of Abjuration in the form prescribed by the statute for Members of Parliament; that is, having expressed his willingness to take the oath, omitting the words, "on the true faith of a Christian," because those words were not binding on his conscience, he acted within the House as if he had taken the oath in the alleged proper form. Now, any one who presumes to act as a Member of Parliament, without taking the oath, thereby renders himself liable, not to lose his seat, that is the penalty for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, but to heavy penalties and the loss of civil rights. So that a Jew, who cannot swear "on the true faith of a Christian," retains the trust reposed in him by his constituents, but dares not perform the duties of that trust in his place in Parliament. That is the position of Mr. Salomons at the present moment, as decided by the majority of the Commons with the Premier at their head.

Be it clearly understood, that the exclusion of the Jews from Parliament is an accidental, not an intentional, exclusion. The oath of Abjuration, at the tail of which come the obstructive words, was levelled solely against the Jacobites; and not only this, but the oath is actually out of date, as it abjures the descendants of the Stuarts, *no* descendants of the Stuarts being in existence!

But apart from the exclusion being accidental, irrespective of the oath being ridiculously out of date,—facts cogent enough from a common sense point of view, but not quite so forcible from a legal point of view,—there is another circumstance connected with this oath which is legally relevant and weighty. By the 9 and 10 Victoria, cap. 59, Jews are admitted to *all* the civil and political rights which pertain to her Majesty's subjects dissenting from the Church of England; and by a previous act it was enacted that the words "on the true faith of a Christian" might be omitted from the declarations to be made by Jews upon taking civil offices. Not only this, but the 1 and 2 Victoria, "An Act to remove Doubts as to the Validity of Certain Oaths," positively enacts that upon "*any* occasion" the oath to be administered shall be administered "in such form and with such ceremonies" as the swearer "shall declare to be binding."

Obviously the essence of an oath does not lie in any sanction, but in *that* sanction which is binding on the conscience of the swearer, and no other.

And since, by statute, Jews are allowed to declare in their own manner, since they find no difficulty in taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, it becomes a serious question whether the House of Commons did not, last session, arrogate to itself unjust and unwarrantable power in excluding two Jewish members from the beneficial operation of the enabling acts above cited. Why make an exception to the 1 and 2 Victoria, in respect of parliamentary oaths? Is there statute warrant for it? Surely the want of a precedent cannot be urged, since there could be no precedent in a case which was *sui generis*.

Thus then stands the question as we understand it, the Jewish Members willing and anxious to fulfil the trust reposed in them by their respective constituencies, and the House of Commons obstructing them by a special vote. The Hebrew members being prepared to take the ridiculous oath, actually in the "form prescribed by law for Jews," that is, without the words "on the true faith of a Christian," and a motley majority persisting in the assertion of the illegality of an oath so administered. We need say nothing of the injustice inflicted on our Jewish fellow subjects—that is too glaring. The Jews have shown, on many occasions, that they were thorough Englishmen in political feeling, and Englishmen generally are waiting to hail their victory over the obstructions offered by the prejudices of an Inglis, or the hollowhearted support of a Russell.

A RAILWAY TOURNAMENT.

We wonder the railway directors did not think of it before—the notion is so very capital, surpassing in originality bull-fighting and pugilism, duels and wrestling. The notion—what notion? Railway jousts, dear reader, with the public admitted at so much per head to defray expenses, wear and tear, loss of life, fracture of limb, &c. &c.; all which articles can be paid for in money damages, properly assessed. All you require is a reckless directory, daring engineers, inflexible stokers, a

quarrel between rival lines for territory, and, presto! the thing is done. Your joust comes off, with the public expectant and adspectant. Your engines guarding up and down line, engine pitted against engine, charge up to the very buffers, salute and retire—the interesting public and the public authorities calmly or feverishly looking on. All this sounds like a romance. So far not one of our readers will believe the story. Nevertheless, substantially it is true; we did not invent it, the facts, "matter of history," lie before us in black and white. Here they are.

Most people have heard of the war between the potentates who rule in the West and their contemporary sovereigns in the North West. Also the public is not quite forgetful that there is a railway in the Stour Valley, now leased to the North Western Company. It happens, however, that the Shrewsbury and Birmingham Company have an interest in this line, contingent, we are told, upon their not amalgamating with the Great Western. Lately, however, the Shrewsbury men have agreed to amalgamate with the Great Western, and, consequently, they are *ipso facto* held to be excluded from the Stour Valley line. But by some ingenious argument about amalgamation not being amalgamation in their case, they contend that their running powers are still in force, and, what is more, that they will make use of them.

Last week it was announced by the North-Western that the line to Birmingham would be opened; but in consequence of a threat from the Shrewsbury authorities, that they should run "independent trains" on the same line, the North-Western directors thought it prudent to postpone the opening of the line. On Sunday it was ascertained that all was prepared for carrying out the threat: and by Monday morning two engines belonging to the North-Western occupied the lines at Wolverhampton, and the station was held by the officers and police of the company. Meanwhile the forces of the Shrewsbury party were held in readiness, and an official placard issued, stating that they intended to run on the line, and that if the North-Westerns did not remove their engines, the Shrewsbury brigade "would do it for them." Whereupon application was made to the Mayor of Wolverhampton, and he, accompanied by a body of Police, arrived on the field of battle. A thousand people were now assembled, and they beheld an astounding sight. The engines of the Shrewsbury party moved up to the attack, which the engines of the North-Western awaited with great firmness. Slowly came the attacking engines, until they touched the buffers of their opponents; and then, finding that the North-Westerns would not recede, after much blustering they retreated, and so ended the stupid campaign.

This is a true story. Harmless as the encounter was, it might not have been so: a trifling loss of temper, and the rival engines would have been dashed against each other, perhaps causing, certainly hazarding, death. What can we think of directors who permit, of a Mayor who beholds, such a spectacle? It is all the more reprehensible as it borders on the ludicrous. Boys blowing at a semi-lighted fusee, intended to fire a train of gunpowder, or fencing with naked swords, or playing at hop-scotch on a railway, are not brilliant examples for sagacious railway directors. The fusee *may* fail, the swords may do no damage, the train may not pass till the game is over; but most likely the reverse in each instance will take place. So in this railway joust, it might have happened with trains of passengers as well as single engines. Surely a stop should be put to pranks like these, which smack so much of the genius of the school-yard.

PROGRESS OF ASSURANCE.

REDEMPTION OF LAND—APPLICATION OF CAPITAL.

"The worst of all rebellions," says Lord Bacon, "is the rebellion of the stomach." If the Irish were not in the slough of despond, they would be rebellious. They have no hope of their country. They lie moodily waiting for a crisis or quit their native land for a more promising clime. It is not desirable to depopulate that country. Justice to Ireland will not be rendered by the eviction of her sons. But what are we to do? If they remain in their present condition, while they have strength they will rebel; when exhausted in spirit, they will come upon the poor's rate: to an Irish landholder, a bitter alternative. The only way of maintaining peace in Ireland is to provide employment for the people, thereby producing an ever increasing source of revenue. "The want of

capital," says Sir Robert Kane, "has been the bug-bear of Irish enterprise for many years. England has capital, Ireland has not; therefore England is rich and industrious, and Ireland is poor and idle." To the state of property in Ireland, however, must we attribute much of its present condition. Immense unwieldy estates, entailed, heavily mortgaged, and otherwise encumbered, the owner not only an absentee, but unable to expend anything in the improvement of his property: the land cut up into minute subdivisions, held by a tenantry who have no inducement, if they had the power, to improve a property of which they have no certain tenure: a large cottier population, heretofore living on potatoes, the produce of their own gardens, now without employment or any means of support. Such is the present condition of Ireland. It is confessedly daily getting worse. Yet up to this moment not only is nothing done to grapple with the evil, but people only one degree from starvation are called upon to pay for the bread which but lately rescued them from death.

Thus will it ever be until organization takes place of the galvanic relief hitherto afforded. They who subsist on charity are ever at the point of death. It is an unhealthy condition, which saps the energies and leads to destruction. Concert and coöperation, the association of labour with intelligence, are what will avail in Ireland. Millions of capital have been advanced and spent in reckless disorganization, and now that the people have nothing to show for them these millions are suddenly recalled.

What might not have been effected if the money had been properly spent? There is land lying idle which reclaimed would give employment and food. Mr. John Stuart Mill in his *Political Economy* observes:—

"The detailed estimate of an irrefragable authority, Mr. Griffith, annexed to the report of Lord Devon's commission shows nearly a million and a half of acres reclaimable for the spade or plough, some of them with the promise of great fertility; and about two millions and a half more reclaimable as pasture: the greater part being in most convenient proximity to the principal masses of destitute population. The one million and a half of arable land would furnish properties averaging five acres each to three hundred thousand persons, which at the rate of five persons to a family answer to a population of one million and a half. Suppose such a number drafted off to a state of independence and comfort, together with any moderate additional relief of emigration, and the introduction of English capital and farming over the remaining surface of Ireland would cease to be chimerical."

We have facts and proofs of the soundness of this hypothesis. Mr. Stuart French, of Monaghan, has reclaimed 300 acres of mountain land in four years, and raised its value from 2s. to 35s. an acre; the entire cost of reclamation being repaid by the crops in three years. Mr. Reade, of Wood-park, County Galway, reclaimed 500 acres of moorland and mountain; the cost was repaid by the crop of the second year, and the land formerly worth 2s. 6d. an acre now pays 20s. per acre annually. Mr. Coulthurst, in County Cork, reclaimed a bog farm for which the tenants could not pay 4s. an acre. The expense was repaid before the fifth year, and the land is now rated, at the poor law valuation, at £4 per acre. Sir Charles Sligh, Baronet, located the surplus population of his estate in Donegal, on the waste lands, and assisted the poor farmers to cultivate them. He gave up his rents for two years; and permanent employment has been found for six times as many persons as the land could formerly support, and its produce has been multiplied tenfold. The Irish Waste Land Improvement Society also, on a limited outlay of £1658, has received 10 per cent. interest.

The capabilities of the land of Ireland are here apparent, and by giving the Irish people the opportunity of becoming small proprietors they would, as De Beaumont observes, "clear at one bound the space which separates a prosperous lot from the most wretched condition. So long as the Irishman will be merely a tenant, you will find him indolent and wretched." The question is, how to get rid of the present state of things and enable an almost bankrupt man to become the possessor of a farm.

Freehold assurance, which is an elaboration of the life assurance principle, has been proposed by William Bridges, the actuary, as a means of improving the condition of Ireland. Mr. Bridges suggests that Government should issue £50,000,000 sterling in land scrip to certain commissioners, on a first mortgage of all the lands of Ireland, and redeemable in twenty years, bearing four per cent.

interest until redeemed. This sum, it is proposed, should be advanced by instalments to capitalists, landlords, and public companies, an equal amount of capital being in each case subscribed by the recipients. These sums to be invested, subject to the inspection of such commissioners, in the adaptation of waste lands to productive settlement—in the completion of absolutely necessary railway and road communications—the improvement of lands already under imperfect tillage—the construction of cheap cottages—the encouragement and improvement of the fisheries—the formation of harbours and breakwaters, and other useful and remunerative purposes. The companies or other borrowers to divide the lands so prepared, and to assign them in freehold to farmers of good character in consideration of payment by instalments.

It is at this point that Mr. Bridges avails himself of the beautiful principle of life assurance by a system which he terms "Freehold Assurance," and which, according to Arthur Scratchley*, may be applied to colonization generally. On this principle the allotments would be disposed of by conveying the fee simple to chosen persons—who would at once enter upon and profitably cultivate the same—subject to a terminable rent charge, a part of which would consist of the capital expended, and would be a rent such as is usually paid for the hire of land; while the remainder would consist of the premiums paid by the allottees on the ordinary principles of life assurance to secure for each the payment at his death of a sum equal to the estimated value of his particular allotment. On the death of one of these original allottees the sum assured would not be paid to his representatives, but in lieu thereof they would become possessors of an unencumbered Freehold Estate. The payment of the annual rent charge to the company during the life of the first occupier would be secured by a mortgage on the property.

"This scheme," says Mr. Scratchley, "is peculiarly fitted for the amelioration of the present condition of Ireland, as in that country extensive tracts of land might be purchased at so low a rate that if they were adapted to the proposed purpose with proper skill and economy, the rent charge, estimated as above, need not greatly exceed the sum which, under the present system of landlord and tenant, is frequently paid as rent alone for even temporary occupation; while it would at the same time be sufficient to realize a large interest for the capital originally expended."

The plan offers a means of bringing about a complete change in the social condition of Ireland. It would create a body of independent yeomen possessed of the strongest inducements to industry: namely, that the fruits of their exertion would be all their own; while, from the concentration of the care and diligence of each farmer on a limited acreage, the land would be brought into a high and profitable state of cultivation.

POLITICAL LETTERS.

I. ENGLAND NOT DOWNING-STREET.

To A——A.

December 4, 1851.

MOST EXCELLENT FRIEND,—I break through the impersonal once more, to deal the more directly with affairs that suffer on all hands from the want of dealing with them directly. Let us see how the Peoples are fooled.

The revolution of the Prince-President has not been without its effect in this country. It is generally understood, with something more than probability, that there was to have been a Ministerial crisis in London on Wednesday—that, tolerated no longer by the Grey section of the Cabinet, Lord Palmerston was to have "gone out," by resignation or otherwise; but that in the face of events it had been decided not to expose the country to the consequences of a Ministerial crisis; and so Lord Palmerston was suffered to remain.

Think of the Whig Cabinet without Palmerston!

I only wonder that he consented to remain. It is also said, conjecturally, that if he had departed, the fact might have led to the break up of the whole Cabinet, and a general resignation. Possibly; but what then? According to these rumours "Ministerial crisis" in Downing-street has been superseded by revolution in Paris. But the public has not yet learned the whole of the machinations of which accidents give us glimpses. The designs of the Prince-President were evidently known in London, though not to the French refugees. It is

* *Industrial Investment and Emigration.* By Arthur Scratchley, M.A., Actuary to the Western Life Assurance Society. London: J. W. Parker.

well known that the Prince-President counts on the support of Austria and Russia; and has not Russia any means of communicating with London? The French people has been taken by surprise, in a manner the most insulting to its sagacity and will of action; and we see it before our eyes undergoing the mixed process of cajolery and dragooning. But is the English people a jot clearer as to the way in which its interests are disposed of, its resources used against itself, its money and arms placed at the disposal of the diplomatic craft and Russia; the Prince-President being the protégé of Russia?

It is wonderful to see how peoples consent to be gulled, because they will not insist on the only certain means to be secured against it—open government. The Prussians are peering into the speech of their King, like the wise men of Gotham looking through a millstone, to see what is meant by the extraordinary and total omission of all allusion to foreign affairs: poor Frederick William, who does not always know his own mind, has held his tongue, and the people feel that there is a wonderful and formidable force in that dreadful silence. It only means, indeed, that he will arrange all those things according to his own will,—and the millions of Prussians can't help it. But are we in England any better off? Assuredly not. If we do not all of us see the way in which our Government uses our means to maintain Despotism abroad, exclusive legislation, standing armies and huge taxation at home, it is because some of us suffer ourselves to be gulled and befooled by the great many-headed Humbug in Downing-street. The thing is plain enough, if you only look for it. We consent to be put off with promises and assurances, and permit a set of men, who give us little else, to arrange our affairs in secret. Thus we are cheated of everything we covet at home, abroad, and in the colonies—of everything, from sanitary reform, to a real alliance with friendly nations, and justice for Cape Colonists, Australians, Canadians, and West Indians.

Take the case of alliance. There are several nations now manifesting the most earnest desire for practical alliance with England. Agricultural Hungary desires a peaceful intercourse with manufacturing England, but is barred by that Austria with whom her Majesty is "at peace." Italians are transmitting repeated tokens of gratitude for English sympathy; but we are "at peace" with their destroyer? Cuba is not off the cards yet. We know that it would be impossible to contravene what we have said as to the fact that "England" has not been committed to the hostile position falsely asserted by Louis Napoleon; but "England" has been exchanging courtesies with Spain, and has obtained a rather exclusive pardon of certain English accomplices in the Cuban invasion; and Spain says that she intends to maintain Cuba. She cannot. Cuba belongs geographically to the possessors of the Mississippi. That vast river is the artery of a valley still vaster, which will develop the highest political life of the great Republic; and the Americans will not long tolerate the possession of Cuba by an alien power. "England," however, is "at peace" with Spain; and Louis Napoleon, though he recounted falsely, may have prophesied truly.

England, the true England, has no interest in the retention of Cuba by Spain, so long as it does not fall into the hands of a hostile power, which would embroil us with our countrymen, the colonists of the West Indies. But why should the American possession of Cuba embroil us? Are not the Americans equally our countrymen, by blood, language, and political ideas? Are they not more so than any other race? Certainly; and there could be no difficulty in the matter if the Americans and English really understood each other. But we leave these things to our officials to manage in secret; and they always embroil the English nation most with its best friends.

The Americans have a difficulty in understanding why we do so. They are only now beginning to understand that the "Great Britain" of official despatches does not mean the inhabitants of the island so called, but only certain gentlemen in Downing-street. Still they can't understand why the great English nation suffers itself to be misrepresented. I can tell them why, and I shall do my best to make them understand it.

The reasons are these—the English People is a disfranchised People; oppressed by unequal laws, it is oppressed by trade difficulties and ceaseless toil; and it is a *disarmed People*. Being unrepresented, it has accustomed itself to see the power of "Great Britain" disposed of by certain official

gentlemen without interference. The exceptional seventh of the English People, which is represented, is partly cajoled, partly tricked out of its suffrages, partly bribed. Powerless, gulled, or bribed out of its self-respect, the English People, the English nation, does not assert its political existence. Bankruptcy is the fiend that dogs the heels of the trader, and makes him hope, for Heaven's sake, that there will be no disturbance, because it would be "bad for trade." He has no national pride: as an old Jerry Sneak has outlived "all the romance of youth," the Englishman of the counter has lived down all national pride. Americans, 'cute as they are in business, can scarcely conceive this. Beaten down by unequal combination laws, bad Poor Law, and every contrivance for destroying independence, the working classes toil from dawn till night, and have no time for national action. Besides, they are *disarmed*. Arms have been taken away from the People, and given to a special class paid by Government: the soldiery is taught to despise, and therefore to dislike, the People; the People unjustly to dislike the soldier. If the People shows any exercise of will, the police orders it to "move on"; if it stands its ground, then "the military are called out" to "put down" the People. Popular will is a joke to your veterans of Whitehall, civil as well as military. It is naturally so: a disarmed People is an object, if not of grief, of contempt. The commanders of its garrison can always dictate to it and use its name.

These are the reasons why the English People, although profoundly imbued with sympathy for the American People, its institutions and gallant nationality, suffers false voices to speak for it in words of alienation and hostility. The English People desires to be allied with America: yet the "Great Britain" of official despatches may go to war with America in support of Donna Isabella and the Madrid Downing-street.

For every capital of Europe has its Downing-street, and all Downing-streets are confederated together.

The first effort of the English People to extricate itself from this degraded, ruinous position must be, to insist upon tearing the veil from secret diplomacy and secret officialism. Lord Palmerston going, we believe, against the natural frankness and boldness of his disposition, justifies secret diplomacy as the means of making good "bargains": nations don't want to make "bargains." A sham bargain may be a gain to the few at the expense of the many; but somebody must always lose by it. Nations want no waste of that kind. They want justice, peace, and liberty—thorough understanding with each other, good understanding between classes, and individual liberty to labour, to help fellow labourers, and to enjoy existence. Such blessed results are not to be attained by "bargains": to attain them, each People must hold its own power in its own hands, and oblige its Government to render an open account of all its action. Peoples can help one another in attaining those great results, by an alliance of Peoples against the confederacy of Downing-streets. Every nation set free should be a help to the rest: America is free.

But the first step is for the friends of the People themselves to speak out, directly and openly. Tell truth and shame the—Diplomat.

THORNTON HUNT.

SOCIAL REFORM.

OWING to an extraordinary press of matter this week, we are compelled to omit the "Notes of a Social Economist."

HISTORY.—Man's twofold nature is reflected in History. "He is of earth," but his thoughts are with the stars. Mean and petty his wants and his desires; yet they serve a soul exalted with grand and glorious aims, with immortal longings, with thoughts which sweep the heavens, and "wander through eternity." A pigmy standing on the outward crust of this small planet, his far-reaching spirit stretches outwards and upwards to the Infinite, and there alone finds rest. History is a reflex of this double life. Every epoch has two aspects,—one calm, broad, and solemn—looking towards Eternity; the other, agitated, petty, vehement, and confused—looking towards Time. Through the one shine the pure and steady light of principles; through the other we get glimpses of the vexed drama of human passion. The one reveals to us the movement of Humanity, slow, solemn, and majestic, like all the great evolutions of creation, in whose life centuries reckon but as days; the other shows us the hurrying agitation and capricious impulses of human beings, whose free activity is unconsciously producing the great movement.—*British Quarterly Review*, No. 28.

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*.

"If Gossip Report be not a liar," which she mostly is (see VIRGIL), then may we congratulate DICKENS on his accession to the full and complete copyright of all his works; so that both he and his children may now reckon on a handsome property.

It is interesting to notice the rise and progress of the belief in literary property. There still remain many who, recognizing a property in mechanical inventions, refuse to recognize a property in inventions of a less tangible character. That the produce of a man's hands should be lawfully accounted his property is "plain common sense"; but that the produce of his brain should also be lawfully so accounted is thought preposterous. Nevertheless, that preposterous thought has made its way in the world, and now we are not only learning to respect literary property, but are rapidly advancing towards international copyright!

In *Fraser's Magazine* this month we see a new story, by the author of *Alton Locke*, announced for 1852; good news to the readers of *Fraser*, who generally provides us an entertaining number. December gives an amusing paper on *Gastronomy and Civilization*; an eloquent and suggestive criticism on the poems of 1851; and a good paper on *The Races of Mankind*, in which the unity of our race is advocated. This question of race is more far-reaching than will generally be thought. "For if," as this writer observes, "the scientific inquiry should issue in the certainty or strong probability that the human race had several pairs of progenitors, and not one Adam and one Eve, the scientific result would admit of no explanation consistent with the truth of the Scripture narrative." Perfectly true. On the other hand, if the unity of race be established, then it establishes in an overwhelming manner the Development Hypothesis by showing the immensity of the modifications known to be producible by differences of climate and other external conditions. Take the six foot Patagonian and the pigmy Bosjesman—the Carib and the Caucasian—the grovelling Wawa and a SHAKESPEARE or a GOETHE—the fair Circassian and the ebony African—see what modifications are manifest in the various races of man, and the main arguments against the Development Hypothesis of LAMARCK and GEOFFREY ST. HILAIRE fall to the ground. A pretty "fix" for theologians!

The other papers in *Fraser* are also worth reading, especially that on the *Use and Beauty of Words*, and the continuation of the able *History of the Hungarian War*.

Tait this month has a good article against Homœopathy, which friends and foes of that system will read with interest—none the less, we believe, because of some very lame arguments which cripple it. Considering, however, the nonsense usually written on this subject, we must prize the paper in *Tait*. There is too much of the common error of demonstrating the "impossibility" of a fact, when the thing needed is to ascertain if the fact be a fact. So many things "can't be" and nevertheless "are"! For ourselves, we are decidedly not Homœopaths, but we take interest in all the vigorous efforts made to get at the Truth; and in the present ignorance of Pathology and Organic Chemistry—ignorance so profound that the writers on Homœopathy, *pro* and *con.*, seem rarely to suspect it—every system of cure must be *empirical*, and to a great extent delusive. While on this subject we will add a word we should gladly have added to Mr. KELLY's letter, printed in our "Open Council" (No. 86, p. 1096), but that on principle we abstain from meddling with all the letters that appear there. It is this. His opponent made the very common objection, that inasmuch as increase of quantity gives increase of power, the minute doses were absurd: he replied to that objection. We should add, that the phrase increase

of power is delusively vague, and that, speaking in the sense in which the phrase is used here, it is false. Chemistry abounds with illustrations. Place water in a heated iron vessel, and the temperature will rise; but if you increase the quantity of heat beyond four hundred degrees, and then place the water into it, the temperature of the water will not rise. Here increase of quantity paralyzes the power of raising the water's temperature. Directly the vessel cools to four hundred degrees, a new phenomenon is presented—the water explodes. Now, reasoning by analogy (supported by fact, if the fact be so), we may conclude that whereas a certain increase of heat would not produce a rise in the temperature of water, for which a considerable decrease was necessary, so a patient may swallow a handful of globules without effect, yet be affected by one globule. We give this only as an illustration. What we want to see proved is the unequivocal fact that a globule will produce a given effect. If that be proved, we can quietly submit to its being "impossible."

It is said by GOETHE, in his wise sarcastic way, that it is easy enough to make laurel crowns, but the difficulty is to find a brow to wear them—

"Ein Kranz ist gar viel leichter binden,
Als ihm ein würdig Haupt zu finden."

But in these last days a brow has been found—a new poet has been revealed to the world. A new Poet? Yes (and the word is pleasant to write), a new Poet: one who will hereafter present a brow to the world, upon whose calm breadth the world will lovingly let fall a crown, unless he disappoint the promise of his youth—unless he, too, turn out one of those buds that never become flowers! At present he is but one-and-twenty, and having spent the last half of his life in a counting-house, his *experience* is probably small; but his faculty is rich, spontaneous.

ALEXANDER SMITH, of Glasgow, is the man. We hear of him through the columns of the *Critic*, where this week several "passages" from his unpublished poems are printed. As passages they are unquestionably very remarkable. They have the faults and exuberance of youth, but the contain striking images—as this of Night—

"Which like a sea
Breaketh for ever on a strand of stars."

He is fond, too fond of the stars; but his love prompts him to new imagery—here is another—

"When the dark dumb earth
Lay on her back and watched the shining stars,"

The following strikes us as grand and pictorial—

"I seek the look of fame! Poor fool, so tries
Some lonely wanderer 'mong the desert sands
By shouts to gain the notice of the Sphinx,
Staring right on with calm eternal eyes."

We have a dim remembrance of a passage like that somewhere in HORNE, but cannot drag it into the light of clear recollection. We have only space for one more extract, and it shall be a whole sonnet.

"Last night my cheek was wetted with warm tears,
Each worth a world. They fell from eyes divine.
Last night a silken lip was pressed to mine,
And at its touch fled all the barren years.
And golden couched on a bosom white,
Which came and went beneath me like a sea.
An Emperor I lay, in empire bright
Lord of the beating heart! while tenderly
Love words were glutting my love-greedy ears;
Kind love I thank thee for that happy night.
Richer this cheek for those warm tears of thine,
Than the vast midnight with its gleaming spheres:
Leander toiling through the midnight brine,
Kingdomless Antony were scarce my peers."

If our mood were critical, we should make sad havoc of some of these lines: "silken lip" and "golden couched" are the upholstery of love that should have no place. The fourth line, if it have a meaning, has not expressed it. The comparison of his cheek to the vast midnight is more fanciful than agreeable. But what a glow and pulse in the rest! How like the burning love of a boy, intoxicated with the newness and intensity of feeling!

It is not often that we are guilty of the crime of urging a man to publish poems; but if ALEXANDER SMITH's poems are at all equal to the passages quoted in the *Critic*, we should decisively say publish by all means!

MANTELL'S PETRIFACTIONS AND THEIR TEACHINGS.

Petrifactions and their Teachings; or, the Handbook to the Gallery of Organic Remains of the British Museum. By Gideon Algernon Mantell, LL.D. With numerous Illustrations. (Bohn's Scientific Library.) H. G. Bohn.

MR. BOHN should be encouraged in his recent enlargement of the sphere of his Monthly Volumes, thus bringing excellent scientific works within the reach of those who can ill afford to pay for the more expensive. It is but a few weeks since we reviewed *Stöckhardt's Experimental Chemistry*; we have now an original work by Dr. Mantell, and a reprint of the *Comparative Physiology* by Agassiz and Gould, not to mention the various scientific works announced as in preparation. Let him continue in this direction, and we are persuaded that an ample sale will repay the venture.

Petrifactions and their Teachings is a book of unquestionable usefulness, but we must sharply define its uses. From the title, or from a casual inspection of its pages, the reader would be apt to form a conception of it which a nearer examination would disappoint; the amount of "Teachings" given with these "Petrifactions" being both small in quantity and insignificant in quality. The philosophy of the subject must be brought by the reader. Besides the absence of scientific generalization, we have to note the presence of an impertinent amount of scientific *petulance*. What have the fossil remains of former worlds to do with the small squabbles of scientific men? What is the condition of that man's mind who shows us the great records of eras when this planet was no abode of man, and moves amidst these mysteries, thinking mainly of how Jones does not appreciate him, nor Smith make mention of his small discoveries? It is always thus with commentators—a terrible race! and Dr. Mantell, in this edition of *Ancient Fragments*, follows in the path of many a learned Doctor, and distracts our attention from his Author to himself.

Although a searching criticism would find much that was objectionable, both in omission and commission, it would, however, also find much that was commendable in this volume. Its value is as a catalogue raisonnée of the organic remains which solicit study in our British Museum. To give it this special interest, Dr. Mantell has arranged it in the form of a Handbook. The specimens in each room of the Museum are described in separate chapters, and a *ground plan* of the cases, with a *Synopsis* of their contents, are given in the first section of each division. Thus, to wander through the rooms with this volume in hand, is to examine their contents in company with an accurately informed guide; and for the first time these rooms will have an interest and significance to many of those who take the volume there.

Its use is not, however, limited to that of a Handbook. It is intelligible and interesting in itself; and the numerous illustrations, many of them of a superior kind, serve as substitutes for the actual specimens. We specify the merits of *Petrifactions and their Teachings*, that no reader may be misled by the title into the supposition of its being a work of philosophical character. It is a handbook, and it is more than that; but it has nothing to do with philosophy.

SPENCER'S EUROPEAN TURKEY.

Travels in European Turkey in 1850. By Edmund Spencer, Esq. 2 vols. Colburn and Co.

(Second Notice.)

IN returning to Mr. Spencer's admirable, and in many respects important, volumes, to cull more extracts, we feel unusually embarrassed by the quantity which solicits us, and the scantiness of the space at disposal. We decide on something touching Hungary, on account of its *actualité*. Mr. Spencer gives a brief but striking survey of the Hungarian struggle, and then adds these reflections:—

"Now that all is over, and the sword of the Czar and the Kaiser, with the executioner, have laid low the brave race of the Magyar, the reader may be desirous to know by what system of political casuistry the Austrian Cabinet could have acted with such base perfidy towards the Hungarian people. It might be presumed that a Government whose subjects are composed of so many nationalities, over which the Slavonians predominate in number—a people whose tendencies from an affinity of race, language, religion, customs, and manners, are more Russian than German, would rather have sought an alliance with the Hungarians—by far the most valorous and enterprising nationality in the Austrian Empire, in order to counterbalance and hold in check the influence of so powerful a neighbour as Russia. This apparent

inconsistency is easily explained by the notorious fact, that every act of the Court of Vienna, since the Congress in 1815, has uniformly been, to use a vulgar expression, to toady Russia, and be at all times the ready instrument of the Czar—to crush liberal institutions, and arrest the march of mind, whether in Germany, Italy, or its own States. The Hungarian, as we have shown, after years of peaceful agitation, took advantage of the troublesome period of 1848, to extort from their king and aristocracy those changes in the representative system of Government, so ardently desired by the majority of the people, and in accordance with the spirit of the age. Despotism Russia, with its million of serfs, could not permit so liberal a system of Government in a country lying on her frontier. Consequently, the Hungarians were proscribed and denounced as a people possessing opinions dangerous to the stability of social order.

"We do not make these assertions from hearsay, they are extracts from a mass of Hungarian state papers lying before us, together with a number of intercepted letters found among the baggage of the Ban of Croatia, and the other Slavonian and Imperial leaders and agents of Austria and Russia—all furnishing undoubted proof, that from the commencement of the struggle, Russian intervention was expected to take place, in the event of the Imperialists of Austria not being sufficiently strong to put down the Hungarian Liberals. As a proof that we have not distorted or exaggerated facts, we have annexed several highly important original documents, which will completely corroborate every statement we have made respecting the distressing scenes that took place in Hungary, and the perfidy of the Austrian authorities.

"The originals, signed by the members of the Senate and the Hungarian Government, are in the hands of our publishers.

"This is a serious view of the question, and amounts to this: if the Governments of Austria and Russia are allowed to arrest the march of civilization, there can be no hope nor prospect of seeing an end to those eternal revolutionary struggles of the inhabitants of Continental Europe, to secure to themselves liberal institutions. In fact, the intimate alliance of these two powers, in their crusade against every popular form of Government, and the dexterity they display in endeavouring to bring into contempt the representative system, has not sufficiently excited the attention of the inhabitants of our free countries of the West. It is true Austria ranks in Europe as a German power, having a German town for her capital and a German administration, but her real strength lies in the allegiance of her Slavonian subjects—who constitute the majority, and with whom she possesses no ties of kindred, no endearing remembrances of tradition and fatherland, and whom the Czar of Russia, in his character of Slavonian Prince, could at any time absolve from the ties that bind them to a German ruler.

"The insidious attempt of Austria at this moment under the plea of maintaining social order to obtain the mastery in Germany, with her Slavonian tail, is part and parcel of the same Muscovite policy that struck down the thousand year monarchy of the Magyars. When Germany becomes Slavonian, republican France must be dismembered! and the British people be taught that public opinion only belongs to a Sovereign! Winding up the drama by a solemn declaration to the world, that at length it had pleased Heaven, that the light of a purer faith should dawn over certain countries in Asia and Europe, once subject to the infidel rule of a Mahometan Sovereign! Thus we may see accomplished through our own supineness the prediction of the exile of St. Helena, who said, that fifty years more would see the whole of Europe either Cossack or Republican!"

What slumbering discontent lies underneath the "tranquillity" of Europe at this moment, let Mr. Spencer indicate:—

"If a brave, united people like the Hungarians, have been able to contend with the most powerful and best-appointed armies that Europe had seen since the days of Napoleon, in defence of their constitutional privileges, now that they have succeeded in gaining to their cause their former enemies the Slavonians, the next struggle may be attended with serious results; and how numberless are their wrongs—an outraged people—a dismembered country—a second Poland—their chiefs massacred, or wandering in penury and exile in the land of the stranger. As might be expected, now that a reaction has taken place in the popular feeling, in every town, village, or hamlet, throughout the land, whether inhabited by Hungarian, Slavonian, or Wallachian, a cry of vengeance and the name of Louis Kossuth trembles on every lip—their guardian angel, who is to deliver them from the thralldom of Austrian bureaucracy, martial law, multiplied taxes, and all the harassing chicanery of a host of needy German placemen, lordling it over them in the harsh tones of a language with which they are unacquainted.

"Even the Ban, Jellachich, otherwise a most estimable man in private life, so recently the hero of the Croats, is now denounced by his own countrymen as a traitor; and Rajachich, the martial patriarch

of the Voivodina of the Servians, as a Russian satrap; while the name of Görgey, who sold his country, has already become a by-word and a reproach among all classes of the population.

"The inhabitants of Western Europe, with all their cares and worldly occupations, can form no idea of the excitement of this people, who, infuriated by recent disasters, have directed their every thought and energy to the means of again wresting their country from the grasp of the German stranger. The fair sex even outvie the men in their enthusiasm, and truly we cannot but admire the patience of the poor Austrian soldier who has to endure scoff and taunt from lips as beautiful as ever smiled on man.

"In all the large towns we behold multitudes of these lovely Amazons, in the deepest mourning, fulfilling their oath never to cast it off until Hungary is again independent; others wearing the national colours in the various articles of their dress, to manifest at the same time their patriotism and contempt for the rule of the German, and all are decorated with bracelets and necklaces made from the coins issued during the government of Louis Kossuth. Again, not one of these patriots, whether male or female, will now utter a word of German, although we found that language universally spoken, during our visit to Hungary in 1847, not only by the higher classes, but by nearly every merchant and shopkeeper, and in all the inns throughout the country. This war against the German language, and everything German, is carried on with equal violence in Pest, the capital of the Hungarians, as in Agram, the capital of the Croats, and indeed in all the towns through which we passed in 1850, and the same degree of excitement and discontent exists, notwithstanding that the entire country is under martial law, and a 150,000 Russians lying on the frontier ready to assist the executive in case of need.

"This is precisely what might be expected on the reaction which followed the war in Hungary, the fate of every Government that resorts to expedients to preserve it from falling. The Croats and Servians, who had fought so long and bravely by the side of the Imperialists, found instead of becoming the lords of the land, which they had been led to expect as the reward of their loyalty, that they had exchanged the mild rule of the Magyar for the harsh despotism and intolerance of the Austrians, with their vexatious bureaucracy—army of spies—passports, and multiplied taxes. The discontent thus excited, was adroitly taken advantage of by the Hungarian party, which led to a sanguinary collision between the executive and the Croats at Agram, and the Servians and the Wallachians in some districts of the Voivodina, and the Bukowina, and Transylvania. The ill-feeling this created, aided the Hungarian cause by adding to the number of their allies, and at the same time increased the difficulty almost to hopelessness of any real conciliation between the inhabitants of these provinces and a German ruler.

"At any other epoch but the extraordinary one in which we now live, or under the rule of any other but that of the bigoted, priest-ridden Princes of the house of Hapsburg, in every age the enemies of civil and religious liberty, time might have the effect of softening the bitter feeling that now exists among the inhabitants of this distracted country. Even the fiery Magyar might forget in amalgamating with the German, that he had been the denizen of free, independent Hungary, but when we know that the first war, or revolutionary outburst in France, Germany, Italy, or Poland, will be sufficient to convulse Europe, it cannot be doubted for a moment that a people like the Hungarians, full of the robust strength of youth, and already drunk with military glory, will be the first to grasp the spear. In fact the spirit of nationality and a determination to assert their independence, never rose higher than at this moment, and now that they have succeeded in cementing a union with their compatriots, the Slavonians, like the Normans and the Saxon of olden time in England, which two races, they each respectively resemble in character, combining the fiery bravery of the one, with the cool intrepidity of the other, it is not too much to say that they are destined to take a prominent part in the great events which are fast preparing in those provinces of Austria and European Turkey. The movement of the inhabitants to secure to themselves a political existence, has been going on with redoubled energy since the intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary, and the military occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia; aided and abetted as it is by every man of intellect and enterprise among these various races, and who we may be assured only await a favourable moment to form a confederation of interests and declare themselves independent.

"During my homeward route from Agram, in Croatia, through part of Carinthia, Styria, Upper Austria, and Salzburg, I was accompanied, as my travelling companion, by a divine of the Roman Catholic Church, M. Goetz, prior of the Stift Schotten, in Vienna, a very worthy man, as liberal in his religious sentiments as he was intellectual and devoted to his sacred calling. This circumstance afforded me an opportunity of judging of the state of

religious feeling among the inhabitants of these provinces, formerly so remarkable for their attachment to the House of Austria, and to the old creed.

"The change was most remarkable; fifteen years had only passed away since I travelled over these provinces, and in my work on Germany alluded to the debasing superstitions of their inhabitants, and the immorality I witnessed among the thousands of devotees assembled to pray at the shrine of the famed Maria Zell, in Styria. At that period the Roman Catholic clergy of Austria revelled in all the pomp and pride of sacerdotal majesty; wherever they appeared they were almost worshipped by these simple mountaineers. Innumerable crucifixes lined the sides of the highway; blessed Madonnas and relics of saints exercised their miraculous powers in nearly all the churches; stations with their richly decorated temples were seen rising on certain holy mountains, which some sainted hermit, legend, or miracle, had consecrated, and to which thousands and tens of thousands of pious pilgrims were accustomed to repair at stated periods, bare-footed, bare-headed, and some even crawling on their knees to offer up their devotions.

"The altars, the shrines, and the crucifixes, remain. Madonnas and relics perform their miracles in obedience to Imperial authority! but the spirit that attracted the votaries of former days is now exchanged for indifference and contempt; a fact which we heard repeated at all the monasteries and ecclesiastical institutions we visited, the holy fathers deeply deploring the spread of heresy, democracy, and socialism among the people. It is true the inhabitants of isolated mountain villages still adhere to the superstitions of their fathers; but wherever we found the people mingling with the more intelligent population of the towns, they had caught the infection; and the propagandists must have been numerous, and indefatigable in their exertions, to have caused such an extraordinary revolution in the minds of the once benighted inhabitants of these mountain provinces of Austria, more especially when we remember the short time that has elapsed since my last visit."

BABYLON AND JERUSALEM.

Babylon and Jerusalem: a Letter addressed to the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn. From the German, with a Preface by the Translator. J. W. Parker.

BABYLON! Jerusalem! The world with its turmoils—heaven with its everlasting Peace! Is it not the old antithesis—old as the hills, coeval and coextensive with human Pain? A voice issuing from the sorrowing depths of some poor, baffled, worn, and wounded heart wishing for the "wings of the dove to flee away and be at rest;" the heart whose ever-sobbing psalm is "Jerusalem! Jerusalem! Repose for all this anguish, quiet for all this turmoil; calmness deep, majestic, calmness settling down upon this passion and this fevered restlessness!"

When such a cry reaches us, it rouses an echo in our breasts that silences for a while all arguments and cavils. If a man advance logic-deep in Evidences, and insist upon our seeing Divine Truth in his sectional and circumscribed view of it—a view which, standing apart, we perceive to be, not the real view of the thing itself, but simply the angle it subtends to him, nor more, nor less; if he advance thus, armed with Reason, we can also put on the cold, bright armour and battle for victory. We have done so in these columns over and over again. Over and over again have we declared our radical and irreconcilable differences, not only with Catholicism, but with every other "Isim" that has gained its Established Church. The Infinite is compassed in no Finite Church. To us, and to others, it subtends an angle by which we see it, larger or smaller according to the eye that receives it; but to no man, to no nation is it, or can it be, known. God is Inscrutable because he is Infinite; having declared him Inscrutable, we reverently forbear from scrutinizing, and forbear ascribing to him intentions.

But it is one thing to say, "Lo! I show you a truth!" (burning the incredulous for the glory and furtherance thereof;) another thing to say, "I was furtherance thereof;" another thing to say, "I was weary, I was sad; I had passionately sought Happiness, but it eluded me mockingly; wandering over the world I knocked at many doors—Now at one when lights within and sounds of merriment beckoned to me to enter: I found there noise and the fumes of an orgie, but no mirth. And now at the quiet cottage door whose peaceful look suggested—Enter, here is Love! and entering, I found poor creatures watching and weeping in silent, stifled agony by the bed of one dying. After turning away baffled from all these doors, I entered by chance a Temple, where the breath of Peace-soothed me, the vast aisles and lofty dome powerfully affected my imagination, the deep cloistral

stillness promised repose for my fevered brain, and I flung myself upon the marble altar steps, resolved to stand there for evermore!"

To one speaking in that strain we can have no remonstrance, no thought of "argument," nothing but a silent "God speed you! Be it as you hope!" Because we, not tried beyond our sinews of endurance, can find no peace in that Temple, and are certain none would be there for us, shall we, in pride of intellect, stop to "discuss the point" with one who has found peace there? Idle and insolent would be discussion; and to what end? What did the sufferer seek? Peace! If he has found it, let all rejoice.

Poor Ida, Countess of Hahn-Hahn, had wandered aimlessly enough through Babylon and could say:—

"I have gone as a pilgrim from one end of this part of the globe to the other—from the cataracts of the Nile to the grottoes of Staffa—from the hills of Cintra to the gardens of Damascus—across the Alps, and Pyrenees, and the Lebanon—across the seas and the Arabian Desert—from the banks of the Shannon to the banks of sacred Jordan. I have made my home under the tents of the Bedouins, and in the palaces of the aristocracy of Europe. I have known whatsoever I could know of the various classes and conditions, peoples and men. I have moved in extremes. In London, for instance, I went from Rag-fair to be presented to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent. The highest and lowest points of civilization; the various degrees of national development; the connection of civilization with the religion and the character of a people, with acts and morals; in short, the history of humanity in 'tableaux vivans,' I desired to have before my eyes; from face to face did I propose to behold the life of humanity."

And so she moved amidst the "pomp and vanities," herself one of the vainest, a restless, yearning, loving soul, disturbed by impulses of a questionable nature, until Calamity—swift, crushing, irremediable—suddenly reared its pale and solemn sphynx-like face before her path. The Revolutions of 1848 uprooted her faith in Humanity. The death of her lover loosened her hold upon life. Where was Peace to be found? Not without, in the world; not within, in her heart. Without, there were Revolution and terrible Democracy; within, there was desolation. And thus it was she sought Peace in the Church.

Dr. Nitsch has divined this. His beautiful work now lying before us, is written in explanation rather than in controversy. He is not a Protestant theologian, polemically indignant at her insults to Protestantism and her glorifications of Rome. He speaks to her and to the world, from his deep and pious heart, of all the points in which she wishes to set up her experience as an example; and endeavours to show that the Peace she found, is to be found in Christianity, not simply in Rome.

"It was not the force of eternal truth and of divine life and love which seized and attracted you; it was the Romish Church which awed you with its splendour, consistency, totality, and completion. It was not the feeling of your own inward and individual guilt and estrangement from God which urged you to repent and seek for salvation; it was not an abhorrence of your Self; it was an abhorrence of the wickedness of the world, of the excesses of the Revolution, of the Babylonian division and confusion around you, which was indeed reflected and reproduced in yourself. These were the things which turned your eyes to the unity and community, to the majestic tranquillity of the Romish Church. You fled for refuge within its aisles for the sake of that vast, splendid, and tranquil space which was set apart from the noise and the contentions of the busy mart of life. After some time you found in the temple what you never thought of seeking when you entered—namely, an altar and a cross."

We emphatically declare that a more beautiful and truly Christian work has not come before us this many a day; a book the peculiar doctrinal tenets of which we cannot be supposed to approve: but so dignified in its rebukes, so candid in its arguments, so nobly pious and generous in spirit, that we marvel how its excellent translator could, after reading the proof sheets, have added the cold, sarcastic preface, which is so discordant with what follows.

A beautiful book this, and quite a model of Christian polemics. Dr. Nitsch is a Protestant divine, but speaks with unusual candour on some of the many deficiencies of Protestantism, and recognizes some of the peculiar merits of Catholicism

—especially in influencing the imagination. We get hard names flung at us for our "sympathy" with the Catholics. But when we see how Catholicism powerfully appeals to the two great motors—Imagination and Logic—when we find that its absurdities are systematic, and its errors all of one woof, and when we also see that the woof is of splendid, eye-captivating colour, we cannot wonder if men like to wear it. Protestantism has few such claims. Its basis is as absurd, its method is less consistent, its manifestation is less picturesque. Dr. Nitsch sees how the Countess was seduced by the picturesque:—

"Even among the Protestant missionaries in the Orient, among 'those gentlemen in black dress-coats, with wives and children,' and with that Anglican bishop, 'who tended his nine children which were sick of a fever,' you might, if you had thought it worth your while to look deeper than the mere outward seeming, have discovered a Christian humility and devotion, which would have given you cause to be heartily ashamed of yourself; while I am sure their humility and devotion had no reason to be ashamed by an excess of the same qualities in the Franciscan's cowl, and with the beggar's sack. But there's the rub! A black dress-coat and a quiet family life are not likely to awe any one. They are not poetical. But a barefooted and cowed Franciscan, with a begging-bag, is not only highly poetical, but also a proper and fit person to awe a lady in a silk dress and Paris boots. It would appear that you never thought it worth your while to look through the cowl and the dress-coat. I admit, and indeed I must admit, that the first impression is very much like the one you describe. I speak of my own experience, for I felt the same sensation when I first saw the Protestant missionaries and the monks from the Convents of the Terra Santa. But I have seriously reproached myself for my injustice; for I considered how frequently that man in a black dress-coat, and with a wife and children, may have been called upon, in the world, and within himself, to practise more real self-denial and devotion,—ay, and that he is daily called upon to practise the same, when, amidst his cares for wife and children, he fulfils the arduous duties of his calling, faithfully and conscientiously, in spite of the discouragement of their apparent want of success."

Further compare this—a Protestant's—

VIEW OF THE TWO CHURCHES.

"It is perfectly shocking that our churches are not open on week days; that the weary labourer may not enter them and find rest and comfort for his body, as well as for his mind; that their doors do not stand open, inviting the pilgrim through life, for a moment to leave his stormy path, and to seek and find peace and heavenly aspirations. It is a woful thing to see, that the most important events in the life of individuals and nations pass by unremarked and unheeded by the Church; it is shocking to behold in Protestant towns burial procession after burial procession passing through the streets, without the Church showing the least interest or sympathy in the death of a fellow Christian. Do not believe that these sentiments are confined to you. I, surely, am the last man to accuse you for having entered a Romanist chapel—for the purpose of prayer. I myself have done the same, when in the crowded city, or on the solitary country road, I passed the open doors of a Catholic church or chapel. I have said my 'Ave Maria' when passing your image of the Madonna, whose lamp cast a shimmer of comfort and consolation through the gloom of the night, a type of that silent, uninterrupted heart's prayer, the yearning of every created being in its aspirations to the world beyond. The greeting which the angels addressed to the Holy Virgin is surely permitted to mankind, and we may utter it, whenever we see her image, without thereby becoming guilty of idolatry!"

"But if it be a bad thing that our church doors are closed for six days in the week, how much worse is it in many cases, when those doors are opened on the seventh day? Is this, indeed, Divine service—this singing of long prosy hymns, which have been emasculated by the milk-and-water tendencies of this æsthetic age?—this reciting and listening to a sermon, which chiefly consists of some phraseology wrapped round a biblical text, which it neither explains, nor brings home, while, glorying in its own petty wisdom, it remains utterly oblivious of Bible text and congregation. And even where they have attempted to reinforce the Church service with liturgical elements, can there be any edification in that jumble of styleless, heartless prayers, mixed up with the mundane chanting of the choir? Even at this, our time, I have heard many a comforting, strengthening, and heart-touching word in our churches. And deeply grateful am I for every such word. But as Göthe, surrounded by all the pomp, pride, and circumstance of Divine service in St. Peter's Church at Rome, most inexplicably groaned and yearned in his heart, praying that the Head of the Church would open his golden mouth to charm his hearers, by telling them of the unutterable bliss of the blessed in heaven; so in our churches have I often been

seized with a deep yearning for that black man in the pulpit to leave off talking, and give us a little time only for collection, prayer, and adoration, which his empty or fine words so unmercifully disturb and even destroy. Oh! how edified and adoring we might sit, or even kneel, in church, were it not for the preacher! These sentiments of adoration avail not much indeed; they avail just as little as knowledge or teaching; but pray ye, gentlemen with white neckcloths, what other aim and effect have your best and finest sermons, than the waking of an ephemeral edified temper, which vanishes at the first gossiping question that meets us at the church door, or, perhaps, they contain a lesson for which no one thanks you, because it is generally addressed to those who are not in church, because the uneducated among your congregation do not understand it, and because the educated have but too often occasion to shake their heads at it. Oh, I tell you, my heart bleeds sometimes when in church I listen to a good and pious preacher, and when high public functionaries, or military officers, or members of Parliament, surround me on all sides, laughing and nodding, rubbing their hands, and almost clapping them when the clergyman holds forth against revolutions, and riots, and contempt of all authority, while pious old women of either sex delight in the preacher's invectives against impertinence and irreligion, and his striking arguments against infidelity, and his picturesque representation of the misery which awaits us unless we believe, and which, consequently, awaits all unbelievers; and when I consider that of the revolutionists, and of the impertinent, and infidels (that is to say, of those whom the clergyman preaches at, for in reality every Christian has a leaven of these three sins in his heart), there are none in the church; and when at length I consider what a deal the clergyman might say and preach to those who are in church—to some, respecting their wilfulness and overbearing nature and abuse of power; to other, on the littleness and the petty passions of their everyday life and working; on their coldness and indifference to the sufferings of the poor and lowly, and to all, on the lifelessness and lovelessness of their faith, and how he might exhort and instruct that the faith which they brought to church may go out with them again and enter life, there to multiply and bear fruit a hundred-fold."

Having said enough about this little volume to stimulate your curiosity, we have now another point to turn your thoughts towards. Ida of Hahn-Hahn has turned Catholic, and declares that her heart has found peace. So far all should rejoice. It is but an unchristian zeal in the Protestant to grudge her that peace, because she found it not in his chapel. But let us, in extenuation of Protestant scorn, remind the reader that there is something insolent, defiant, and not altogether sincere in the tone which the Hahn-Hahn has adopted. Go into the Church if you can find peace there; nay, call unto others to follow you, if that be your conviction; but let your call be the voice of one speaking purely from the heart, or it will rouse no echoes but echoes of laughter or of scorn. Ida, Countess of Hahn-Hahn, you have made a mistake in publishing! The influence of your example will be destroyed by your preaching. What you were as a novelist, that you remain as a prophetess—clever but declamatory, hollow, supercilious—and here we speak with Dr. Nitsch:—

"For, alas! the greater portion of your book has evidently been written for the purpose of proving to us how grand and how generous your faults and errors have been; and that you, long before you became a Christian, were, in fact, closely allied to Christianity and to the Church; that nothing low, small, and imperfect, could ever attract or detain you in the manner of the low and vulgar crowd; that you (pardon me, but the French word must be quoted) have always been an *ame d'élite* to such an extent, that your former life, although you condemn it, and your gigantic errors, though you acknowledge them as such, are, nevertheless, of such a kind, that they fill you with a certain degree of pride. I will not here adduce any of the many instances in which you most unconsciously exalt yourself and your faults. This spirit of pride and self-laudation pervades the whole of your book, and stares from every page. And this is, indeed, the cause of that disagreeable and painful impression which it produces on Roman Catholics, as well as on me, who am a Protestant. Not your extraordinary and superficial attacks on Protestantism and the Reformation (unworthy as they are, and most unworthy of yourself, for they are a mere parrot's repetition)—not your idolization of a Church to which I do not belong, is it which pains me in your book. I feel aggrieved by that continuous idolization of your own self."

There is, indeed, too much of this. It runs through her novels; it ruins her religious books. Rome has not changed her then? Changed? Who is changed by the changing of a creed? The altitude of mind may change, but not the nature of that mind.

Portfolio.

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

THE USEFUL AND THE BEAUTIFUL.

(Concluded from No. 85, p. 1070.)

PART III.

It becomes the duty of the teachers of the people, of the Tyrtaeus of the workmen, to animate every one; but literary men have been as far behind, and their ignorance of facts has been only a consequence of the general law, that the mind goes on to seek its own ideas of beauty as well as of pleasure, without thinking of its dependence. Literary men have constantly looked on the beautiful as the highest; and as specimens of the most active-minded of their race, they are the best cases from which to see the general tendency of a human being set in rapid intellectual motion. They have no idea of work, and even now its history has still to be written; pieces are patched together every day in the papers, because now we have begun to wonder; but to the bulk of literary men the useful is disagreeable to a proverb. Their views of things contain sufficient truth; like the earlier prophets and teachers, they point out man's higher aims; but the slow and gradual road of the race they have not seen, and even now only see it as observers. Indeed, it is probable that when they cease to see it otherwise than as observers, they will cease to be literary men, but workers in science, in art, or in organization. But their point of view has not been sufficient, they tell us of sensations and sentiments that are beautiful, and have acquired power over us in an emotional way, so that our very morals are dependent only on vague and dim ideas of what should be—sufficient, certainly, for him who has attained a large amount of abstract thought, but utterly insufficient for him who wants to found rational laws of behaviour. The definition of a lie is different with different men; and Parliament disputed and often changed its mind about the propriety of marriage with a sister-in-law. The very use of morals is a subject scarcely ever dreamed of; and some portion of society, seeing them based on such a mere emotional foundation, have begun to think them of no value. We do not recognize them as impressed upon man so deeply that every society without proper recognition of them must sooner or later fall into pieces—as real useful facts, without which we should neither feel comfortable nor happy, nor become great, or useful, or progressive. Indeed, some people consider their laws made only for the timid and the weak, whereas the unavoidable punishment which they slowly and vigorously inflict, shows them to be backed by a great and terrible authority.

But the same way has been followed in our civil laws. Men have followed the devices and desires of their own hearts; and, instead of seeking what will be useful for the community, political economy has been a fight of abstract against abstract idea. The use is only coming to be inquired into since statistics became a science. Pride, revenge, and vanity have all been followed before use; and so blind have they been that they did not see that usefulness would supply all, even these wants, with greater energy. Some beau idéal of governing a country, as God governs a country, has condemned whole nations to wretchedness; some beautiful theory of vicegerency has kept back Europe in vice and in darkness, and beauty itself has been lost from the want of the useful. The flower blossoms beautifully, but only after the branches shall have grown from the root; the beautiful is not to be expected under the soil. A primrose may rise up in a desolate season; but until there be a warming of the roots we shall have no beautiful fields and orchards. The useful is at the root of everything; the very flesh, and blood, and bone, whose whole becomes a beautiful object.

In one sense the useful may be said to encourage itself; but we must take it comparatively, it has done so less than the beautiful, it has become an object of scorn, and, although nature has pointed strongly to it in directing many minds at all times to its stores, yet the toil necessary has been considered mean, and that which was poor has been trampled upon. A nation so full of high emotion as the Jewish, come from a country so skilled in the useful, forgot so early their arts that, whilst they retained their inspired leaders, they must go

to an enemy's country to borrow a grindstone. Skill in workmanship is highly spoken of by Moses as a kind of inspiration, and the Egyptians must have admired it, and probably kept some of their knowledge as peculiar only for the privileged; but it was not considered by these thinkers as worth preserving. They wrote their history but not their arts, and their conquerors did not even care to learn the representations of them which are left as inscriptions on their tombs. Whilst the very existence of a country depends on work, the idle lounge has been looked on as the happiest man, surrounded with beautiful objects. Even the enlightened manufacturer often thinks of his great amount of machinery as valuable because it keeps up his drawing-room. But it was for something else than a few score fine drawing-rooms that the machine was made; the sunny day did not come merely to enliven some drooping daisies in your garden.

Work, in fact, has been depressed systematically, not always with that direct intention, but with some sinister and ignorant reason behind the action. Take our most useful product—coal, which came into the slowest use. Men could not see the value of it, it was black and ugly, and a fine tree was to be preferred. It was burnt in London, and was disliked excessively, because it was said to blacken everything, and was attempted to be suppressed, whilst they never thought of the great amount of poor and uncomfortable whom it would make comfortable, nor the abundance of nuisances which made the city so unwholesome. Coal has slowly developed itself, its usefulness has come very gradually on the country, slower than the appreciation of any poet or painter, slower than any form of the beautiful which we know of. It has taken the power from sceptres and jewels, as if mother earth would show that she can govern her children; and we have in its history rebelled against it as much as we have against all our duties. It has come in the form of a task with labour and dirt, whilst we have left its vicinity, as soon as we could, leaving it to those who saw its value to work it out.

Laws have trammelled us at every step, because the law worker at the useful, by becoming rich, had his ignoble blood fed as well as the noble; and vile cities with narrow streets opposed the will of the lordly possessor of the neighbouring castle. Little as England has done for its commerce as a Government, in comparison to what it has done for itself as a power, it still stands as a mark for other nations to aim at, because it has encouraged to some extent the useful. The first to recognize its value, it has given privileges to the worker such as he never had before; but so new has been the policy that we are called with a sneer shopkeepers. Encouraging the useful we cease, of course, to encourage the supremacy of idle pride; and by making the worker rich the noble finds that he will actually become poor, unless he ceases to depend for his existence on untilled land. Thus the whole country has, to some extent, become a working country in late years; and other nations who keep the old system may be looked on as our former selves sneering at our utilitarian present. But sneering is out of place. We are still wanting in the respect which the useful deserves; and every class has an idle pleasure in leaving it, for the premature enjoyment of the beautiful.

Civilization cannot be gained by striving with pure intellect or abstract truth. It is worked out by the matter around us in which is the life of the world, and the secrets which it is the object of the understanding to find out; and whilst we prepare for ourselves a spiritual existence on a high inner life, we must not forget that it is allied to certain forms, as our own spirit is unknown, except to a fleshly covering.

The working out of the value of the useful has been the great work of modern times. The desire of earlier times was to work out the beautiful; now we have a new era it is entirely new, it is thousands of years against a few years; it makes us incapable of drawing comparisons between the empires of the present and the past, because we live on an entirely different foundation. The spirit of the conqueror is to consume, the producer has life within himself; a nation that makes during its conquests—that produces more food in the country which it takes than the country could produce before, and which itself does not depend upon it, but produces still more wealth at home, is not to be compared to one which kills and eats wherever it goes. By what laws the one nation dies we know, by what laws the other dies we do not know. All

these years, however, have passed away before the useful has been recognized by a nation, before it became a rivalry among nations, and we may well look upon this year as a remarkable one. Not that it has done much for trade. I know not what will be its effects, probably for evil, as it has stirred men's minds more to travel, and set them in the road of admiring. But when many men are moving in one direction, they soon meet from whatever quarter they come, and this meeting is a proof that for these years of peace at least we have had the great object of the arts strongly in view. To have it recognized as a great truth is a proclamation of a great Gospel, a religion which will alter the world, till its very face shall not be known to the comets as they return to look at us.

I was strongly impressed with this feeling as I walked into the Great Exhibition, and still I found, that like nearly all other men, the natural tendency of my mind was to look at the beautiful, and I often found myself turning to the right to see the Foreign curiosities. We look calmly at beautiful objects—beauty has great power to soothe us. I went to the beautiful objects with a kind of instinct, although I knew my duty lay amongst the useful. They produced a gentle feeling of delight and a constant succession of calm emotions. The industry of foreign countries has shown the bent of their mind, that it was more towards beauty even in an Industrial Exhibition. I walked then to England, and there the languor of my emotions vanished, the power of labour roused me to sensations corresponding with its own mechanical strength and intellectual fertility. Every step in this quarter was a history, a step also in the civilization of man; every invention was a sign of his progress, a mark of the ground he had cleared. Labour does not, like a statue, calm you and enchant your view; its appearance may be insignificant, but, like an insignificant figure with a powerful brain, you know it has a character of its own. It does not stand an isolated fact, but is capable of unending multiplication; it is like life itself, when once begun it may have countless posterity. Every man who makes an invention bestows a largess on the race more valuable than ever Roman gave to a hungry people, and, unlike it, bearing an annual interest which never diminishes in value, because the capital can never be consumed.

Whilst the natural man inclines to the beautiful, the new man, so to speak, seeks the useful, because he knows that by it the stores of Nature are opened and the benevolence of the Deity is dispensed. Without it Nature appears harsh, and God himself is considered unkind; without it the race is stationary, and the aspirations of man are become weak and frivolous. The vague longings of youth take place of the realizations of maturity, and the land of fiction takes the place of the gradual revealing of the future. Let us encourage the useful, the beautiful is grasped too soon; the child dislikes the useful, but we must make it his education; the man dislikes it too, but he learns it as a duty; it goes against the instincts of us all who are idle by nature, but it commands the respect of all when it has been accomplished.

Above all let us encourage the useful that we may be allowed to make rapid progress; without its universal and quick diffusion all who are unsupplied will drag back the advanced, and it is impossible for one class to live long entirely unconnected with another. The link must soon be made, either by the savage violence of the one or by the wisdom and sympathy of the other, and the greatest cry of this age is to leave no man behind. The revelation of the useful has taught us the value of every one. The world has a new idea, but the principle is old; it is to do what is set before us, and not to mind too high things which it is not fitted for us yet to enjoy. Work up the materials of nature, study its laws, and lay hold of the gifts of God which lie ready given under your feet. Do not imagine that idleness and amusement are happiness, or are desirable, even if they tempt under the form of the beautiful; for the work wanted is of a higher kind, although the great men of the earth here kept it down by persecuting science, destroying the arts, and preventing education—all elements of the useful—whilst they have encouraged anything beautiful or otherwise, which is calculated to prevent the usefulness or independence of the people.

I have been led away by the largeness of the subject into diffuseness, but probably I have given a train of thought which will be useful to some, leading to conclusions which shall decide strongly for the useful, and showing the value of encouraging what is so much wanted in society, connecting it

with duty and all we esteem virtuous, as well as with the advancement of the race, whilst the beautiful so abundantly followed, needs, like our more violent feelings, some depression, lest it connect itself with the feeble emotions, and a loss of noble energy.

HEPHAISTOS.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

KOSSUTH, O'CONNOR, AND THORNTON HUNT.
(A LETTER TO THE LOCALITIES.)

PROFESSED CO-WORKERS.—Accounts are rendered weekly of resolutions passed in Chartist Branches, condemning a Member of the Executive, Mr. Thornton Hunt, for what is described as his conduct to Mr. Feargus O'Connor at the Copenhagen-fields meeting, and at the Highbury-barn Banquet. There is a royal peculiarity about Chartism which is curious.

As the Imperial Court of France had its "Legion of Honour," and as other Courts distribute Stars and Garters to whomsoever they intend to distinguish, so the "Imperial Chartists" have their Legion of Honour—which is Censure. Censure is the distinction which the "Old Guards" confer on those who serve them. That Mr. Thornton Hunt is censured I do not, of course, complain (he does not complain himself), but I complain of the partiality of such censure. Why should one Member of the Executive receive this distinction, and not another who equally merits it? This partiality is unfair—in fine, it is undemocratic. In all that Mr. Hunt did I coincided, and coincide still; and it is not right that I should be excluded from those votes of condemnation by which "pure and simple" Chartists express their gratitude to those who render any difficult service to the common cause.

Summoned to take part in the demonstration at Copenhagen-house, I arrived in London at midday, and at once proceeded to the grounds. I was refused admission, until I produced an order, which I was so fortunate as to have about me, but to which I had attached no importance, as I deemed my name would be sufficient. But a valued friend who had accompanied me from the country was thrust back, nor could I procure him admission after I was in myself. I asked Mr. Hunt, to whom my friend was equally known, to grant me an order; but he answered that no order could be given, as the Committee found it necessary not to add any to those previously issued. Private interests I knew must always obey the necessities of public rules, and I consented to witness my friend thrust by the crowd into the water in front, without my being able to admit him. When Mr. O'Connor claimed admission the same rule was assigned as the reason, and I acquiesced in it—not readily, but reluctantly in his case; and the reason of my ultimate acquiescence was the understood disinclination of Kossuth to be subjected to the same annoyance as Mr. O'Connor had subjected him to at Southampton, and which was the reason Mr. Hunt was compelled to propose to the Committee the omission of Mr. O'Connor's name in the invitations. Surely no gentleman but Mr. O'Connor would have so far forgotten the respect due to himself as to present himself before Kossuth when he knew he desired to avoid him? And when so many thousands of the people had met to honour Kossuth, it became Mr. O'Connor, as a friend of the people, to absent himself when he found that his presence endangered the unity of the honour, and was likely to create discord, which would have destroyed the whole demonstration.

While Mr. O'Connor was demanding admission, application came from another Member of Parliament, who was in the crowd, which application I referred to Mr. Hunt, as a matter of form, but he refused to entertain it. Next, a lady, bearing an honoured name, sent up her card to Mr. Hunt, asking admission in the name of Mazzini. Mr. Hunt was impartial, and declined to break the rule. Yet Mr. Hunt, who inflexibly maintained the rule adopted by the Committee of Management, who refused a Member of Parliament, refused the application of personal friends, and of the application of a lady for whom he had great respect—did break the rule—he broke the rule in favour of Mr. O'Connor. Mr. Thornton Hunt, whom Chartists have so readily and rudely censured, was the only man who incurred risk to pay respect to Mr. O'Connor; and he went out, uncovered, into the crowd, and in the presence of a hundred applicants for admission—whom he was refusing—he admitted Mr. O'Connor! Yet this is the man whom the Chartists select to censure for disrespect to Mr. O'Connor. Before even this could be done, Mr. Reynolds had volunteered, and Mr. Fleming had been solicited, to use his personal influence to prevent Mr. O'Connor from forcing himself into Kossuth's private room or into his path. Nothing is plainer than this, that if Mr. O'Connor still retained the pride of a gentleman, the slightest hint that this was not desired would have kept him back; there would have been no need of surveillance.

At the Highbury-barn banquet I also acquiesced in Mr. O'Connor not speaking, and I appeal to any one who observed his conduct on that occasion, both to Louis Blanc and Mr. Coningham, and to the entire audience, whether he was not Mr. O'Connor's truest friend who endeavoured to restrain him from committing farther humiliations on himself? He made himself the buffoon of the company—he sank himself down to the level of Elmslie Duncan; and when a leader of the people so far forgets himself as to play the buffoon, he lowers the entire party whom he represents. Who are the true friends of the people, those who would keep this painful chapter unwritten, or those who force it to be written in honest explanation? It is strange that gentlemen who cry "measures and not men" should get up an excitement in favour of men and not manners!

Let those who lead and foment this unwarrantable mania for censuring those who serve—not the prejudices but what is far more useful—serve the honour and character of Chartism, declare two things, and then they may be understood:—

1. Whether as gentlemen (or "working men," for working men I hope are not without delicacy and honour), they would have forced on Kossuth the presence of a man he desired not to be mixed up with?

2. Whether they would, observing Mr. O'Connor's conduct at Highbury-barn, make for him facilities of lowering his own character more, and of lowering the character of his own party? If they would, they can neither call themselves the friends of Mr. O'Connor nor the friends of Chartism.

Certainly I would not notice this matter if I did not see that the Chartists are committing themselves (under instigation of those who ought to know better) all over the country, in the eyes of every one capable of understanding public propriety, public duty, or of taking any interest in Chartist character. But I believe they have too much good sense to persist in this course, if the rights of the thing were explained to them. Therefore I will ask insertion for this letter in the *Northern Star* and *Mr. Reynolds's Newspaper*, and in Mr. Ernest Jones's *Notes for the People*, that some portion of the other side of the case may be before the Chartist readers. I have always found that the Chartists are as ready as any other body of politicians, to act fairly when they understand the merits of the whole case they are called upon to criticise (which unfortunately they seldom take care to understand before they judge).

As to personal respect to Mr. O'Connor, I have always entertained this, and as Mr. O'Connor lately said in Manchester, I had always showed it to him; and I have on more than one occasion publicly protested against the real disrespect put upon him by persons now forward in this incoherent O'Connor excitement. Even now I do not consider that Mr. O'Connor ought to be treated other than with kindness; as Mr. Hunt delicately said, his conduct "is evidently not under his own control," and he deserves our sympathy; and none capable of feeling real kindness towards him would force him into public life until repose has recruited his broken health and exhausted powers. Mr. Hunt has always paid Mr. O'Connor the respect and consideration due from one gentleman to another, and he has done that in my presence when others, makers of loud protestations now, have not done it. I only mention this for the sake of undeceiving those who are being egregiously misled on this matter.

Mr. Hunt is not aware that I have written this letter, and he will object to its appearance when he is aware of it; as he will think some may regard it as a plea offered on his behalf, with a view to promote his election. Mr. Hunt is too independent to offer one word in his own just defence at this time, lest it should be construed in the sense above stated; and I respect that sentiment too much to impair such brave indifference. Nor do I mean by this to offer one word on my own behalf either. But, differently placed from Mr. Hunt, my duty to Chartists, at whose hands I accepted the responsibility of one of their representatives, directs me to explain to them the truth of a case on which others are silent, however the offering of such explanation may be regarded.

For myself, I would not accept a single vote at the expense of silence as to my real sentiments, or by any inexplicitness leave the Chartists to suppose me different from what I am. I know this, and everybody outside us knows it also, and Chartists ought to know it likewise—that Chartism has been reduced by its unwise friends to a simple power for mischief. It can do harm, but it has no power yet to do good. It can bring discredit on Reformers—it can arrest reform—it can afford a pretext for the enemy to oppress us more—and that is all it can do. It has taken the present Executive a year to endeavour to alter this character, and create a power for good in the name of Chartism, and awaken some respect for it. Chartists are now advised to undo this; and they seem disposed to take the advice. Of course, they can please themselves; but they ought not to talk any more of the apathy of a movement, if they condemn it to apathy or hindrance.

What Chartism wants is, some friends who will make it fair, dispassionate, practical, and solvent; who

will keep its expenditure within its available means, who will neutralize its mischievous tendencies—and who will carry on its political agitation in harmony with the equally honest agitations of our fellow patriots around—who do not go so far as we do. Chartism wants representatives who will be able to understand their own case, without misunderstanding every body else's, and who are able to be independent in their own position, without being intolerant and abusive to every body else. This is what I have endeavoured to do, this is what I shall still endeavour to do; and if the Chartists want this kind of service, they may command mine; but if they do not, I have no business and no wish to be among them. And this is all I shall say about the election.

GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE,
Member of the Executive.

FEDERATIVE UNION.

At a meeting of the Kossuth Committee on Wednesday, the following report was presented on the reorganization of the committee on the basis of a Federative Union:—

"In our present state of social transition, the want of an active, rational, and efficient political organization of the people has been much felt. All the old schemes, as the old clothes of society, are now worn threadbare and in tatters, while the new ones are too contracted and galling to the giant growth and development of the present generation. From every specific project in the past, the people have been diverted by official promises; or by intrigues they have been divided and set against each other. In like manner, nation has been set against nation by official cliques bent on upholding that system of secret diplomacy, national debt, and mercenary standing armies, which enable Governments to turn each nation against itself and against all others. The substantial interest of every People is the same; every nation desires freedom as the true guarantee of peace; peace as the opportunity for industry; industry as the only mode to support existence and render it happy. The despotic Governments, and others not so called, are allied for their own purposes; the Peoples, kept apart, are made the unwilling instruments for a warfare of arms or commerce, which may be called a reciprocal suicide. Peoples can never desire secret alliance, for their objects are substantial justice, the substantial welfare of the human race. Enable the Peoples to understand each other, and they would unite in the maintenance of common rights; enable the severed classes of the country to unite once more as a nation, and they will be too strong for intrigues or sectional interests.

"Acting upon these views, and in compliance with the expressed wishes of a number of the delegates of the working classes, your sub-committee present to your consideration the following draft of a plan:—

"THE PEOPLES' FEDERATIVE UNION.

"The principles of the Peoples' Federative Union are these:—

"1. The real unity of the moral, physical, and social interests of all the nations of the earth. Their close commercial alliance by the development of the principles of free exchange in 'open commerce.'

"2. The absolute, social, political, and legal EQUALITY of every citizen without distinction—Universal Suffrage."

"3. The gradual but speedy abolition of every monopoly.

"4. A property tax equal to the national expenditure, and the abolition of all other taxes.

"5. The right of every citizen to useful and industrial education.

"6. The right of every citizen to beneficial employment.

"7. Full and unrestricted liberty in matters pertaining to religion—the 'Voluntary System.'

"8. Open (as opposed to secret) diplomatic intercourse with other nations.

"The primary efforts of the Federation shall be directed to the establishment of such means of alliance, direct and immediate, between the Peoples of all nations as shall tend to neutralize the efforts of the agents of despotism;

"To dispel the illusions which are the source of national and factional discord;

"To secure for the people of Britain a correct knowledge of the political and social position of the Peoples of America and Europe;

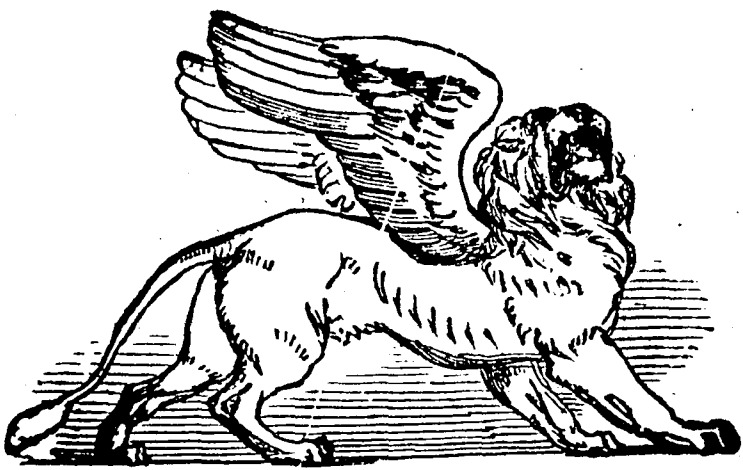
"And to seize upon all existing opportunities, and take advantage of opportunities which may arise, for advancing in practice the principle already accepted—namely, that in the brotherhood of the Peoples rests the hope of civilization, the assurance of our progress in the peaceful arts, and the free development of man's nobler faculties.

"To further the arrangements already commenced and indicated in this report, by obtaining the practical assistance of others best suited to give it, your sub-committee would suggest that you should give it leave to add to its number.

THORNTON HUNT."

The above report was agreed to unanimously, and the general committee adjourned till Wednesday next.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—We have got our coöperative store open; and although doing in a very small way at present, we hope by attention to the wants of our subscribers to increase rapidly. All the business of the Society is now transacted at No. 5, Trinity-street, Leeds. Moneys received for the week:—Leeds, 19s. 11d.; Newcastle-on-Tyne, per Mr. Johnson, £1. 7s. 9d.; Huddersfield, per Mr. France, 16s. 4d.; S. Hartshorn, Burslem, 2s. 3d. Building Fund:—Leeds, 6d.; Huddersfield, 3s. Propagandist Fund, 2s. 4d.—J. HENDERSON, Secretary, 5, Trinity-street, Leeds.



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.

PALMERSTON AND HIS OPPONENTS.

11, Russell-place, December 2, 1851.

SIR,—You can appreciate my earnestness if I venture again to trouble you on an old subject. You know something of my opinions of Lord Palmerston, as a friend of freedom here and elsewhere. Mark who are his enemies now!—Baron Brunnov, the Carlton Club, Lord Grey, and the *Times*.

You have complained that he has come short in action; they will not allow him to speak his own words, or even think his own thoughts (see the *Daily News* of this day). Surely it is quite time that we made up our minds to sustain, rather than disconcert and baffle, him in his struggles with the despots.

I am, yours obediently, B. J.

[We may add the following anecdote for the edification of B. J. Early in the week Lord Palmerston and the Baron Brunnov were observed in Brook-street, walking, engaged in close and lively conversation—the “most liberal of all Ministers” sustaining the arm of the envoy of Nicholas. A groom with a led horse followed. On reaching Mivart's Hotel, the pair stopped a moment on the steps, and then Brunnov disappeared behind the hotel doors, after an affectionate leave-taking, and the “noble and judicious bottle-holder” mounted his horse and rode towards the park. So much for the entente cordiale of hospitality.]

DEFENCE OF THE FREEHOLD LAND MOVEMENT.

Minster, Thanet, December 2, 1851.

SIR,—Hitherto we have considered you more consistent than most of your Democratic contemporaries; but your remarks in “News of the Week,” respecting Freehold-Land Societies, appear to us inconsistent in a journal advocating the cause of coöperation. You object to this coöperation for buying land.—The greatest monopoly in existence. One would have supposed you a warm advocate; you say “It is not precisely the best investment for the working classes.” As a *Leader* of the working classes I think it would be but simple justice to enlighten us to “precisely the best,” if this is not. You observe that buying a vote is almost as bad as selling one. Is the possessing of a house or land a bad thing for the working man? and the time is has a vote attached to it, it cannot be bad for a working man to have one. As to its “admitting the unreasonableness of the qualification, and that property is the proper standard for fitness,” I cannot conceive that all who possess land must necessarily be advocates of “Brick qualification instead of brain.” The men who are the warmest advocates of the Freehold movement, I think a sufficient answer to such an assertion. The movement does admit of being the means of getting a better interest for the working man's earnings than any other, and by means of “bricks” of getting a vote for the “brains”: we shall feel grateful by your showing us a better and quicker mode. Empty talk will not gain universal suffrage. Shouting for the charter over a pot and pipe will never obtain it, nor pikes and stilettoes get the ballot. Such investments will not obtain for the working classes their due share in the national councils; but the investing in a Freehold-Land Society will. Till you, the *Times*, and other objectors to this movement can show us a better “move,” it would be well to cease ineffective cavilling. Of Windbags, “Star” arguments, and Herringtrails we have had enough. If you aspire to the “leadership” of the working classes, lead us aright.

Yours, respectfully, A WORKING MAN.

THE QUEEN VERSUS ROWLAND AND OTHERS.

Queen's Prison, November 25, 1851.

SIR,—I have just sent the following correction to the editor of the *Times*:—“Sir,—Your report of

the sentence passed by the Queen's Bench yesterday in this case is incorrect in the material matter which I here quote:—“Mr. Parry made an application that the Court would order that the defendants should not be set to hard labour. Lord Campbell declined to make any such order. That was a matter for the justices.” Now, I do not state that what I have quoted was not said, but I say that this important matter did not end there. I being in Court, pointed out to the Court the two acts “for the better ordering of prisons” (2nd and 3rd Vic., cap. 56, and 3rd and 4th Vic., cap. 25), which directly contradict the Lord Chief Justice; for they say that misdemeanants not sentenced to hard labour shall be divided into first and second divisions, but that none shall be sent to the first division, except by order of the Court or judge. You will thus perceive that there are three degrees in the sentence which have nothing to do with “the justices”; on the one hand, the Court or judge may make the sort of imprisonment more severe, and on the other, less. This power appertaining to the Court or judge applies only to the gaols other than or “except the Queen's Bench and Fleet Prisons, and the General Penitentiary at Millbank.” Mr. Justice Patteson at first said he thought the acts applied to the Queen's Prison, and not to the County Prisons, and on that erroneous supposition this Court has been sentencing to the “first division of misdemeanants in the Queen's Prison” for the last six years, without any act for that purpose. On the error being pointed out, Mr. Justice Patteson pleasantly dubbed me, “Amicus Curiae.” By the acts I have mentioned the first division of misdemeanants are allowed to be with the debtors. This, therefore, is to be the situation of the above parties, and not to be put to hard labour or not, at the discretion of “the justices.”

I trouble you with this in case otherwise the truth might not be generally known; and am, Sir, your obedient servant, W. COBBETT.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

The English Money Market has been greatly disturbed by the revolution in Paris. Closing on Monday at 98½, and opening quietly at the same quotations on Tuesday morning, the news from Paris suddenly arrested business, and all Securities sunk in value. Consols soon reached 96½—a decline of 2½ per cent., but subsequently recovered to 97½. On Wednesday they closed at 97½; and on Thursday, after rising and falling with the news, they closed at 97½. Yesterday they closed at 96½.

The fluctuations have been:—Consols, from 98½ to 96½; Bank Stock, from 214 to 215; Exchequer Bills, from 56s. to 48s. premium.

Yesterday the bargains in the official list comprised:—Brazilian, at 92; Ecuador, 3; Mexican, for money, 23½; for the account, 23½, 23, 23½, and 22½; the Small, 23½; Peruvian, 87; the Deferred, 44 and 43½; Portuguese Five per Cents., 90; Sardinian Five per Cents., 77½, 78, and 76 ex div.; Spanish Five per Cents., for account, 19½ and 18; Passive, 4½; Spanish Three per Cents., for money and the account, 38; Venezuela, 33½; the Deferred, 11½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 57½ and 56½, and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 85½ and 87.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	—	215½	214½	215	—	214½
3 per Ct. Red.	97½	98½	97½	96½	96½	96
3 p. Ct. Con. Ans.	98½	98½	97	97½	97½	96½
3 p. Ct. An. 1726.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. Ct. Con. Ac.	98½	98½	97½	97½	97½	96½
3 p. Ct. An.	99	98½	98½	98½	97½	96½
New 5 per Cts.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long Ans., 1860.	7½	7	7	7	7	7½
Ind. St. 10½ p. Ct.	264	264	262	262	264	—
Ditto Bonds	68 p	62 p	65 p	65 p	58 p	58 p
Ex. Bills, 1000l.	54 p	53 p	53 p	52 p	52 p	51 p
Ditto, 500l.	51 p	56 p	52 p	55 p	52 p	51 p
Ditto, Small	54 p	56 p	52 p	52 p	52 p	51 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	—	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	23½
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct.	90	— Small.	26½
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	93½	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	45	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	87½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	101½	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	90½
Danish 5 per Cents.	102	— 4 per Cts.	33½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	58	— Annuities	—
— 4 per Cents.	89½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	103½
Ecuador Bonds	3½	Spain. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	20½
French 5 p. Ct. An. at Paris 90.80	—	— Passive	5
— 3 p. Cts., July 11, 55.75	—	— Deferred	—

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, Friday, December 5.—We have had moderate supplies of grain at market this week. Wheat, Barley, and Oats were firm on Monday and Wednesday, but not much business was doing. At all the country markets held during the week, Wheat was in good demand at rather improved prices; secondary qualities of Barley were rather lower. In Yorkshire the demand for Beans has raised prices 1s. per quarter. The arrivals of Mediterranean and Black Sea cargoes off the coast are few. Galatz Maize, 27s. C. F. and 1. A cargo of Odessa Maize was sold on Wednesday at 27s. 9d. less 2½ per cent. Since the arrival of the Alexandrian Mail, Egyptian Wheat has been held for 27s., and 22s. 6d. has been refused for Egyptian Beans.

GRAIN. Mark-lane, Dec. 6.			
Wheat, R. New	33s. to 35s.	Maple	30s. to 32s.
Fine	35 — 37	White	28 — 30
Old	36 — 38	Boilers	34 — 36
White	37 — 39	Beans, Ticks	29 — 30
Fine	40 — 41	Old	30 — 32
Superior New	42 — 46	Indian Corn	27 — 29
Rye	25 — 27	Oats, Feed	17 — 18
Barley	22 — 25	Fine	18 — 19
Malting	25 — 27	Poland	20 — 21
Malt, Ord.	48 — 52	Fine	21 — 22
Fine	52 — 54	Potato	17 — 19
Peas, Hog	29 — 30	Fine	19 — 20

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, December 2.

BANKRUPTS.—J. CLARK, Upwell, Cambridgeshire, miller, to surrender December 16, January 13; solicitors, Messrs. Abbott, Jenkins, and Abbott, New-inn, Strand; and Mr. Watson, Wisbeach; and official assignee, Mr. Graham—W. BOYCE, sen., Dover, hotel-keeper, December 18, January 15; solicitors, Messrs. Church and Langdall, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—W. M. NEILL, Liverpool, merchant, December 12, January 30; solicitor, Mr. Murray, London-street, Fenchurch-street; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—W. RAWLINS, Mill-street, Warwickshire, maltster, December 17, January 8; solicitors, Mr. Heath, Warwick; Messrs. Motteram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham—R. JACKSON, Nottingham, butcher, December 19, January 9; solicitor, Mr. Bowley, Nottingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham—J. LONGBOTTOM and T. FAWCETT, Leeds, cloth merchants, December 19, January 26; solicitor, Mr. Middleton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Freeman, Leeds—S. CROSLAND, Elland, Yorkshire, corn-miller, December 18, January 22; solicitors, Messrs. Westmoreland and Taylor, Wakefield; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds—W. MASON, Halifax, Yorkshire, draper, December 18, January 23; solicitors, Messrs. Sale, Worthington, and Shipman, Manchester; Messrs. Richardson and Gaunt, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds—A. CRAVEN, Leeds, Yorkshire, cloth manufacturer, December 18, January 23; solicitors, Messrs. Richardson and Gaunt, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds—M. ORME and W. H. LYNASS, Liverpool, ale merchants, December 15, January 5; solicitors, Messrs. Anderson and Collins, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Morgan, Liverpool—E. WARING, Liverpool, innkeeper, December 17, January 7; solicitor, Mr. Bremner, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool—W. W. KING, Liverpool, chemist, December 15, January 5; solicitor, Mr. Jones, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool.

Friday, December 5.

BANKRUPTS.—H. CLARK, Bank-chambers and Cheshunt, stockbroker, to surrender December 12, January 13; solicitor, Mr. Cox, Pinners'-hall, Broad-street; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street—T. S. CURTIS, York-street, Westminster, cheesemonger, December 11, January 13; solicitors, Messrs. Morgan, Old Jewry; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings—W. WILLIAMS and R. M. MARCHANT, Great George-street, Westminster, and elsewhere, contractors for public works, December 19, January 31; solicitors, Messrs. Fox, Sewell, and Fox, Old Broad-street; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—W. PULLIN, late of Friday-street, Cheapside, woollen warehousemen, December 19, January 24; solicitor, Mr. Jones, Quality-court, Chancery-lane; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street—J. FULLER, City-road, Finsbury, glass merchant, December 19, January 24; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrance, Plews, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—W. KIRBY, Stockwell-park-road, Stockwell, builder, and Deptford, licensed victualler, December 16, January 20; solicitors, Messrs. Howard and Dolman, Crescent, Bridge-street, Blackfriars; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—J. NICHOLSON, Woolwich, grocer, December 16, January 13; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrance, Plews, and Boyer, Old Jewry; official assignee, Mr. Graham—D. LITTLE, Liverpool, merchant, December 18, January 8; solicitor, Mr. Radcliffe, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Turner, Liverpool—S. WHARTON, Hartford, Cheshire, wine merchant, December 18, January 8; solicitors, Messrs. Davenport and Collier, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Bird, Liverpool—F. DEANE, Liverpool, merchant, December 18, January 8; solicitor, Mr. Tyrer, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Bird, Liverpool—W. WAUDBY KING (and not W. WANDBY KING, as before advertised), Liverpool, chemist, December 15, January 5; solicitor, Mr. Jones, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool—J. WAGSTAFF, Worcester, cattle dealer, December 22, January 8; solicitors, Messrs. Hyde and Timbs, Worcester; and Mr. Smith, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Valpy, Birmingham—H. CALDICOTT, Cardiff, grocer, December 16, January 13; solicitors, Messrs. Castle and Henderson, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. Acraman, Bristol—T. WILCOX, Bourdean, Gloucestershire, grocer, December 19, January 19; solicitors, Mr. Whitley, Mitcheldean; official assignee, Mr. Acraman, Bristol—R. SEYMOUR, Sunderland, linendraper, December 12, January 20; solicitors, Mr. Harle, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and Messrs. Payne, Eddison, Ford, and North, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Baker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

THE LECTURE ON THE WEEK.—In consequence of Mr. Hunt's absence in Paris, Mr. Holyoake has kindly consented to lecture TO-MORROW (SUNDAY) EVENING, in the Lecture Theatre of the Western Literary Institution, 47, Leicester-square. Admission, front seats, 1s.; Amphitheatre, 3d.; Reserved seats on the platform, 2s. 6d. To commence punctually at Seven o'clock.

THE ONLY COMPLETE EDITION.

On Thursday next, in a thick fcap. 8vo. volume, price 6s., cloth, DANISH FAIRY LEGENDS and TALES. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. Second Edition, enlarged, with all the Additional Tales, and a Memoir and Portrait of the Author. * * In this Edition of “Andersen's Tales” the translation is made direct from the original Danish, and not from the German translations, as is the case with all other English editions of this popular author. Adley and Co. (late Cundall and Adley), 21, Old Bond-street.

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This Company being now completely registered, and the usual notices to Parliament having been given, the few remaining unallotted Shares may be obtained, upon application to the Secretary, at the Offices of the Company, 16 A, Great George-street, Westminster. By order of the Board, RICHARD CHURCHILL, Sec.

THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE.

LAST THREE NIGHTS OF M. JULLIEN'S CONCERTS.

M. JULLIEN'S BENEFIT.

M. JULLIEN has the honour to announce that his BENEFIT will take place on MONDAY, December 8 (it being positively the Last Night but Two of his Concerts). The Programme will embrace all the most attractive novelties of the Season, including the talents of Signor BOTTESINI and Signor SIVORI. Miss CICELY NOTT will make her Seventh Appearance.

Commence at Eight.

GRAND BAL MASQUE.

M. JULLIEN'S Annual Grand Bal Masqué will take place on FRIDAY NEXT, December 12.

N.B. All persons having claims on the Theatre, on account of the Concerts, are requested to deliver their Accounts immediately, and to apply on Monday, December 15, at Two o'clock, for payment.

THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE.

M. JULLIEN has the honour to announce that his CONCERTS will terminate on WEDNESDAY NEXT, December 10, and that his Annual Grand

BAL MASQUE

will take place on FRIDAY NEXT, December 12, 1851 (and terminate the Season), and which, in consequence of the Theatre being let for Dramatic Performances, will most positively be the ONLY BALL this Season.

The distinguished and increasing patronage which has been bestowed by the Nobility and Gentry on M. Jullien's Bals Masqués, since their first introduction in this country, may be accepted as a sure evidence of the great popularity of such Entertainments, when properly conducted and produced on the scale of Grandeur and Magnificence, which has, on each occasion, characterised them. On the present occasion, the *SALLE DE DANSE* will exhibit a new and tasteful decoration, the Audience portion of the Theatre, as well as the Stage, being entirely wreathed with Artificial Flowers. A superb eclaireage will, as usual, shed lustre on the scene, and be characterised by the splendid effects of the

CRYSTAL CURTAIN.

In short, every possible exertion has been made to secure the approbation, and to insure the amusement of M. Jullien's Patrons, and he feels the greatest confidence in being enabled to present them with an Evening's Entertainment, which, as a scene of variety and dazzling brilliancy, will be pronounced unrivalled.

The Orchestra will, as heretofore, be complete, and consist of One Hundred and Twelve Musicians, being the present Concert Orchestra, with numerous additions.

Principal Cornet à Pistons, Herr Koenig.

Conductor, M. JULLIEN.

The New and Fashionable Music of the Season will be played, and include several New Polkas, Waltzes, Mazourkas, and Quadrilles, composed expressly for her Majesty's State Balls at Buckingham Palace, the Nobility's Balls, Almacks, &c., by M. Jullien.

Tickets for the Ball, 10s. 6d.

The Prices of Admission for SPECTATORS (for whom the Audience portion of the Theatre will, as before, be set apart) will be as on former occasions, viz. :—

Dress Circle.....	5s.
Boxes.....	3s.
Lower Gallery.....	2s.
Upper Gallery.....	1s.

Private Boxes, from £3. 3s. upwards.

Persons taking Private Boxes will have the privilege of passing to and from the Ball Room without extra charge.

Mr. I. Nathan, Jun., of 18, Castle-street, Leicester-square, is appointed Costumier to the Ball.

Persons in the Costume of Clowns, Harlequins, or Pantaloons, will not be admitted.

The Doors will be opened at Half-past Nine, the Dancing commence at Ten, and the Supper be served at One o'clock.

Tickets for the Ball, Places, and Private Boxes to be had at the Box-office of the Theatre, and at the principal Music-sellers and Libraries.

REOPENING of the ROYAL POLYTECHNIC

INSTITUTION on MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1851.

—A POPULAR LECTURE on the ADVANCEMENT of AGRICULTURAL CHEMISTRY, daily at Two o'clock, by J. H. Pepper Esq. in addition to other LECTURES on CHEMISTRY.—PRIZE MODEL of Mr. MECHI'S FARMERY at Tiptree Hall explained.—A NEW LECTURE on the HISTORY of the HARP, by F. Chatterton, Esq. for Two Weeks only, at Eight in the Evenings, with Illustrations on ERARD'S GREAT EXHIBITION HARP, and Vocal Accompaniment by Miss Blanche Young.—LECTURE by Dr. Bachhoffner on the PHILOSOPHY of SCIENTIFIC RECREATION. This Lecture has been arranged expressly for the instruction and amusement of the Junior Branches visiting the Institution during the Holidays.—NUMEROUS PRIZE MODELS, WORKS of ART, &c. from the Great Exhibition, will be explained by Mr. Crispe.—OPTICAL EFFECTS in DISSOLVING VIEWS, PHYSIOSCOPE, OPAQUEMICROSCOPE, CHROMATROPE, &c.—DIVER and DIVING BELL, &c. &c.

Admission, 1s.; Schools and Children under ten years of age, Half-price.

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For full particulars of the booking-through system between England and Ireland, see "Bradshaw's Guide," page 122; "Walsh's Irish Guide," page 20; "Fisher's Irish Guide," page 2.

THE HAHNEMANN HOSPITAL, for the TREATMENT of PATIENTS on the HOMOEOPATHIC PRINCIPLE, No. 39, BLOOMSBURY-SQUARE. Supported by voluntary contributions.

President—The Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P.

Treasurer—William Leaf, Esq., 39, Old Change.

The Hospital is open for the reception of the necessitous poor suffering from acute disease, who are received into the Hospital without any recommendation. Gratuitous advice is also given to out-patients. The medical officers of the Hospital are in attendance daily. Hours of admission for out-patients, from half-past Seven to Nine o'clock; and for in-patients, from Eight to half-past Nine o'clock, in the morning.

Donations and Subscriptions will be thankfully received by the Treasurer; by the Honorary Secretary; Drummond and Co., Charing-cross, and Glynn and Co., Lombard-street, bankers; or at the Hospital.

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ENAMELLED DAGUERREOTYPES, by Mr. BEARD, 85, KING WILLIAM-STREET, CITY; 34, PARLIAMENT-STREET; and the ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION, REGENT-STREET; also 34, CHURCH-STREET, LIVERPOOL.

Mr. R. BEARD has recently introduced an important improvement, by which his Daguerreotype Miniatures are enamelled, and thereby secured from that susceptibility to tarnish and become obscured, which all others are liable to; the colours also attain the brilliancy, depth of tone, and permanency of an oil painting.

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COIFFEUR, 254, Regent-street, opposite Hanover-square, inventor of the TRANSPARENT HEAD-DRESSES and PERUKES, the Hair of which is singly attached to a thin, transparent fabric, rendering the skin of the head perfectly visible; and being attached to a foundation constructed on geometrical principles, renders them superior to all others hitherto invented.

Sole proprietor of the CELEBRATED PERUVIAN BALM, which is universally approved and admired. This BALM, containing neither ardent spirit, pungent essential oils, nor other injurious materials, cleans the Hair expeditiously, renders it beautifully bright, and imparts to it the delicate fragrance of Flowers. The Hair when washed with this Balm soon becomes pleasantly soft, and luxuriant in growth; and although by improperly employing injurious extracts to clean it, the Hair may have been rendered harsh, or turned grey, it will soon be restored to its Natural Colour and Brilliancy by using the PERUVIAN BALM.

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DOMESTIC, &c.—Soles for Boots and Shoes, Lining for Cisterns, &c., Picture Frames, Looking-glass Frames, Ornamental Mouldings, Bowls, Drinking Cups, Jars, Soap Dishes, Vases, Ornamental Ink-stands, Noiseless Curtain Rings, Card, Fruit, Pin, and Pen Trays, Tooth-brush Trays, Shaving-brush Trays, Window-blind Cord, Clothes' Line, Drain and Soil Pipes, Tubing for Watering Gardens, &c., Lining for Bonnets, Watch Stands, Shells, and Lighter Stands. SURGICAL—Splints, Thin Sheet for Bandages, Stethoscopes, Ear Trumpets, Bed Straps, and Bedpans for Invalids. CHEMICAL—Carboys, Vessels for Acids, &c., Siphons, Tubing for conveying Oils, Acids, Alkalies, &c., Flasks, Bottles, Lining for Tanks and Funnels. MANUFACTURING—Buckets, Mill Bands, Pump Buckets, Felt Edging, Bosses, Shuttle Beds, Washers, Round Bands and Cord, Breasts for Water-Wheels. FOR OFFICES, &c.—Wafer Holders, Ink-stands, Ink-cups, Pen Trays, Cash Bowls, Washing Basins, &c., Tubes for Conveying Messages, Canvas for covering Books, &c., and Plan Cases. AGRICULTURAL—Tubing for Liquid Manure, Lining for Manure Tanks, Traces, and Whips. ELECTRICAL, &c.—Covering for Electric Telegraph Wire, Insulating Stools, Battery Cells, and Electrotypes Moulds. ORNAMENTAL—Medallions, Brackets, Cornices, Mouldings in imitation of Carved Oak, Rosewood, &c., and Picture Frames. USES ON SHIPBOARD—Life Buoys, Buckets, Pump Buckets, Hand Speaking Trumpets, Drinking Cups, Waterproof Canvas, Life Boat Cells, Tubes for Pumping Water from the Hold to the Deck, Round and Twisted Cords, Lining for Boxes. MISCELLANEOUS—Suction Pipes for Fire Engines, Buckets, Communion Trays, Tubing for Ventilation, Hearing Apparatus for Deaf Persons, Balls, Police Staves, Life Preservers, Railway Conversation Tubes, Miners Caps, Thread, &c., Official Seals, &c., Powder Flasks, &c. &c.

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Trustees—Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. (Founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq. (one of the Contributors). Commercial Firm—Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co. Central Establishment—76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq., London. Branch Establishments—35, Great Marylebone-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester.

The agency is instituted for a period of 100 years. Its objects are to counteract the system of adulteration and fraud now prevailing in the trade; to deal as agents for the consumers in purchasing the articles for their consumption, and for the producers in selling their produce; to promote the progress of the principle of Association; to find employment for cooperative associations by the collection of orders to be executed under special guarantee to the customers.

A commercial firm, acting under the permanent control of trustees, has been found the safer and more acceptable mode of carrying out these objects according to law. The agency consists, therefore, of trustees, contributors, subscribers, and a commercial partnership.

The capital required for the wholesale and retail business having been supplied by the founder and the first contributors, no express call is made at present, either for contributions or subscriptions. The capital will be further increased after the public have been made acquainted with the objects of the institution, and have experienced its mode of dealing.

Customers, after three months' regular dealing, are entitled to a bonus, to be fixed according to the amount of their transactions by the council of the agency, consisting of the trustees and partners.

After payment of all expenses, salaries, profits, and bonuses returned to contributors, subscribers, and regular customers, the general profits are to be accumulated, part to form a reserve fund, and part to promote cooperative associations.

Business transacted wholesale and retail. Subscribers, Cooperative Stores, Working Men's Associations, Regular Customers, and the Public supplied.

The Agency intend hereafter to undertake the execution of all orders for any kind of articles or produce; their operations for the present are restricted to GROCERIES, WINES, and ITALIAN ARTICLES, as a specimen of what can be done with the support of cooperative customers.

Rules have been framed and printed to enable any number of families of all classes, in any district of London, or any part of the country, to form themselves into "Friendly Societies" for enjoying the benefit of Cooperative Stores. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps.

Particulars of the nature and objects of the Central Cooperative Agency, with a Digest of the Deed of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the Central Office of the Agency. To be sent by post to parties forwarding 4 stamps.

A list of articles with the wholesale prices for Cooperative Stores, and a detailed Catalogue for private customers, will also be sent by post on payment of one postage stamp for the Wholesale List, and two for the Catalogue.

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All communications to be addressed to M.M. Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co., at the Central-office, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

ORDERS FOR THE ASSOCIATIONS OF WORKING MEN ALREADY IN EXISTENCE—BUILDERS, PRINTERS, BAKERS, TAILORS, SHOEMAKERS, NEEDLEWOMEN—CAN BE SENT THROUGH THE AGENCY, AND WILL RECEIVE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION.

OFFICE FOR PATENTS, BRITISH AND FOREIGN, and REGISTRATION of DESIGNS.—Conducted by Mr. J. G. WILSON, C.E., 18, Great George-street (opposite the Abbey), Westminster. Every description of business connected with Patents transacted daily. Inventors assisted in ascertaining the novelty of their Inventions and with Capital when required. Office hours, Ten to Four o'clock.

COCOA is a nut which, besides farinaceous substance, contains a bland oil. The oil in this nut has one advantage, which is, that it is less liable than any other oil to rancidity. Possessing these two nutritive substances, Cocoa is become a most valuable article of diet, more particularly if, by mechanical or other means, the farinaceous substance can be so perfectly incorporated with the oily, that the one will prevent the other from separating. Such a union is presented in the Cocoa prepared by JAMES EPPS; and thus, while the delightful flavour, in part dependent upon the oil, is retained, the whole preparation will agree with the most delicate stomach.

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CURE OF TWENTY YEARS' ASTHMA by

Dr. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.—From Mr. R. Bagley, Bookseller, Ironmonger-street, Stamford:—"One highly respectable gentleman in Stamford has experienced the most wonderful benefit in a severe cold and obstinate asthma, with which he has been troubled for the last twenty years. I have sold dozens of boxes entirely through his recommendation." Dr. Locock's Pulmonic Wafers give instant relief and a rapid cure of asthma, coughs, and all disorders of the breath and lungs. To Singers and Public Speakers they are invaluable for clearing and strengthening the voice; they have a pleasant taste. Price 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., and 11s. per box. Sold by all Druggists. Also Dr. LOCOCK'S ANTIBILIOUS WAFERS. They create Appetite, and remove Indigestion, Heartburn, Wind, Headaches, Giddiness, &c. In Hysterical Diseases, a proper perseverance in the use of this Medicine will be found to effect a Cure after all other means have failed. * * Full Directions are given with every Box.—NOTE.—These Wafers do not contain any Minerals, and may be taken either dissolved in water, or whole.

PILES! A positive cure is now placed in

the reach of every sufferer from this distressing and truly disagreeable affliction by the use of Dr. COOPER'S infallible but perfectly simple remedy, which may be used without the least inconvenience or danger, by patients of both sexes and all ages, with the utmost certainty of success; and by it Dr. C. will guarantee instant relief and permanent cure for the most aggravated cases of either blind or bleeding piles. Dr. COOPER, Professor of Medicine and Physician Extraordinary to the Eastern Counties Royal Medical Institution, has had 15 years' experience of the efficacy of this remedy, having during that period applied it in some hundreds of inveterate cases weekly, both in private practice and in various Hospitals in England, on the Continent, and in America, and can positively assert that it has never failed in a single case, therefore, he with confidence offers it to the public, and will send it (post free) to any part of the kingdom upon receipt of Post-office Order for 7s. 6d., payable at the Colchester Office, and addressed to ALFRED COOPER, M.D., High-street, Colchester, Essex.

N.B.—In every case Dr. C. guarantees a certain cure for the above sun, his only motive for making this public announcement being purely for the benefit of suffering humanity.

PAINS in the BACK, GRAVEL, LUMBAGO,

Rheumatism, Gout, Indigestion, Nervousness, Debility, Stricture, Gleet, &c. &c. &c.—DR. DE ROOS' COMPOUND RENAL PILLS, as their name, Renal (or the kidneys), indicates, have in many instances effected a cure when all other means had failed, and are now established, by the consent of every patient who has yet tried them, as also by the faculty themselves, as the most safe and efficacious remedy ever discovered for the above dangerous complaints, discharges of any kind, retention of urine, and diseases of the kidneys and urinary organs generally, whether resulting from imprudence or otherwise, which, if neglected, frequently end in piles, fistula, stone in the bladder, and a lingering death. For gout, sciatica, rheumatism, tic douloureux, erysipelas, dropsy, scrofula, loss of hair and teeth, depression of spirits, blushing, incapacity for society, study, or business, confusion, giddiness, drowsiness, sleep without refreshment, fear, nervousness, and even insanity itself, when (as is often the case) arising from or combined with urinary diseases, they are unequalled. By their salutary action on acidity of the stomach they correct bile and indigestion, purify and promote the renal secretions, thereby preventing the formation of stone, and establishing for life the healthy functions of all these organs. ONETRIAL will convince the most prejudiced of their surprising properties. May be obtained at 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., and 33s. per box, through all Medicine Vendors in the Kingdom; or should any difficulty occur, they will be sent free on receipt of the price in postage stamps by Dr. De Roos. N.B. A considerable saving effected by purchasing the larger boxes.

CAUTION.—A self-styled ten-shilling doctor (unblushing impudence being his only qualification) is advertising, under a different name, a highly injurious imitation of these Pills, and a useless abbreviated copy of Dr. De Roos' celebrated "Medical Adviser," slightly changing its title; sufferers will, therefore, do well to see that the stamp, bearing his name, affixed to each box is a "bona fide Government stamp" (not a base counterfeit), and to guard against the truthless statements of this individual, which are published only for the basest purposes of deception on invalids and fraud on the Proprietor.

TO PREVENT FRAUD on the Public by imitations of the above excellent remedy, her Majesty's Honourable Commissioners of Stamps have directed the name of the Proprietor, in white letters on a red ground, to be engraved on the Government Stamp affixed to all his Medicines, without which none is genuine, and to imitate which too closely is forgery and transposition.

AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS.

"Abersychan, Pontypool, May 2, 1850. Dear Sir,—After taking a box of your Renal Pills, I am so much better that I am induced to send for another, as I want to drive the pain quite away.—I remain, yours respectfully, John Andrews." "Furness, June 26, 1850. Dear Sir,—Please forward a 4s. 6d. box of your Renal Pills; they are the only medicine I have met with that have been of service.—Yours, &c., Milton Welch." "Lincolnshire, Dover. Sir,—Please to send a few more of your wonderful Pills. My wife has nearly taken all you sent before, and feels great relief already. T. Bloom." "4, Market-street, Manchester. Your medicines are very highly spoken of by all who have purchased them.—Yours truly, George Westmacott."

One person informs M. Smith, Times Office, Leeds, that these celebrated Pills are worth a guinea a box.

N.B. Persons wishing to consult the doctor by letter may do so by sending a detail of the symptoms, &c., with the usual fee of £1, by post-office order, payable at the Holborn Office, for which the necessary medicines and advice will be sent to any part of the world.

Address, WALTER DE ROOS, M.D., 35, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London, where he may be consulted from 10 till 1, and 5 till 8, Sunday excepted, unless by previous arrangement.

The above are obtainable through every Druggist in the Kingdom; but, should difficulty occur, enclose postage stamps to the establishment.

DR. CULVERWELL ON NERVOUSNESS, DEBILITY, AND INDIGESTION; also on Urinary Derangements, Constipation, and Hemorrhoids. 1s. each; by post, 1s. 6d.

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

"Abstinentia multi curantur morbi."

A popular exposition of the principal causes (over and over again) of the above harassing and distressing complaints, with an equally intelligible and popular exposition of how we should live to get rid of them; to which is added diet tables for every meal in the day, and full instructions for the regimen and observance of every hour out of the twenty-four: illustrated by numerous cases, &c.

Vols. 2 and 3, companions to the preceding.
THE ENJOYMENT OF LIFE. | HOW TO BE HAPPY.
"Jucunde Vivere."

IV.

ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, and HÆMORRHOIDS; their Obviation and Removal.

Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row; Mann, 39, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyll-place, Regent-street: consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

FRAMPTON'S PILL of HEALTH. Price

1s. 1½d. per box. This excellent Family Pill is a Medicine of long-tried efficacy for correcting all disorders of the stomach and bowels, costiveness, flatulency, spasms, loss of appetite, sick headache, giddiness, sense of fullness after meals, dizziness of the eyes, drowsiness, and pains in the stomach and bowels. Two or three doses will convince the afflicted of its salutary effects. The stomach will speedily regain its strength; a healthy action of the liver, bowels, and kidneys will rapidly take place; and—instead of listlessness, heat, pain, and jaundiced appearance—strength, activity, and renewed health will be the quick result of taking this medicine according to the directions accompanying each box. Persons of a full habit, who are subject to headache, giddiness, drowsiness, and singing in the ears, arising from too great a flow of blood to the head, should never be without them, as many dangerous symptoms will be entirely carried off by their immediate use. For Females these pills are most truly excellent, removing all obstructions, the distressing headache so very prevalent with the sex, depression of spirits, dulness of sight, nervous affections, blotches, pimples, and sallowness of the skin, and give a healthy and juvenile bloom to the complexion. To Mothers they are confidently recommended as the best medicine that can be taken during pregnancy; and for children of all ages they are unequalled. As a pleasant, safe, and easy aperient, they unite the recommendation of a mild operation with the most successful effect, and require no restraint of diet or confinement during their use. By regulating the dose, according to the age and strength of the patient, they become suitable for every case, in either sex, that can be required; and for Elderly People they will be found to be the most comfortable medicine hitherto prepared.

Sold by T. PROUT, 229, Strand, London. Price 1s. 1½d. and 2s. 9d. per box; and by the Venders of Medicine generally throughout the kingdom.—Ask for FRAMPTON'S PILL of HEALTH, and observe the name and address of "Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London," on the Government stamp.

RUPTURES

EFFECTUALLY CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS!

DR. BARKER continues to supply the afflicted with his celebrated remedy for this alarming complaint, the great success of which, for many years past, renders any further comment unnecessary. It is easy and painless in use, causing no inconvenience or confinement, and is applicable to every variety of single or double rupture, however bad or long-standing, in male or female of any age. The remedy, with full instructions for use, &c., will be sent post free to any part of the world on receipt of 7s., in cash, postage stamps, or Post-office Order, payable at the General Post-office, to **ALFRED BARKER, M.D.**, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London, where he may be consulted daily from Nine till Three o'clock (Sundays excepted). All communications being strictly confidential, Dr. B. does not publish cases or testimonials, a great number of which, with old trusses, have been sent to him by persons cured, as trophies of the success of this remedy; they can, therefore, be seen by any sufferer at the establishment only.

DEAFNESS, NOISES in the HEAD, EARS, &c.—Dr. Barker's remedy permanently restores hearing in infants or adults, whether deficient from cold, illness, or any accidental causes; and has been successful in thousands of cases, where the most eminent of the Profession have failed in giving relief. It removes all those distressing noises in the head and ears, arising from nervousness, deafness, or other causes, and by its occasional use, will preserve the important faculty of hearing to the latest period of life. In every case of deafness, &c. (without an exception), a perfect cure is guaranteed. The remedy, with full instructions for use, &c., will be sent post free to any part of the world, on receipt of 7s. 6d., in cash, postage stamps, or Post-office Order, payable at the General Post-office, to **ALFRED BARKER, M.D.**, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London, where he may be consulted daily from Nine till Three o'clock (Sundays excepted).

DO YOU WANT BEAUTIFUL AND LUXURIANT HAIR, WHISKERS, MOUSTACHIOS, EYEBROWS, &c.?

THE Immense Public Patronage bestowed upon **MISS ELLEN GRAHAM'S NIUKRENE**, during the last seven years, is sufficient evidence of its amazing properties in reproducing the human hair, whether lost by disease or natural decay, preventing the hair falling off, strengthening weak hair, and checking greyness. It is guaranteed to produce whiskers, moustachios, &c., in three or four weeks, without fail. It is elegantly scented; and sufficient for three months' use will be sent post-free, on receipt of twenty-four postage-stamps, by **Miss Ellen Graham, 14, Hand-court, Holborn, London.** (Unlike all other preparations for the Hair, it is free from artificial colouring and filthy greasiness, well known to be so injurious to it.)

GENUINE TESTIMONIALS.—"I had been bald for years; your Niukrene has quite restored my hair."—**Henry Watkins, Colney, Herts.**—"I have used your Niukrene three weeks, and am happy to inform you that a full moustache is growing."—**J. Hammond, Naas, Ireland.**—"My hair was turning grey rapidly; it has effectually checked it, and I have new hair growing."—**R. Elkins, Surgeon.**—"It is the best nursery preparation I ever used."—**Mrs. Rose, Chesham.**

For the nursery, **Niukrene** is invaluable, its balsamic properties being admirably adapted to infant's hair.

LIQUID HAIR DYE.—The only perfect one extant is **Miss Graham's.** It is a clear liquid, that changes hair in three minutes to any shade, from light auburn to jet black, so natural as to defy detection, does not stain the skin, and is free from every objectionable quality. It needs only to be used once, producing a permanent dye for ever. Persons who have been deceived by useless preparations (dangerous to the head, &c.) will find this Dye perfect in every respect, and that "none but itself can be its parallel." Price 3s., sent post-free by post for forty-two postage stamps, by **Miss Graham, 14, Hand-court, Holborn, London.**

Prof. or Ryan says:—"Your dye is the only pure and perfect one I have analyzed; the neutral principle is decidedly better than all others."

A SPEEDY CURE FOR STONE AND GRAVEL

will be sent to any person, by enclosing thirteen Stamps to **THOMAS WILKINSON, Land Agent, Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.**

A NEW MEDICINE.

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC CAPSULE—A form

of Medicine at once safe, sure, speedy, and pleasant, especially applicable to urethral morbid secretions, and other ailments for which copaiba and cubeb are commonly administered.

Each Capsule containing the Specific is made of the purest Gelatine, which, encased in tinfoil, may be conveniently carried in the pocket, and, being both elastic and pleasant to take, affords the greatest facility for repeating the doses without intermission—a desideratum to persons travelling, visiting, or engaged in business, as well as to those who object to fluid medicines, being unobjectionable to the most susceptible stomach.

Prepared only by **GEORGE FRANKS, Surgeon**, at his Laboratory, 90, Blackfriars-road, London, where they may be had, and of all Medicine Venders, in boxes, at 2s. 9d. and 4s. 6d. each, or sent free by post at 3s. and 5s. each. Of whom, also, may be had, in bottles, at 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each.

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC SOLUTION OF COPAIBA.

TESTIMONIALS.

From **Joseph Henry Green, Esq., F.R.S.**, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital; and Professor of Surgery in King's College, London.

"I have made trial of Mr. Franks's Solution of Copaiba, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in a variety of cases, and the results warrant my stating, that it is an efficacious remedy, and one which does not produce the usual unpleasant effects of Copaiba. (Signed) **JOSEPH HENRY GREEN.**"

"**Lincoln's-inn Fields, April 15, 1835.**"
From **Bransby Cooper, Esq., F.R.S.**, one of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to Guy's Hospital; and Lecturer on Anatomy, &c.

"Mr. Bransby Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. George Franks, and has great pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficacy of his Solution of Copaiba. Mr. Cooper has prescribed the Solution in ten or twelve cases with perfect success."

"**New-street, April 13, 1835.**"
* * These medicines are protected against counterfeits by the Government Stamp—on which is engraven "**GEORGE FRANKS, Blackfriars-road**"—being attached to each.

HERE IS YOUR REMEDY!

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.—A most miraculous CURE of BAD LEGS, after forty-three years' suffering.

Extract of a Letter from **Mr. William Galpin, of 70, St. Mary's-street, Weymouth**, dated May 15, 1851.

"**To Professor HOLLOWAY.**"
"SIR,—At the age of eighteen my wife (who is now sixty-one) caught a violent cold, which settled in her legs, and ever since that time they have been more or less sore and greatly inflamed. Her agonies were distracting, and for months together she was deprived entirely of rest and sleep. Every remedy that medical men advised was tried, but without effect; her health suffered severely, and the state of her legs was terrible. I had often read your advertisements, and advised her to try your pills and ointment; and, as a last resource, after every other remedy had proved useless, she consented to do so. She commenced six weeks ago, and, strange to relate, is now in good health. Her legs are painless, without seam or scar, and her sleep sound and undisturbed. Could you have witnessed the sufferings of my wife during the last forty-three years, and contrast them with her present enjoyment of health, you would indeed feel delighted in having been the means of so greatly alleviating the sufferings of a fellow creature. (Signed) **WILLIAM GALPIN.**"

Sold by the Proprietor, 244, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by all respectable Venders of Patent Medicines throughout the Civilized World, in Pots and Boxes, at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., 23s., and 33s. each. There is a very considerable saving in taking the larger sizes.

N.B.—Directions for the guidance of Patients are affixed to each pot or box.

RUPTURES EFFECTUALLY CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS.

CAUTION.—Sufferers are cautioned against useless imitations, by a self-styled doctor, who copies this announcement, and who also professes to cure deafness, with various other wonderful feats; and to render the abominable deception more complete, conceals "testimonials" as glaringly truthless as they are numerous. The utter fallacy of these may, however, be easily detected by writing to the pretended authors, whom it will be found have existence only in the imagination.

Dr. WALTER DE ROOS continues to supply the afflicted with his celebrated remedy for this alarming complaint, the great success of which for many years past, renders comment unnecessary. It is easy and painless in use, causing no inconvenience and confinement, and is equally applicable to every variety of rupture, however bad or long standing, in male or female of any age. The remedy, with full instructions for use, will be sent post-free to any part of the kingdom, on receipt of 7s. in cash, or by post-office order, payable at the Holborn-office, to **Walter De Roos, M.D.**, 35, Ely-place, Holborn, London, where he may be consulted daily from Ten till One; and Five till Eight (Sundays excepted). A great number of testimonials and trusses (which may be seen), have been left behind by persons cured, as trophies of the immense success of this remedy.

AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS, to prove the accuracy of which inquiry is solicited of the writers themselves, whose addresses are given in full—a test which other advertisements of this class cannot stand:—**B. Haworth, Esq., Hull Bank, Hull:** "I feel great pleasure in adding my testimony to Dr. Roos's remedy for rupture, which has effectually cured mine." **Mr. Samuel Stocker, timber merchant, Clever-fields, Windsor, Berks:** "I was cured last summer by your invaluable remedy, and have not found the least inconvenience since." **Mr. Robert Rogers, Staveley, Derbyshire:** "My baby, I am happy to say, thanks to your excellent remedy, is quite well." **Mr. James Chessum, Ickewell-house:** "By the blessing of God, my rupture of ten years' standing is perfectly cured by your remedy." **Mr. Sapeote, brazier, Market-Weighton:** "I am glad to tell you that I am quite cured by your remedy; and so is the little boy who was ruptured on both sides,—thanks to you, Sir."

"A respected correspondent desires to call the attention of such of our readers as are his fellow-sufferers to an announcement in our advertising columns, emanating from Dr. De Roos, the eminent physician of London. Of this gentleman's ability in treating ruptures, our correspondent speaks in the highest terms, having availed himself of the same, and thereby tested the superiority of his method of treatment over every other extant, all of which he has tried to no purpose. He feels assured that whoever is so afflicted will find a cure by paying Dr. De Roos a visit, his method being, as our correspondent believes, beyond improvement."—The above appeared in the *Tablet* of Saturday, September 29, 1849. The gentleman alluded to is **F. Graham, Esq.**, an intimate friend of the editor's, who may be referred to.

N.B. Should sufferers think proper to address either or all of the above, they will of course enclose two postage stamps for a reply.

WALTER DE ROOS, M.D., No. 35, Ely-place, Holborn-hill, London.

MITRE GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE, ANNUITY and FAMILY ENDOWMENT ASSOCIATION, 23, Pall-mall, London.

The sum usually charged at the age of 25 to assure £1000 in such Offices as adopt the principle of granting Bonuses at stated intervals, will, in the MITRE, assure nearly £1400. Here is an IMMEDIATE BONUS of what requires more than twenty years to attain in other cases.

Endowments granted on liberal terms for School and College Education, Professional Premiums, Marriage Portions, &c.
Oct. 1851. **WILLIAM BRIDGES, Actuary and Secretary.**

ENGLISH AND CAMBRIAN ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Chief Office, 9, New Bridge-street, London.

Branch Offices:—London: 6, Trinity-street, Borough, and 65, Sun-street, Bishopsgate-street. Glasgow: 65, St. Vincent-street. Dublin: 38, Lower Ormond-quay. Norwich: 16, St. Giles-street. Bury St. Edmunds: 18a, Corn-market. Policies indisputable. Half Premiums taken.

"Diseased," Military and Naval Lives accepted at equitable rates. Annuities, Endowments, and Loans on the most advantageous terms. Claims payable three months after satisfactory proof of death. Profits divided annually after first seven years.

C. W. BEVAN, Manager and Actuary.

EAGLE INSURANCE COMPANY.

London, August 8, 1851.

At the Annual General Meeting of Proprietors held this day, the Honourable **JOHN CHIETWYND TALBOT, Q.C.**, the Chairman of the Company in the chair,

A Report was read, from which it appeared—
That the income of the Company for the year ending June 20, 1851, was £140,338 1 9
The Premium on Policies issued in the year.... 5,339 13 9
The claims on decease of lives assured 83,691 1 9
The expenses..... 5,686 5 0
The total assets of the Company 704,010 14 0

The Report entered into further details, and finished by stating that the Directors felt it unnecessary to dwell further upon the items of the year's account, as the quinquennial valuation to be made in June next was so near.

The Report was unanimously adopted, and some routine business having been disposed of, the thanks of the meeting were very cordially voted to the Chairman, Directors, and Officers of the Company, when the meeting separated.

The Premiums required by this Company are very moderate, and moreover are adequately adjusted.

The Assured of the participating class share the whole surplus, less 20 per cent. only.

The lives assured may travel and live in any part of the globe, not within thirty degrees of the Equator, without extra charge.

Transfers are registered, and assignments may be effected on forms supplied by the Company; and in all particulars the interests of the Assured are carefully consulted.

3, Créscent, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars, September, 1851.

PROFESSIONAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

Admitting, on equal terms, persons of every class and degree to all its benefits and advantages.

Capital—Two HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS.
Chairman—Major **HENRY STONES, LL.B.**

Deputy Chairman—**JAMES ANDREW DURHAM, Esq.**
With upwards of Fourteen Hundred Shareholders.

There are two important clauses in the Deed of Settlement, by which the Directors have power to appropriate ONE-TENTH of the entire profits of the Company:—

1st.—For the relief of aged and distressed parties assured for life, who have paid five years' premiums, their widows and orphans.

2nd.—For the relief of aged and distressed original proprietors, assured or not, their widows and orphans, together with 5 per cent. per annum on the capital originally invested by them.

All policies indisputable and free of stamp duty. Rates of premium extremely moderate.

No extra charge for going to or residing at (in time of peace) Australasia—Bermuda—Madeira—Cape of Good Hope—the British North American Colonies—and the Mauritius.

Medical men in all cases remunerated for their report. Assurances granted against paralysis, blindness, accidents, insanity, and every other affliction, bodily and mental, at moderate rates.

A liberal commission allowed to agents. Annual premium for assuring £100, namely:—

Age—20	£1 10 9	Age—40	£2 13 6
30	£1 19 6	50	£3 18 6

Prospectuses, with tables and fullest information, may be had at the offices of the Company, or any of their agents.

Applications for agencies requested.

EDWARD BAYLIS, Resident Manager and Actuary.
Offices, 76, Cheapside, London.

THE MERCHANTS' AND TRADESMAN'S MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 5, Chatham-place, Blackfriars, London; 53, Dale-street, Liverpool; and all the principal Towns in the Kingdom.

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Assurances on Lives and Survivorships; Annuities for Old Age; Endowments for Children; and every description of Life Assurance may be effected in this office.

Policies indisputable, except in cases of Fraud. All the Profits go to the Members.

Prospectuses may be had at the Offices, or of the Agents. • **GEORGE THOMSON, Manager.**
• **THOMAS MUSGRAVE, Secretary.**

* * Active persons required as agents where they are not already appointed.

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Life Assurances, Annuities, and Endowments. Three-fourths of profits divided amongst the assured.—Prospectuses, post free, on application. F. FERGUSON CAMROUX, Manager.

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

Every description of Life Assurance business transacted. Loans granted on personal and other securities. Detailed Prospectuses, containing the names and addresses of nearly seven hundred shareholders, rates of premium, an explanation of the system now originated, together with useful information and statistics respecting Life Assurance, may be had on application at the offices.

Parties desirous of becoming Agents or Medical Referees are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

By order of the Board, THOMAS H. BAYLIS.
Offices; 40, Pall-mall, London.

UNITED KINGDOM TEMPERANCE and GENERAL PROVIDENT INSTITUTION.

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Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, and Co., London.
The National Bank of Scotland, Edinburgh.
The British Linen Company, Glasgow.

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From the commencement of the present year 500 New Policies have been issued, making the total number since the establishment of the Office, in 1840, more than 5700.

SPECIAL ADVANTAGES.

Lower Premiums than in most other Offices.
The Entire Profits divisible among the Assured.
Claims paid to Widows and Children free of Legacy and Probate duty.
The Lowest Rate of Mortality of any Office in England.
Annuities, Immediate and Deferred, Assurances for the whole of Life, for Short Terms, on Joint Lives, and every other description of Business.
Prospectuses and Forms of Proposal may be obtained on application to the Secretary, or any of the Agents.
N.B. Active and respectable Agents wanted in every town where none are appointed.

INDUSTRIAL BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Incorporated by Act of Parliament, 7 and 8 Vic., cap. 110.
With a Guarantee Fund of Fifty Thousand Pounds.
Chief Office, 34, Moorgate-street, Bank, London.

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Henry Letheby, Esq., M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, London Hospital.

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Thomas Carr Jackson, Esq., Hamilton-place, New-road.
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Edward Kelly Harris, Esq., 53, Lincoln's-inn-fields.

SURVEYOR.

Henry Annesley Voysey, Esq., Guildford-street, Russell-square.
MANAGER—J. W. Sprague, Esq.

The Directors of this Society, in addition to the ordinary business usually transacted by Life Assurance Societies, have formed a distinct Branch for the Industrial Classes, embracing every system of Life Assurance, and for that purpose have caused extensive tables to be prepared, combining the interests of every class of Assurers, in a manner more comprehensive than has hitherto been attempted by any similar Society.

The system of Life Assurance hitherto propounded, although admirably well adapted to the means and circumstances of the middling and higher classes of society, nevertheless is not available to the ever-varying condition of nearly nine-tenths of the people of this great commercial country, viz., the Industrial Classes.

Ninepence per Month, or the cost of one pint of beer per week, will secure £20 to the wife and family, at the death of a man aged 25 next birthday; or,

One Shilling and Three Pence per Month will secure to a person of the same age the sum of £25 on his attaining the age of 60, or the same sum would be paid to his family should he die before attaining that age.

NON-FORFEITURE OF MONEY PAID.

Should a person from any cause be unable to meet the payment of his Premium, he will not lose the benefit of the Assurance, but will be allowed, as often as the value of the Policy will admit, to charge the amount thereof on his Policy; or,

Should a person be altogether unable to continue the Assurance, the sums paid will not be forfeited as in other Offices, as he will be granted, by the Directors, another Policy of less amount, but equivalent to the sums already paid, and exonerated from any future payments.

The Rates of Premium for Deferred Annuities, Endowments for Children, and every other information may be obtained of the Secretary, at the Offices of the Society, 34, Moorgate-street, Bank, or of any of the Agents.

Just published, Fifth Edition, price 3s.; post-free, 3s. 6d.,
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