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# 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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VOL. III.—No. 93.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1852.

PRICE 6d.

## News of the Week.

RUSSIA and Austria, and enemies of truly popular freedom who are not quite so far off, rejoice to think that Louis Napoleon has succeeded in discounting 1852 before the Peuples could get their forces into play: he has obtained the start; but he keeps it at a fearful risk to himself, and we have not finished yet. We have only begun 1852, which has, perchance, surprises in store not less striking than those of 1851.

Yet the past was an eventful year. So much so that, with our overabundance of daily literature, discussion has exhausted itself on the events as they passed, and our public writers produce their annual "retrospects" with a weary air of exhaustion. Still it has been fertile of many curious productions, so peculiar to itself that curiosity will not soon tire of enumerating them. In finance, for example, the English Government treated us to a double budget, and the Austrian to a rise of quotations by force of bayonets; while Australia added its gold beds to the recent Californian discoveries. In France, by his midnight burglary of Paris, Louis Napoleon has restored the Consulate, as a step towards the Empire; he slavishly parodies every act of his uncle, including the restoration of the Church, and of the eagle to the national flag. At home we have had a series of dramatic surprises—the double budget aforesaid, the limitation of the income-tax to one year more, the anti-Papal mob agitation set on foot by the Prime Minister—an official Lord-George-Gordonism—the establishment of a "foreign department" to our Police, the Gladstone denunciation of Naples, the visit of Kossuth, the dawn of the Anglo-American Alliance, the undermining of Lord Palmerston by his chief colleague, and, it is said, the design on the part of the Premier to establish a new "Bishop of Southwark." Some one said, at Manchester, that Lord John would not have rebuffed a deputation on "bishop-making"! The idea is borrowed from the Pope, and the mitred officer is to serve as a New Year's present to the English public from a grateful patriot.

The new year begins with an unsettled Ministry: and while we write the political world is full of rumours. Lord Granville has formally received his appointment as Foreign Secretary; but the other offices have rather gone begging. It has crept out, too, that some of the Ministry, who acquiesced in Lord Palmerston's removal, have subsequently expressed their dissatisfaction, and it is reported that Lord Lansdowne will not remain in the Cabinet. The manifest effort of Ministers is to recruit their forces from the Liberal-Conservative ranks; but they have not obtained adhesion from leading members of that party. Meanwhile, it is said that Lord Palmerston is confident of support from a large number of Liberals; and

[TOWN EDITOR.]

we believe he may have it, if he take the proper steps to acquire it. Some speculation has been excited by the visit of Mr. Labouchere to Bowood, Lord Lansdowne's country seat, and of the same gentleman to a leading man at Manchester. Is it reconciliation, asked Political Gossip, or a new party in formation?

"Reform" has not yet recovered from the check given to it, in the persons of the Manchester men, by Lord John Russell; but the National Parliamentary Reform Association has thrown out a hint of a conference to be held in London shortly. Its proceedings will be awaited with interest.

In the mean time, the dispute between the skilled mechanics of the iron trades and their employers occupies a foremost place in public attention. It is not only a great trial of strength between the two parties, but a trial of the protective principles upon which they severally rely. The men of the iron trades enjoy high wages, and many advantages possessed by few working men; they are strong; their combination is extensive and well supported; their leaders are uncommonly intelligent; their demands, in the main, reasonable and humane. They desire to be relieved from the compulsion to work overtime, or more than ten hours a day, except in cases of necessity; and they object to a system of piecework devised to wring a larger portion of toil from the working man, to beat down his wages, and to place the trade in the hands of middlemen. United trades connected with the body also object to the practice of placing unskilled labourers as companions of mechanics, so as to supersede the labour of the more skilled and better-paid class. The masters resent "interference" and "dictation"; they are now openly combined in antagonism to their men; they are endeavouring to push the contest to extremes, and it is evident that they are confident of success. If they do succeed, it will be through the want of union among the men. It too often happens that the working men cannot stick to any movement which does not return an immediate benefit to their own particular trade, and therefore they fail to support their brethren in resisting processes of beating down wages and extorting work, which are really identical in the different branches of industry. Thus the working class consents to be vanquished in detail. We shall see how the Amalgamated Society of Engineers conducts this struggle. Before the issue, however, we beg to remind our countrymen of the working class that they are struggling on unequal terms, under Combination Laws which are always interpreted against them; that the general decline of wages and of social position for the workman can only be arrested by establishing the right of labour, which would be effected by a sound Poor-law; and that the root of their difficulty is the political impotency of their class, which deprives them of respect before both Legislature and Bench. They will see the result of the present contest: let them bear our memorandum in mind.

Note the suggestion of Mr. Bridges Adams, that

the Amalgamated Engineers should found a coöperative trade of their own, and thus combat the masters. Mr. Adams is a man of great sagacity and experience, but we did not before know that we might count on his powerful aid in the advance of practical Socialism. Welcome! Let the men read his words.

France is advancing towards "the Empire." On the first day of the new year Louis Napoleon went through the form of a religious installation as ten years' President, at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, with all the ceremonies used by his uncle as First Consul; he takes up his abode at the Tuileries—and the Paris tradesmen look for balls and festivals; and a veteran of the Old Guard might suppose that forty years had been abolished. Meanwhile, the new Imperialism is developing itself in a variety of forms. Louis Napoleon receives from his royal brother of Russia the order of St. Andrew, usually conferred on Sovereigns. The Austrian papers are proclaiming, as the Viennese *Presse* does, that Louis-Napoleonized France will no longer need to oppose Russia; and the *Austrian Lloyd's*, that the Prince President is a firm adherent to the party of "Order." A new tribunal and new laws for the press are instituted, under which political discussion will be *illegal*! and even the faithful Véron is said to be so scandalized as to have declared that he would make the Government grant some modicum of political existence to the press; a threat defied by the Minister de Morny. Allusions to the existing state of things in the plays at the theatre, however vague, are greedily seized by the audiences—a sign of returning life; and Jules Janin flings quotations from Tacitus at the powers that be. Tacitus is a gentleman against whose existence Louis Napoleon, Ferdinand of Naples, and such "best of kings," retrospectively and vigorously protest. Could they only go back along the path of time, they would execute summary justice on him.

Tacitus, however, will not be killed; and it thus becomes necessary for the Police to exercise their unceasing activity to lay his ghost and persecute people in general throughout the countries subject to the monarchs of "Order"—an activity by no means relaxed at the present time. That desperate *Oliver Twist*, the state prison, is daily asking for "more," in Hungary, Italy, Austria, and Germany,—and having it!

The friends of "Order" in London have been delighted with a new acquisition: it is a letter from Count Casimir Batthyany, making divers accusations against Kossuth—of being the cause of his country's downfall, of breaking up the Ministry of Louis Batthyany, of surrendering the Dictatorship to Görgey without the privity or consent of his colleagues. Nothing does more discredit to the party of "Order" than its literature; and Count Casimir, a man of better disposition than vigour, will one day be ashamed of his anti-Hungarian epistle. Its inconsistencies are patent to every



careful reader; a superficial knowledge of Hungarian affairs will correct its enormous—we will call them fallacies. Louis Batthyany himself has stated the reasons which broke up his Ministry—those intrigues at Vienna that provoked the popular destruction of Count Lamberg. Kossuth did not surrender the Dictatorship to Görgey: it was taken from him by the Council of War, and the decision of that Council was confirmed by a majority of the Ministry which Kossuth had assembled. But we shall recur to this subject.

Superior to these paltry carplings, which usually assail him *a distance*, Kossuth is pursuing a triumphant career in America. The joint resolution to give him a State reception, which, after that admirable speech by Mr. Seward, passed the Senate by 33 to 6, passed the House of Representatives, without debate, by 133 to 16; and it is well known that even the 16 voted on some formal punctilio, such as an Ultra-Republican dislike to glorify any individual, and upon no ground hostile to Kossuth's mission. He has declared what that mission is with an explicitness calculated to win him an increasing support—he asks for money, men, and arms, to support Hungary and freedom against the combined Despots of Europe. Democracy in America is rapidly learning its glorious opportunity in Europe—its opportunity of establishing freedom throughout the civilized world; and in the very process of that growth, Democracy is acquiring strength on its native soil. Englishmen look with anxiety to the election of Douglas; believing that the installation of so energetic and farseeing a President, the youngest of his line, will have the most important influence on the progress of mankind; and in the success of Kossuth, representative for the time of Europe, her Peoples, and Liberty, the English allies of the Americans believe that they discern also the success of the Republican party in their own favoured Republic.

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

##### LETTER I.

Paris, December 30, 1851.

I suppose I must begin my correspondence by giving a retrospective view of the events since the 2nd of December. Many facts have escaped publicity, on account of a total absence of newspapers; it is therefore important to repair, as much as possible, that want of publicity.

There was on the 3rd of December, as on the preceding day, but one cry to be heard, viz., that of "Vive la République!" Bonaparte thought himself lost. When he on that day returned from a review of the troops, and saw himself everywhere greeted with the shouts of "Vive la République!" he said to his entourage: "Should there be no émeute tomorrow, I am lost." Thereupon M. Carlier, the ex-préfet of police, asked for an interview with the President. "You want an émeute said he to him, you shall have one," and he began to expose his plan to Louis Bonaparte. The President attentively listened, gave him his signature, and said to him: "Go to Morny, and from thence to the préfecture of police." M. Carlier went with the signature of the President to the Minister of the Interior; but Morny at first refused to recognize it, and already gave orders to have Carlier shot; but he afterwards went himself to the President, who succeeded in persuading Morny, and the latter went so far as to put himself under the command of M. Carlier, who then issued the necessary orders, and organized the émeute for the following day.

The next day the troops, instead of occupying the Boulevards, as on the 2nd and 3rd, were ordered to let the émeute have the field. Except six battalions, with some artillery in reserve, on the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, the troops were in the morning nowhere to be seen. At ten o'clock in the morning a crowd of idlers assembled on the Boulevard of Montmartre, as they had done the day before, merely for curiosity sake. Simultaneously almost a dozen of individuals armed with crowbars to unpave the streets, made their appearance at the gate of St. Denis, and began to erect a barricade. The whole population looked with amazement at such a procedure; but in a few minutes all was explained. The crowd now began to contemplate the barricaders at a convenient distance. The presence of six sergents de ville amidst the builders of the barricade brought reflection with it. Whilst the latter, with levers, were about to raise the gratings on the foot pavement, and others with crowbars uplifting the paving stones, the worthy sergents de ville were at their side, with their hands behind them, calmly talking to them. Towards eleven o'clock, two other barricades were in the course of erection, under similar circumstances, in the street St. Denis, and at noon two others in the street Rambuteau. The few individuals occupied with erecting barricades were everywhere recognizable by the imperials on their chins, a cha-

racteristic of the Decembrists. The working men of the street St. Denis seeing them, loudly exclaimed: "It is a provocation; all those who are at the barricades are Decembrists. It is a snare laid for the Republicans. Let nobody meddle with them." About half-past twelve emissaries were spreading throughout the whole of Paris the rumour that the troops were withdrawn into the forts; that it was necessary that the people should be organized and barricades erected; but a shrug of the shoulders was the only response to that provocation.

There are other facts relative to the exclusive participation of the police in the erection of barricades.

At St. Lazare, in the suburb of St. Denis, towards ten o'clock, about fifteen individuals issued from the establishment of St. Lazare. One of them disguised and wearing the insignia of a representative of the people, another the uniform of the National Guard, others disguised as working men, proceeded towards the suburb up to the street Chabrol; they formed themselves in a group, in the middle of which the pretended representative of the people perorated, and flourishing a sabre, every now and then cried out, "Vive la République!" After some time, when they had succeeded to enlist two gamins—of about fifteen years of age, they proceeded towards the gate St. Lazare, and feigned to attack it. The sham representative went straight on to the door of the guard-house, and struck at it with his sabre. Sixty men were in the guard-house, who fired a volley, but by an accident now evident to every body, not one of the pretended insurgents was hit. A certain number of sergents de ville sallied forth from the street Paradis, and marched on the pretended insurgents, who all fled. The two gamins alone were taken and led to the guard-house. One hour afterwards, the neighbours of St. Lazare saw both the pretended representative and the Garde National, walking about in the square of the establishment. Those two men were police agents employed therein.

Here is another fact not less significant. The officers who were at the Hôtel de Ville relate that, in the morning of the 4th, there were about 200 sergents de ville assembled, but not one bourgeois; nevertheless, about nine or ten o'clock A.M., they saw issuing from thence a crowd of individuals of every trade, masons, fishmongers, water carriers, &c. They were the sergents de ville, disguised as artisans, and they all accosted the officers, and, showing their cards as police agents, beseeched them not to betray their secret, which would compromise their lives.

In many quarters of the town barricades were constructed, and all by agents of the police commissaries, whom the people call their jackals. Amongst others the barricade of the street Bussy was begun by two men, one of whom was known by everybody as the jackal of the police commissary of the quarter.

Finally, a fact confirmatory of the above, is the history of the barricade Beaurepaire. There were at that barricade sixteen beardless young men, commanded by a man of a certain age wearing an imperial. When the troops were approaching the barricade, its chief ordered his men not to fire before he commanded them to do so. He allowed the troops to approach to a distance of twenty paces only, and then gave the command to fire. Not one soldier was hit. There were no bullets in the muskets, for the cartridges they distributed to those boys were without bullets, several of which were found by the people of that locality.

The massacre on the Boulevard was likewise the result of an infernal combination of the police. Two suspicious-looking men ascended the staircase of the house of M. Salandrouze-Lamornaix; they were armed with muskets; and, aiming at the Lancers, fired and ran away. Those were the two shots fired at the hitherto inoffensive troops, which provoked that frightful massacre of which you have heard. The muskets, however, of those two wretches were only loaded with small shot, as the bandrols of the Lancers sufficiently showed. Immediately after these two shots, the troops began to fire indiscriminately upon all the people who were on the Boulevard. There were at that time more than 20,000 pedestrians, and on that inoffensive and unarmed crowd the troops fired with bullets, and with cannon balls on the houses. In an instant the Boulevard was strewn with 1200 corpses. The soldiers, not satisfied with that frightful butchery, entered the shops and the houses, and murdered all the living beings they found therein. Thus eleven young girls, in the magazine called La Petite Jeanette, were mercilessly massacred with bayonets by the infuriated soldiers. The officers, ashamed of such atrocities, endeavoured, though in vain, to put a stop to them; but the soldiers were no longer under any control, intoxicated as they were with wine and carnage. The soldiers menaced to shoot even their officers, if they prevented them doing what they liked.

The Elysée has not denied the massacres. Granier de Cassagnac, in his pamphlet issued for the justification of the late events, coolly says: "What was the majority of the corpses that were picked up? That of malefactors and poor people." Pitiless orders of the generals succeeded the massacre of the Boulevard, which added fresh victims to those already

sacrificed. Women, children, indeed all who appeared in the streets occupied by the troops, were instantly aimed at and shot. A poor woman of the suburb Poissonnière, went to a baker's to buy some bread for her four children; she was peaceably returning to her home, when she was arrested by the soldiers. She supplicated, spoke of her fatherless children; but the soldiers, tired by her supplications, shot her on the spot. In the suburb of St. Martin, some apprentices leaving their work were killed the moment they crossed the street to go home. At the door of the house No. 136, in the just-mentioned suburb, ten corpses of children employed in a manufactory were found. An employé was leaving his office in the street de l'Echiquier. He was in the act of crossing the Boulevard: "I want to get home," said he to the soldiers; my wife and my children are anxious about me; pray allow me to proceed." The soldiers refused; he insisted. An officer rushed to the soldiers, and said to them: "Lead that wretch to the guardhouse of La Bonne Nouvelle. They led him thither, and shot him on the Boulevard for having disobeyed the military orders. In the street St. Denis, a florist, M. Naveau, not hearing any noise, ventured to peep out—drawing up a little the blind of his window on the first floor—instantly received a bullet in his head, which killed him on the spot. The soldiers were ordered to watch all the windows, and to fire at all those who might show themselves at them; it is unnecessary for me here to say how frightfully such orders were executed.

I come now to the horrors committed after what they call the battle. I draw your attention especially to those facts which were never published, because they were ignored. All the unfortunate people who in the suburb of St. Martin, and in the quarter of Montorgueil, who deceived by the police fell into their snares, viz., being encouraged to erect barricades or to defend them, were all shot on the spot when the barricades were taken.

The military laws authorize every enemy taken with arms in hand to be shot; but here, in Paris, thousands of people have been arrested since the 5th, when the pretended hostilities were over. All the men designated Republicans in their quarters, were seized and thrown into prisons, in which many were massacred. On the first day they were shot at the préfecture de police; but as the fusilading was too noisy, they substituted on the following days the axe and the sabre to accomplish their bloody work. It was a sergent de ville who himself related the lugubrious drama. Met by one of his old friends he was asked why he was in plain dress. "I can endure it no longer," answered he. "We have been during four days employed at the préfecture de police to raise the axe and the sabre against the people, and could not stand it any longer, so I left." Several sergents de ville have become insane. We were sweltering in blood up to our knees; at length I was seized with terror!" And, indeed, the sergents de ville, once so arrogant, can no longer look anybody in the face, so utterly do they feel themselves debased. At the prison of Mazas many prisoners were shot. The scenes of the 2nd of September, 1792, were renewed. The prisoners were brought to the spot of execution, and were ordered to go to the right or to the left. Those who went out through the door to the right were shot, the others not.

Demosthenes Ollivier, ex-representative, still in prison at Mazas, has related to a lady who gained access to him the following monstrosity:—"During three successive nights they awakened us en masse, telling us that we were to be shot. They then ordered us to descend into the square, where, after an hour of frightful anxiety, they ordered us to return to our cells, telling us that the execution was not to take place that night, but that it would probably do so the next. They thus made us thrice suffer the terrible throes of death."

It can easily be conceived that, after such refined cruelties, no others were spared. A woman during six days refused to reveal the whereabouts of her husband; they therefore took her three little children, the eldest of which was only six years old, and, shutting them up in her room, dragged the poor mother to the préfecture de police. "Your children," said they, "shall not eat until you reveal where your husband is." Horribly tortured between the pangs of a wife and a mother, she remained during twenty-four hours without saying a word. After twenty-four hours had elapsed, they reminded her of her children not having eaten. She still preserved silence; and it was only about noon—viz., after the lapse of thirty-six hours—that the thought of her children not having partaken of any food drove her mad; she then revealed the abode of her husband.

There are at present more than 20,000 persons imprisoned in Paris. More than 16,000 are still incarcerated in the casemates of the forts, with nothing but straw to lie on. The rest have been shot or butchered.

The plan of all those unheard of cruelties is to annihilate all those in the Republican party, capable of taking the initiative, or of inciting the masses. This plan is carried out with an infernal calculation. The most innocent people are implicated in the vague accusation of having participated in a plot. The re-



representative of the People, M. Miot, was arrested at his residence, on the 2nd of December, and imprisoned. As there was no insurrectional movement in the department of la Nièvre, the court martial of that department summoned Miot before its bar, under the pretence of complicity and participation in the insurrection. He will doubtless be shot. Those from amongst the Republicans who are not shot, are ruined; they are robbed of their property, and afterwards branded with the name of pillagers. You must have read in the newspapers the decree of the general commanding the state of siege in the Department de l'Allier, a decree which sequestrates (another word for confiscates) the property of seven Republicans of that department. All the wealthy Republicans in Paris, whose property they covet, are at this moment the object of the utmost rigour of the tribunals. They summon them before the "Juge d'Instruction," and there they are told that they are accused of having given money for constructing barricades; and that consequently they will have to answer this accusation before a court martial. M. Savignan, formerly solicitor for the Isle of Bourbon, and shareholder of the journal *le Vote Universel*, has been arraigned upon a similar charge. S.

In addition to the above correspondence the actual historical facts of the week are scanty. Louis Napoleon and his Ministers have continued in their course of repression and violence. The press is still gagged to all intents and purposes, but there are signs of insubordination even in the satellites of the Court, and of covert hostility even in the mild and orderly *Débats*. As to the *Constitutionnel* there is a story told of Véron, its chief editor, which, though it may not be quite true, is sufficiently so to be illustrative of the relations between the Emperor and his press. Our authority is the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*.

"M. Véron, it appears, is definitely embroiled with the Elysée, and the following are the reasons assigned for the difference between them:—In the first place, M. Véron cannot pardon the wound inflicted on his self-love, in not having been named one of the Consultative Commission; and next, a more serious cause of dissent has occurred in consequence of a recent conversation which has taken place between him and M. de Morny. M. Véron, it appears, had accepted the suspension of the liberty of the press as a temporary measure, but never contemplated the case of all kind of contradiction or opposition to the acts of the Government being absolutely interdicted. At last, learning that it was certainly the intention of the Government to prevent all discussion which in the slightest degree might cast blame on the acts of the Executive Power and of its immediate agents, he went to the Elysée, and had a conversation with M. de Morny, on the necessity of that gentleman suggesting to Louis Napoleon the propriety of restoring to the press a certain amount of liberty, however restricted it might be. M. Véron insisted that contradiction was in many cases most useful, were it only for the purpose of giving the Government organs an opportunity of proving that the objections made were of no great weight; but M. de Morny could not see the force of M. Véron's observations, and absolutely refused to give any counsel to the President of the kind which M. Véron recommended. In the end, M. Véron found the step which he had taken to be utterly without result, and is said to have exclaimed, as he prepared to take his leave, 'The Elysée refuses to restore any liberty to the press! Well, then, before a month is over we will force it to do so!'"

The covert hostility of the *Débats* shows itself in the form of apt quotations from *Tacitus*; Mr. Bonaparte's enemy being that old friend of the Orleans dynasty Jules Janin, who fights the Emperor by covert allusions in his weekly feuilleton.

Jules Janin is furious at the present brutal reign of Bonapartism in France. A well known litterateur, whom we will call P., meeting him a few days since on the Boulevards, "J. J." burst out into loud ejaculations, accompanied of course by a profusion of gesture, on "ce brigand, ce misérable, ce scélérat," &c., until he had quite lost all control of his feelings, or his expressions. P. was obliged to check him by saying: "Don't forget, mon cher, that you may be overheard; and that, however you, who have enjoyed the reputation of a shining light in the 'Party of Order,' at least till recent events, may be absolved as harmless and safe, notwithstanding these ebullitions of the moment, for me the question is very different: for am not I a Rouge and a Socialist, a destroyer of the Family, of Religion, of Property, and I know not what other horrible description of reprobate, according to the gospel of the Elysée? Moderate yourself, I beg you."

It has been remarked by one alike well read in *Tacitus* and experienced in the horrors of the Bonapartist régime, that the current history of France might be accurately written, simply by translating some of the most forcible and most disgusting pages from the *Annals of Tacitus*, and changing the names of the actors.

Among the minor facts is a letter from "Paul Cullen" to the *Univers* (ultra-Papal organ), which concludes as follows:—

"Let me rejoice with you in the happy prospect of a tranquil future, which is beginning to dawn upon your great and generous nation. All Catholics must applaud

in beholding France becoming strong, united, and most Christian, as formerly. Its zeal in propagating charity, and especially its devotion to the cause of the Holy See, of which it has recently given a striking proof, will procure for it abundant blessings from Heaven.

"May the Almighty, who has commenced this great work, crown it with success! May the apostle of Ireland, the founder of this primacy, who himself came originally from your noble land, obtain, by his powerful intercession, an ample reward for all your compatriots, always so zealous to contribute towards the preservation of the faith in this country cultivated by its apostolic labours!"

Dr. Cullen is as good an exponent of the policy of Rome and Russia as any other. But what will the democratic Catholics of Ireland say to this expression of opinion and invocation of the blessing of Heaven on the head of the Prince of Order, Family, Property, and Religion?

As minor evidences of the unpopularity of M. Bonaparte, spite of the votes of the 20th and 21st ult., we noticed that on Saturday there were no less than three distinct demonstrations at three theatres, occasioned by accidental allusions to the state of things.

#### DECLARATION OF THE POLL.

The final result of the alleged poll was declared to the President by the Consultative Commission on Wednesday night. The alleged voters, 8,116,773 in number, are divided into—Yes, 7,439,216; No, 640,737: the odd remnant being given out as annulled.

In reply to the servile felicitations of M. Baroche on this occasion, M. Bonaparte said:—

"Gentlemen,—France has responded to the loyal appeal which I made to her. She has comprehended that I departed from legality only to return to right. Upwards of seven millions of votes have just absolved me, by justifying an act which had no other object than to save France, and perhaps Europe, from years of trouble and anarchy. (*Loud assent.*) I thank you for having effectually shown to what an extent that manifestation is national and spontaneous. If I congratulate myself on this immense adhesion, it is not from pride, but because it gives me the force to speak and act as becomes the head of a great nation like ours. (*Loud cries of 'Bravo.'*)"

"I understand all the grandeur of my new mission, and I do not deceive myself as to its difficulties. But with an upright head, with the coöperation of all right-minded men who, like you, will assist me with their intelligence, and support me with their patriotism, with the tried devotedness of our valiant army, and with the protection which I shall to-morrow solemnly beseech Heaven to grant me, I hope to render myself worthy of the confidence which the people continue to place in me, I hope to secure the destinies of France by founding institutions which respond at the same time to the democratic instincts of the nation, and to the universally expressed desire to have henceforth a strong and respected Government. In fact, to give satisfaction to the exigencies of the moment by creating a system which reconstitutes authority, without wounding the feeling of equality, and without closing any path of improvement, is to lay the foundations of the only edifice capable of supporting a wise and beneficent liberty."

As if to wipe all doubt out of the minds of men as to his Imperial intentions, M. Bonaparte, "considering that the French Republic, in its new form sanctioned by the suffrage of the people, may adopt without umbrage the *souvenirs* of the Empire and the symbols which recall the glory of that period," &c., decrees that the Eagle be restored to the national colours and the cross of the Legion of Honour.

#### VIRTUAL CORONATION OF M. BONAPARTE.

This is the fact of the week. Louis Napoleon is in possession of the Tuileries, was virtually crowned Emperor at Notre Dame on the 1st of January. This was preceded by the following decree:—

"In the name of the French People.

"The President of the Republic, on the Report of the Minister of the Interior,

"Decrees,—

"Art. 1. The result of the votes given on the 20th and 21st of December, 1851, on the appeal to the people, will be proclaimed, published, and posted in the communes of the Republic.

"Art. 2. A national fête will be celebrated on the 1st of January, 1852, in all the capital towns (*chefs lieux*) of the departments, and on the 11th of January, 1852, in all the communes of France.

"A Te Deum will be chanted in all the churches.

"Art. 3. The Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Public Worship are charged with the execution of the present decree.

"Done at the Palace of the Elysée, the 29th of December, 1851."

The ancient and beautiful cathedral of Notre Dame was as resplendent with gay colours in his honour, as upon the frosty morning when the founder of his house entered it on a better-defined errand; but instead of the regal violet sown with Merovingian bees, which served the turn of the elder Napoleon, the present decorators had employed green and gold; the livery of the President. In front of the high altar, we are told, was placed the prie-dieu of Louis Napoleon—the Archbishop of Paris standing on his right hand, and a cloud of ecclesiastical dignitaries on his left. During the service, the choir thundered out a succession of emblematic strains, whose designations indicate no exception to the rule that flattery, in its highest efforts, contrives to look marvellously like

irony. "Te Deum Laudamus," it sang—"Dominus Liberavit Nos"—"Urbs Beata." Immediately afterwards a salute of seventy guns was fired from the esplanade of the Invalides—ten guns for every million of affirmative votes, or a gun for every hundred thousand voices in the majority.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

We hear from Vienna that a certain M. Merczynski, an employé of the Russian Embassy at the Court of Vienna, who returned from his politico-exploratory journey to Montenegro, is preparing a detailed report upon the state of things in that Turkish province, for the use of his own Government. He was everywhere, adds the correspondent, received with the utmost kindness. We can easily guess that such a report is calculated for some more important purpose than that of satisfying the mere curiosity of the Autocrat, or for geographical purposes. This province is perhaps destined to form a part of Prince Leuchtenberg's future dowry!

In the fashionable circles of Vienna, it is rumoured that Count Don Juan, second son of Don Carlos, has run away to London with a young English lady. Don Juan's wife is the second daughter of the reigning Duke of Modena.

The Danish Government purpose to fortify Copenhagen like unto Paris, so that in case of emergency the town can be gratified with a paternal bombardment.

A telegraphic despatch from Vienna, dated the 28th ultimo, announces that Baron Krauss, Austrian Minister of Finance, has resigned. He is succeeded by M. de Baumgartner, formerly Minister of Commerce.

A committee has been appointed at Vienna, to inquire into the pay and allowances of the Austrian army, with a view to increasing them. No stone is left unturned to secure the personal popularity of the Emperor with the troops. He seems indeed to devote his whole time and attention to this object. No eye has ever seen him since his accession to the throne out of uniform, and woe betide the officer who should meet his eyes in plain clothes. He once put six generals under arrest on the same day, for being out of uniform. Now we hear of his getting up before daybreak and visiting the barracks on the outskirts of the town, to show the soldiers that his eye is upon them; and a few days ago, at a review of the garrison, both the Emperor and his adjutant, Field Marshal Grunne, appeared in the dress of private soldiers, and the newspapers were instructed on the following day to comment upon the fact with admiration. "Only think," they cried in chorus, "that the all highest himself, our of-all-love-worthiest-twenty-one-year-old-high-spirited-Cæsar not having disdained to wear the same dress as a poor and miserable private soldier." History, said the writers, with the sword of censorship suspended by a split-hair over their heads, could show no example equal to this.

From Pesth, in Hungary, we hear that the editors of all the non-official newspapers have lately received the injunction to furnish the town authority with lists containing the names of all their subscribers. What is that for, if not to inscribe them in the book of suspicious individuals, over whom the police have to cast a watchful eye? What a diabolical measure for stopping all the newspapers which are not stipendiary! It is to be expected that Louis Bonaparte, should he ever restore the shadow of a free press, will follow this example of his faithful ally, or rather his master No. 2.

It is said that M. Balabin, who has arrived in Paris from St. Petersburg, along with Prince Gagarn, is the bearer of the grand cordon of the order of St. Andrew, from the Emperor of Russia, for the President of the Republic. On the other hand, it is said that several Russians of high rank—and among others Count Pahlen, who was Russian ambassador in Paris in the time of Louis Philippe—have been speaking of Louis Napoleon and his acts, in some of the principal salons of Paris, in a manner that has attracted the notice of the police; and it has been intimated to them that, if they should not be more careful in their language, they might probably receive notice to quit France.

Spain is chastening its royal infant. The baptism of the Princess Royal was performed on the 22nd instant. The Infante Don Francisco di Paula, the father of the King, acted as godfather, and the Queen Dowager Maria Christina was godmother. The Royal infant was baptized Maria Isabella Francisca d'Assizes Christina Francisca di Paula. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Toledo.

The *Cologne Gazette* has been fined fifty thalers for publishing one of Elihu Burritt's "Olive Leaves" against "Military Pomp"; it was ruled to come within the statute against "turning the measures of the Government into contempt." The same "Leaf" has been published at Berlin, and even in Vienna, without notice.

M. de Layalette has received instructions from the French Government not to interrupt his diplomatic communications with the Porte. The Austrian *Presse* makes the following significant remark:—"France has now less inclination and reason than ever to act in opposition to the wishes of Russia."



## THE POSITION OF AFFAIRS IN DOWNING-STREET.

Much discussion has of course arisen out of the departure of Lord Palmerston from the Foreign-office. The *Times* has this week either abstained from comment, or written articles wide of the mark, and attempted to divert public attention from the fact to its accessories and possible results. The *Post* has advanced no theory of its own, but it has endeavoured to fix upon the *Times*, and through that journal on the Premier, the stigma of having dismissed Lord Palmerston in obedience to strong hints from the Northern Courts. It has played simply the part of critic, departing only from that course to give a sting to its insinuations against the Premier, by producing a letter from Vienna published in the *Breslau Gazette* on the 23rd ultimo, shadowing forth the dismissal of Lord Palmerston, and hinting at the underhand practices of Lord John Russell which preceded that dismissal. The dismissal took place on the 22nd, and the announcement appeared in the *Times* on the 24th; the revelations in the *Breslau Gazette* being made on the intermediate day. This curious collocation of dates and facts has caused a deal of fierce discussion between the *Globe*, which, in a silly manner, threw discredit on the Viennese letter, and is now turning from Palmerston to Russell. But the controversy elicited nothing new. The *Morning Chronicle* has held its hand, and the *Times* has written on the New Year and other topics touching but slightly on the Palmerston question.

The *Liverpool Albion* says that Lord Palmerston had promised an interview to Kossuth, declined by the latter, and hence the quarrel between the noble lords.

Meanwhile rumours of all kinds are afloat in the East as well as the West. On Wednesday it was reported that all the Cabinet were out; and another account was that Lord Lansdowne, Sir Francis Baring, and Lord Broughton had resigned. The following article contains the most pithy revelations, given, be it remarked, with an air of as much authority as the revelations of the *Times*.

### THE RESIGNATION OF LORD PALMERSTON.

(From the *Morning Advertiser* of Tuesday.)

We are now in a position to throw much new and important light on the circumstances under which Lord Palmerston has ceased to be a member of the Whig Ministry. Our revelations, we are sure, will create no small astonishment, mingled with deep indignation, in the public mind. We say, then, in the plainest possible terms, that the extraordinary conduct of the Premier was the sole cause of Lord Palmerston's retirement.

First of all, then, be beg to state that for some time past the Prime Minister, fancying, it is to be presumed, that the duties of his own department were not sufficiently numerous or important to afford full scope to his administrative talents, had determined on discharging those of the Foreign Department also. Nor did he deem it enough to offer to assist Lord Palmerston. He has not so modest an estimate of his own Ministerial abilities as that would imply. He assumed a part, and a most important part to boot, of the functions which devolve on the Foreign Secretary, not only without the leave asked and obtained of Lord Palmerston, but even without his knowledge.

As might be expected, when these assumptions and presumptions of the Premier came to the knowledge of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he was equally astounded and indignant at so unwarrantable and so unseemly an interference in matters which exclusively belonged to his department. As a high-spirited nobleman, Lord Palmerston—not verbally, not while holding personal intercourse with the Premier, but by letter, demanded an explanation from him. The latter noble lord returned a vague, unmeaning, shuffling answer. With such an answer Lord Palmerston, as might be expected, was not satisfied. The result was, that a lengthened correspondence ensued between the Foreign Secretary and the Premier. Anything more spirited or more racy, so far as the letters of Lord Palmerston are concerned, has not, we are assured, been penned by any statesman for a long time past. That correspondence will see the light within a few days after the meeting of Parliament; and we venture to say that never before did the Premier appear in so pitiable a position as that in which he will then find himself placed.

It is right we should mention that, though Lord Palmerston has only at a comparatively recent date discovered the extent to which the Prime Minister was trenching on his department, there is reason to believe that he has done so more or less for some considerable time past.

With regard to the Cabinet Council of yesterday week, at which Lord Palmerston's resignation was received, it is right we should state that the members of the Ministry generally are not implicated, to the extent or in the way which was generally supposed, in the improper treatment which Lord Palmerston has received. Lord John Russell, we have reason to believe, did not lay before them the letters which had passed between him and the Foreign Secretary; but merely mentioned that, in consequence of a misunderstanding about certain foreign matters which had occurred, Lord Palmerston had thought proper to resign. The Premier proposed the acceptance of the noble lord's resignation. This was agreed to in silence on the part of all, and with regret on the part of some. It is proper to add, that only nine members of the Cabinet out of the fifteen were present on the occasion.

But we now come to another aspect of the matter, and one which must be the reverse of gratifying to Lord John Russell. Since the Cabinet Council of yesterday week

broke up, the real facts of the case have begun to transpire in the Ministerial circles, and the result has been that several of Lord Palmerston's late colleagues have written to him, expressing their utter astonishment, and hardly caring to conceal the existence of another feeling, at the way in which he has been treated. They assure him of their deep regret that their official connection with him has ceased, and entreat him, in the most urgent terms, to believe that when they acquiesced in his resignation they did so in perfect ignorance of the circumstances connected with it. We are privy to the names of three of the Cabinet Ministers who have written to Lord Palmerston to this effect, since his retirement. One is that of a noble marquis, another that of a noble earl, and the third is that of a right honourable baronet. The name of the first, we may mention, is that of the Marquis of Lansdowne. The names of the other two we forbear to introduce into our columns, for reasons which it is not necessary to state.

But now comes yet another phase of this strange eventful history. It is hoped by the Premier to propitiate the people of England by the promise of an accession of liberal and independent parties to his Cabinet. Who are the persons whose expected advent is to compensate for the loss of Lord Palmerston, we are sure the public would not guess, were they to exercise their conjectural faculties until this time to-morrow. The "coming men"—at least the men who are supposed to be coming—are none other than the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Cardwell! They have been called by the Premier, or will be so in a day or two, to come to the rescue of the Russell Ministry; but whether they will respond to the call or not, is more than we say. Shakspeare tells us that one his heroes could "call spirits from the vasty deep;" but nobody knows whether they came or not.

### THE COMPOSITION OF THE CABINET.

(From the *Morning Herald*.)

Of the fifteen members of whom the Cabinet now consists, there are just six whom we do not know to be connected with the families we have named. Our knowledge of these relationships is, we confess, limited to the information afforded us by Burke and DeBrett. It is very possible that even the six whom we regard as exceptions, are qualified for their offices by relationships that have escaped our not very deep research. The appointment, however, of four out of the six is certainly to be referred to the influences of Whig traditional or family connections.

To begin with the newly appointed Foreign Secretary. The Earl Granville is the first cousin of the Earl of Carlisle. He is doubly connected with the noble Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster as being also the first cousin of his Grace the Duke of Sutherland and nephew of the Duke of Devonshire. As one of the younger members of the ducal house of Sutherland, he has also the good fortune to stand in the relationship of a kinsman to Lord John Russell. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs, cousin to the Prime Minister and to another leading member of the Cabinet, forms in himself no slight indication of the family influences that now control the Sovereign's selection of her advisers.

The system of nominating to Cabinet offices members or connections of one or other of the families we have mentioned, will only be presented to the mind by a glance at the names of the Cabinet. We print the names of the Cabinet as it is now constituted, distinguishing by a star those who are connected with the family alliance.

The Cabinet Ministers are:—

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| * Lord John Russell.  | * Sir Charles Wood.     |
| Marquis of Lansdowne. | * Earl of Carlisle.     |
| * Lord Minto.         | * Mr. Labouchere.       |
| Lord Truro.           | * Sir Francis Baring.   |
| * Lord Granville.     | Fox Maule.              |
| * Lord Grey.          | Lord Seymour.           |
| Lord Broughton.       | Marquis of Clanricarde. |
| * Sir George Grey.    |                         |

To begin with Earl Grey, the head of the most powerful family connection. He is himself Secretary for the Colonies. His brother-in-law, Sir Charles Wood, is Chancellor of the Exchequer. His cousin, Sir George Grey, is Secretary for the Home Department. Sir George brings with him a following—Sir Francis Baring, First Lord of the Admiralty, is brother-in-law of the Home Secretary; Mr. Labouchere, the President of the Board of Trade, is cousin and brother-in-law of the First Lord of the Admiralty.

No one certainly will deny that in the persons of these five Cabinet Ministers, the Grey connection is very fairly represented in the Councils of the Sovereign.

The ducal house of Bedford supplies the Prime Minister. He again is supported by his father-in-law, the Earl of Minto, and his cousin, the newly appointed Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who again conveniently supplies a closer bond of union between his cousin the Prime Minister, and his cousin the Earl of Carlisle.

The alliances and cross alliances between the noble houses we have mentioned, and those of Cavendish, Gower, and Ponsonby, unite the nine Cabinet Ministers we have pointed out in the closest bonds of family connection.

The appointment of most of the remaining Cabinet Ministers is easily traced to the same spirit of aristocratic clanship, which makes the great offices of state the exclusive patrimony of a patrician coterie. The Marquis of Lansdowne, with all his talents and high character, yet represents in the Cabinet the hereditary claims of the Earl of Shelburne upon the Whig dynasty. Lord Seymour would never have been in the Cabinet if he were not the son of a Whig duke. Even the Chancellor, the Minister of all others whose elevation might be supposed uninfluenced by aristocratic or family considerations, is indebted for his seat on the woolsack more to his alliance with the family of D'Este, than to his legal qualifications to be the keeper of the great Seal.

Lord Clanricarde, the newly created Lord Broughton, and the son of Lord Panmure, hardly redeem the Cabinet from the imputation of exclusiveness.

## ALLIANCE AND WAR.

KOSSUTH IN AMERICA.

The reception given to Kossuth surpasses all that the most sanguine conceived. He has been oppressed with congratulations; he has been overborne with felicitations. Corporate bodies, military bodies, clerical bodies, private sectional bodies, extempore bands of foreign refugees, French, Italians, and Germans, all and sundry from the diverse population of New York, have waited upon him to felicitate, to applaud, to encourage, and to welcome. He has reviewed the militia; he has been present at the Opera, *Puritani* being played specially for him, and the house from pit to gallery literally covered with the red green and white banner of Hungary; he has heard the stirring and grateful cry of "Eljen Kossuth" from his own countrymen, and the Marseillaise from the French; and he has delivered an almost incredible number of speeches to enormous masses of people, within a few days from his landing. The streets of New York and the public places of New York have been filled by day, while torch-light processions have enlivened the night. Congress, not without sturdy opposition, has resolved to receive him as a national guest; and it is agreed that, though he has not served America like Lafayette, yet he deserves a hearty welcome from the American people; for like Lafayette he has fought for nationality, and suffered imprisonment in the dungeons of Austria. Not only barren words, but dollars, the last thing an American is disposed to give, have been offered to Kossuth. A considerable sum has been subscribed as the nucleus of a Hungarian fund; and Austrian and Russian troops may yet have the fire of their musketry answered from arms bought with American coin. A more decidedly national ovation was never offered to any exiled soldier of liberty in any country, not even excepting England. One distinct section of citizens only have abstained, the Irish Catholics. Why this is we do not pretend to say. Judging from a letter of one of the exiled Young Irelanders, it is hatred to England; judging from the well-known absolutist sympathies of Archbishop Hughes, it is hatred of liberty.

There is a significant sentence in the *New York Herald*, on the appearance of Kossuth in the United States. The *Herald* says—"The Kossuth excitement is increasing, deepening, and widening in every direction. His mission, its objects, and its tendencies, cannot now easily be misunderstood. They comprehend the grand enterprise of a universal revolution throughout the civilized world—a political, religious, and social revolution—radical, complete, and universal."

What they say now they know of the Parisian coup d'état we can easily imagine.

What Kossuth is saying to the American people will interest us chiefly as it bears upon the great question of the day—the foreign policy of the United States; and with this object we select a few passages from his two most important orations.

### WHAT MAKES A NATION?

"What makes a nation? Is it the language only? Then there is no great, no powerful nation on earth, because there is no moderately large country in the world, whose population is counted by millions, where you would not find several languages spoken. No; it is not language only which makes a nation. Community of interests, community of history, communities of rights and duties, but chiefly community of institutions of a population which, though perhaps different in tongue, and belonging to different races, is bound together by its daily intercourse in their towns, the centres of their homely commerce and homely industry, the very mountain ranges, and system of rivers and streams, the soil, the dust of which is mingled with the ashes of those ancestors who bled on the same field, for the same interest—the common inheritance of glory and of woe, the community of laws, tie of institutions, tie of common freedom or common oppression—all this enters into the definition of a nation."

On the European continent there unhappily grew up a school which bound the idea of a nation only to the idea of language, and joined political pretensions to it. There are some who advocate the theory that existing countries must cease, and the territories of the world be anew divided by languages, and nations segregated by tongues. You are aware that this idea, if it were not impracticable, would be but a curse to humanity—a deathblow to civilization and progress, and throw mankind back by centuries—it were an eternal source of strife to war, because there is a holy, almost religious tie, by which man's heart to his home is bound, and no man ever would consent to abandon his native land only because his neighbours speak another language than he himself; and, by this reason, claims for him that sacred spot where the ashes of his fathers lie—where his own cradle stood—where he dreamed the happy dreams of youth, and where nature itself bears a mark of his manhood's laborious toil. The idea were worse than the old migration of nations was—despotism only would rise out of the strife. Mankind's fanaticism is really very curious. Not one of the advocates of this mischievous theory is willing to yield to it for himself—but others he desires to yield to it. Every Frenchman becomes furious when his Alsace is claimed to Germany by the right of language—or the borders of his Pyrenees to Spain—but there are some amongst the very men who feel revolted at this idea, who claim for Germany that it should yield up large territory because one part of the inhabitants speak a different tongue, and would claim from Hungary to divide its territory, which God himself has limited by its range of mountains and the system of



streams, as also by all the links of a community of more than a thousand years, to cut off Transylvania, and to give it up to the neighbouring Wallachia, to cut out, like Shylock, one pound of our very breast—the Banat—and the rich country between the Danube and Theiss—to augment by it Turkish Serbia, and so forth. It is the new ambition of conquest, but an easy conquest, not by arms but by language. So much I know, at least, that this absurd idea cannot, and will not, be advocated by any man here in the United States, which did not open its hospitable shores to humanity, and greet the flocking millions of emigrants with the right of a citizen, in order that the Union may be cut to pieces, and even your single states divided into new-framed, independent countries by and according to languages. And do you know, gentlemen, whence this absurd theory sprung up on the European continent? It was the idea of Panslavism—that is the idea that the mighty stock of Slavonic races is called to rule the world, as once the Roman did. It was a Russian plot—it was the infernal idea to make out of national feelings a tool to Russian preponderance over the world."

#### HUNGARIAN REQUIREMENTS.

"I state clearly my own and my nation's ruling principle, even in respect to the claims of the nationalities of languages; and that it is—we shall have republican institutions, founded on universal suffrage, and so the majority of the sovereign people shall rule in every respect in the village, in the city, in the country, in the Congress, and Government—in all and everything. What to the public concerns of the village, of the city, of the country, of the Congress belongs—self-government everywhere—the people sovereign everywhere—and universal suffrage and the rule of the majority everywhere. This is our principle, for which we live and are ready to die. That is the cause for which I humbly request the protecting aid of the people of the United States, and chiefly your aid and protection, gentlemen—you, the mighty engineers of the public opinion of your glorious land! Let me entreat you, gentlemen, to accord this protection to the cause of my down-trodden land; it is the curse of oppressed humanity on the European continent. I know how Italy stands, and I dare confidently declare there is no hope for Italy but in that great republican party, at the head of which Mazzini stands. It has nothing to do with Communal schemes or the French doctrines of Socialism. But it wills Italy independent, free, and republican. Gentlemen, the generous sympathy of the public opinion of the United States—God be blessed for it!—is strongly roused to the wrongs and sufferings of Hungary. My humble task in that respect is done. Now, I look for your generous aid to keep that generous sympathy alive, that it may not subside like the passing emotion of the heart. I look for your generous aid to urge the formation of societies, to collect funds, and to create a loan. I look for your generous aid to urge the public opinion of the sovereign people of the United States, to pronounce in favour of the cause I represent.

The power of Hungary will become the indispensable basis of freedom in the nations of Europe. The great enemy of that freedom is Russia. Austria is its satellite; leaning on its aid, Austria is going to crush down Italy. Now, can Hungary be a barrier to oppose the power of Russia? I answer, yes. You are a nation of 20,000,000, and have an organized militia of 3,000,000. Hungary is a nation of 15,000,000. Then it can at least have 1,000,000 of organized citizen soldiers, I hope. That is the positive basis of these Hopes for Hungary, that it can be a barrier to Russia against its encroachment. The negative basis is the weakness of Russia itself. Russia is not so strong as in public opinion it is taken ordinarily to be. The whole power which Russia can raise consists of 750,000 men. But you must consider that it has an immense territory—a territory, the population of which is oppressed. Tranquillity and the order of the grave, and not the order of contentment, can be only kept in Russia itself by the armed power of the Czar. Now, it is not much when I say that at least 200,000 or 250,000 men are needed to keep up the tranquillity in the interior of Russia itself. It wants 100,000 men to guard its frontiers, which extend from Silesia down to Turkey. 100,000 it needs, at least, to keep down that heroic spirit of oppressed Poland. (Cheers.) Now, take all this together, and you will see that Russia scarcely cannot, at the utmost, employ 300,000 men for a foreign war; and really in no case did it ever employ more. History lies before us, and in the greatest struggle for life and existence it has not been able to employ more in a foreign war. No; the 1,000,000 of citizen soldiers of Hungary would not need to be so brave as they are, in order to be a match for this 300,000. (Cheers.) And therefore, at the first organization of this 1,000,000 of soldiers, should once more the Czar have the arrogant intention to put his foot on mankind's neck as he dared to have the temerity to do, this power would break upon him on his first attempt upon Hungary. And not only break upon his army, but would assault and attack Russia, and carry home the danger to himself; and it would find mighty allies in the Russian empire—first in its financial embarrassments. For you know, gentlemen, that even after the short war in Hungary, Russia was obliged to raise a loan in England. We look also for our allies in Russia, the oppression of the nation. Of course every step we took would be followed by those who are oppressed, and they would be ready also, the Polish nation and others, to be our allies; for this oppression is not restricted to Poland, but is spread over the Russian empire, in Lithuania, Wallachia, and Ukraina. This all proves that the might of Russia is not so immense as to be the cause of intimidation to those who are engaged in a just cause. And be sure, Hungary once free, Russia would never more dare to threaten European liberty. (Cheers.) But if Russia is really so weak as this, you may inquire why I ask your aid against Russian interference. The necessity of my humble request is

because Russia has her army now so very near, only about thirty hours distant from Hungary, and that great army stands prepared to move, at whatever time, to crush the liberties of Hungary; and, being so near, these 300,000 men would crush Hungary before we had time to organize and develop our forces. Once organized and developed, my Hungary fears not their power. (Cheers.) These are the great objects for which I seek the support of the United States, to check and not permit Russian interference in Hungary, because that Hungary may have an opportunity to organize her strength against Russian despotism and barbarity. This is the reason that I ask the United States to become the executive power to recognize the right of every nation to dispose of itself. This is the only glory, gentlemen, which is yet wanting to the list of your glorious stars. The people of the United States, having successfully asserted their own independence and freedom, have scarcely any other calling than to become the assertors of freedom equally for other lands; and I confidently hope, that being your condition, that you will not deny me, gentlemen, your generous support in carrying out that great principle of non-interference, and also of not allowing any interference in the new struggle of Hungary for freedom and independence, which is already felt in the air, and is pointed out by the finger of God Himself. My second humble request is one which I most firmly believe you will admit, which is to secure the commerce of the United States with every people, whether in revolution or not. It is so much my interest; it is your right, and I hope that the militia of the United States will ever be ready to support and protect the right of your citizens, as from both those ships, the star-spangled banner of which was sent over for me to Asia, it was proclaimed there is a power in the United States ready to protect the rights of oppressed humanity. (Cheers.) My third humble claim is to see recognized the legitimate character of the declaration of Hungarian independence. The militia of the United States fought and bled for that principle of independence in your own country. So I suppose that by the glory of your predecessors, by all the blessings which have followed from your struggle for independence—by all these blessings which make your glory and happiness, you, gentlemen, will feel inclined to support my humble claim for the recognition of the independence of my native land. As to the financial aid, that is a matter of delicate consideration, which I entirely leave to you generosity; but I avail myself of this opportunity to proclaim that it is not my design to get money to carry on a war in Hungary, but only to have some material financial aid by the help of which we could succeed to come into the condition not unprepared to meet the opportunity which I hope God soon will give. There is a great difference in these two words. If once war breaks out, my nation will find resources in themselves to carry on the war. To become prepared to meet the opportunity, not only in that, but in every other respect, we want the aid of generous men and free nations; because Hungary is now oppressed and has no public life, and the slightest manifestation of patriotic feeling is considered a crime for which the scaffold and hangman wait. I here declare that if I should be so happy as to obtain your financial aid through the generosity of the people of the United States, I will never employ it in such a manner as is not permitted by your laws; because I not only will respect, but am firmly determined to aid your laws. It is out of this motive that I will not even solicit the formation of an armed expedition for Hungary. Yet, perhaps, the generous disposition of the people of the United States would offer some opportunity even for this. But when the time comes, when we fight the battle of freedom and independence once more, I confidently hope that out of the generous ranks of the gallant militia of the United States, there will be found single men who, out of their own will, without my interference, will be glad to share the glory of the battle of freedom and humanity. (Deafening cheers.)"

#### MINISTERIAL VIEWS.

From the *Morning Chronicle* of Monday, Ministerially opposed to the Anglo-American alliance, we extract a passage which amounts to a confession of the progress of that idea which we have long been strenuously advocating.

"The vote of the American Senate, and the speeches which preceded it, indicate a signal change in the policy of the United States in its dealings with foreign powers. The young Democracy, in the insolence of its strength and its prosperity, has begun to feel that it has 'a mission.' The wise maxims of Washington are no longer respected; and America is become ambitious of the dangerous glory of intervention in the affairs of other countries. We are told that the principles recommended by the founders of the Republic served well enough before 'the infant Hercules' had developed its strength; and intervention in favour of Republicanism is now suggested as the legitimate expression of the 'progress' of the United States. If such doctrines were adopted in practice by any nation, however powerful, they would inevitably bring upon it the most condign punishment; but it is nevertheless painful to observe that the sound principles laid down by the old school of American statesmen, are so completely discarded by their descendants. By the resolutions referred to, the American Legislature entirely abandons the position of neutrality, with regard to the domestic disputes of foreign states, which it is incumbent upon the Government of a friendly power to maintain. Congress, in receiving Kossuth, receives one who has been proclaimed a traitor by Austria, and the sympathy of that Assembly rests mainly upon the fact of his having attempted to establish a form of Government, analogous, in name at least, to that of the Union. Such acts are obviously incompatible with friendly relations with the Cabinet of Vienna; and we would ask whether the United States are prepared to push their principles still further,

and to support, 'by Congressional action' the cause of Mazzini and Ledru Rollin?

"At present, foreign politics are the popular subject of political excitement in the United States; and it is easy to understand that, for electioneering purposes, such topics are far more convenient than any other topic which could be selected for popular declamation. In the approaching Presidential election much use will be made of the part taken by America in the liberation of Kossuth; and this is no doubt the reason why so many of the leading statesmen of the Union have manifested such an alacrity in departing from the traditional policy of the country. But, after giving full weight to such considerations, we must still recognize the fact, that a great change has come over the people of the United States, and that they are now excited by the ambition of making the power of America felt in Europe. The triumphal progress of Kossuth, and the homage paid him by all classes in the Republic, will not fail to stimulate this feeling, and to mark more distinctly than has yet been done the antipathy subsisting between Republican America and the despotic countries of Continental Europe."

Mr. Walker, of Wisconsin, has moved the following preamble and resolutions in the Senate:—

"Whereas the signs of the times are portentous of an approaching struggle in Europe, between the Republican masses for constitutional government on the one side, and the advocates of monarchy or absolute government on the other; and whereas it pressingly behoves the representatives of the people of the United Sovereign States of America seriously to consider and betimes to inquire into the relations of the Government and country to this struggle, and their duty in view of it to themselves, to foreign nations, and the international law; therefore,

"Be it resolved, &c., that the committee on foreign relations be instructed to inquire into, and report upon the expediency of an open declaration by Congress, to foreign nations and the world, that the United States hold strictly to the policy and principle that each individual nation, state, or power, possesses for itself the exclusive right and sole power to take care and dispose of its own internal concerns, without the intervention and interference of any foreign Government, State, confederacy, alliance, or power whatsoever, and that any such intervention or interference by or on the part of any foreign Government, State, confederacy, alliance, or power, constitutes an infraction of the law of nations, authorising and justifying the interposition of any or all other Governments, confederacies, or powers, at their discretion, to prevent such intervention, and to repair such infraction of the law of nations.

"Resolved further, that the same committee be instructed to inquire also into the expediency of requesting the President of the United States to cause negotiations to be opened with all other constitutional Governments, with a view and to the end of obtaining their coöperation with the United States in the declaration aforesaid, and in the policy and principle thereof, and in the observance, defence, and maintenance of the law of nations in this respect."

The vessel Arctic, which arrived with files of papers up to the 20th, brings some news of the movements of Kossuth also. He left New York on the 20th for Philadelphia, whence he proceeds to Baltimore, and thence to Washington; and, after getting what practical aid he can from Congress and the Government, he will then visit Cincinnati, of whose citizens he has expressed such warm admiration, although he does not like the sobriquet of their city, "Queen of the West."

#### THE CASE OF THE ENGINEERS.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, &c., held a public meeting on Tuesday night, at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, "to discuss the present state of the iron trades, and the position of the society in relation thereto;" or, as was indicated in another handbill, publicly to contradict certain assertions put forward by the employers, and set themselves right with the public. The hall was crowded. Mr. J. Musto, the chairman of the Executive Council, presided, and briefly opened the proceedings by calling on Mr. W. Newton to explain the present position of the society and to state what had been done.

Mr. Newton was very heartily received. He said that they had been compelled to call public attention to their affairs, in consequence of the attempt made to mislead public opinion and misrepresent the intentions of the council.

"The combination of employers started at Manchester was either misled by the statement of Messrs. Hibbert and Platt, of Oldham, or was based upon known untruths; but the combination was formed upon the ground that the workmen of Messrs. Hibbert and Platt were about to do an act of injustice to their employers. The matter had been discussed in the newspapers, and the society had been represented as insisting—(1) upon the abolition of systematic "overtime," and (2) the discontinuance of "piecework"; (3) with claiming that the masters should at once and without reserve discharge the class of persons engaged in, and long trained to, the working of self-acting machines, and employ in their stead mechanics, members of the union; and, further (4), according to 'Amicus,' the council were prepared to advocate an equalization of the rate of wages; to lend themselves, in fact, to an agitation for a trial of the ingenious doctrines of M. Louis Blanc. Now, the first two of these propositions were the propositions of the society. (Hear, hear.) The third was never made by them, and the intention attributed to them of equalizing wages was as foreign from their objects and



general opinions as anything could be. (Hear.) They disavowed all intention of removing any persons at present in employment—(hear, hear)—there was nothing in the present proceedings of the council that expressed or implied any such intention; they had never asked for the removal of a man from a machine, who was working at it, who had earned a title to work at it by the time he had been employed at it; and, so far from the opinions of their members being against those men, they had fostered and encouraged them. (Hear, hear.)

Having made this general statement in opposition to the assertions of "Amicus" and others, Mr. Newton proceeded to sketch the origin of the present position in which the engineers found themselves in relation to their employers. In May last there was a dispute between Messrs. Hibbert and Platt, of Oldham, and their workmen, which ultimately terminated in Mr. Platt signifying his agreement to the following resolutions:—

"1. That in future all planing, slotting, shaping, and boring machines, at the workshop of the undersigned, be worked either by mechanics or apprentices, to be taken up by them as they fall vacant.

"2. That the labourers at present employed upon those machines be not unduly interfered with before Christmas, 1851, when the machines shall fall entirely into the hands of the mechanics; but if any of the labourers are discharged, or the machines otherwise become vacant, the vacancies shall be filled up by the mechanics as they occur.

"3. That Michael Bernard have taken from him all authority over workmen in our employ, and that all illegal hands be discharged; we further say that we disapprove of the practice alleged against Bernard, and pledge ourselves that they shall not again be repeated." Systematic overtime was also to be abolished. Subsequently, in order that he might have a guarantee that the men would make similar conditions with other employers, Mr. Platt wrote out an additional resolution:—

"That if the majority of legal shops in the same line of business refuse to concede the above requests, at the expiration of three years from the date of these resolutions, the question be again open for discussion."

Mr. Newton himself, in his private capacity, had assisted in negotiating these conditions, and he left Oldham with the "distinct understanding" that they were to come into operation at Christmas. As Christmas drew near, the employers, instigated by the statements of Messrs. Hibbert and Platt, combined to prevent the operation of the arrangements. They alleged that the men had broken the conditions in July last. It appears that Bernard, who was a sort of middleman, similar to the "sweater" among the tailors, was not removed, and that the men had resisted. But, said Mr. Newton, the society has nothing to do with this; it was a question between the men of Oldham and Messrs. Hibbert and Platt. The question of overtime was settled for the trade generally at Manchester, in November last; and the society were determined not to be dragged into the Oldham dispute. Mr. Newton's statement of the intentions of the society is so clear, that we quote it entire.

"They disavowed all attempts to remove men from machines; they had no such intention. Their disposition was to make common cause with such men, and assist them, rather than they should be thrown idle upon the world. (Hear, hear.) Neither had the society any intention to try to equalize wages; that would be to equalize themselves with the agricultural labourer. (Hear, hear.) What they sought was a fair opportunity for every working man, as far as practicable, to use his labour. (Hear, hear.) They desired to make it less precarious by regulating the work there was to be done. (Hear, hear.) As to identifying themselves with Socialists and Communists, they had no connection with any political, social, or religious party, and they advocated their own views, not because Louis Blanc advocated them (if he did), but because experience taught them that it was necessary that some change should be made in order to elevate their social condition. (Hear, hear.) What, then, was it that they asked? That overtime be abolished—time worked over and above six days per week of ten hours per day (or, at least, 58½ hours per week), which they held as a principle to be the proper time to labour when there was labour to be performed—(hear, hear)—and they held that a man ought to be able, by six days' labour, to earn sufficient to keep himself and his family. (Hear, hear.) The society did not ask for a reduction of those hours, but only that a man should be allowed to leave his work when his day's labour was done. The present practice of working overtime was an evil physically, morally, intellectually, and socially. The workmen felt this fifteen years ago, and held meetings about it, and an agreement was come to as to the rate of payment for overtime. It was not uncommon for men to work for weeks together from four or six in the morning till ten at night. (Hear, hear.) A man could not do justice to his employers at such hours; his health was injured by it; a number of men were left idle through it; and the workman had no opportunities for improvement. (Hear, hear.) Why, but from the long hours of work, had mechanics' institutes proved such a dead failure? (Hear, hear.) But Mr. Scott Russell said, that the men were not forced to work overtime. But, indeed, they were. (Hear, hear.) If a man declined, he was immediately discharged. (Hear, hear.) That was compulsion; he saw on the one side of him excessive labour, and on the other starvation. (Hear, hear.) There were scores who had been discharged because they refused to work overtime. (Hear, hear.) The workmen found that individual refusal was individual sacrifice, and that it must

be general; and they had come to that conclusion—12,000 of them. (Cheers.) If Mr. Russell had influence enough with the employers to have his assertion put into general practice, he would hear no more of this agitation with regard to overtime; for all that was asked was that men should be at liberty to decline it if they liked, and not punished for working only six days a week. (Hear, hear.) Then, as to the other question—piecework—the public thought that every man had a right to make the most he could of his superior ability and expertness. Granted; piecework was not objected to, but only the manner in which it was now carried out. Let it be done by contract between employers and employed, as in a contract between them and their customers, and no man would object. But a piece of work was brought into the workshop, and a man was told he must do it for so much; if he said he could not do it for that, he was told, 'You must do it or leave. I shall give you no more.' (Hear, hear.) Was that right, that an arbitrary authority should be exercised over labour with regard to the price to be paid? (Hear, hear.) There was no consultation in the matter; the man was never asked his opinion, and if he objected, was told that the employer "would not be dictated to"—he was to be the sole judge. (Hear, hear.) The gentlemen of the press were before him; they knew whether compositors were thus treated. No; they had a book price. If the employers would establish a board, and allow the workmen to establish their board, and let the question be settled between them, there would be no objection to piecework; but, as it was, it gave the men less than their ordinary wages. The men would abide by the decision of independent parties. (Hear, hear.) Let persons be appointed whose whole soul was not wrapped up in commercial speculation, men who had identified themselves not merely with the commercial progress, but also with the progress of the industrial classes; such men as Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carlisle, Lord R. Grosvenor, and the Honourable A. Kinnaird. (Hear, hear.) By their judgment the men would be willing to be governed. (Hear, hear.) As to the charge of being opposed to the introduction of machinery, there was no class of men who more promoted its introduction; they were continually improving machinery. (Hear, hear.) Let it not be said that "the Council of Seven were dictating terms." The movement was instituted by the meeting of sixty delegates at Birmingham, in September, 1850, who passed resolutions deprecating piecework and overtime as systematic practices; circulars were sent out to ascertain the opinions of the society; and out of 12,000, only sixteen votes came in for those practices. (Hear, hear.) Employers said the proceeding was dictatorial. If a question arose in the workshop, and a deputation went to the employers, they were generally discharged; and if men not connected with the workshop were sent, they were asked what business they had to interfere? (Hear, hear.) If employers were so exclusive, and refused to hear their workpeople and listen to their grievances, they must expect that, with oppression after oppression, and petty despotism of foremen and managers, perhaps unknown to those employers—(hear, hear)—if they treated it all with contempt and disdain, the feeling would at last make itself known in some tangible form, as it was doing now. (Hear, hear.) The men were told they intended to strike on the 1st. Nothing was further from their intention. (Hear, hear.) There was no such thing contemplated in the North. (Hear, hear.) It was only intended that the workman should exercise his right of leaving when his day's labour was done; and if the employers said any man might do so, it was all that was required. (Hear, hear.) If any man thought proper to work overtime, let him do so. (Hear, hear.) Whether the employers would close their works on the 10th he could not say; but after this explanation they would incur a very heavy responsibility in throwing so many men upon the poor rates, or refusing them relief at the risk of anarchy and confusion. (Hear, hear.) The men knew they were in the right, and were willing to be guided by public opinion. They were ready to submit the matter to any impartial tribunal. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. Braddon then addressed a few words to the meeting, and moved—

"That, having heard the statement made upon the part of the council of the Amalgamated Society, this meeting is perfectly satisfied that the acts and intentions of the council have been publicly misrepresented, and that it has never demanded of the employers either discontinuance of the use of machinery of any kind, or the discharge of the workmen employed at machines."

Mr. G. Usher seconded the motion, and dwelt upon the extreme evil of protracted labour.

Mr. Ernest Jones here rose in the body of the hall, and asked permission to make a speech to the meeting; but his request was met with an almost universal "no," Jones persisting in the attempt.

Mr. Newton hinted the desirableness of discussing the question "without reference to any other subject whatever." (Cheers.)

Mr. Jones insisted amid shouts of "down" "off," and "away." Then ensued a scene between Jones, Brown, and Robinson, almost of a farcical character.

Jones: This is a public meeting, and I will be heard. (Uproar.)

Brown: You have no business here, and you shan't be heard. (Cheers.)

Robinson: Put that man out. (Cheers.)

Mr. Newton interposed, and said it was true the public had been invited.

Brown: But we are not obliged to listen to him. (Cheers.)

Jones resumed, amidst hisses: I have studied the question of labour and capital deeply—

Robinson: Ah! ah! Very little of either are you acquainted with.

Jones: And my antecedents are such—(Roars of laughter).

Brown: His antecedents!

Jones: I am come here to speak as your friend, ("Oh, oh," and hisses)—not to sow division amongst you, but to give you my support.

Robinson: His support!

Mr. Newton, appealingly: I would put it to Mr. Jones whether our enemies may not "make a handle" of his presence here to-night? (Cheers.)

Mr. Jones (overcome with astonishment): Really—ahem! I was not in the least aware that my presence was so remarkably objectionable as that your enemies would make a handle of it. (Cries of "off! off!") Unless you have some better reason for refusing me a hearing, &c.

Mr. Jones having disappeared, business was resumed by Mr. J. Collis who moved a resolution to the effect that the men in London could not depart from the agreement of 1836 respecting overtime, without breach of faith. This amendment was seconded by Mr. Hoskins, but negatived by a large majority.

Mr. Hemm, of Manchester, confirmed Mr. Newton's account of the Oldham dispute, and said the origin of it was that Messrs. Hibbert and Platt had purchased a machine for boring, and the men were afraid the work was going to be taken out of their hands, and the machine worked by men not brought up to the trade; but that led to other points being also raised. But it was entirely a dispute between Messrs. Hibbert and Platt and their workmen. He would add that, in Manchester, the men decided to do away with overtime before the council came to the resolution, and a great portion of the employers agreed with the men, and had done away with it, though there were some few exceptions. (Hear, hear.) There would be no objection to piecework, if it was carried on honourably; but a man was not asked whether he could do it at the price named, but told he must do it or leave. (Hear, hear.) If men managed, by excessive labour, to earn more than regular wages by it, they had been offered so much less the next time for the same job. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. J. Potts moved—

"That this meeting is fully convinced that neither the Executive Council, nor the members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, &c., contemplate a strike on the 1st of January, 1852; and that the assertions put forward to that effect are entirely untrue."

Mr. W. Brown seconded the resolution, and it was unanimously carried. Mr. Newton added a few words on the value of the Amalgamated Society, and said that they had the opinion of the Attorney General that they were acting lawfully. Their object was to make allowances to members thrown out of work by the badness of trade, or incapacitated by accident or illness. It was an amalgamation of several societies, one of which paid £36,000 to unemployed members in 1848 and 1849. (Hear, hear.) Even then members were working overtime. (Hear, hear.) He might just mention that, on one of the railways, when trade was bad and a reduction had to be made, the manager asked the men whether he should reduce them in numbers or in hours of work, and they chose the latter, dividing the reduced amount among all the men. (Hear, hear.)

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the press for attending the meeting, and to the Chairman.

#### CLOSE COMBINATION OF MASTERS.

The masters, or as they call themselves employers, of operative engineers met in Manchester on Tuesday; and resolved, on the motion of Mr. James Nasmyth, of the Bridgewater Foundry, Patricroft, seconded by Mr. John Hick, of Bolton, "That this association forthwith join, and become a portion of, the Central Association of Employers of Operative Engineers, &c."

This is an important step, and places the masters, who ought to be employers only of the men, in a state of permanent combination. The description of the "tone of the meeting" appended, is from the *Daily News*.

"The tone of the meeting was most decided and unanimous in the expression of a determination to resist any and every attempt at dictation on the part of the men, as alike injurious to employers and employed, and destructive of the best interests of the country. It appeared that while many establishments had singly resisted such attempts at dictation on former occasions, and in their resistance had been successful, there were many others where this system of dictation was still in full force, and where the employers, with the name of masters, were in fact the slaves of their men, and were obliged to submit to the grossest tyranny, dictated by a few unseen agitators. Now this dictation had manifested itself in the audacity with which the present demands had been put forth. But, it was observed, this would have the good effect of uniting in one formidable body, with scarcely a single exception, the whole of the employers of engineering labour throughout the kingdom. Their bond of union was that strong one of self-defence, and the determination to resist every attempt at dictation on the part of the workmen. The proceedings, which throughout were characterized by the greatest unanimity, closed about a quarter before six o'clock. Two other facts we may add, which do not appear in the official proceedings. A general desire and determination was expressed, that as the men had threatened a strike, their object and intention should be tested, and that the



question between the employers and employed, having been raised by the latter, should now be brought to some clear and definitive issue. We learn that individually nearly all the firms in this district have received from their customers, for whom they are making mill or other machinery, in some cases under contracts with penalties as to nonfulfilment in time, the most cordial assurances that they approve of the course taken by the employers, and that they are disposed, under the circumstances, to extend to them the utmost amount of indulgence that may be sought in the completion of these contracts."

#### A PROPOSED REMEDY TO OBIVIATE STRIKES.

Mr. W. B. Adams has written two letters to the *Times*, in a fair spirit on the pending dispute. We mention Mr. Adams, because in his letter of the 30th ultimo he makes a proposition to the men, which is worthy of consideration, more especially as coming from so large an employer of labour.

"A body that can raise a fund of £25,000 in a short time from its own earnings, needs no patronage. Rightly guided by the wisdom of their best members, they have ample power to raise themselves to a position of moral worth and influence never yet possessed by any body of working men in any State. Let but one more mischievous remnant of ancient intolerance pass away, by the institution of a rational law of partnership, and these working men will be enabled to bring about a new division of labour, beneficial to themselves and to the community, in union with the great capitalists, thus getting rid of the bugbear feud between capital and labour and setting up a true Socialism, based on individual interests, without needing the reconstruction of society; i.e. a system in which the honest worker may by economy gradually accumulate capital, and safely employ that capital in business to procure himself a profit, instead of building an uninhabitable tenement or putting it in a savings bank. It is the combination of joint-stock coöperation with individual energy and skill that must form that great practical National Assurance-office, which will put a final end to strikes and bind the whole community together with an interminable chain of links that may bid defiance to internal accident or to outward force. It is only when the 'have-nots' get too numerous that the 'haves' of the community are exposed to risk and the cohesion of a nation is destroyed."

Will the engineers reflect on these suggestions?

FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS, MACHINISTS, ETC., TO THEIR EMPLOYERS.

GENTLEMEN,—The Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Machinists, Millwrights, Smiths, and Pattern Makers, wish to address a few observations to you upon the practices of piece work and overtime, which they have come to a resolution to abolish.

The Executive Council, in taking this course, have not the slightest intention of unwarrantably interfering with, or attempting to dictate to, employers. They have only in view the performance of their duty as the guardians of the interests of the members, and the organ through which the voice of the trade expresses itself, and they trust that what they have to say will be interpreted in the amicable spirit which animates them.

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

In addressing gentlemen in your position, it is not of course necessary for us to elaborate thoughts, with which you must be to the full as well acquainted as ourselves; all we need to do is to state the simple facts of the case, and leave them to your consideration.

We would say, then, that overtime is injurious to employers, because it is the dearest possible way of doing the work that is to be done. Not only is the rate of payment for time greater, but a higher price is paid to tired workmen whose capability of work, just when they should be leaving their labour, is considerably reduced. Taken as a whole, we should not be far beyond the mark when we say, that work done in overtime costs nearly double that which is performed in the ordinary working hours.

Beyond, however, the mere fact of men being less able to exert themselves when they are actually working overtime, the system tends to produce permanent incapability, by injuring the health of the workman, and thus making his ordinary labour of less value than it would otherwise be.

Besides this, overtime is one of the most certain causes of ignorance, by preventing men who leave their beds to work and leave their work to sleep, devoting any portion of their time to the cultivation of their minds. Every employer knows that it is better to have intelligent men than ignorant ones; for, independent of the former being more tractable and trustworthy, the intelligence they must bring to their work increases their value.

We have as yet said nothing of the system of piece work; but it must be obvious that most of the reasons applying to overtime are capable of being urged against it. Whatever evils spring from men working longer hours than is consistent with their health or moral well-being, spring from piece work to the full as much as from over-time. By it men are incited to work as long as exhausted nature can sustain itself, and in addition it leads them to hurry over their work, and leave it imperfectly finished when defects may be concealed.

We would hope, however, that irrespective of the considerations springing from these facts, and which

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

Entertaining these views, and actuated by these motives, the Executive Council have decided to advise the trade generally to discontinue the practices of systematic overtime and piece work after the 31st of December, 1851; and in those cases where overtime is really necessary, in cases of break downs or other accidents, all time so worked over to be charged and paid for at the rate of double time.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,  
W. ALLAN, Gen. Sec.

London: 25, Little Alie-street, Whitechapel.

#### REFORM CONFERENCE.

The National and Parliamentary Reform Association have issued the following circular, calling for a Reform Conference.

"National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association,  
"Offices, 41, Charing-cross, January 1, 1852."

"DEAR SIR,—The council of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association have decided upon convening a conference in London, to which they invite the earnest friends of the cause from every part of the United Kingdom. The necessity and urgency of such a course will be apparent to all. It is desirable that the introduction of a ministerial measure of Parliamentary Reform should be a matter of certainty—that there should be such a manifestation of public opinion as shall cause that measure to be radical and complete. That means should be taken to secure its success and to obviate the necessity for further agitation. Such are the objects sought in convening the conference, and it is felt that at this important crisis every sincere reformer will estimate the value of immediate and united efforts in behalf of these objects. Your acknowledgment, with the circumstances of your locality in reference to the reform cause, and the names of the persons likely to attend the conference, will be esteemed. In the appointment of deputations care should be taken that the opinions of all classes are represented. It is thought the meeting of Parliament will be the most suitable time for the conference; but with the precise period you will be made acquainted.—(Signed) J. WALMSLEY."

#### CASIMER BATTHYANY AND LOUIS KOSSUTH.

Some time ago, a Prince Esterhazy, formerly one of the Batthyany Ministry, and known in England as the wearer of a diamond jacket, wrote a letter to the *Times*, attacking the policy of the Hungarian Constitutionalists, and denouncing the conduct of Kossuth. This was followed by another letter from a "Batthyany" well known at Epsom and Newmarket, concurring in the views of the "Esterhazy." Now, as there are many Esterhazys in Hungary, so there are many Batthyanyes. One of the latter was among the prisoners in Turkey liberated by the joint action of America and England. When the Mississippi touched the coast of France he landed, and was permitted to proceed to Paris, and there to take up his abode. This Batthyany was baptized Casimer, and bore the title of Count. He was also a member of the Ministry of Louis Batthyany, and afterwards of Kossuth. To this Casimer many persons applied the letter of the horse-racing gentleman; and in vindication of himself and his country from the aspersions of Esterhazy, and to separate himself from all complicity with either of the letter writers, he wrote the letter himself to the *Times*, and, having successfully refuted Esterhazy, he attacked Kossuth. The tone of the letter is moderate and dispassionate, the nature of the accusations against the Governor of Hungary clearly stated. They, therefore, demand attention.

Count Casimer Batthyany believes that, at the outset of his public career, Louis Kossuth intended to maintain the union existing between Austria and Hungary; but that, exasperated by the want of good faith on the part of the Government of Vienna, his impatient temper, "his ambition and hankering after notoriety, and his suppleness" led him too far, so that he was obliged to break with the Imperial Government. Then follows a decided and strongly coloured estimate of the character of Kossuth.

"Deficient in the knowledge of men and things, in the steadfast bearing, cool judgment, and comprehensive mind of a statesman, and without the firm hand of a ruler; setting at naught all sound calculation while he played a game of chance and staked the fate of the nation on the cast of a die; encountering danger with hairbrained temerity when distant, but shrinking from it when near; elated and overbearing in prosperity, but utterly prostrate in adversity; wanting that strength and intrepidity of character that alone commands homage and obedience from others, while he suffered himself to be made the tool of every intriguer he came in connection with; mistaking his manifold accomplishments and natural genius for an aptitude to govern a country in times of trouble; and setting, in the flights of fancy, no bounds to the scope of his ambition, Kossuth hurried away the nation into a course of the most impolitic mea-

asures, and grasped the highest power in the realm by dubious means."

Subsequently Count Casimer distinguishes between the cause of Hungary and the person of Kossuth as the object of English sympathy; and he speaks of Kossuth as having been obliged to "pay a tribute to the feelings of legality," which animate Englishmen, and to eschew the "demagogical rant" in which he indulged at Marseilles. He denies Kossuth's right to set himself up as the representative of Hungary; and declaims against Kossuth for not appearing after his liberation as a private citizen. Instead of doing this, he has set himself up as a dictator to his countrymen. Then follow these remarkable passages, containing allegations which neither Kossuth nor his friends can overlook.

"It is, therefore, the sacred duty of those who, although far from wishing to fetter his activity, are not disposed to admit his claims, publicly to protest against his proceedings. Without dwelling any longer on the weighty motives for caution which may be deduced from his past career, I will merely observe that his pretension to be still regarded as governor is the more barefaced from the circumstances attending his resignation. The circumstances are these:—He was summoned by Görgey and three members of the Ministry to resign. He instantly complied, and resigned the Governorship without convening the Council of State, that he was bound by law to consult on every important occasion. He resigned without intimating his intention of doing so to the three other Ministers (of whom I was one), and who were, consequently, quite unaware of the fact. He did not resign his authority into the hands of the Ministers—as under such circumstances he was bound to do—but into the hands of Görgey. He even invested Görgey with a power and authority with which he had not been invested himself—viz., the dictatorship. He delegated a power which he only held himself personally, and, in fact, provisionally, by a direct mandate of the Diet. He resigned in the name of the Ministry, which he had no right whatever to do."

In estimating the importance of this letter we must remember that Count Casimer Batthyany is a titular noble, and Louis Kossuth is not; that Count Casimer Batthyany was permitted by M. Bonaparte to enter France, and that Louis Kossuth was not; and that these weighty allegations and solemn charges rest partly upon the opinion of Count Casimer Batthyany.

#### THE HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.

Lord Dudley Coufts Stuart has addressed a letter to the *Daily News*, inclosing the subjoined communication to himself, from Mr. Francis Newman.

"TO LORD DUDLEY STUART, M.P.

"7, Park-village East, Regent's-park, December 30, 1851.

"MY DEAR LORD,—Allow me to address a few thoughts to you concerning the honourable exiles of Hungary.

"You fully see the misery of trying to provide for their wants by a money subscription. No moral interest in them can be sustained. Money will always flow in slowly, and the aid thus given is insufficient, degrading, and ere long reluctant. Such a mode of doling out relief is ill called charity. Unless enough money could be raised at a single effort, such a procedure is quite undesirable. Surely one must wish that the individual exiles should be brought into personal knowledge with individual Englishmen, and receive a hospitality which would generate an honourable friendship when between equals in rank, or else a generous kindness. I hear there are 161 exiles in London. Surely 161 householders exist here warmly disposed towards Hungary, and able to afford a sleeping apartment. It seems to me that the immediate want is of a suitable committee, that will advertise to receive proffers from the friends of Hungary, to afford this kind of hospitality—say for three months.

"The British Association does something of this kind at its meetings, always successfully, the time being there only a week; but the form of their proceeding might, perhaps, guide the committee. The parties making the offer might be invited to state if, first, they could spare a gentleman's bedroom; or, second, a servant's bedroom; or, third, receive a gentleman at their table; or, fourth, at their servant's table. Many would probably at first only offer a bedroom; but after forming acquaintance and becoming interested in the person, would gladly offer something more; and those who gave a bed, and could not afford board, would make exertions among their private friends till they were enabled to do this also.

"Altogether, I am persuaded that the system of centralization is here, as in everything else, demoralising; and that the only way happy to him who gives and to him who receives, is that of quartering individuals locally.

"Englishmen's hearts are more open to Kossuth than to other Hungarians, because by his writings and speeches we know him so well. We must also know the other Hungarians individually, if we are to take adequate interest in them. Perhaps, three severe winter months impend. Pray, my dear lord, exert yourself in this direction, which will not at all interfere with the Kossuth fund: I mean, try to establish such a committee.

"I have the honour to be, sincerely yours,

"(Signed) FRANCIS W. NEWMAN."

This is an excellent plan, and one which may be readily adopted, though it will involve the sacrifice of that domestic privacy so dear to Englishmen.

#### THE FRENCH IN MOROCCO.

One of the consequences of the late bombardment of the old piratical port of Salée on the north coast of Africa, appears in the shape of an appeal to English Public Opinion. It is a great fact.



The following narrative and appeal has been transmitted to us from Morocco, says the *Times*. Allowing for possible errors in translation, we give the statement as we have received it:—

**"PRAISE BE TO GOD!"**

"From the Poor in God, &c.,—to the most learned and renowned writers of the English newspapers—those journals the circulation of which extends over the whole earth, whose words are the words of truth, and the justness of whose reasonings is always self-evident, whose magic influence operates on the destinies of nations as well as individuals, and whose power is more to be considered than royalty itself, for princes tremble at their reproaches.

"Praise be to God, who is one, single, and unique, the Eternal Lord, &c.,—prayers perpetual as eternity.

"We have ever found your nation—may God continue to add to its abundance and prosperity!—foremost in promoting the happiness of the weak, and relieving them in their distress. The views of the Englishman are charitable, his ears are never deaf to the complaint of the oppressed.

"We, therefore, filled with the most sacred inspirations of patriotism and love of justice, come forward and record the acts of injustice and perfidious behaviour of those sons of wickedness, those persevering enemies of God's word, and of everything else that is holy—the French. May God confound their counsels, shatter the framework of their government, and bring them to grief; in the consummation of which proceedings were heard the voice of their cannon, the widow's lament, and the orphan's cry! We speak of the recent bombardment of our peaceful town (Sallee). May she never again be molested! Having looked upon these affairs with the eye of a watchful and interested observer, we purpose now, by the blessing of God, to lay before the English a full, clear, and faithful narration of all that took place on that black day, as also the causes which led to the calamitous event.

"Know, then, that some months ago a vessel of the French nation was thrown upon the shore of the river of Sallee. The wind was strong, the sea was rough; and, by the united violence of the two, the ship was broken to pieces. Yet the French say some of our brethren broke up the vessel! God forbids lies, and this statement is false, as is proved by the fact that the wreck was subsequently sold by the French Consul at Rabat for thirty dollars. The greater part of the cargo was saved and sold by auction; a small portion, however—viz., fifty bags of wheat—was left on the shore, which some of the poorest of our brethren—may they be pardoned for their sins!—not able to withstand the allurements of the Evil Spirit, and yielding to the yearnings of their stomachs too long pressed by starvation, ate, nay devoured, on the spot. Our Kaid (Sidy Mohamed Ben Abd-el-Kady Zneber) did all he could to restrain his subjects from taking what was not their own; but the appeals of excessive hunger overmatched authority's loudest injunctions. We do not justify the deed—God forbid! but we have ever been willing to remedy it by indemnifying the losers. If the French have not been repaid for their plundered property, it is their own fault; for their Consul in Tangier refused to comply with the request of the Great Basha, that he (the French Consul) should give him over his own signature a clear statement of the amount of the loss, in order that the money might be immediately paid. This was reasonable, seeing that the Consul at Rabat had previously presented a claim on this occasion for 50 dollars, which sum was, on a second occasion, raised to 400 dollars; on a third it amounted to much more; and, lastly, God knows what was demanded.

"Is there justice in France? We cannot but believe that there is, and some of the French Ministers must be great and honest men; assured of this, we are led to apprehend that it was owing to misrepresentations on the part of the French Consul (M. Bureau), and the falsifications of his khleefa (M. Schidt), that a French squadron appeared off our peaceful town on the 3rd of Safar (26th of November), and the Admiral, not even allowing our Kaid time to communicate with the Sultan or his Oozzer at Tangier, commenced a vigorous attack upon us, treating us as though we were pirates. We, too, consider them pirates; for, were they not, they would have required satisfaction from the Sultan of Morocco, and not have presented an ultimatum to a poor Governor, who was not authorized to treat with them.

"We would now ask the English whether, under the circumstances, as we have related them,—and God knows that what we have said is the pure truth,—there was sufficient cause for the French to go to war with us?

"Early in the morning of the 3rd Safar (26th of November) arrived off our town a French squadron, consisting of a very large vessel, with guns in her as numerous as the quills in a porcupine's back, and four smoke-propelled ships, which were also filled with guns. Shortly afterwards a boat brought from the large vessel to the shore some officers, who conveyed to the Kaid a letter, wherein the French Consul demanded that a large sum of money be paid him immediately. This demand could not, of course, be acceded to; for, had the Kaid paid the sum without orders to that effect from the Sultan, his head would have been in danger. He, however, begged that time might be given him to refer the matter to the Court. This the French refused; and, accordingly, about nine o'clock A.M., the large vessel opened a heavy fire upon us, which we immediately returned. The smoke-ships also fired at us, and we repaid them their shot. This interchange of shot and shell continued from the morning until the night, when our enemies saw there was no use in wasting more powder and ball. We had already driven one smoke-ship out of action. The next morning they went away, not daring to renew the fight. Although thousands of shots were fired at us that day, praise be to God, and thanks unto our Lord Mahomet! only twelve believers—God rest their souls!—lost their

lives, viz., five artillerymen, four women, and three children. Scarcely any damage was done to the town. Some balls struck our Saint-house (Sid Ben Aisha), which was too strong to fall down. A few piastres will repair the injury done to the house of the Kaid; and God will repay the poor for what they have suffered.

"Many of our enemies must have fallen that day, for God is great, and he spares not the infidels. All this occurred at a moment when we were not prepared to fight. We were taken completely by surprise. Our guns were not in good order, and some of our best artillerymen were absent; besides which, the gates of the town having been closed, by way of precaution against the warlike tribes of Arabs who live in the surrounding districts, many of our soldiers were called away from the batteries to defend the walls against invasions from the interior; albeit, order was maintained among us; and, so unexpected and harmless was the attack of our enemies, that the business and trade of the town was not even interrupted.

"What, then, would have been the result of an engagement between us and the French, had they given us a proper and honourable notice of their hostile intentions? Why, not a ship of our enemies would have escaped sinking, and France would have mourned for hundreds of her best seamen.

"They declare, however, they have obtained satisfaction! We would wish to know in what does satisfaction consist. Is it satisfaction to send cannon balls into a saint-house? Or to knock a little plaster off the residence of a kaid? Is it an agreeable thing to know that you have added to the misery of the pauper by making apertures in the walls of his dwelling for the wind and rain to enter? Is there any pleasure in killing an artilleryman in the discharge of his duty? or in throwing a poor family into mourning by bereaving them of a mother, or sister, or daughter? Is there any particular honour in destroying an infant who had never even heard of a Frenchman?

"They say, also, they have given us a lesson. They have certainly taught us to hate them, and to understand that Frenchmen are perfidious, or that their Government has been deceived.

"This is what we have to say. Peace, &c."

**SCANDAL IN MAYFAIR.**

A case of scandal in high life came out at Guildhall last week. A Mrs. Dawson, otherwise Phoebe Blakeney, was charged with a perjury alleged to have been committed in 1833. She was the mistress of the late Lord Portarlington, and is described by a feminine witness as having been an extremely beautiful woman. Her mother's name was Elam, the wife of a Lieutenant Elam, and she died in 1833. At that time Mrs. Dawson swore that she was the only daughter and next of kin of Mrs. Elam who had died intestate, and upon those grounds the property of Mrs. Elam came into her hands. For the prosecution it was alleged that Mrs. Dawson was not the daughter of Mrs. Elam by a former marriage, as Mrs. Dawson contended; but that the real daughter who was entitled to the property was Miss Georgina Elam, the daughter of Mrs. Elam and the late Lord Portarlington. Thus the case became very complicated.

Evidence was adduced to show that Mrs. Dawson was really the daughter of Mrs. Elam, born in wedlock; and Mr. Ballantine, who defended Mrs. Dawson, asserted that Lord Portarlington had lived with both mother and daughter. It was also asserted that Mrs. Elam had bought a child of a peasant and palmed her off on Lord Portarlington. There was also evidence showing that both Mrs. Dawson and Mrs. Elam had called Miss Elam the child of the latter. Some doubt was thrown on the statement of Mrs. Dawson by the fact that Mrs. Elam was registered as only forty-eight at the time of her death; but this was accounted for by the defence, who said Lord Portarlington, who had the entire arrangement of Mrs. Elam's funeral, had desired to make her appear as young as he could. The case was not concluded at the last hearing; but Sir Peter Laurie, who occupied the bench, thought proper to set Mrs. Dawson at liberty without renewing her recognizances.

**MURDER AND CRIME.**

Rather distinctive in crime is the festive Christmas season. A murder at Belper, highway robberies and street robberies, of which latter we give two specimens below.

A man named Anthony Turner, who resides at Lane-end, about half a mile from Belper, has been for some years in the habit of collecting rents for a widow lady named Barnes, who lives with a relative named Bannister, a clergyman of the church of England, at Field-house, Belper. Turner having been a defaulter to a considerable amount, Mrs. Barnes sent him a note to say that he would not be allowed to collect any more rents, and that he was to consider himself discharged from his situation. On Saturday evening last he went to a provision shop, kept by a Mr. Husland, and borrowed a large carving knife used for cutting bacon. After they gave it to him he said he was going to kill Mrs. Barnes with it for not letting him collect the rents. This was about eight o'clock in the evening, and it appeared that he went direct from Mr. Husland's shop to Field-house, deceased's residence, and asked to see Mrs. Barnes. The servant went upstairs, and told Mrs. Barnes that Turner wished to speak to her, but she refused to grant him an interview. The servant returned with a message to that effect. Turner said he would not go away without seeing her, and, entering the house, pushed the girl on one side and rushed upstairs. The servant girl was very much alarmed, and ran to fetch the Reverend J. Bannister, who was in the adjoining house. Mr. Bannister immediately ran into the house, and on proceeding upstairs met Turner coming down with a large knife in his hand, which was covered with blood. Turner made a blow at Mr. Ban-

nister with the knife, and after a struggle between them Turner was precipitated to the bottom of the stairs. Mr. Bannister then went into the unfortunate lady's room, and found her with her head nearly severed from her body! One of her thumbs was also cut off, as if in struggling to prevent the murderous knife from lacerating her throat. Medical aid was immediately in attendance, but life was quite extinct. After the foul deed had been perpetrated, Turner, after passing Mr. Bannister on the stairs, as alluded to above, on leaving the house met the servant girl coming in, and made an attempt to strike her with the knife, but she turned her head on one side and evaded the blow. The murderer then ran off at the top of his speed, and has not since been heard of. He is a married man, and has one child; is a tailor by trade, and was formerly a local preacher among the Wesleyan Methodists. His age is about forty-five years, he stands about five feet eight inches, has very small black eyes, and had on at the time of the murder a pair of drab trousers and black coat. The most extraordinary part of this awful tragedy is the great ease with which the murderer made his escape, as it was only about half-past eight o'clock in the evening, and numbers of people were stirring about the neighbourhood. The electric telegraph was immediately set to work at the Belper station, and the news conveyed in a few minutes to Derby, Nottingham, and other midland counties. In Belper the greatest excitement prevailed on the awful tragedy becoming known, and a mob of some hundreds soon collected round the deceased lady's residence. Subsequently Turner was arrested at his own house, and on the coroner's warrant committed for trial.

On Monday night, shortly after ten o'clock, Mr. Samuel Latham, rent-collector, was attacked by a highwayman as he was on his way home to Carlton, about three miles from Nottingham. After walking half the distance in safety he overtook a man who appeared to be intoxicated, who, however, dealt him unseen a tremendous blow on the head with a life-preserver. Mr. Latham turned upon the fellow quickly, but received a second blow on the head before he was sufficiently on his guard to prevent it. The force of the second stroke, however, was not so severe as the first, in consequence of his having weakened his assailant by dealing him a tremendous blow on the side of the head with a thick walking-stick he carried in his hand. The combatants then closed, Mr. Latham hugging his adversary and biting his face severely, making him cry for the assistance of three comrades who lay in a hedge bottom close by. These fellows rushed to the rescue, and found Mr. Latham lying his full length upon the highwayman, and biting him savagely. He was throttled off by the accomplices, who, having released their comrade, ran off together, without attempting either to rifle Mr. Latham's pockets or to retaliate the punishment he had inflicted upon his first assailant. Both were covered with blood, which flowed freely from Mr. Latham's head and from the highwayman's face and nose. They no doubt thought he was loaded with a large sum of money he had been collecting during the day; but they were mistaken, as he had left it behind him at Nottingham. About the same time, Mr. Joshua Driver was attacked in North-street, Nottingham, by a powerful fellow; but a cry being raised the desperado decamped without effecting the robbery he intended. The knaves and dastards are vigorous in these parts!

Francisco Morati or Murray, 31, and Bertho Mayo Argenti Koo, 25, seamen, the former a Roman and the latter a Tuscan, lately belonging to the barque Alberto, of Liverpool, Captain John Benton, were charged before Mr. Yardley on Wednesday, with feloniously assaulting with intent to murder, Peter Getland, either a Swede or a Norwegian. Mr. Powell, barrister, appeared for the prosecution, on behalf of the Home-office, and stated that the prisoners had been sent here by a warrant of the consul at Quebec, where judicial proceedings had been taken before a jury; but it being found that there was no jurisdiction there, they were sent over here in custody of two Quebec constables. The principal witness was James Colvell, steward on board the Alberto. Getland was an able seaman. On the 17th of April, 1851, the ship had been in harbour two days at Mobile bay, in the United States. One of the men came to me aft, and asked me to give him a piece of candle to write a letter to a friend. This was at about seven in the evening. "I said I would," and took the candle forward myself. About ten minutes after Peter Getland was sitting on the windlass end, smoking a pipe. He had a Jim Crow hat on. I and he began talking, and he asked me if I could recommend him to a decent boarding house when we got to Liverpool. I said I could, and then Argenti struck him on the forehead with an axe, inflicting a wound six inches in breadth with the sharp end of the axe. Getland staggered off the windlass, and against the foremast. Argenti made a blow at me; I staggered, and went against the mast, singing out murder, murder—Mr. Gold, Mr. Gold (meaning the mate). I then saw Argenti standing against the fore-castle, with the axe raised, ready to strike any one coming near him. A seaman named Wilson took the wounded man aft. The prisoners were close together when the blow was struck. I did not hear them speak. After it was done Argenti went up the rigging, with the axe in his hand, and Morati followed. They remained aloft all night. I saw nothing in Morati's hand. Some captains belonging to other ships came on board, and fired blank shot, but the prisoners would not come down. We kept sentry on them all night, and the next morning there was a knife thrown down which I had lent to the mate, who afterwards lent it to Morati. The revenue cutter then took them on board a steamboat, which took them to Mobile, where the consul sent for me, and we were taken to Quebec. The prisoners were kept in irons. The wounded man was taken aft, and laid on the cabin floor, where the wound was dressed. He died six days after. The case was ultimately remanded.



## MISCELLANEOUS.

Prince Albert has signified his commands that an extra week's holidays should be granted, as a mark of the satisfaction he derived from his visit to the Westminster Play, on Monday, the 22nd ultimo.

The Marchioness of Bath has presented Mr. Bennett, late of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, to the living of Frome, Somersetshire. He has decided on accepting it.—*Morning Chronicle.*

We hear that Mr. Labouchere is about to pay a private visit to Manchester this week, and that he will be the guest of Mr. Thomas Bazley, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and one of the Royal Commissioners.—*Chronicle.*

Mr. Labouchere was on Wednesday at Bowood-park, the seat of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

The French Government have presented a chest of Sevres porcelain to Earl Granville, President of the Royal Commission, and a tea service to Mr. Dilke, member of the Executive Committee, as a testimonial of the sense it entertains of the part which they took in the Great Exhibition.

The National Public School Association have received a letter, stating that the Premier will receive a deputation on Tuesday, the 6th instant, instead of on the 31st. The deputation named includes Mr. Henry, M.P., Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., and most of the leading members of the association.

Mr. J. M. W. Turner, R.A., whose death was announced in our columns last week, was buried on Tuesday in St. Paul's Cathedral. A great number of artists attended, and the pall of the coffin was borne by Mr. Creswick, Mr. Chalons, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Witherington, Mr. Mulready, and Mr. Stansfeld. The body lies close to the graves of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Christopher Wren. Mr. Turner has left by his will a sum of £200,000, for the purpose of founding an institution for the relief of decayed artists, and has given all his pictures (with the exception of three of his own works, which are left to the nation) for the purpose of embellishing the building which is to be erected for that purpose.

A gentleman in Newcastle-upon-Tyne having applied to the Mayor of Southampton for the autograph of Kosuth, has this week received a note from his worship, a copy of which we append:—

"Southampton, December 20, 1851.

"SIR,—Agreeably to your request, I inclose you the last autograph of the patriotic exile. He gave me several, but they are all gone but this one. I have had applications from all parts of the globe, but have been compelled to refuse some scores. Yours, in haste,

"R. ANDREWS."

Admiral George Barker died on the 25th ultimo, at Springvale, Isle of Wight, in the ninety-second year of his age. Admiral Barker entered the service in 1771, and was present in many gallant actions with the enemies of his country. He attained the rank of captain on the 8th of June, 1799; vice-admiral on the 12th of November, 1840; and admiral on the 27th of December, 1847.

Among the improvements called forth by the increased locomotive propensities of the age, we note one which is likely to be productive of much convenience and advantage to the public. The old, unsightly, inconvenient, and dangerous bridges on the Thames have one by one given way to more safe and elegant structures. The bridge across the river from Fulham to Putney still remains—a serious obstruction to the navigation. For the requirements of a century ago the existing bridge was doubtless sufficient; but the enormous increase of the traffic, more especially of steamers, calls for a bridge less dangerous to vessels and passengers. To effect this object a company has been formed, with the view of obtaining an Act of Parliament conferring the necessary powers. The capital, a large portion of which has already been subscribed, is ample for the purpose; and as the shareholders in the old bridge have already shown a desire to amalgamate with those of the new one, the expense and delay consequent on a Parliamentary opposition will be avoided. The new company propose to construct a handsome iron bridge, with arches of sufficient height and span, to replace the present unsightly mass of timber. They have received the best assurances of support from the neighbouring proprietors and other parties likely to be interested. In addition to the tolls obtained on the present bridge (which will be adjusted on a liberal principle), there will be those derived from steam-boat passengers, a part of the plan being to erect a pier for their accommodation, as on Hungerford-bridge.

The office of provost of Trinity College has been conferred on Dr. M'Donnell, one of the senior fellows, and one of the most popular men in the Irish University.

The Marquis of Anglesey has instructed the agent of his lordship's estates in the county of Louth to make an abatement of 20 per cent. on the rents now paid by tenants-at-will. The noble owner has made the same reduction every year since the commencement of the potato failure.

Mr. Eastwood, who was so murderously attacked near Dundalk a few days ago, is progressing favourably; and, although his medical attendants cannot as yet, from the severe character of his wounds, pronounce him out of danger, they entertain strong hopes of his ultimate recovery. Ribandism is not dismayed. Four days after the attack on Mr. Eastwood, a deliberate attempt was made, within about two miles of the town of Dundalk, to assassinate a respectable man named John Overend, who was returning home to the village of Louth, from the market of Dundalk. He was met by two men at a place called Knockbridge, and one of them discharged a pistol at him, lodging the contents (slugs) in the small of his back. Overend fell to the ground immediately, and the miscreants, believing they had taken his life, decamped. The slugs have since been extracted by Dr. Brunner, and we are happy to state that Overend is not very danger-

ously wounded. He was employed as a bailiff on the estate of the Reverend Arthur Clive, in this county, of which Mr. Graham Johnston, of Dundalk, is agent. Two persons have been arrested on suspicion by the Louth police, and lodged in Dundalk gaol. A bailiff, in the service of the Reverend Andrew McCreight, in the county of Down, was beaten by a gang of ruffians on Saturday last, and robbed of a considerable sum of money.

The magistrates of Armagh, seeing the extensive spread of Ribandism and the insecurity of life and property, held a meeting on Tuesday at Ballybot, and adopted the following resolutions:—

"That application be made to the Government to make such an addition to the police and military force in the disturbed districts of the county, as may be necessary to enforce the law and protect life and property; and that in all cases of trial for any agrarian outrage special juries be empanelled to try the accused parties.

"That all the expenses incurred for the maintenance of extra police be chargeable upon the townland or townlands for which such extra force may be required; and that the rate rendered necessary for their support be levied forthwith by the police authorities."

On Monday evening a collision between a passenger and a cattle-train occurred on the York, Newcastle, and Berwick Railway, by which a servant of the Electric Telegraph Company was killed. A passenger-train ran into a monster cattle-train, shivering the van to pieces.

Inquests have been held during the week on the bodies of the men killed in the frightful explosions at Rawmarsh, near Rotherham and Wigan. The evidence is sufficient to show that a hundred previous inquiries had already demonstrated, that the proprietors of coalpits have no regard for human life, and that the miners are quite as reckless in exposing themselves to danger.

On Tuesday week the nine A.M. train from Sunderland to Shields, when about a mile from the first Shields station, ran into a number of empty coal waggons standing upon the same line. One of the waggons was broken to pieces, and others much damaged. The engine and tender were thrown off the line, and so prevented the train from proceeding. The whole of the passengers escaped uninjured except two, who were slightly bruised.

For some time past the convicts at Woolwich have been in a state of mutiny, which on Tuesday last arose to an unbearable pitch. They returned from their work in the dockyard to take their dinner on board the Warrior convict-ship, and had no sooner entered the ship than they rushed down and took possession of two of the decks, defying the guards or any of the military to come near them, at the same time singing, cheering, and swearing; and some, who had got hold of pipes and tobacco, commenced smoking. The guards were threatened in such a manner that they represented to Mr. Masterman that it would be dangerous to go out with the convicts in the afternoon if examples were not made of some of them. Captain the Honourable Montagu Stopford, acting superintendent, was immediately communicated with, and the guards of the Royal Artillery and Royal Marines called on board, and the guards in charge of the convicts, with drawn cutlasses, went below and brought up and heavily ironed thirty-eight of the most outrageous, and disarmed them of the knives, forks, and sharpened files of which they had by some means become possessed. Twenty of the convicts were in the course of the afternoon conveyed to London in the police vans sent down to Woolwich for the purpose, and safely secured in Millbank Penitentiary. The other eighteen were also heavily ironed and taken on board the Wye, in the river. The military displayed great forbearance under most provoking circumstances, as the whole of the convicts were armed, in some shape or other, and it was only the sight of the bayonets and the caps on the nipples of the percussion locks half-cocked which checked their movements, and ultimately restored some degree of order.

## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

## BIRTHS.

On the 18th of December, at Earlsfort-terrace, Stephen's-green, Dublin, the Countess of Courtown: a son, stillborn.

On the 25th, at Montague-street, the wife of Edward Leigh Pemberton, jun., Esq.: a son.

On the 27th, at Newstead Priory, Lincolnshire, Mrs. F. T. Monkhouse: a son.

On the 28th, at Cleasby-villa, Tollington-park, Hornsey, the wife of George W. M. Reynolds, Esq.: a son.

On the 28th, at Harleyford, the seat of her father, Major-General Sir William R. Clayton, Baronet, the lady of Captain Bishop-Culpeper: a daughter.

On the 29th, at Waterstock, Oxon, the wife of John Henry Ashurst, Esq.: a son and heir.

## MARRIAGES.

On the 12th of December, M. Charles Eugène Leloup, Fonctionnaire de l'Etat Belge, to Caroline Henrietta Frederica Beauchamp, daughter of the late Lord Frederick Beauchamp.

On the 19th, at the British Embassy, at Florence, Colonel Sir Henry Fairfax, Baronet, to Sarah, eldest daughter of William Astell, Esq., M.P. for Bedfordshire.

On the 27th, at Lyons-sur-Rhone, the Count de Vieillefoy, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, and Captain in the Third Regiment of Cuirassiers, to Augusta Frances Wynne Aubrey, fourth daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt Wynne Aubrey, formerly of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue).

## DEATHS.

On the 20th of December, at his residence, Oriel-terrace, Cheltenham, James Arthur, Esq., M.D., K.H., Deputy Inspector-General of Hospitals.

On the 23rd, at Woolwich-common, Harlot, the wife of Colonel Courtenay Orttenden, Royal Artillery.

On the 24th, at Wheatley, Sir William Bryan Cooke, Baronet.

On Christmas-day, at Portsea, after a short and severe illness, the Honourable Pownall F. Fellow, First Lieutenant of her Majesty's yacht, Victoria and Albert, aged twenty-eight.

On the 27th, at Southampton, Lieutenant Edward Lloyd Cooper, Royal Navy, late of her Majesty's ships Herald and Plover, aged thirty-seven, on his return from the Arctic Expedition.

On the 29th, at Brighton, aged six months, Fanny Elizabeth, infant daughter of Professor Ansted, of King's College, London.

On the 30th, at the Olosters, Windsor, Harriette, the beloved wife of Dr. G. J. Elvey.

## ERRATA.

In our Paris Correspondence, p. 1223, for "plébiscite," read "plebiscite"; for "they shout of Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité still having at you from all the churches and public monuments"; read "the derision of Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité still staring at you from all the churches and public monuments"; for "the secrets of letters for England are respected," read "the secrecy of letters for England is respected," P. 1224, col. 1, for "since the capitulation of Vienna," read "since the capitulation of Venice"; for "he left Vienna," read "he left Venice"; at the bottom, for "really and unrepresented by," read "really alien to and unrepresented by"; col. 2, for "plébiscite," read "plebiscite." P. 1225, col. 1, for "I still think it was no better policy," read "I still think it was the better policy"; for "as the first dispersion," read "as the first aggression"; col. 2, for "Est ce qui vous allez voter," read "Est ce que votre allez voter"; col. 3, for "il susera," read "il s'usera."

In Portfolio, p. 1238, 2nd line, for "from De Balzac's play," read "Honoré de Balzac's play"; for "our witty and civil friend," read "our witty and cruel friend." P. 1239, col. 1, for "Le succès! ah! de combien d'infamies se compose! ils souvent," read "Le succès! ah! de combien d'infamies ne se compose t'il souvent"; for "was thought a little 'trop hazardé,' so it was cut down to three," read "being thought a little 'trop hazardé,' it was cut down to three."

## Postscript.

SATURDAY, January 3.

Rumours are infinite respecting the difficulties of the Cabinet. The reconstruction of the Ministry seems farther off than ever. Great efforts have been made to induce Sir James Graham to take the Home-office; but he has declined, it is said, because Lord John's Reform Bill is not strong enough. Mr. Cardwell was to be Paymaster of the Forces, but he is probably waiting the lead of Sir James Graham. Lord Lansdowne goes out, to be succeeded, it is said, in the Presidency of the Council, by—the Duke of Argyll.

The Times this morning has a sneering and damaging article on the Whig "fix." It opens by an alarmist paragraph speaking of "grave apprehensions," and then proceeding in this strain. The italics are our own.

"The apprehensions, however, which a changing and, apparently, a provisional Cabinet justly inspires, are a more serious affair, and we cannot but participate in them. A Cabinet which undertakes to advise the Sovereign, and to lead the Legislature of an active, business-like, and improving people, must have a strong line of policy, able administrative powers, and an energetic expression. It has to dictate, to teach, and to do; to strike the mind, and to produce great results. We might say more, but this is enough; for the very feeblest description of our present Ministerial efficiency would be apt to move a smile at the expense of the sixteen noble-men and gentlemen—speaking of them as a whole—that constitute the Government of this mighty empire. Some of them may be very excellent gentlemen and very right-minded politicians; they may once have been famous, or may still be well-connected; but, unfortunately, they have not lately distinguished themselves either by Parliamentary or by official success. To the vulgar eye, the look of the Government suggests the same unpleasant ideas of redundant office and superfluous salaries as that of the Court itself, with its pageant of loyalty. Failing powers, frequent illness, and grievous unluckiness are felt at least to disqualify for a service which ought to be efficient and successful. If people wish to enjoy their otium cum dignitate at the close of their days; if they are too modest to be eloquent, or too gentlemanly to stick to the desk; if they are invalids, or unlucky; Downing-street is not the place to nurse a sick Statesman, to hide excessive modesty, to soothe the decline of life, or to provide opportunities for the man who is the sport of an evil destiny. The work is too hard, the pace too severe, and the road too heavy, to allow of a faulty team. They who are not equal to the work, must give place to those who are."

And as if this were not a sufficiently bitter draught for the Premier, the article winds up as follows:—

"Lord John Russell has not succeeded in raising any young statesmen of merit to supply the place of his own veterans and invalids. On the other hand, out of his constant and avowed supporters there is a vast amount of ability scattered over the various sections of the political world. The vast remains of the dismembered Conservative party lie all around him, sufficiently disgusted, we should think, with the game of impotent and suicidal revenge into which they have been duped. They are only waiting the call that is one day to summon them to a policy worthy of gentlemen and statesmen. There is also the Manchester party, which, if it cannot be invited to a participation of office, has too much truth and ability on its side to be lightly opposed or easily withstood. To the other independent powers in the field must now be added the most powerful defender of an indifferent cause, the most active in office and the most persuasive in the Senate, the most ambitious, and in all respects the most formidable man in the whole circle of Whig statesmen. The Cabinet of last session, which hardly survived it, is now minus Lord Palmerston. It may not be a matter of much moment what line he takes next session, or what political combination he may attempt; but the fact that he is no longer attached to Lord John Russell, and is open to bids from other quarters, does certainly suggest the necessity of acquiring all possible strength for the Cabinet, deprived of his aid and threatened with his hostility."

We are almost tempted to say that Lord John will have to take refuge in the wisdom of Sibthorp, and coalesce with Roebuck, the prince of conciliation.



There was a large meeting of master engineers last night at the Clarence-hotel, Manchester. They resolved to bring the question between them and the operatives to an issue at once by giving the whole of them a week's notice from to-day. They will, consequently, close their workshops on the 10th instant, unless in the mean time the demands of the men be withdrawn. So then the masters take the offensive and force a strike upon the men!

The great event in the news from Paris is the ceremonial at Notre Dame, on Thursday. A gorgeous scene, very theatrical, was this virtual coronation of M. Bonaparte, who proceeded to the old cathedral through a dense fog and a denser mass of soldiers. The interior of Notre Dame was almost covered with velvet and gold, the initials "L. N." being everywhere. The service concluded with the "Domine, salvam," thus significantly worded:—"Domine, salvam fac Rempublicam—salvum fac Napoleonem, et exaudi nos in die quâ invocaverimus." From Notre Dame the embryo Emperor—the French Soulouque—went to the regal Tuileries.

The Government of Vienna gives its hearty concurrence to the restrictive measures for the press recently submitted by the Turin Cabinet to the Chambers. "Even if the Chambers should reject the bill," remarks the Austrian organ, the *Correspondenz*, "we have nothing to fear, as it is impossible that the return of Sardinia to a sound Conservative policy should be durably affected by such opposition; the entrance of that kingdom into the great solidarity of Continental absolute powers (*ordnungs mächte*) having become inevitable."

Extract of a private letter from Vienna, dated December 27, 1851.

"To-day is the festival of St. Stephen. The shops are shut, and the newspapers not published; but the *Reichs-zeitung* has published a single leaf, announcing Lord Palmerston's resignation, which is stuck up in the Kohlmarkt, and crowds are reading it as something very important. Lord Palmerston is thoroughly detested by the Government here."

The statutes of the Synod of Thurles came into operation yesterday.

Yesterday morning there was a fire in the neighbourhood of St. Katharine's Docks, which destroyed and damaged considerable property.

After a most searching investigation into the causes of the accident to the cattle and passenger trains reported elsewhere, the jury returned the following special verdict:—

"That the deceased Patrick Moreton met his death by a collision of two trains on the York, Newcastle, and Berwick Railway, and that the collision was owing to the neglect of the company's officers in charge of the first train, to send back a fog or lamp signal to the train following, and further to the neglect of certain officers of the company to supply fog signals to the guard of the first train.

"We find the directors and managers of the York, Newcastle, and Berwick Railway guilty of great blame and culpable neglect:—

"1. In forwarding an enormous cattle train immediately preceding a passenger train, which cattle train passed Christon-bank when the passenger train was within one minute of being due.

"2. In appointing an unqualified guard to such a train.

"3. In appointing only one guard to a double train (250 yards long).

"Also we find that the production of the printed instructions by the superintendent, as a proof of the general carefulness of the company's management, appears to us only an attempt on the part of the company's managers to get rid of the responsibility resting on them, and to throw the blame on an unfortunate guard, while at the price of a few paltry tracts they get rid of the expense of providing a competent individual, whose sole duty ought to be to see, at least once daily, at some central station, that all parties in charge of a train are provided with proper signals."

The jury which sat to inquire into the cause of the Rawmarsh colliery explosion have returned the following verdict:—"We find that the fifty-two men and boys whose bodies we have viewed, were accidentally killed by an explosion of firedamp in the Warren-vale Colliery, in the parish of Rawmarsh, in the county of York, in the occupation of Messrs. Charlesworth." The verdict was accompanied by the following remarks:—"The jury, after a long and painful investigation on the unfortunate individuals who lost their lives in the Warren-vale Pit on the 20th of December, having agreed to a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' feel that, although there is not sufficient evidence for us to return a verdict of manslaughter against any particular person, we should ill discharge our duty if we did not accompany our verdict with an expression of our strong disapprobation of the loose manner in which the works appear to have been conducted at the above pit. We further regard the instructions hitherto given to the men as quite inadequate to the proper supervision and safe working of them; and it certainly does appear to us that it is very desirable that there should be some stringent rules and regulations at every colliery for the better and safer working of the coal mines; and, further, that the proprietors of every mine ought to be held by the Legislature responsible for the efficiency of their agents and superintendents. We express our thanks to Mr. Morton, the Government inspector. Mr. Biram, and other witnesses, for their valuable evidence, which has so materially assisted us in this painful inquiry."

# The Leader.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, 1852.

## Public Affairs.

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

### OUR MINISTERS—WHAT ARE THEY AT?

UNPLEASANT reports circulate, without explicit or direct contradiction, implying that this country is about to be placed in a position with foreign states, which may again commit us to a "Holy Alliance" of the Despots, with all its hateful consequences—its tyranny, its demoralization, its National Debt. For be it remembered, that modern European Despotism has those inextinguishable attendants, Standing Army and National Debt. Those two most detestable burdens upon this country belong to the European system consummated in 1815; and we are threatened with a new 1815 in 1852. An appeal is made by an esteemed correspondent, whose letter we cordially adopt as the expression of our own sentiments.

### "THE ANGLO-AUSTRIAN CONSPIRACY."

"Kemp-town, December 31, 1851.

"SIR,—England is not prepared to forfeit at one fell swoop her position in Europe, and to sink to the rank of a secondary power. She has been disgraced in the person of her Ambassador; kept waiting for six weeks in the ante-rooms of the Austrian *camarilla*, with a royal dessert service of China on his hands, for presentation to that puppet of Absolutism, in whose name the sanguinary butcheries of Italy and Hungary have been perpetrated; but England can never so far submit to Austrian dictation and to Court conspiracy as to tolerate the harlequinade which has been recently performed in the English Cabinet. Was the Court harlequinade previously submitted to the censorship of the Lord Chamberlain?

"The retirement of Lord Lansdowne, and the refusal of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to accept the proffered vacancy, at once stamps the *coup d'état* with its true character of a Court intrigue, in the success of which Papacy and Absolutism are alike interested. Do the Whig 'smashers' really flatter themselves that they can utter a debased Austrian currency for sterling British metal?

"People of England, the time for action has arrived. The peace, safety, and prosperity of the country must be secured by a bold and open popular policy, and not by the secret and foreign intrigues of priests or of courtiers.

"I am, Sir, yours obediently,

W. C."

This appeal raises a question most vital to the interests of the country, though officials would keep us in the dark upon it. The indications of the position taken by Ministers are not favourable to the idea that they mean to make common cause with the nation. On the contrary, the signs indicate an alien policy. To see Lord Westmoreland knocking at the door of the Austrian Emperor, and for two months "persevering," until the Solomon Gundy of the Austrian Court thinks fit to let him in, is humiliating. Something happens to which Lord Palmerston, the responsible Minister, is not a party, and then Lord Westmoreland is admitted. The papers have quoted the following passage of a letter from Vienna published in the *Breslau Gazette*:—

"VIENNA, December 23.—Rumours are current here of negotiations said to have been engaged in by high personages in England with our Court, without the knowledge of Lord Palmerston. Their object is said to be a rapprochement between the two Courts, and the retirement of the noble lord from office is announced as certain to happen soon. The first index of this rapprochement has been the admission of Lord Westmoreland to an audience, and his invitation to dinner by the Emperor. There are many persons who affirm loudly that England will return to the Continental policy, which does not mean the institution of a military Government repugnant to the habits and tastes of the English, but her adhesion to the counter-revolutionary system. It is to be commenced by the expulsion of the political refugees, and by supporting all measures that can destroy the European democratic propaganda."

The way in which this statement is treated by the Ministerial journals,—among which we include the *Times*,—is remarkable. The *Times* had already denied that the refugees are to be expelled; or rather it does not do that, but avers that the answer made by the existing Minister will be the same as that made by the late Foreign Minister; but of this Vienna statement it takes no notice. The *Globe* treats it with angry contempt, as having been written in London; of which there is not the slightest proof. It stands, therefore, as a piece of diplomatic gossip, which is sufficiently important to anger the allies of Ministers, though they do not seem able to contradict it.

This is stated at Vienna on the 23rd: it is on the 22nd that Lord Palmerston's resignation is announced to the astonished Privy Councillors in Downing-street; the Ministerial papers cannot deny that the change of Ministers has caused a feeling of the utmost satisfaction in the Austrian capital.

We notice that the same *London Gazette* which announces the appointment of Lord Granville to be Foreign Secretary, announces the return of the Russian Baron Brunnow, "after a temporary absence," and an audience given to Count Flahault with a present for the Queen from the President of the French Republic. The Austrian Count Buol-Schauenstein's return was mentioned last week.

When the *Standard* remarks the fact that Lord Granville, the new Foreign Secretary, is married to a French wife, who is a Roman Catholic, the *Times* flies into a rage at the violation of private life; but cannot deny the fact. We had supposed that the lady was an Austrian; but the main fact holds either way, that Lord Granville is connected by marriage with a "Continental policy," and to mention the fact is not to go very deeply into private affairs. But the anger is significant.

Lord Granville is unknown to politics, properly so-called; his offices have been chiefly of a ministerial and unpolitical kind; his manners are very pleasing, he is reputed to be a perfect gentleman, and he is known chiefly in connection with the Court, where he is understood to be in great favour. Prince Albert and he were both Commissioners of the Exposition; that institution in Hyde-park which originated the "foreign" branch of our police, and which is just now the occasion for a very courteous exchange of presents between royal persons and commissioners.

The *Morning Advertiser* has a very specific account, quoted in another page, implying that Lord John Russell took upon himself the work of procuring Lord Palmerston's resignation, in which the other members of the Cabinet acquiesced rather than concurred; Lord Lansdowne, a noble Earl, and a right honourable Baronet, expressly dissenting. The Marquis of Lansdowne, indeed, carries his dissent so far as to leave office.

The men with whom the Ministry is recruiting its strength are the Cardwells, Argyles, and intelligent though not leading members of the Liberal Conservative section. We are assured by Ministerial organs of their undiminished "Liberalism": the word means anything—or nothing. The fact stands, that the Whig Ministers, who have just rebuffed the Manchester men, are retiring more and more from the Liberal position which they once occupied.

Let the reader survey these indications, and ask himself to what they tend? We construe them to suggest that there is a strong sympathy in our Court with the Courts of foreign powers; that the sympathy has had its correlative in the antipathy to Lord Palmerston; that our Ministers, so far from sharing the national feeling against the despotism of the Continent, are rather bent on yielding to the paramount influence of the hour, to improve it for their own advantage, and, in rendering their official position more compact, to isolate themselves from the country. They are like officers who distrust the crew of a ship, and withdraw to the quarterdeck to entrench themselves on it, to fight their own battle, and to navigate the vessel of the state by force of pistol, however unwilling the people. We anticipated that the Ministry would henceforth do that which Lord Palmerston had seemed to do, and would really trim; we are confirmed by the Ministerial organs: they have taken alarm at the growing interest of the people in the Anglo-American Alliance, and accordingly we find the *Globe* trying to persuade its readers that it is not necessary for England to take sides in the conflict of despotism and freedom! The *Times* follows:—"The advent of a new Foreign Secretary offers some hope that we shall preserve our boasted neutrality without



either compromise or petulance; without offering the right hand to rampant Despotism, and the left to Democratic conspirators."

Now, if Ministers intended an honest national policy, open proclamation of it would be their most advantageous and obvious course. From their silence we must infer that they do not mean an honest and national policy—that they contemplate a new holy Alliance, an 1852 to imitate 1815—with all its tyrannies, its meannesses, and its debts. The appeal of our correspondent should be anticipated by the heart of every true Englishman.

#### OFFICIAL CHANCES OF WAR WITH AMERICA AND POPULAR ALLIANCE.

Do the English people intend to be at war with their brethren of America? We believe not. We believe that the people of this country shares, in a degree daily increasing, that sentiment which has so largely extended itself among the Peoples of the Continent, for a brotherly accord; and most especially we believe that all classes, except perhaps a few circles that supply too many of our official gentlemen, are possessed by the desire to be in concert with our brethren of the great Republic. England and America have no desire for reciprocal war, no intention, no interest.

It is with disgust, therefore, that we learn how nearly we have been brought to open war—in spite of our teeth.

The demand for explanations on the Prometheus affair has come over from America, in accordance with the resolution which General Cass carried in the Senate; and our Government will have to reply. Now, how will it reply? Will it shuffle, and tarnish the national honour by a mean concession to stern language? or will it retort by bullying, and hazard a war? We put the question with those alternatives only, because we do not see how the Government has retained to itself the power to deal with the matter bravely and frankly, as any men truly representing this country could.

The facts will enable our readers to judge how far Government is likely or able to act bravely and frankly. It is already known that "her Majesty's" war-brig Express fired upon the American commercial steamer Prometheus, and obliged it to pay port dues at San Juan del Norte. Now, who collects those port dues? This is the point that puzzles the Americans. The port dues are collected in the name of his Majesty the King of the Mosquito Territory, or Mosquitia as our officials call it. And from whom does the British collector receive his authority? From the British Vice-Consul. There is a Council established in Greytown, capital of Mosquitia, and documents have been circulated, bearing the signature of those potent, grave, and reverend seignors, the Councilors: the Americans once caught a Councilor, alive and kicking, whose name was appended to one of those important state documents; but they found that the man could not write. Who wrote it, then? Nobody knew: but conjecture answered—Probably the Vice-Consul. It is to back an authority of this mongrel kind that her Majesty's brigs Express has fired upon an American ship whose master had demurred to pay port dues to an English collector in a place not lawfully under the British flag.

But what is this Mosquitia? It is well that our readers should remember. The Mosquito Territory is an unwholesome tract of land near the mouth of the Nicaragua river, and the site of the proposed interoceanic canal; it was the spot contemplated in an emigration scheme that came rather disastrously before the public some time back, and has, in fact, been the object of steady "cockering" among official people. On the coast of Spanish America was a timber station of English adventurers, who, by the mixed process of sufferance and encroachment, gradually made the Balize settlement a sort of colony. Over the colony, to govern it, was a Colonel Macdonald, and the colonel had a secretary named Walker. It was this Mr. Walker who conceived the idea of making a "kingdom" of the Mosquito Territory, just as other small Earls of Warwick have made kingdoms for King Jacky-jacky or King Mumbo-jumbo, on the coast of Africa. Accordingly, Mr. Walker found a dark-skinned chief, made him "king," supplied him with technical names, knowledge of his sovereign rights, especially as to revenue, gave him English officials, and took him on a visit to the Governor-General of Jamaica, under whose august "protection," we believe, the King of Mosquitia was formally placed by Mr. Walker. The capital

of Mosquitia was baptized "Greytown," and, as it now turns out, her Britannic Majesty's naval officers act in support of his Mosquitian Majesty's customs and port officers—perhaps under some "offensive and defensive treaty" with the King!

This is all very idle and very silly; but see to what risks it brings us. On board the Prometheus were six hundred Californians, with bowie knives and revolvers. When their ship was attacked, they desired to board the Express, and take it! It would not be etiquette to suppose that Californian adventurers could take, with bowie knives and revolvers, a vessel bearing her Majesty's commission and her Majesty's cannon; but suppose even that the Americans had been repulsed? In either event there would have been bloodshed; the spirit of the two countries would have been fired, and there would be war between us!

Now, it is very pitiful and very criminal to hazard such terrible results for a subject so paltry and so unreal! England has not the slightest interest in Mosquitia; and that is the point which we desire our brethren in America to understand. Whatever Downing-street may do or may refuse to do, England will be wholly guiltless of any intention to obstruct American navigation, to offend a just American pride, or to go to war. There is the same feeling in the Union; and our countrymen on this side of the Atlantic ought to know as much. We hear that many towns are preparing to address this country on the subject of an alliance. The American People desire to be friends with the English People; the English People anticipated that desire in its own desire for alliance. We have other things to do than to quarrel, other wars to prepare for than a war with each other. Now, is this desire to be frustrated by any paltry official hobby? We believe not. Neither Englishmen nor Americans will be such fools as to fight for the convenience of Downing-street and Austria. The Americans know their own mind; but on the part of Englishmen we beg to assure them of this fact—that if ample satisfaction be not rendered from Downing-street, if any offence be continued, the act will be that, not of England, but of Downing-street. England is already allied to America, in feeling and conviction, far more closely than diplomatic parchments could bind the two countries; and, if Downing-street be hostile, the Americans must deal with Downing-street. The Americans will not, we are sure they will not, suffer a misunderstanding to be made between them and the English People; but rather regard the official quarrel as an incentive to make the understanding with the People more distinct, the alliance with the People closer.

#### HOW TO MAKE PAUPERISM PAY.

TIME, which proves all things, is making manifest to attentive observers, that practical Poor Law reform must be sought in reproductive employment for the able-bodied paupers. That is the most effective protection both for ratepayer and labourer. Every week, almost every day, testifies to the soundness of the views on this subject, which the Leader has always set forth.

Cork, Sheffield, and the Isle of Thanet, are practical examples. In the Thanet Union, as we said the week before last, pauper labour has actually been made to pay.

A still more important adhesion to the principle of reproductive, as opposed to non-productive, employment is to be found in the fact, that the Oxford Board of Guardians has established an industrial and agricultural school for the pauper children. This is especially noteworthy, because Oxford, being not only a University, but a Cathedral town, is naturally backward in reducing to practice great social theories and realizing great theoretical improvements. Still even the Guardians of the Oxford Union could not resist when they were made to see how clearly it was for the benefit both of ratepayers and paupers, that poor rates should be regarded as capital and employed reproductively.

But would not the ratepayers find their account in an extended application of the principle, to adult pauper labour. It is of the greatest moment, we admit, that pauper children be educated in habits of productive industry; but it is scarcely of less moment that the annual waste of "poor relief" in a detested and useless alms be diminished, if not made profitable investment, as in the Isle of Thanet.

In all ordinary cases of pauperism in the agricultural districts it will be found that poor rates are the sorry complement of wages. The researches of Mr. Caird, published in a series of letters to the

Times, show that high wages and low poor rates, and low wages and high poor rates, are almost invariably the logical consequences the one of the other. From this it results that poor rates are the wages of compulsory idleness. No wonder the agricultural interest is suffering. Mr. Caird, whose appointment as "Commissioner" to the Times was accepted with the concurrence of Sir Robert Peel, is among the zealous advocates of Poor Law Reform.

And there is hope yet. Agriculture, even in the Gehenna of Ireland, seeks refuge in the wise principle of reproductive employment. The Poor Law Guardians are largely acting upon that principle. All farseeing and practical reformers have long perceived social reform must begin with the Poor Law; and experience has proved that by the employment of paupers reproductively, not only are the poor rates lessened in every instance, but the workhouse is made self-supporting in many; relief is deprived of its degrading character, and labour is restored to the land and to industry.

#### OUR VAST "NON-EFFECTIVE."

COSTLY as our army is, effective as it may be in keeping down merely riotous movements of our own population, there are reasons to doubt the effective condition of our men if they were opposed to the highly trained armies of certain Continental neighbours. The experiences of the Cape are not flattering: there the Black Kafirs treat our red-coats with the saucy indifference that old birds show to scarecrows, and they laugh at the idle scolding of a musqueteer who only hits at a venture. "An Old Officer of Light Division," who writes to the Times, explains this superiority of the savages: our men are allowed just thirty rounds of cartridge for a year's target practice! Thirty rounds! How many years would it take the junior member of a pigeon-shooting club to distinguish himself on that allowance?

Yes, thirty rounds for practice—and forty rounds on going to the field! It has hitherto been sixty rounds; but astounded at the merits of the Minié rifle, it is said by the Old Officer, the Ordnance has bespoken a number of that arm, with its heavy balls; and the weight is to be compensated by a reduction in the number of rounds. Now, at Waterloo the Rifles went into action with eighty rounds, and were thrice supplied with more. But the long peace has made our officials forget these things.

It has made them forget the important matter of weight for the soldier. The jockey is "weighed at starting;" the sportsman is jealous of every ounce added to his natural ponderosity. The relief of their knapsacks, left in tent, enabled our light troops to overtake the French at the pass of Vera in the Pyrenées; the relief from blanket and ammunition (eleven pounds) enabled the same men, landing on the conclusion of the war at Plymouth, and marching into Kent, to make four miles an hour, instead of three with a halt of ten minutes every hour. But existing regulations burden the soldier with ammunition, clothing, accoutrements, rations, &c., to the rate of more than half a hundred weight (sixty pounds). Among the elements of this excessive weight are his clumsy, ill-made musquet, and his ball cartridge fitted to the wide bore. To save 3d. or 4d., one side of his bayonet is left solid, instead of being hollowed out, as is the case in all sides of a French bayonet; so that to save 4d., he is saddled for ever with two ounces more of useless steel. This heavy musquet is fitted with the old swivel, in lieu of the "double-pipe swivel," which works easily, and does not disturb the aim; and the old fashion is kept up on the official superstition that the double-pipe swivel gets out of order. Every gamekeeper can refute the delusion.

But why should these things be wondered at? Our public offices exist for the benefit of the occupants. If civilians fill military posts, so much the better; for our politicians hate military matters, and think the less we have of them the better. As to English soldiers proving unequal in the field to well-armed Prussians, or Louis Napoleon's elaborately trained men, who can run by the side of cavalry—why, such a calamity has never happened yet, and never will—till the first time: It would not be becoming to say that the Cape campaign looks very like a first time; or that Cossacks, if not French Algerines, which cost less than our soldiers, may wear better, especially at starting. No, we rest on Waterloo; and it will take a counter-Waterloo to convince us of our mistake. How awkward if the counter-Waterloo were near Waterloo-bridge.



In such case, there will probably be a sudden arming of the entire population, and Englishmen—Lancashire weavers, to wit, and cabbage-fed peasants—will be called upon to remember that "England expects every man to do his duty." If he only knew *how*! We might practice, indeed. But then John Stiles would be suspected of poaching. And if your weaver were to imitate a Yankee citizen in practising the art of national defence, he would be suspected of "sedition," and "put down" by the police. For your genuine official is more afraid of an Englishman exercising his prescriptive right to possess arms, than he is of Cossack or Algerine. Let us, therefore, continue our blessed compromise between peace principles and effective service—a great standing army equipped in parsimonious estimates, with expensive commissions and little practice. Keep down the People, truckle to the military states, and "God save the Queen!"

#### "ANONYMOUS PARTNERSHIP" ALREADY LEGAL IN IRELAND.

It is not generally known that there is now in force an act of the Irish Parliament, by which the advantage of "Anonymous Partnership," or that of associating into a joint-stock company, with a limited liability to the shareholders, has been insured in Ireland for nearly three-quarters of a century past.

This act, the 21 and 22 George III., c. 110, must have been almost one of the last acts of the Irish Legislature; and it deserves more than ordinary attention, for the clearness and conciseness of its style; a matter in which our lawmakers have sadly degenerated since that period. By the 7 and 8 Victoria, c. 110 (commonly known as "The Joint-stock Companies Act"), s. 64, "Irish Anonymous Partnerships" under this act are specially exempted from repeal, and the powers of the act are reserved in the following terms:—

"Provided always, and be it enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to Partnerships in Ireland, commonly called 'Anonymous Partnerships,' formed under and by virtue of an act passed in the Parliament of Ireland in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of the reign of his late Majesty King George III., intituled 'An Act to Promote Trade and Manufactures, by Regulating and Encouraging Partnerships.'"

The preamble and first clause of the Irish statute, which we give in full, would have served as an admirable *précis* to the recent Report of the House of Commons' Committee on Partnerships.

"An Act to Promote Trade and Manufacture, by Regulating and Encouraging Partnerships.

"WHEREAS, the increasing the stock of money employed in trade and manufacture must greatly promote the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom, and many persons might be induced to subscribe sums of money to men well qualified for trade, but not of competent fortune to carry it on largely, if they were allowed to abide by the profit or loss of trade for the same, and were not to be deemed traders on that account, or subject thereby to any further or other demands than the sums so subscribed; be it enacted, &c., That any number of persons may, from and after the 24th day of June, 1782, by deed or instrument of partnership, under their hands and seals, executed in the presence of two or more subscribing witnesses, and to be registered as hereinafter mentioned, enter into a joint trade or copartnership for the purpose of buying and selling in the gross or by wholesale, or for establishing or carrying on any manufacture or business for any term *not exceeding fourteen years*, but determinable at any shorter period, in such manner and upon such conditions as shall be agreed upon by such partnership deed; and that the said copartners, or some of them so executing the said deed, shall thereby bind themselves to pay in money towards a joint stock such sums as they shall respectively think fit; such joint stock, however, not to be in any one of such companies or copartnerships less in the whole than one thousand pounds, or more than fifty thousand pounds."

By the 2nd clause, the subscribers or shareholders are empowered to nominate one or more persons to manage and conduct the business of the company, in whose names, with the addition of "and company," all transactions may be carried on. They are to be called the "acting partners," and are to be liable to the bankrupt laws, "for and on account of the partnership debts," as if trading on their own account.

Clause 3 directs that the remaining partners are to be called "anonymous partners," and that the partnership shall not be liable to their debts, &c., nor they to any debts or contracts of the "acting partners."

Clause 4 regulates the manner of paying upon

the shares or subscription. The anonymous partners, at the time of executing the deed or articles of the copartnership, are to pay one-fourth of the sum subscribed, and in twelve months, or at such times within the twelve months as may be limited by the deed, the remaining three-fourths must be paid in cash, and without demand from the acting partners. On failure of payment of this remaining *three-fourths*, the partner so failing forfeits the one-fourth already paid, and all profit arising therefrom; he ceases also to be a partner, and is liable to any debts of the copartnership, in case of failure, to the amount of the three-fourths unpaid. Should the concern, however, be ultimately broken up at a profit, the one-fourth forfeited is to be repaid to him.

Clause 5 declares that a full account is to be made out once a year, and a balance struck of the whole and of each particular partner's share. This is to be signed by the acting partners, and by at least two-thirds of the "anonymous partners," or their respective attorneys lawfully constituted.

By clause 6 each partner is permitted to take out, at such annual settlement, one half of his share of the profits, the other half to go to capital during the copartnership.

The 7th clause strictly limits the liability of the partners to the amount of their subscription and the profits received.

The 8th clause places representatives or assignees in the position of original shareholders; and provides that, where there are more than one "acting partner," the death of any one of them shall not cause a dissolution of the company.

Clause 9 declares that the evidence of the dissolution of the copartnership, previously to the expiration of the ordinary period, is to be an advertisement to that effect twice in the *Dublin Gazette*, and an entry in the Registrar's book, where the deed of partnership is registered.

By clause 10 all shares must be sold subject to the terms of the partnership deed.

The next seven clauses are of ordinary regulations for the protection of the partners against fraud, &c., on the part of the "acting partners" and each other; and the final clause, 18, provides that copartnerships for banking-houses, or shops selling by retail, are not within the powers of this act.

The effect of this act is to enable any number of persons in Ireland to associate themselves into a company; and it confers upon them the limited liability, and all the powers of suing and being sued in the names of such person or persons as they may appoint, as are now enjoyed, after vast expense, by the incorporated companies. True it is that the capital is limited to fifty thousand pounds; but this will be found a sufficient *paid-up* capital for most purposes—especially coöperative associations. Nor needs the limit of the duration of the copartnership to fourteen years be regarded as an obstacle; since clause 6, which enacts that one half of the yearly profit is to be set aside for capital until the copartnership is dissolved, would render it advisable to dissolve it *pro forma* at shorter intervals than fourteen years, and commence *de novo*, and so on *ad infinitum*, or until the Legislature amends this clumsy portion of an otherwise exceedingly simple system of regulations.

There is little doubt but that companies formed under this act can be carried out in England for English purposes, providing that the initiative of the company be made in Ireland, and the deed of copartnership registered under this act in Dublin. There is nothing in the act to confine the capital, when so associated, to Irish objects only.

But, regarded in an Irish light alone, how useful might these anonymous partnerships be made! There is no want of money in Ireland, but a want of investment and association of small means to great ends, or, in other words, of coöperation. What manufactories might be constructed, what mines worked, what fisheries organised, what landed estates purchased by such associations!

#### THE LADIES' GUILD.

Six months ago we spoke a few words to our readers on the subject of the Ladies' Guild, at that time struggling to get itself established among the substantial realities of our social system. It had our best wishes and public support then, and ever since we have kept an eye upon it, watching with interest the courageous way in which it has battled with its difficulties, gained ground, and held its ground; and now we have the pleasure of announcing to all whom it may concern that the Ladies' Guild is a success—a *fait accompli*. It is not a great fact yet, it is only a little one; but it is

significant and prophetic of a very important revolution of "the ever whirling wheel of change," which will probably be one of the very greatest facts in the next generation—viz., that man shall have no property in woman but that which she of her own freewill gives him. When that, too, shall have become a *fait accompli*—though this may not be the best of all possible worlds even then—it will certainly be a much juster and pleasanter one to live in, for both parties concerned—"those masculine, these feminine."

The Ladies' Guild, which promises to be the small beginning of this great result, does not pretend to regenerate all womankind by a *coup d'état* to be forced on Queen Victoria, nor has Bloomerism anything to do with it, nor the question of female political franchise. Yet the Guild aims decisively at the acquisition of power for woman—the power which comes from skilled labour and habits of self-reliance. The methods by which it proposes to gain this end are based on the principles of association, coöperation, and mutual support. Its immediate object, in this its first stage, "is to aid females" (so says the prospectus—we would suggest the word *women* instead)—

"Especially such as have enjoyed a good education, and are dependent on their own exertions for their support, by employing them in branches of industry suited to them, such as the fine and decorative arts, under conditions which will secure to the workers all the benefits attainable from their industry and skill, subject to the necessary charges for management and the use of capital; which will afford them protection against arbitrary conduct on the part of those who have the direction of the work; and which will provide for the continual extension of these advantages to fresh persons according to the resources in the hands of those who have the management of the undertaking. The general outline of the plan on which the Guild is formed is as follows:—

"It consists of the managers, associates, probationers, contributors, subscribers, and trustees; and is constituted under a deed drawn up between the managers, associates, contributors, and trustees. The managers form a partnership. The whole conduct of the business will be in their hands; they will be paid by a salary, partly fixed, but in a large part dependent on the success of the business. The associates consist of certain females named in the deed of constitution, who are sufficiently skilled in the works intended to be carried on by it, and appear to enter into the spirit of the institution; who have the power of increasing their numbers by election, under certain restrictions provided by the deed to prevent the admission of undesirable members. Their powers will be principally exercised by means of a committee chosen by themselves, under the superintendence of a president, who is originally named by the deed for the same term as the partners, but will afterwards be elected by the associates. The associates will have the power of electing any ladies as honorary associates. The probationers consist of all females who are desirous of being instructed or employed in any work carried on by the Guild, and who pay the amount necessary to defray the expenses of instruction, employment being given to them if practicable. The contributors consist of all persons willing to advance money for the purposes of the institution. Annual subscribers to the Ladies' Guild of one guinea, will be entitled to purchase articles made by the Guild during the continuance of their subscription, on reduced terms, to be fixed by the managers. A subscription of ten guineas in one sum will confer the same privilege for life. The trustees have the duty of seeing that the business is carried on according to the conditions of the deed. Such is an outline of the plan for the formation of the Ladies' Guild. Miss Wallace, the patentee of a method of applying glass to the purpose of decorative art, which has been highly spoken of by many persons qualified to form an opinion upon the subject, and of which some of the results were exhibited in the Crystal Palace, has with great liberality placed at the disposal of its members, on highly favourable terms, the exclusive right to work her patent, which is admirably adapted for female labour, and promises to be of much value. It is not, however, proposed to confine the business of the Guild to the working of this Patent, but to extend it as opportunity offers to any other occupations which appear suitable for female labour. It is in contemplation to make arrangements by which, as far as possible, the protection of a home may be afforded to young persons desirous of employment in the Guild, whose friends reside at a distance from London."

"God helps those who help themselves." This wise old saw, indigenous in every modern European language, embodying as it does one of the great principles which distinguish our Western civilization from that of Oriental nations, may fairly be adopted by the Ladies' Guild as the motto or legend to their device, whatever that device may be—spindle, graver, needle, or more ambitious pencil. The adoption of such a legend would be a modest



acknowledgment of their present success; for the real founders of the Guild have helped themselves with all their might, with a very notable result. It would also be a declaration to the world that steady industry is what they rely on for the tangible material advantages which will lead the way to that social and mental elevation of women which we, and all men who love and honour them, truly desire to see them attain. The watchword of our journalistic chivalry is not the Murat mockery of the Bayard and Dunois cry, "*Honneur et les Dames*!" but the quite new motto, "*Justice pour la Femme*."

## GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS.

### I.—THE PRIVY COUNCIL (*continued*).

#### 3. THE BOARD OF TRADE.

It seems that, during the Commonwealth, there was a Government Board or Council, somewhat resembling in its functions and objects, the Committee of the Privy Council, now denominated THE BOARD OF TRADE, inasmuch as it was charged with the duty of considering "by what means the traffic and navigation of the public might be best promoted and regulated." As a permanent department, however, the Board of Trade has existed only from the year 1786, and it is, without doubt, one of the most important, and, we may add, one of the most efficient of the public departments. It takes cognizance of all matters touching the trade and commerce of the country—home, colonial, and foreign; and advises other departments on all questions relating to them. It now has also the registration of the mercantile marine and the licensing of steam-vessels, as well as the superintendence of the Schools of Design. The construction and working of railways are now again placed under its inspection. It superintends the conduct of bills affecting trade or commerce when introduced into Parliament; and undertakes all the inquiries preliminary to the granting of Charters with limited liability.

The Statistical department, which was formed by Lord Auckland in 1830 or 1831, is of great value. It has to prepare returns moved for in Parliament, and to furnish such statistical information as may be required by any member of the Government or of the Legislature. It has allotted to it also work of a permanent kind; such as collecting, classifying, and putting into appropriate forms, the various and detailed specifications of the revenue, commerce, and general statistics of the country and of the colonies, annually laid before Parliament in a printed volume, as also a *résumé* for the decennial volume. It compiles and publishes the monthly accounts of trade, navigation, and shipping; prepares and interchanges the statistics of the British Empire with such foreign states as may be disposed to effect such an arrangement; and generally collects and arranges every thing that pertains to the statistics of the foreign, coasting, and colonial trade of the empire; the manufactures, occupations, consumption, and offences of the people; our imports, exports, duties, and drawbacks; and the tonnage, &c., of British and foreign shipping.

The Board of Trade, properly speaking, consists only of the President and the Vice-President, to whom are referred all general questions, and who have the superintendence, direction, and control of the entire establishment. The Staff of the department, however, is divided into several bodies or sections, each having its particular branch of business to manage. The following, as far as we can discover, exhibits the entire establishment, with the salaries received by each:—

#### 1. THE BOARD.

President (£2000), Mr. H. Labouchere.  
Private Secretary to President (£300), Mr. T. G. Baring.  
Vice-President (no salary), not yet known.\*  
Private Secretary to ditto (£150), Mr. G. A. Bowring.  
Joint Secretaries (£1500 each), Sir Denis Le Marchant and Mr. Porter.  
Assistants to ditto, Mr. H. Hobart and Mr. J. P. Ward.  
Registrar of Papers (£800), Mr. Noyes.  
Librarian and Précis Writer (£300), Mr. G. A. Bowring.  
Clerks, nine in number, salaries from £90 to £500 (£2153).  
Officekeeper, Housekeeper, Messengers, and Porters, salaries from £70 to £130 (£915).

\* Lord Granville received his salary (£2000) as Paymaster-General. The Committee on Public Salaries, which sat last session, recommended that the united salary should be £1500; but Lord John Russell has expressed his determination to keep it at £2000.

#### 2. STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT.

Chief (£800), Mr. Albany Fonblanque.  
Joint Assistants (£280 and £500), Mr. W. D. Oswald and Mr. R. Valpy.  
Clerks, four in number, salaries from £90 to £550 (£1145).

#### 3. CORN DEPARTMENT.

Comptroller (£600), Mr. G. Joyce.  
Deputy ditto (£500), Mr. H. F. Jadis.  
Clerk (£300), Mr. G. Joyce, jun.

#### 4. REGISTRY OF MERCHANT SEAMEN.

Registrar (£500), Captain Beechey, R.N.  
Assistant ditto (£350), Captain W. H. Walker.  
Overseer of Tickets (£183, in addition to half-pay as Master, R.N.).  
Clerks, thirty-five in number, salaries from £90 to £300 (£5310).  
Housekeeper, Messengers, and Porters, salaries from £40 to £65 (£315).

#### 5. SCHOOLS OF DESIGN.

Secretary and Curator (£500).  
Clerk to ditto (£100).  
Inspector of Branch Schools (£500).  
Lecturers (£500).

#### 6. RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

Chief of Department (£1500), Sir Edward Ryan.  
Secretary\* (£1000), Captain J. L. A. Simmons, R.E.  
Assistant\* ditto (£311), Lieutenant Galton, R.E.  
Inspectors\* (£1450), Captains Wynne and Laffan, R.E.  
Registrar (£429), Mr. Duncan Macgregor.  
Parliamentary and Legal Assistant (£399), A. Barrow, Esq.  
Clerks, eight in number (£1102).  
Officekeeper, Messengers, and Porter (£496).

The sum charged on the Miscellaneous Estimates for 1851-52, including £15,055 for the Schools of Design, and £8062 for the Railway Department, which stand separately, is £48,457.

There was, till within the last two or three months, a "Legal Assistant" attached to the Board—Mr. (now Sir Stafford) Northcote, who was appointed when Sir James Stephen ceased to fill the office of counsel to this Board, as well as to the Colonial-office. Mr. Northcote was appointed by Mr. Gladstone, whose private secretary he was, when the right honourable gentleman was made Secretary of the Board of Trade. The salary was £500 a year; but, as the duties attached to the office were such as really pertained to the secretaries, one of which has generally been a barrister, Mr. Labouchere has availed himself of the retirement of Sir Stafford Northcote to abolish the office of Legal Assistant.

We may as well just remark here, too, that the Corn Department is confessedly an unjustifiably costly one. The business of the department is merely to receive and arrange the published corn averages, now only for the use of the Tithe Commissioners, and not, as formerly, to regulate the corn trade of the country; and yet its charge upon the estimates is no less than £1400 a-year. Mr. Labouchere has promised, upon the retirement of Mr. Joyce, the comptroller, to "reconstruct the department, and see whether it is not possible to make some reduction in it." We will undertake to say that a single clerk, at £150 or £200 a-year, would be quite adequate to the discharge of all the duties of this department. Mr. Jacob, who was Mr. Joyce's predecessor in the office of comptroller, and who died last week, received a salary of £1000 a-year.

#### 4. COMMITTEE OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.

This is generally regarded as the same department as the Board of Trade; and, in point of fact, the members of it themselves give a very vague and confused account of its construction and functions. It seems to be a merely consultative body, to which are referred certain grave questions of colonial policy—as, recently, the drafts of the constitutions proposed for the Australian colonies and the Cape of Good Hope. Previous to 1780 the colonial business of the country was transacted by this Board; but, after the appointment of a Colonial Secretary of State, the Board fell into almost total disuse, until within the last twelve or fourteen months, when it was revived, for the purpose to which we have just referred. It consists of the following members:—

President—Right Honourable H. Labouchere.  
Vice-President—not yet known. Lately, Lord Granville.  
The Lord Chancellor—Lord Truro.  
First Lord of the Treasury—Lord John Russell.  
The Principal Secretaries of State—Sir George Grey, Earl Grey, Earl Granville.

\* These officers receive their pay in the Royal Engineers, i. e., the three captains, £202. 5s. 6d., and the lieutenant, £124. 14s. 2d., in addition to their salaries from the Railway Board. They also have their travelling expenses.

Chancellor of the Exchequer—Sir Charles Wood.  
Speaker of the House of Commons—Mr. Lefevre.  
Such Officers of State in Ireland as are Privy Counsellors in England.  
Right Honourable Charles Arbuthnot.  
Right Honourable John Nicholl.  
Right Honourable Sir G. Ryan.  
Right Honourable Sir James Stephen.  
Right Honourable Sir David Dundas.

#### POLITICS IN THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

In its Sacred column the *Times* is obliged to recognize political truth. On New Year's-day, the paragraph winding up the estimate of the Commercial Year contained an appeal to Englishmen, warning them of their duty to watch well the doings of the Continental powers, and consider whether commercial security was possible under Absolutism.

"Every merchant and capitalist must also be a politician; and it is for each man to satisfy himself, according to his peculiar views, whether the principles of government at present in force throughout Europe are such as to insure the maintenance of economy, the growth of public happiness, and the free extension of peaceful enterprise. History affords no parallel to the utter dissimilarity of system that now prevails between England and her neighbours. Whether that dissimilarity can long continue, or whether an equilibrium is ultimately to be brought about by gradual approaches, or by a sudden convulsion, is a point which none can determine. All, however, can estimate its possibilities, and decide whether they are such as should awaken caution."

Couple this with the past policy of the *Times* in the same department—that of discrediting foreign stocks as what they manifestly are, insecure, and pointing to America and our colonies as alone affording fields for safe investments.

In another column our readers will see that even the *Morning Chronicle*, a convert to the Ministry since the alleged accession of certain Peelites, recognizes the American desire for the Anglo-American Alliance as a great fact, an indisputable and irresistible fact: reluctantly, but without qualification, it confesses the existence of that which we have striven to create.

## SOCIAL REFORM.

### "NOTES OF A SOCIAL ECONOMIST."

#### THE COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS OF ENGLAND XII.

"A rational Government will attend solely to the happiness of the Governed."—Robert Owen.

At the third Congress of delegates from the coöperative societies of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1832, sixty-five associations were represented, numbering 32,980 members, but possessing funds only to the amount of £10,464. Now, in the town of Padiham alone, in addition to a "store" well stocked with groceries, drapery goods, and every article commonly used by a family of the middle or working class, a large mill has just been completed, which, by April next, will have in it 360 looms. This mill is the property of seventy-seven (£100) shareholders or associates, all of whom are working men. They have already raised the funds necessary for the building; and, when the machinery shall be in full operation, the proprietors will have a paid up capital amounting to seven thousand seven hundred pounds.

The discussion on coöperation which recently took place in this mill between Mr. Ernest Jones, the well-known barrister, and Mr. Lloyd Jones, a delegate from the Central Agency in London, deserves the attentive consideration of all social economists. (See Report in the *Preston Guardian* and *Christian Socialist*.) Mr. Ernest Jones undertook to vindicate the following propositions:—

"The errors of the present Coöperative movement, showing that it carries within it the germs of dissolution, would inflict a renewed evil on the masses of the people, and is essentially destructive to the real principles of coöperation; instead of abrogating profit-mongering, it recreates it; instead of counter-acting competition, it reestablishes it; instead of preventing centralization, it renews it; merely transferring the rôle from one set of actors to another."

In this discussion Mr. Ernest Jones showed himself less tolerant than even M. Proudhon, who, while condemning the imperfection of the system of coöperation, as taught in certain Socialist schools in France, was yet compelled to acknowledge that, in the coöperative societies, the principle of antagonism had been superseded by that of "reciprocity," the idea of authority by that of "contract," as between equals and freemen; in fact, that an economical and industrial organization of the people had been established. Coöperation, therefore, in its most restricted sense, is simply an application of the joint-stock or mutual-assurance principle, but a decided improvement on the old



system of isolation. Whether coöperative stores and factories be justified in selling to the public at a profit, is rather a barren question. But without profits how is capital to be accumulated? There can be no doubt that "profit-mongering" is an evil; and that our whole social system is rotten to the core; rotten, because it is irrational and based upon false and arbitrary assumptions, which are in direct contradiction to the eternal laws of nature. But the real social problem to be solved is this:—How to bring about the gradual but radical reformation which is so much needed in this corrupt and artificial state of civilization, in which falsehood, hypocrisy, and antagonism predominate, without violence or convulsion.

Doubtless the present centralizing system must, at some future period, be superseded by a voluntary union or federation of territorial associations or communities; but, under the vicious circumstances in the midst of which mankind is now placed, it is impossible at once to abolish "profit-mongering," without previously fixing a maximum of price and a minimum of wages; a maximum of population in proportion to capital, and a limit to the field of production, which, for the English Nation, has been indefinitely augmented by the repeal of the Corn Laws. It is true that the small capitalist cannot compete with the large capitalist; therefore hostile competition, or *social war*, must inevitably lead to monopoly; but the abolition of monopoly is communism! The practical difficulty, therefore, lies in the adjustment of the principles of socialism and individualism; of the interests of the community and those of family, which naturally arise from the voluntary union or contract entered into by rational and enfranchised beings of different sexes; domestic interests which are, and ever have been, the foundation of human society.

The question of wages and of profits is most important in itself, as well as in its bearings on coöperation: and a clear understanding of the subject is indispensable to the proper conduct and guidance of the employed in their contracts or contests with their employers, and in framing the "Rules" of their coöperative societies on sound economical principles.

The produce of labour originally constituted the natural recompense, or wages, of labour.\* Before the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole of the produce belonged to the labourer: there was neither landlord nor master to share it with him. If this state of things could have continued, wages would have augmented with the improvements in productive power, which were developed by the division of labour and by the discoveries of science. All things, gradually, would have become cheaper, as they would have been produced by a smaller quantity of labour. But this could not last beyond the first appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock. The landowner then demanded a share of almost all the produce of labour; and his rent was the first subtraction from the wages of the labourer employed upon the land. But, if the tiller of the soil had not wherewithal to maintain himself until the harvest, this maintenance was advanced to him from the stock or accumulations of the master who employed him, and who would have had no interest in employing him, unless he had shared in the produce of his labour. The master's share, or profit, was the second subtraction from the wages of the labourer; and the produce of almost all other labour is liable to a similar deduction. But when one or more workmen possess stock, or capital, sufficient both to purchase the materials for their work and to maintain themselves until it be completed, they then take the whole produce of their own labour, or the whole value which has been added to the materials upon which they have bestowed their labour. The profits, however, arising from surplus production are always to be distinguished from mere money-profits, which may be obtained without any increase of real wealth.

WAGES depend upon the demand for and the supply of labour; or on the proportion between the capital which is directly expended in the purchase of labour, and the number of the labourers who work for hire; and with free exchange or free trade, the field of production is limited only by the earth's circumference. Under the immoral competitive system, the material interests of the masters and workmen are by no means the same, whatever their moral interests may be. The workmen desire to receive as high, and the masters to give as low, wages as possible; profits rising as wages fall, and falling as

wages rise; the rate of profit depending upon the proportion between the price of labour and the produce of it. The masters being fewer in number, more wealthy, and independent, can combine more easily to lower, than the workmen can to raise, wages; and they can hold out much longer. Although we rarely hear of the combination of masters, though frequently of those of workmen, whoever imagines that the masters rarely combine, is as ignorant of the world as of the subject. Masters are always and everywhere in a tacit, but constant, combination not to raise the wages of labour beyond their actual rate; and they sometimes enter into particular combinations to sink the wages of labour even below this rate. These combinations are conducted in silence and secrecy till the moment of execution, and when the workmen yield without resistance, they are never heard of by other people. Such combinations, however, are frequently resisted by defensive combinations of the workmen, who sometimes, without any provocation of this kind, combine to raise the price of their labour. But whether *their* combinations be offensive or defensive, they are always heard of. In order to bring the question speedily to an issue, they have recourse to clamour, and sometimes to violence, to frighten the masters into immediate compliance with their demands. The masters on the other side are equally clamorous, and call aloud for the assistance of the civil magistrate, and for the rigorous execution of those laws which have been enacted with such severity against the combinations of servants, labourers, and journeymen. (There are no acts of Parliament, however, against combining to lower the price of labour.) The workmen accordingly seldom derive much benefit from these combinations, partly from the interposition of the civil authority, and partly from the necessity of submission for the sake of present subsistence.

With respect to the threatened strike of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, although some of their demands may be unreasonable, yet there can be no doubt that the custom of working overtime is most objectionable, in fact it is a perfect system of *slavery*, which can only be abolished by the united and combined action of the employed. The system of piece work, which has been introduced, is not merely used for the purpose of lowering the rate of payment for a given amount of labour, but it has been the means of forcing a middleman, or contractor, upon the industrious workmen, who is thus enabled to make his profit, in addition to the increased profit of the master, by a reduction in the wages of the labourer.

The Paris coöperative associations very wisely have limited their hours of labour to eleven.

If the Ten Hours-and-a Half Bill were necessary for women and children, it is equally necessary, on moral and "sanitary" grounds, for adults; and it will be a very short-sighted policy, on the part of the employers, if they attempt to resist so reasonable a demand as "the abolition of overtime, except in cases of breakdown." The opposition to Robert Owen's short-time bill (who also *first* applied the principle to practice, let me remind Lord Shaftesbury) was equally violent, although the diminution in the hours of labour has proved alike beneficial to the employed and to the employers.

With your permission I shall return to the subject.

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

POSTSCRIPT.—The American workman labours twelve hours a day to the sacrifice of his health; and it is asserted upon good authority, that the actual work done in the United States is greater, in a large proportion, than would be done in England for the same cost. But wages in America are higher, and the price of food and the taxes are less. Besides the American workman *seldom or never drinks strong liquors*. The Englishman works sixty hours a week for wages varying from ten to twelve shillings—a fraction over twopence an hour, while the American receives fifteen shillings for his week's labour of seventy-two hours—about twopence halfpenny an hour. The following table gives a close approximation to the average rate of wages in different countries:—

	s.	d.
United States .....	14	11 a week.
England .....	11	0 "
Holland .....	10	0 "
France .....	5	6 "
Belgium .....	4	6 "
Switzerland .....	4	5 "
Austria .....	3	9 "
Saxony .....	3	6 "
India, from 1s. to 2s.		a week.

\* See Adam Smith.

## NOTES ON WAR.

BY A SOLDIER.

### No. II.—A NEW SYSTEM WANTED.

LET us consider it as a certainty that Despotism cannot be abolished without fighting; that the monster evil of Europe, standing armies, must be overcome by force. All reliance on the defection of troops from the Governments should be abandoned, all hope of their neutrality or assistance should be deprecated. The last men to become enlightened citizens are the soldiers, and their sympathy or aid in a struggle for freedom would be given from low or merely impulsive motives, and would, as it always has done, merely pave the way for military rule.

We are told on all sides that battles for the future are to be decided by improved musketry and artillery, and by the employment of guns in larger number and of greater calibre than heretofore. In military periodicals, and at the mess-table, doubtful disputes are raised as to whether in future campaigns the Minié rifles and Prussian needle-prime muskets are to pick off the Horse Artillery gunners at a thousand yards; or whether, on the contrary, skirmishers in hundreds, and entire battalions and brigades of Infantry, are to be swept away, dispersed, and almost annihilated by spherical case-shot and Congreve rockets. And much as they may differ, both sides agree that by missile weapons of one sort or the other battles for the future are to be won. All the military authorities in Europe are busily engaged in examining, reporting upon, and adopting various improvements in small arms, and greater attention is paid to instructing and practising the soldiers to be good marksmen and accurate judges of the distances of objects. Our own Government has been much censured for alleged inattention to the formidable effects produced by the new weapons in use with some foreign armies; but it is understood that most of these new inventions have been tested at Woolwich, and in many cases their value, and the degree of skill and certainty of aim attained or attainable by the soldier, have proved to have been greatly exaggerated and over-estimated. There are other essentials for military firearms besides accuracy in *experimental* practice. The expense sometimes may quite overbalance any advantage of construction,—“breaking windows with guineas” has become a standing joke on this subject,—and again, it is useless to entrust to a hard-fisted, rough, average soldier, a delicate instrument which requires to be petted and handled like a chronometer. But still there is not the least doubt that great improvements have been made, and that in future European wars, in addition to a more formidable and numerous artillery, sharpshooters of great skill, and furnished with the best possible weapons, will be able to select their victims at unprecedented distances.

And what does all this portend? What does it suggest to the exiled leaders of stifled nations? What does it suggest to the patriot mournfully brooding over the intolerable wrongs and insults to which his country is subjected? If battles, indeed, are to be decided for the future by musketry and artillery of long range, if successive improvements in mechanism are for ever to carry the day, then indeed all hope of freedom, until soldiers become enlightened citizens, may be abandoned. If high and intelligent courage, if faith in a just cause, if noble devotion, nay, if manly strength and activity, are indeed to be for ever neutralized by missile machinery, then indeed the cause of Liberty is a desperate one. For when we consider the costly and cumbrous material, and the long and careful training required for the effective service of artillery, it must be obvious that, with its vast stores, pecuniary resources, and practised gunners, the Established Government will always be able to outnumber, and indeed to overwhelm, all the guns that can be brought into the field by the almost improvised military administration of a revolted People. And in the possession of superior weapons, in skill and rapidity of firing and steadiness of manœuvring, a regular army will always excel the hasty levies of an insurrection. We have already given our reasons for objecting to the system of Barricade warfare, which is only the present universally received system of modern tactics carried to the highest pitch of absurdity.

Then, if these reiterated assurances of the employers, leaders, and teachers of standing armies, that future battles will be, and must be, decided by artillery and musketry, can bring, while believed to be true, no hope, but rather despair, to the patriot, let us examine them more closely, and try if we cannot prove them to be false in theory and in fact. We shall find that these assurances contain a full confession of the essential error in



the constitution of modern armies and in their principles of tactics, and show us how this error and weakness are being pushed to a climax; and we shall obtain a clear view of the elements of strength in a national force, and of the manner in which the superior numbers of a People may first be brought to bear against the army and conquer it, and then to demonstrate the inutility of standing armies, and the inherent power of a People to resist an invasion without any long training or expensive establishments.

The true principle of warfare is *forward movement*, to conquer an adversary; the absolutely defensive in war is an absurdity. It may be necessary to retreat, or it may be necessary to occupy a defensive position in the presence of a superior force, and until reinforcements arrive; but if one party is not strong enough to face its opponent in the open field, and has no expectation of being eventually strong enough, then it would be better not to provoke a quarrel at all. "If two armies stand opposed in a fair field, all the men who are killed by an exchange of fire, after lines or columns of attack can be formed, are uselessly sacrificed; while two bodies of troops fire, the loss is tolerably equal. Nothing to be thought of but the offensive. Quick marches, energy in attack, the naked steel. No prepared theory for a battle, act vigorously as opportunity offers." These were maxims of Marshal Suwarow,\* and are substantially correct. The brilliant successes of that savage old warrior against the Turks, and against the French at Adda, the Trebia, and Novi, prove what enormous advantages may be gained by a bold initiative, and straightforward, persevering advance without hesitation or delay; while his many failures may be attributed in the first place to Suwarow's soldiers being Russians; brave men, no doubt, but without intelligence, without the feeling of a purpose, or the enthusiasm and devotion of a great and glorious cause—mere machines, men in whom the noblest and loftiest impulses of humanity were crushed by despotic ill usage, or from the sheer brutal ignorance of their breeding and habits had never become developed; and in the second place, because the masses of his armies were composed, in the universally received modern fashion, of musketeers, whose weapons, and whose induced habits and instincts, render them utterly unsuited for the dashing forward movements and close combats which the Russian Marshal wished to produce, and which every General, who has confidence in his troops, ought to carry into effect with as little preliminary manoeuvring and as little stationary firing as possible.

The universal arming of modern infantry with muskets and bayonets renders them utterly unfit for close combat. After the introduction of gunpowder into warfare, its effects appeared so terrible that its use has gradually superseded that of all other weapons, and completely smothered the art of war (which is no conjuring art) with its smoke and noise. The musket, rifle, or firearm of any sort, is a weapon the use of which ought to be strictly defensive and preliminary; it can be employed with advantage in inaccessible positions and other places of defence when necessary, and in covering, hiding, and protecting the advance of an attacking body, or the retreat of a retiring force; in skirmishing order, en tirailleur, where the men have elbow-room, are not blinded and choked by smoke, and have an intelligent duty to perform without the depressing influence of being stationary, and without a purpose. But the absurdity of massing musketeers into columns, or drawing them out in closely packed lines, each man with his pouch full of cartridges, is best seen in its results. Battles are fought without the combatants approaching within a hundred yards, they are prolonged to the very verge of human endurance, very indecisive results follow in the majority of cases; and it is only the long period during which the firing has continued (frequently eight or nine hours) that makes up a number of killed and wounded, which conceals from most people the contemptible destructive effect of musketry and artillery fighting. Yes, the work of destruction by cannon and musketry is a slow and tedious work. It is an absolute fact, easily verified, that one *hit* in a hundred shots is a fair average for the work of an infantry soldier in a modern battle. Missiles cannot conquer, however many they may kill, and the brave man will not be stopped in his career by any amount of noise.

E. V.

\* Major Macready's Sketch of the last Campaign of Suwarow.

## Literature.

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

THE other day we announced the existence of a new poet in Glasgow, and quoted with hearty admiration a love sonnet he had written—a sonnet fervid with the strong pulsations of a novel passion. In it ALEXANDER SMITH, with daring felicity, sang these lines:—

"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."

Luxurious imagery, is it not, and truthful? But the narrow notions which blaspheme against the divine beauty there is in life,—which forget that the body of man is the holiest of Temples,—which presume to question the wisdom of the Creator, and try to thwart it by asceticism—these notions perverting the healthy morals of our land appear to be shocked by the "animalism" of Mr. SMITH's poetry. One of our correspondents wrote us a gentle sermon on the text. We printed it in *Open Council*, where we especially welcome opinions adverse to our own. Its appearance there seems to have startled and irritated several of our friends. A pile of letters in indignant answer lie before us. For the most part they are excluded from our columns by reason of their attributing motives to W. M. We object to motives being attributed. W. M. may have meant well by his remonstrance, and he may have meant ill; but who shall undertake to read his motives? To indicate the tone, however, we will give two letters:—

"Newcastle-upon-Tyne, December 22, 1851.

"SIR,—To the *pure* all things are *pure*.' There is, however, without question, a very large class of persons who are *not* pure; who starve their souls, and feed and fatten their animalism on literary garbage, of which, God knows, there is just now, most shocking abundance. I, therefore, agree with W. M., that, in estimating the worth of any literary effort, or, indeed, of any artistic production, we should never be unmindful of its probable moral influence. But what W. M. discovers in A. Smith's sonnet so offensive to true morality, somewhat puzzles my powers of comprehension. How he will determine my moral status, when I confess that reading it occasioned me the intensest delight, I cannot tell; but such is the fact. And whatever can he think of the 'modesty' of some lady friends of mine, to whom I was simple or wicked enough to read it, and who, without blush or hesitancy, expressed only unqualified approval? For, singularly enough, I, all unwittingly, adopting the very test suggested by W. M., I read it to my sister. And this I can assure him: a thought of the 'indelicate' or 'animalism' of the piece was never once suggested. The fact is, I was so gratified with the sonnet, that I read it to a number of friends, who I knew took interest in such matters—amongst them were several ladies, the tone of whose moral feelings was of the purest—and from none was there the slightest expression of disapprobation on account of its immorality. *That* was first revealed to me by W. M.

"I do not presume to offer any criticism as to the literary worth of Smith's poetry, but simply state the way in which it was received by several persons of fine moral feeling.

"I thank you for the opportunity you have afforded us of knowing the new poet, and pray you, when he sings again, remember us us.

"Yours respectfully, S. CAM. J."

"Manchester, December 20, 1851.

"SIR,—I see in your number of to-day that a very modest correspondent, W. M., is outraged at the sonnet of Mr. Alexander Smith, given with other extracts by you, a week or two since. Will you permit me through the *Leader* to ask W. M. whether it has ever occurred to him that he may possibly lack the imaginative faculty requisite for the appreciation of glowing pictures of the eternal passion, and that as a consequence he sees only "mere animalism and puerile indelicacy" where others see the joyous outburst of a youthful, passionate, strong heart? W. M.'s excruciating modesty seems to me to be of the ladies'-boarding-school class, which puts frilled trousers on the table legs, supporters, perhaps, I ought to say. The shamefacedness of the fig leaf, not the modesty of nature.

"I have no doubt the 'sisters and daughters' who read the *Leader* (of whom I hope there are many), are exceedingly obliged to W. M. for his compliment to the sex.

"An author who is, and that justly, world-renowned' (how patronizing of W. M.), says:—

"Men may construe things after their fashion,  
Clean from the purpose of the things themselves."

"R."

These letters express their writers' dissent from W. M.'s feeling, but they do not touch the real question. The *gravamen* of the charge against the sonnet is its truth of description. Had the poet indulged in vague generalities, and only said—

"Last night the blushing maid her love confessed,  
I clasped her wildly to my rapturous breast,"

(We believe that is the chaste style!) W. M. would probably have raised no objection—and we should not have quoted the verses. Yet there is as much "animalism" in these lines—and no poetry.

The question mooted is this: Ought poetry to give utterance to real emotions, to real passions, or must it shrink from the truth lest the truth be thought immoral? If love—if the *furor Amoris*—is an immoral passion, the dowry God has given to his noblest children for their—perdition, let it be said so at once and without disguise. As to "animalism"—*honi soit qui mal y pense!* The passion being granted, its poetical utterance is consecrated; for Art seems to have a higher privilege, derived from its more elevated nature, which permits it to withdraw the veil thrown over forms hidden from the vulgar eye. That which is held sacred from the gaze of the curious, is willingly thrown open to Art. The Princess who sat naked as a model to CANOVA, would have died ere she sat so to another man. Art purifies everything, not by keeping what is essential in the back ground, not by ignoring, but by elevating it into the region of Beauty. It chastens and refines by *training* the passions, not by suppressing them. It cannot, like fashion and ethics, ignore humanity: from human passion it draws its life, its strength, its usefulness. All is permitted to it, because its aims are noble. Therefore may poets and painters deal openly with subjects veiled from less consecrated treatment; therefore may we hear verses and see pictures representing things that elsewhere would not be tolerated.

W. M. must be told that poetry is not compatible with "animalism" in the degrading sense of that term; *because* it is poetry it must elevate the subject it treats; and as to the true sense of the word "animalism," until Love can be found without it—until we can become all pure thought without the organization of human beings—poetry neither can nor will shirk it, because in so doing poetry would abdicate its throne, betray its function.

There are men whose first—and perhaps last—thought on seeing a statue or a nude figure in painting is a gross one. That cannot be helped; not for them did the Artist labour. So likewise there are men (*Tartufe* was one) who cannot hear of Nature's having created a woman's bosom (so very "improper" of Nature!) yet we do not find those persons leading the purest of lives, for as GOETHE says, "Your modest Ears will not listen to what modest Hearts cannot dispense with."

One of the most painful things to the Man of Letters is to see the reckless disregard of ordinary morality, which persons *out* of the Literary world conceive to be perfectly justifiable and a matter of course. When gentlemen of a "literary turn" condescend to enter the arena, they are constantly betraying their conviction that Literature is not bound by ordinary rules of right and wrong. An instance is brought before us by one of our Correspondents, the Reverend W. G. BARRETT, whose letter we insert here:—

"Royaton, Herts, December 17, 1851.

"SIR,—Will you allow me the help of your columns to expose a gross literary fraud? A short time since I published a translation from the French of two discourses on Woman, by the Reverend Adolphe Monod, of Paris, and Professor of Theology at Montauban. In a recent number of the *Athenaeum*, I saw advertised as follows:—

"*Woman, her Mission and her Life; a Discourse in twelve chapters:—Woman a Help meet for Man—*



Woman's Province beneath the Cross—Woman in her Domestic Relations—The Christian Wife—Maiden—The Mother—The Servant—Useless Woman—Worldly Woman, &c. By the Reverend JOHN JESSOPP, M.A., Chaplain to the King of the Belgians; Morning Preacher at the Orphan Asylum; and Evening Preacher at Trinity Church, Newington.

"On reading this, I marvelled that the Chaplain of the King of the Belgians, &c., should have written a discourse on Woman, with precisely the same outline of thought, expressed in precisely the same terms as Adolphe Monod's treatise. Curiosity excited, I procured Mr. Jessopp's book, when, strange to say, I found that what Monod thought, Mr. Jessopp thought, and what M. Monod had written in French, Mr. Jessopp had written in English; and yet the Reverend Mr. Jessopp, M.A., Chaplain, &c., has advertised his book as original. What makes the correspondence more remarkable is, that the Chaplain, &c., has assured us in a brief preface, that he knows nothing of M. Monod, or any other living person; but that for a few 'ideas,' and these, he says, would 'scarcely be recognized,' he is indebted to a late highly esteemed French Protestant clergyman."

"Mr. Jessopp says, at the beginning, thus:—

"Whatever merit may attach to the publication of the ideas propounded in this little book, must be ascribed to a late highly esteemed French Protestant clergyman. The work, in its present form, is, in a great measure, an amplification of a sermon delivered by him to his own congregation in the year 1849. Although it would probably be scarcely recognized in its present form as of French extraction, yet the author is anxious to offer this tribute to the real parent of the work, who has left behind him so many immortal records of his labours in the cause of truth."

"This disclaimer implies that he is indebted for 'ideas' only; yet, strange to say, page after page, without any variation, the English of Mr. Jessopp is word for word the French of M. Monod. To substantiate this, I should have to quote the whole of Mr. Jessopp's book, which your columns forbid; but, lest I should be thought indiscriminate in my censure, may I venture to ask the English author of *Woman* three questions?—

"1. Who is the 'late highly esteemed French Protestant clergyman'?"

"2. Where did he preach this sermon in 1849?"

"3. What other 'immortal records of his labours in the cause of truth' did he leave 'behind him'? A question not difficult to answer since he was living, according to the authority of Mr. Jessopp, in 1849.

"We shall be anxious to see the advertisement of the next original work by the Reverend J. Jessopp, M.A., Chaplain to the King of the Belgians, Morning Preacher at the Orphan Asylum, and Evening Preacher at Trinity Church, Newington.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"W. G. BARRETT."

#### THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY.

*The Head of the Family.* A Novel. By the Author of the "Ogilvies," "Olive," &c. 3 vols. Chapman and Hall.

It is a common cant of criticism to call every historical novel the "best that has been produced since Scott," and to bring *Jane Eyre* on the tapis whenever a woman's novel happens to be in question. In despite thereof we will say that no novel published since *Jane Eyre* has taken such a hold of us as this *Head of the Family*, though it does not equal that story in originality and in intensity of interest. It is written with eloquence and power. The authoress has seen, thought, suffered; her work betrays it. It has, moreover, considerable narrative and dramatic skill; and, although there are many characters and many stories upon this one canvas, yet they are so dexterously distributed, and so excellently painted, that the interest is unflagging.

Ninian Græme—the "Head of the Family"—is an elder Brother placed in the difficult position of Father to a young family. In this he is aided by an elder Sister, a charming portrait:—

"Lindsay Græme was—just a woman, nothing less, and nothing more! She never was and never had been thought clever or beautiful, and now she had passed the age when she cared to be thought either. Also, there was at times a look in her face, which seemed as if not age alone had produced the softened calm it wore—this sealing up of all youth's restless emotions into one serene repose. Whatever shadow had swept over her, it had left no bitterness, no heartlessness, scarcely even grief. It was probably that one—the most sanctifying woe of all—when the angel of death, reascending, opens heaven, and suffers a portion of heaven's light to fall on those looking sorrowfully upwards, whose faces, like that of Moses, bear some trace of this brightness evermore.

"For her outward appearance, it was just ordinary enough; you would not notice her, except, perhaps, for the grave neatness of her black dress—she always

wore black; or for a certain sweetness in her voice which ever pierced through the Babel of all other voices in the room, like a drop of clear water falling on a crystal floor. For the rest of her looks, she had a fair skin, flaxen hair, that always would be flaxen, never grey. She generally wore a sort of half-cap of black lace, which, though she probably did not know it, was the most becoming head-tire a lady of her age and complexion could have chosen."

The story opens with the arrival of the six boys and girls (the eldest about twenty years of age) at the home of their childhood, for the first time since their father's death:—

"The whole tribe had rushed in from their journey with a tired forgetfulness of everything but the relief of coming home; and for some minutes the house was alive with voices; Katie, poor old soul! being summoned hither and thither till it almost drove her crazy. But when, one after the other, the young travellers assembled to tea in the old familiar room—where everything looked the same, save for the one missing presence that would be seen no more—then a great quietness came over all. The twins crept nearer to each other, and Christina, ever the readiest either to laugh or weep, hid her face on Lindsay's shoulder. But no one spoke a word.

"They gathered round the table—Lindsay sitting where she had presided for some years as mistress of her father's household. Opposite to her was that father's empty chair. Each glanced that way, and then all eyes were lowered. None look up, and all kept silence as Ninian came in and took the vacant place. There was a pause—as if each waited for the voice that never would be heard more; and then Ninian, in his low quiet voice, said the grace:—

"Lord, we thank Thee for these and all Thy mercies; and forgive us our sins, for Christ's sake. Amen."

"And all felt this to be the token whereby their brother took upon himself the duties, responsibilities, and rights of eldership, and became henceforth the Head of the Family."

(Note the Biblical beauty of this passage, especially the first sentence we have printed in italics.) Ninian sets about his new duties in a brave, sensible way; and we learn to be interested in him, as well as in Lindsay and the children, especially Tinie, the gay, teasing, wilful, spoiled darling of the set! Into the Family, however, another girl is brought—Ninian's ward, Hope Ansted. That Ninian the strong, grave, unromantic man will fall in love with this pretty, quiet, shy, affectionate Hope, you foresee at once; and that he will not have the courage to tell her so, but invent all sorts of "exquisite reasons" to discourage his own happiness, you also divine. But you cannot divine how charmingly it is done. Send for the volumes and read. Meanwhile, we will give you just one scene by way of a whet to the appetite:—

"That day—the last of the Old Year—Ninian returned early from his office.

"Edmund, I hear that you must positively be off with the Professor on January 2nd, and as we will have no doleful preparations on New Year's-day, bring your books, and I'll help you to pack this afternoon."

"Edmund said he had been busy about that duty for four days; but as his peculiar notion of packing appeared to be taking books from one side of the room and strewing them over the other, his elder brother's offer was by no means so unnecessary as the boy seemed at first to think. So they both shut themselves up in Ninian's study for an hour.

"Are you two never coming? We are all ready in the parlour, and Lindsay has sent me to fetch you," said a voice, preceded by a gentle knock, which marked it to belong to the only one who ever paid the deference of knocking at Mr. Græme's study door. He looked up, smiling.

"Come in, Hope—ay, that's right. Why, what a bonnie sight you are!"

"She was, indeed. She had on an evening-dress of white, that neat attire the prettiness of which ought to console maidens of light purse for all the finery in the world. A spray or two of glossy-leaved, red-berried holly was fastened in her hair. Her arms and neck shone through the thin muslin; in her usual close home-costume no one had ever seen how round and white they were. She looked so bright—so happy—so innocently proud of herself; it was indeed

"A sure cure for sad eyes  
To gaze upon her face."

"Ninian paused in his work. He was kneeling beside the box, in the midst of a heterogeneous heap of books, plaster casts, &c. His appearance was not the most elegant, he being minus his coat, with his hands all covered with dust, and his curly hair, one of the few perfections he had, tossed about in the wildest confusion.

"Well—do you like me? Am I bonnie tonight?" said Hope, merrily. "And we are all dressed the same, just like sisters. We have stolen the

prettiest holly-branches in your garden, Mr. Græme; and you will have the pleasure of seeing them in our hair. Look!"

She came closer, and put her head on one side to show him.

"Very nice. There, turn round, and let me admire you; nay, don't be afraid, my white bird, I shall not touch your snowy feathers with these hands," said Ninian, smiling. But while he smiled, there came unwittingly a bitter sense of contrast between this fairy creature and himself. He could not bear to see her shrink from him, even in play.

"Now, fly away, birdie; you seem, indeed, just ready to fly, on some sort of wings or other. You don't belong to us of the work-a-day world."

"I don't quite know what you mean. Are you not pleased with me? I thought you would be."

"And thought rightly, my little Hope. But run away: you see Edmund has gone to dress already. He vanished like a ghost."

"Of course! His last sweetheart is coming to tea to-night."

"Ninian stooped over his packing. Somehow he did not like to hear her jest about such things. 'I will have done directly, Hope; don't let me detain you here.'

"But I like to be detained," said Hope, balancing her lithe figure on the arm of a chair. 'I shall stay and watch you.'

"A pretty sight for a fair lady's eyes—am I not, now? I know you are half afraid lest some one might come in and find me thus; then how ashamed you would be of your guardian."

"Ashamed, because he was a kind brother, giving himself all sorts of trouble and disagreeable work to please Edmund? No!" she added, energetically, 'I had rather see you there, with your grimed hands and face—ay, there is actually a black mark on your face, too—than look at the finest gentleman in a ball-room!'

"Would you, Hope? Would you, dear child?"

"And to show you I am not alarmed for my finery, and don't mind coming near you and touching you, as you thought I should—look here!"

"She came, stepping over the chaos of rubbish; sat down in her white dress on the old box, and laid her two hands in Ninian's;—hers seeming by the contrast so soft, white, and small. He looked at them and at her face,—then closed his eyes. He felt the rising of one of those storms of almost uncontrollable passion, which women can scarcely understand, but which this man, whose love was at once so tender and so strong, had to fight with day by day.

"What is the matter with you, Mr. Græme?" cried Hope, her merry smiles fading.

"I am dizzy—with stooping, perhaps. Wait a minute—never mind."

"He sat down on the floor, leaning his arm against the box, and laying his head upon it.

"How you have tired yourself! You should not, indeed. And that naughty boy Edmund has left you so much to do still. Come, let me help you. I should be so glad to help you in anything."

"Should you, with those hands? How tiny they are and soft!" He took them, played with them a little, and then—he could not have helped it had it been his life's worth—he stooped and crushed his lips upon them, wildly and long.

"Hope looked amazed, and something of a womanly blush dawned in her innocent face. Ninian rose.

"So, you exigeante damsel, you can't want more. You make even your staid guardian turn into a 'preux chevalier,' and kiss your hand,—kneeling, too, I declare. A pity there was nobody here to see the exhibition! But come, vanish! or I will turn you out."

"She laughed, still blushing slightly, and ran away. Ninian walked to the door—fastened it—then staggered back, and lay on the floor where he had sat with the child close near. There was beside him a holly leaf, which had fallen out of her hair. He snatched it—the sharp thorns bruised his lips, but he kissed it still, in the very madness of a boy."

We will not be indiscreet enough to tell more of the story, or stories, for there are several. How Tinie plagues her lovers, especially the old Professor, how she makes the most charming of wives—how Rachel Armstrong has to battle with a common villainy, and rises in the conflict to a height of passionate grandeur truly thrilling—how Edmund fares as the "poet out in the world"—and how Hope and Ninian both are sorely tried—must be seen in these volumes by all lovers of fiction. Rachel's story alone would suffice to make the book popular—it is a "twice-told tale," but told in an original and powerful style.

The writing is uniformly excellent, often eloquent. We could quote many thoughtful sentences felicitously expressed—as this:—

"Very happy. It is quite a treat to see them. And that she spoke the truth was evident in her face of cheerful serenity—the serenity of conquered sorrow. We cannot—will not believe this in our untired youth, when death itself seems preferable to the thought of a healed wound. But as wound



after wound opens, and still life lingers and must linger,—for it takes a long time to die of a broken heart,—then we learn at last to thank God for the balm that allays its torture, for the slow years that scar over its rankling sore. Little sweetnesses spring up in our path; strong, necessary, wholesome duties, come like servants to uphold our staggering feet, and we gird our draperies in such manner that they may fall over and hide the grievous wound; marching on so cheerily and well that some closest friends would hardly believe it was there at all, until we lie before them in our death-clothes. And it is no matter then!"

Or this:—

"Women, and especially young women, either believe falsely or judge harshly of men, in one thing. You, young loving creature, who dream your lover by night and by day—you fancy of that he does the same of you? He does not—he cannot; nor is it right he should. One hour, perhaps, your presence has captivated him, subdued him even to weakness; the next he will be in the world, working his way as a man among men, forgetting for the time being your very existence. Possibly if you saw him, his outer self, hard and stern,—so different to the self you know—would strike you with pain. Or else, his inner and diviner self, higher than you can dream of, would turn coldly from your insignificant love. Yet all this must be: you have no right to murmur. You cannot rule a man's soul—no woman ever did—except by holding unworthy sway over unworthy passions. Be content if you lie in his heart, as that heart lies in his bosom—deep and calm, its beatings unseen, uncounted, oftentimes unfelt; but still giving life to his whole being."

Sometimes an image arrests us, as when she says of the mad Rachel, "Her eye grew dull, her face blank and immovable, like a landscape from which the sun has faded away, leaving it all grey and dark." The characters are drawn with unusual power, when they are not total mistakes, like Ulverston, Ansted, and Lyonnell. Ninian is admirably presented and kept up. Rachel is a passionate nature drawn with a grand pencil. Hope is lovable; Tinie, exquisite. But the three men named just now are creatures of the Circulating Library, not of Life. Some abatement of our praise must also be made with respect to those scenes of town life into which the authoress has very unnecessarily introduced us—they have not the slightest mark of reality, and only provoke incredulity. A graver objection might be addressed to her for the tone in which she speaks of literary men; there is a foppery in it unworthy of her; moreover, she conveys a very false idea of men of letters: an idea current enough in flashy novels, it is true; but which she ought not to have adopted.

But a truce to objection! The book is touched with beauty, with pathos, and belongs to the class of novels which beat down criticism by irresistible merits. It will be a welcome guest at many a fireside this winter, none the less welcome because the reader's voice will ever and anon become tremulous and have to pause while the tears are gulped down, and the reader suddenly discovers—that the fire wants poking! or that he has left something upstairs!

#### AGASSIZ ON PHYSIOLOGY.

*Outlines of Comparative Physiology touching the Structure and Development of the Races of Animals Living and Extinct, for the use of Schools and Colleges.* By Louis Agassiz and A. A. Gould. Edited from the revised edition by Thomas Wright, M.D. H. G. Bohn.

BEFORE attempting to characterize the work of Agassiz and Gould, let us specify the considerable advantages which it has gained from passing under the editorship of Dr. Wright. The American edition we have not seen; but if it be like the *Comparative Embryology* published by M. Agassiz, the English public has cause to congratulate itself upon Mr. Bohn's having placed it among the volumes of his *Scientific Library*: for now in lieu of an ill-printed pamphlet, with disgraceful woodcuts, the work appears as a well printed, well illustrated volume, fit for the Library and adapted for college use. Moreover, the illustrations are in this edition increased from 170 to 390, and the new cuts are by far the best. Additions still more important have been made to the matter, Dr. Wright having skillfully inserted whole sections from Wagner and Müller, and furnished several from his own stores. A good index—which is at the same time something of a dictionary of technical terms—is among the many merits of this edition; and altogether it is a volume worth four times the price, according to the ordinary tariff of such works.

As a popular survey of the wonders of Organic Life, this work may rank with the *Zoologie* of Milne Edwards. It conveys, in clear, brief language, a

sufficient account of the structure and functions of animals, and masses its facts with considerable skill. It treats of the General Principles of Organized Bodies—the Organs and Functions of Animal Life—Intelligence and Instinct—Motion—Nutrition—Circulation—Respiration—Secretion—Embryology—Peculiar Modes of Reproduction—Metamorphoses of Animals—Geographical distribution of Animals—and Geological Succession of Animals. No work that is not an inaccurate catchpenny affair can embrace such a field of inquiry as that we have just indicated, and not be well worthy the attention of all lovers of Nature: the present is an excellent work, and may heartily be commended.

But the Critic is

"Guide, philosopher, and friend,"

he guides you in the purchase of your books, philosophizes with you on what you have bought, and interchanges with you friendly ideas, telling you often what you could as well or better have told him, telling you sometimes what you are glad to know. We have already said enough for guidance in the matter of purchase, and now beg to hold some philosophic conversation on the work itself.

Philosophy, after all, has little to discuss here. The authors have thought more of massing their facts, than of drawing conclusions; and sometimes when they do quit the safe region of recorded observation for the perilous but delightful one of speculation, they are ill at ease, and flounder about as if in a foreign element. The very arrangement of the work—though the ordinary one—we regard as unphilosophic, and one which will prevent the student from drawing certain conclusions which lie to hand in a well arranged series of facts. We have more than once insisted on the importance of the processional Method—rising gradually from the simpler to the more complex forms of Life—so that the student should follow as it were the course of Nature herself. The canon is: Always descend from the General to the Particular, from the Homogeneous to the Heterogeneous. But Physiologists—and our Authors following them—disregard this canon, and begin sometimes with the osseous system, sometimes with the nervous system; whereas it seems obvious to us that Animal Life, being the flower, so to speak, of which Vegetative Life is the root—our right course is to ascend from the root to the flower. It may be answered, indeed, that, inasmuch as Embryology reveals to us the fact of the organs being always developed in the order of their organic importance, the nervous system taking precedence of the organs of Vegetative Life, which are later in appearing, we ought to follow this order, and in studying the animal begin with the nervous centres. If animals stood isolated in Nature, that would be the true Method; but they stand in immediate and intimate connection with Plants—animal life is a superposition on vegetable life, a new step in the ascent of being, a new development of organic force. Therefore, we must not in philosophy sever the animal from the vegetable kingdom, and therefore we must begin our survey with the organs of vegetative life. Besides, although it is facile to begin the study of the higher animals with the nervous centres, what are we to do with the large class of *acrita*, or animals in whom no nervous threads (much less centres) are discoverable? The two fundamental functions of all organized beings are Nutrition and Reproduction. With them our study should commence. Gathering round them we shall find the subordinate functions of Circulation, Respiration, and Secretion. When the circle of Organic Life has thus been drawn, we may commence with the higher circle of Animal Life: beginning with Motion as the simple result of muscular contractility; and tracing the gradual development of that contractility into irritability—the ascent from which to sensation, and thence to thought, will compass the whole phenomena of Animal Life.

We said but now that Animal Life was only a new step in the ascent of being, rising from Vegetative Life, not generically isolated. A philosophic arrangement of physiological treatises should make this apparent. M. Agassiz is of another opinion, if we are to trust to a passage in this work. He makes, and truly so, motion to be one great characteristic of an animal. But he adds:—

"The movements of animals are effected by means of muscles, which are organs designed expressly for this purpose. The motions of animals and plants depend therefore (?) upon causes essentially different. The expansion and closing of the leaves and blossoms of plants, which are their most obvious motions, are due to the influence of light, heat, moisture, and other external agents; but all motions peculiar to

animals are produced by an agency residing within themselves, namely, the contractility of muscular fibres."

The contractility of muscular fibres appears to us only an intenser form of the same thing which we notice in the contractility of plants—especially in the Sensitive Plant and the Fly Trap. The error of supposing that the contractility of muscular fibre is essentially distinct from that of plants, and the proof that it is only an intenser form of the same force is seen, we think, in the fact that in many of the earlier types of Animal Life—the Plant-Animal, or Zoophyte—muscular fibre is not present! They nevertheless exhibit motion, and are the starting points of all higher animals; nay, even in their class the higher types of echinodermata have nerves and ganglia! The subject is one to be investigated. Is there not light thrown on it by the microscopic revelations of the structure of muscles? viz., that the muscles of Organic Life are composed of simple unstreaked fibres, forming bundles of parallel cylinders, while the muscles of Animal Life are cross-streaked fibres. Do we not, moreover, gain a clue in observing the almost insensible gradations of muscular tissue passing into other forms of contractile fibrous tissue? But—as we said—the subject needs thorough investigation.

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*Events to be remembered in the History of England.* Compiled from the best Ancient and Modern Authorities. By Charles Selby. Darton and Co.

Mr. Selby, the comedian, here makes his appearance in a new character: let us hasten to add "a successful appearance." His book is entertainingly instructive. The idea of telling the story of English History, in its more memorable phases, by extracts from Chroniclers, Poets, and Historians, has already been realized by Charles Knight in his *Half Hours of English History*. But Mr. Selby pursues an independent plan, and has brought together a variety of interesting passages, adding to them notes which display reading in out of the way quarters. But why in speaking of Cromwell is Carlyle's edition of the *Speeches* never alluded to, never used? In the concluding chapter on contemporary Literature there is a strange jumble of names, the juxtaposition of which will raise a smile in those who are at all acquainted with the relative significance of these names.

*New Poland; or, the Infant Hero.* W. H. Dalton. This little tale (which is but a sketch, but which its authoress might easily have more fully developed) is founded, as its title indicates, on the melancholy and too long-deplored events of the wrongs of Poland and the tyranny of Russia. It is imbued with that love of freedom and hatred of oppression which are so instinctive in woman's sympathies. But though the authoress is eloquent in denouncing the cruel despotism of the mighty autocrat of the North, we are glad to see she does not overlook the fact, too often forgotten by those who deplore the fate of Poland, that Poland herself is not altogether guiltless in her suffering and degradation; for it was her own internal misgovernment, dissensions, and oppressions, which rendered her an easy prey to foreign conquest and enslavement. *Serfdom* was the plague spot, the festering sore of his own native land. Had the nobles, the priests, and the Crown regulated their royal and seigniorial privileges, so as to have secured to their vassals the fruits of their toil—had they offered to the exiled of Jerusalem a home and a country, instead of hunting them from city to city like beasts of prey, and tearing from them their hard-earned wealth under pretexts the most diabolical and absurd—the barbarous cohorts of Russia would have been poured into Poland in vain:—

"And the fierce Autocrat had ne'er unfurled  
O'er Warsaw's walls the flag of victory."

The language is expressive and elegant, and the descriptions characteristic; but the incidents are too few. We consider the only fault of the work to be its brevity. It is very appropriately and gracefully dedicated to Lord Dudley Stuart.

*Solomon; or, the Waters of Comfort.* By Ibn Zafer. Translated by Michele Amari. In two volumes. Bentley.

*Recollections of a Literary Life.* By Mary Russell Mitford. In three volumes. Bentley.

*Life and Trials of Dr. Cheever.* Bentley.

ENGLISH QUARRELS.—We might safely conclude that a nation would not be likely tamely to submit to tyranny and wrong, which had made "quarrel" out of "querela." The Latin word means properly "complaint," and we have in "querulous" this its proper meaning coming distinctly out. Not so, however, in "quarrel;" for the English having been wont, not merely to complain, but to set vigorously about righting and redressing themselves, their griefs being also grievances, out of this word which might have given them only "querulous" and "querulousness," they have gotten "quarrel" as well.—*Trench on the Study of Words.*



## Portfolio.

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

### THE HAYTHORNE PAPERS.

No. I.

In one of his essays, Emerson remarks, that what Nature at one time provides for use, she afterwards turns to ornament; and he cites in illustration the structure of a sea-shell, in which the parts that have for a while formed the mouth are at the next season of growth left behind, and become decorative nodes and spines.

It has often occurred to me that this same remark might aptly be extended to the progress of Humanity. Here, too, the appliances of one era serve as embellishments to the next. Equally in institutions, creeds, customs, and superstitions, we may trace this evolution of beauty out of what was once purely utilitarian in its purpose.

The contrast between the feeling with which we regard portions of the earth's surface still left in their original state, and the feeling with which the savage regarded them, is an instance that naturally comes first in order of time. Rambling some months since over Hampstead Heath, and remarking to myself how strongly its picturesqueness was brought out by contrast with the surrounding cultivated fields and the masses of houses lying in the distance; and reflecting further, that, had this gorse-covered surface extended on all sides to the horizon, it would have looked dreary and prosaic rather than pleasing; it struck me that to the primitive man a country so clothed presented no beauty at all. To him it was merely a haunt of wild animals, and a ground-out of which roots might be dug. What have become for us places of relaxation and enjoyment—places for afternoon strolls and for gathering flowers—were his places for labour and food, probably arousing in his mind none but utilitarian associations.

Ruined castles afford, perhaps, the most obvious instance of this metamorphosis of the useful into the beautiful. To feudal barons and their retainers, security was the chief, if not the only end, sought in choosing the situation and structure of their strongholds. Probably they aimed as little at the picturesque as do the builders of cheap brick houses in our modern towns. Yet what were erected for shelter and safety, and what in those early days fulfilled an important function in the social economy, have now assumed a purely ornamental character. They serve as scenes for picnics; pictures of them decorate our drawing-rooms; and each supplies its surrounding districts with legends for Christmas Eve.

Following out the train of thought suggested by this last illustration, we may see that not only do the material exuviae of past social states become the ornaments of our landscapes, but that past habits, manners, and arrangements, serve as ornamental elements for our literature. The tyrannies that, to the serfs who bore them, were harsh and dreary facts; the feuds which, to those who took part in them, were very practical, life-and-death affairs; the mailed, moated, sentinelled security that was irksome to the nobles who needed it; the imprisonments, and tortures, and escapes, which were stern and quite prosaic realities to all concerned in them—have become to us material for romantic tales—material which, when woven into *Ivanhoses* and *Marmions*, serves for amusement in leisure hours, and becomes poetical by contrast with our daily lives.

Thus, also, is it with outworn creeds. Stonehenge, which in the hands of the Druids had a governmental influence over men, is in our day a place for antiquarian excursions, and its attendant priests are worked up into an opera. The ancient sculptures, preserved for their beauty in our galleries of art, and copied for the decoration of pleasure grounds and entrance halls, once lived in men's minds as gods demanding obedience; as did also the grotesque idols that now amuse the visitors to our museums.

Equally marked is this change of function in the case of minor superstitions. The fairy lore, which in past times was matter of grave belief, and held sway over people's conduct, has since been transformed into ornament for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Tempest*, *The Fairy Queen*, and endless small tales and poems; and still afford material for children's story-books, themes for ballets, and plots for *Planché's* burlesques. Gnomes, and genii, and afrits, losing all their terrors, give interest to

the woodcuts in our illustrated edition of the *Arabian Nights*. Whilst ghost-stories, and tales of magic and witchcraft, after serving to amuse boys and girls in their leisure hours, become subjects for jocose allusions that enliven tea-table conversation.

Even our serious literature and our speeches are very generally relieved by ornaments drawn from this source. A Greek myth is often used as a parallel by which to vary the monotony of some grave argument. The lecturer breaks the dead level of his practical discourse by illustrations drawn from bygone customs, events, or beliefs. And metaphors, similarly derived, give brilliancy to Parliamentary debates, and to *Times* leading articles.

Indeed, on following up the idea, I think it will be found that we turn to purposes of beauty nearly everything in the past that is at all conspicuous. The busts of great men in our libraries, and their tombs in our churches; the once useful but now purely ornamental heraldic symbols; the monks, nuns, and convents, that give interest to a certain class of novels; the bronze mediæval soldiers used for embellishing drawing-rooms; the gilt Apollos that recline on time-pieces; the narratives that serve as plots for our great dramas; and the events that afford subjects for historical pictures—these and other like illustrations of the metamorphosis of the useful into the beautiful are so numerous as to suggest that, did we search carefully enough, we should find that in some place, or under some circumstance, nearly every notable product of the past has assumed a decorative character.

And here the mention of historical pictures reminds me that an inference may be drawn from all this bearing directly on the practice of art. It has of late years been a frequent criticism upon our historical painters that they err in choosing their subjects from the past, and that, would they found a genuine and vital school, they must render on canvas the life and deeds and aims of our own time. If, however, there be any significance in the foregoing facts, it seems doubtful whether this criticism is a just one. For, if it be the process of things, that what has performed some practical function in society during one era becomes available for ornament in a subsequent one, it almost follows that, conversely, whatever is performing some practical function now, or has very recently performed one, does not possess the ornamental character, and is, consequently, inapplicable to any purpose of which beauty is the aim, or of which it is a needful ingredient.

Still more reasonable will this conclusion appear, when we consider the nature of this process by which the useful is changed into the ornamental. The essential pre-requisite to all beauty is *contrast*. To obtain artistic effect, light must be put in juxtaposition with shade, bright colours with dull colours, a fretted surface with a plain one; *forte* passages in music must have *piano* passages to relieve them, concerted pieces need interspersing with solos, and rich chords must not be continuously repeated. In the drama we demand contrast of characters, of scenes, of sentiment, of style. In prose composition an eloquent passage should have a comparatively plain setting; and in poems great effect is obtained by occasional change of versification. This general principle will, I think, explain the transformation of the bygone useful into the present beautiful. It is by virtue of their contrast with our present modes of life that past modes of life look interesting and romantic. Gradually as, by the growth of society, we leave behind the customs, manners, arrangements, and all the products, material and mental, of a bygone age—gradually as we recede from these so far that there arises a conspicuous difference between them and those we are familiar with—so gradually do they begin to assume to us a poetical aspect, and become applicable for ornament. And, if so, it follows that things and events that are close to us, and which are accompanied by associations of ideas not markedly contrasted with our ordinary associations, are essentially inapplicable to purposes of art.

THE MAGPIE'S AMUSEMENT.—There is a story told of a tame magpie, which was seen busily employed in a garden gathering pebbles, and with much solemnity and a studied air, dropping them in a hole, about eighteen inches deep, made to receive a post. After dropping each stone, it cried, Currack! triumphantly, and set off for another. On examining the spot a poor toad was found in the hole, which the magpie was stoning for his amusement.—*Thompson's Passions of Animals*.

## The Arts.

### CHRISTMAS PIECES.

In three or four Country Houses of England there exists at this moment a very pleasant superstition to the effect that Christmas without the presence of VIVIAN is the holly without its berries, the pudding without its citron, enjoyment without its last grace and refinement. A very agreeable superstition, I say! Let no man tamper with it! The consequence is that, instead of displaying my critical acumen in the dissection of Pantomimes and Burlesques, I am deeply engaged with mistletoes, polkas, tricks with cards, flirtations, and pistol firing. It is quite clear that being more than a hundred miles from London, I can't tell you what my personal impression is of these Pantomimes. But there is the *Times*—a journal which will "repay perusal" (as a clergyman I know once gravely said of the Bible!)—and from it I will extract enough to satisfy your curiosity.

VIVIAN.

DRURY LANE.—"Old Drury" never looked better. Mr. Bunn seems to have administered to that elderly personage a goodly draught of the theatrical elixir vitæ. The appearance of the house is very gay and prepossessing, and, for Christmas times, has a peculiar charm when contrasted with the mud, dirt, and fog in the streets. An extremely handsome chandelier lights up the frontage of blue, white, and gold, with distinctness and mellowness; and the ornamental improvements which have been carried out by Mr. Hurwitz, of King-street, Covent-garden, are characterized by sufficiently simple elegance and taste. The ceiling is decorated after the style of Louis XIV. It is divided into compartments, consisting principally of representative alcoves, which are alternated with shields after the style of Michael Angelo. The figures and flowers introduced are allegorical of Fear and Fanaticism, Prudence and Counsel, Avarice and Prodigality, Friendship and Enmity, and other elements of tragedy and comedy. The several circles have all been redecorated. The dress-circle is divided into panels and pilasters, with blue and gold medallions, and enrichments on a white ground. The second and third circles are in the same colours, forming draperies of distinct designs; and the front of her Majesty's box is in harmony with the whole. The genius of dramatic propriety, if there be such a person, animated the audience on Friday night, and for once Boxing-night was desecrated by silence and order. "Catcalls" were unheard; the unfortunate person who is always in danger of being "thrown over" from the gallery throughout every stage of the performance, was most unaccountably absent; the porter, orange, and ginger-beer market seemed to be in a state of unhealthy and inactive plethora; and the "upper classes" had not that familiar knowledge of persons in the pit and boxes which usually distinguishes them on similar occasions, and the exponent of which is a flight of apple fractions and orange peel. Indeed, the Théâtre Français could not have presented a more staid and composed assemblage; and the critic in the *Siccle*, who affirmed that Boxing-night was so called from the pugilistic encounters in the lobbies, would have been sadly puzzled to account for such a violent paralysis of our national propensities. The curtain rose on the first scene of Milman's tragedy of *Fazio*, in which Miss Glyn made her first appearance on the boards of Drury-lane. The energy and undoubted power of this lady have already secured for her a considerable share of admiration among those who witnessed her performances at Sadler's Wells, and her reputation was increased by some careful and highly finished "readings" on the close of her engagement at that theatre. Miss Glyn last night to a great extent justified the favourable opinion that has been formed of her by her friends, and achieved a decided success. A figure tall, massive, stately, and full to luxuriance, a face expressive, well marked, and decided, a voice of much power and force, and an excellent stage walk and bearing, coupled with apparent keenness of apprehension and passion, give Miss Glyn no ordinary advantages; but she lacks refinement, the subtle power of colour which marks the nice gradations of sentiment, and, while she revels in the display of all the fiercer emotions, such as hate and revenge, with undeniable power, her attempts to touch the sympathies, to strike the real key-notes of tragedy, are comparatively feeble and uncertain. Allowing for the dry, hard nature of the character, her performance of Bianca contained many beauties, which were not much marred by an exaggeration of attitude and action, which sometimes is almost unpleasant, and is the less pardonable in Miss Glyn, whose physical advantages render factitious aid of the kind quite unnecessary. At the close of the tragedy Miss Glyn was called for, and was very loudly cheered. The new grand comic Christmas pantomime, called *Harlequin Hogarth*; or, *the Two London 'Prentices*, "served on Hogarth's plates, with extra seasoning to suit the time," followed, and we regretted to see that the usual array of "infantry,"



whose merry laughter is the best commentary on a piece of the kind, appeared in diminished numbers. *Harlequin Hogarth* is an old legitimate pantomime—it is none of your classical, mythological extravaganzas, à la Planché, full of parody, neat allusion, jeux des mots, puns, and humour, but a regular “allegory,” where Idleness and Ignorance, after a variety of struggles against the march of intellect, “stand prostrate,” as Lord Castlereagh would say, before their victorious enemies Industry and Knowledge. The apprentices cut a variety of capers, which show that a great many of Hogarth’s original series must be lost to us, and it is but due to Mr. W. Payne, as Toby Cricket, and to Mr. H. Payne, as David Drone, to say that their excellent pantomime and lively good humour did much to avert disaster from the pantomime. The scenery generally was new, the tricks old, middle-aged, and sometimes juvenile; but there were some “gorgeous effects” and transformations, followed by a view of the Crystal Palace (scene XVI. and last), which kept the house in good humour. It was remarkable that the French question was touched upon very tenderly. There was only one allusion to it: the Clown, by the submarine electric telegraph, asks, “How are you all in Paris?” The reply is, “December 2.—Paris is gay as usual—plenty of balls going.” The Clown, Mr. H. Marshall, is very clever, and his burlesque imitations of Bottesini, Sivori, &c., on the violin, were very amusing. On the whole, if the pantomime be shortened a good deal (for there was no delay, wonderful to relate, with refractory slips, traps, scenes, or machinery), it may last the holidays very well. The ventilation of the house seems to have been well attended to, and the theatre has an air of prosperity about it which, we trust, will not be fallacious. The orchestra is not well “in hand” yet, and all M. Schirra’s very vigorous efforts could not give precision and harmony to their performance of the overture to *William Tell*.

**PRINCESS’S.**—The crowded and good-humoured audience assembled to witness the Christmas pantomime at this theatre did not reserve their attention, as is too commonly the case, for the new piece; but gave as fair a hearing to the *Merchant of Venice* as if it had not been “boxing night.” The introduction of the Christmas piece is founded upon the ancient ballad of Billy Taylor. The pantomime is entitled *Harlequin Billy Taylor; or, the Flying Dutchman and the King of Raritongo*. The scene opens upon the submarine caverns of the Nereids, where the fairy Nautila (Miss Desborough) is planning the marriage of Billy Taylor (Mr. F. Cooke). Britannia (nicely acted by Miss Kate Terrey) is indignant at not being consulted, and sentences him to be impressed and carried off to sea. Billy Taylor is then seen upon his shipboard in Tooley-street; and we are also introduced to his bride, Paulina di Punto Portsmouth (Mr. Wynn), a regular Bloomer. The marriage ceremonies are interrupted by the pressgang, who seize the luckless William. His bride follows in male disguise, and the quarter-deck of the Gallant Thunderbomb is the witness first to a scene of seaman-like jollity, and afterwards to a terrific engagement with the phantom crew of the Flying Dutchman. Billy Taylor jumps overboard, and landing upon a savage island consents to marry the negro princess of Raritongo in order to save his life; but Paulina appears at the right moment to forbid the banns, and shoots him through the head. The transformations then begin. Columbine finds a graceful and charming representative in Miss Carlotta Leclerc. Mr. Cormack performs the spiriting of Harlequin with great ability; and Mr. Flexmore as the Clown, and Mr. Paulo as Pantaloon, exhibit something of the ancient excellence in their personation of those characters. Mr. le Barr was to have played the Sprite, but having sprained his knee an apology was made for his non-appearance. The fairy scenes are beautifully presented. In a “model farmyard” some live chickens were brought upon the stage, and great laughter was excited by the circumstance that one chanticleer began to maul and assault his brother poultry as suddenly and fiercely, as if, like the French President, he had specially vowed to protect them. Bramah and Chubb do not, of course, escape; but they are revenged when Mr. Hobbs is sent for to pick Davy Jones’s locker, and the discovery is made that there is at least one lock in the world that Mr. Hobbs cannot pick. A capital view of London by moonlight discovers Clown and Pantaloon in their robes de nuit upon the tiles, unable to sleep for the caterwauling of hundreds of tabbies, who swarm upon the house tops, and convulse the junior part of the audience by their antics. The clown discharges a blunderbuss at the cats, and a shower of deceased felinity falls upon the stage, while hundreds of windows are thrown open, out of which children thrust their heads and scream and spring innumerable rattles. This is the best scene in the pantomime, and soon afterward the “home of Britannia in the floral realms of light,” by its magnificence caused the curtain to fall amid a fair share of applause.

**THE LYCEUM.**—There is a charm about the Lyceum which makes it sure to attract in holiday times, and the crowd which, long before the hour announced for opening, beset the doors leading to those parts of the

house which are the favourite places of popular resort, showed the apprehension felt by the several parties of visitors lest they should be anticipated. The entertainments of the evening commenced with *The Game of Speculation*, in which the part of Mr. Affable Hawk was admirably performed by Mr. C. Mathews, and there was nothing to detract from the gratification of the audience, expressed by ready laughter and hearty applause, for the other characters were well supported. An “entirely new and original fairy extravaganza” followed. It is by the author of *Prince Charming* and other productions of established reputation, and is described as being founded on the Countess d’Anois’ story *La Biche au Bois*. The *Prince of Happy Land, or the Fawn in the Forest*, opens with a conference between Nigretta, Princess of Ethiopia, and the Fairy Carabossa, the result of which is that the fairy undertakes to punish a rival of the black princess in the affection of Prince Felix (Miss Julia St. George), the Prince of Happy Land. The spectator is then introduced to the palace in which the Princess Desiderata has been kept for twenty years all but a week, to avoid the spells of the Fairy Carabossa, into whose power she is to fall should the light of day shine upon her. The Princess is reclining on a couch in a “point-lace chamber in the Tower of Tapers” (a very pretty scene), and awakening, relates a dream she has had to Floretta (Madame Vestris, who met a most hearty reception). The Princess in her dream had seen a Prince with whom, as a matter of course, she has fallen in love, and who turns out to be Prince Felix, the Prince having, according to use and wont in fairy tales, become enamoured in like manner of the Princess. The Grand Duke of Vert and Venison and the Grand Duchess, parents of the Princess Desiderata, then make their appearance with offers of marriage for the Princess, who is to leave her taper-light state of existence in the course of a week, when the power of the malign fairy over her destinies will expire. The Princess rejects all the offers. At this moment an ambassador from Prince Felix is announced, and a living picture of the Prince is introduced. Miss St. George, who played the part of the Prince with her usual spirit and ability, was very warmly received; and a duet between the Princess and the Prince, or rather his picture, was loudly applauded. A vehicle to exclude the light of day is constructed for carrying the Princess to the dominions of Prince Felix. A halt is made at Blackgang Chine, where a party of Ethiopian serenaders appear; they are suborned by the malignant fairy to distract the attention of the Princess’s attendants from their mistress; and as their performance (which gave much amusement to the audience) draws to a close Carabossa rushes forward and tears open the palanquin of the Princess, who, on being exposed to the light of day, is transformed into a fawn. A beneficent fairy, Pineapple, interposes to mitigate the calamity, and the Princess is to regain her original form each sunset. A scene of rare beauty then opens, representing, in the language of the bills, the “Peerless Pool and Pleasure-gardens.” The effect is heightened by the introduction of groups of children in the background; but to form an adequate idea of this unique and charming representation of fairyland, it must be seen. A grand gathering of fairies affords an opportunity for the introduction of the corps de ballet. The Princess, as a fawn, is wounded by the Prince; and, as soon as night arrives, appears with her hand pinned with an arrow to her ear. Nigretta and Carabossa are at last on the point of carrying their malignant designs into complete effect, when Floretta, recollecting that she had brought the beneficent fairy to the aid of the persecuted lovers by accidentally touching a ring which she wore, invokes the same agency, when the Fairy Pineapple interposes; the young couple are restored to happiness; and the piece concludes with a splendid display of the “Golden Pinery.” The brilliancy of the scene and the success of the piece were acknowledged by enthusiastic applause, and Madame Vestris and Miss Julia St. George were summoned to receive the congratulations of the audience.

**SADLER’S WELLS.**—The entertainments at this house consisted of the play of the *Lady of Lyons*, and a comic pantomime entitled *Harlequin and the Yellow Dwarf; or, the Enchanted Orange Tree and the King of the Golden Mines*. The prelude to the piece is founded upon the well known juvenile story of the Yellow Dwarf, in *Mother Bunch’s Fairy Tales*. The first scene opens with a beautiful and characteristic view of the ancient Court of Revels, in Old Style’s Christmas-hall, where we find the Abbot of Misrule superintending the ancient sports and fooleries, attended by a number of celebrated personages of the olden time—including King Arthur, Henry VIII., Anna Bullen (carrying her head in her hand), Queen Elizabeth, Sir W. Raleigh, Sir John Falstaff, Dame Quickly, and others. The principal feature of the scene is the dance of Sir Roger de Coverley, which was executed in a lively and humorous style. In the midst of the fun, frolic, and gaiety, Old Style, the host (Mr. Mardyn), enters, and, addressing the revellers, expresses his regret at the innovating spirit of modern days, and urges that the rage for improvement must

be resisted, so far, at least, as the time-honoured sports are concerned. At this moment New Style, in the shape of a young Bloomer (Miss Mandlebert), makes her appearance, and asks in surprise,—

“What have we here? Oh, this won’t do all;  
’Tis out of date. We must keep up the ball;”

in proof of the necessity of which, she refers to the “go-ahead” spirit which is so active on the other side of the Atlantic, and which has lately produced among other things unequalled reaping machines, impregnable locks, and unapproachable yachts. To show the revellers what she can do, she changes the scene to the Temple of New Style, in the Regions of Design, where a pretty dance by a troop of little Bloomers (the pupils of Mr. Frampton) is introduced with good effect. After some further conversation between Old and New Style with regard to the spirit of progress, the latter so far yields to the entreaties of his rival as to agree to spare the good old pantomime from the threatened destruction of ancient pastimes. The Yellow Dwarf (Mr. Thorne, afterwards Quicksilver) having been summoned to assist in carrying out this compromise, the scene changes to the Enchanted Orange-grove, with a distant view of the sandy desert by sunset. Here the Princess Allfair (Miss De Vere, afterwards Columbine) enters, and having, in spite of the warnings and entreaties of her attendants, snatched the forbidden fruit from trees of the Orange-grove, she is assailed by the lions, who are placed there as its guardians. The Yellow Dwarf immediately appears, and offers her his protection on condition that she will promise to be his bride, which having done, the scene changes to the Emerald Boudoir of the Palace of the Ruby Noses, the residence of her mother, Queen Golconda (Mr. Naylor, afterwards Pantaloon). Here the Princess meets a new suitor in the person of California, King of the Golden Mines (Mr. C. Fenton, afterwards Harlequin). The wooing, however, is cut short by the appearance of the Yellow Dwarf, who, after a severe struggle, succeeds in carrying off the Princess to his dwelling in the Golden-hall of a Hundred Steps, where he in vain endeavours to tempt her with magical illustrations of the five senses. At length the Desert Fairy (Miss E. Bullen) comes upon the scene, and changes the various characters to Clown, Pantaloon, Columbine, Harlequin, and Quicksilver, who at once begin the usual round of incidents and changes. In addition to the characters we have just named, there were two others introduced (viz., a little clown and little sprite), who found admirable representatives in Master Stilt and Master Rochez. The tricks and transformations, many of which were exceedingly ingenious and amusing, followed each other in quick succession, and were received with hearty applause. The pantomime is from the pen of Mr. Greenwood (joint lessee of the theatre), and was produced under the direction of Mr. Williams. The scenery, dresses, and decorations were excellent, and altogether we may say the piece was quite successful.

**OLYMPIC.**—The pantomime, which is from the prolific pen of Mr. Nelson Lee, is entitled *Red Rufus; or, Harlequin Fact, Fiction, and Fancy*, and is described in the bills as being “historical, instructive, moral, pleasing, whimsical, and comic.” Without entering into the “historical, instructive, or moral” merits of the piece, we can say that it was whimsical and comic enough, and that it was produced in a style most creditable to the management. The “opening” of a pantomime is a mystery which it is no easy matter to unravel, and the opening of *Red Rufus* certainly did not form an exception to the general rule. All we can say of it is, that the destiny of a pair of lovers had some mysterious connection with that of the second Norman King of England, and that when the unfortunate Rufus is slain in the New Forest by Sir Walter Tyrrell the transformations take place, to the great satisfaction, as it seemed, of the audience. The pantomimic business was of the usual character, but formed an agreeable relief to a somewhat dull introduction. Mr. Forrest was a smart and active Harlequin, and Miss Lees as Columbine danced her part most gracefully. A new Clown, Mr. Edwin Edwards, made his first appearance in London, and created a very favourable impression. He introduced the performance of a couple of remarkably well trained dogs, who danced and threw summersets to the gratification of the audience, and with great apparent ease to themselves. There were no political allusions, direct or indirect, in the piece, and the only attempt to “hit” the follies of the day was the appearance of a dozen young ladies in full Bloomer costume, who performed a dance which, from the applause with which it was received, appeared to create some prepossession in the audience in favour of the dress.

**GEOLOGY.**—Great Pan is dead, but the mountains are not voiceless; upon their stone tablets we may read, if we will but observe, the story of the earth’s mutations, the history of creations which existed during those vast ages when the earth was undergoing the changes necessary to the realization of that garden in which was created a reasoning man.—*British Quarterly Review*, No. 28.



## Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

### NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

#### ELECTION OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

On Wednesday evening last the scrutineers appointed by the metropolitan localities attended at the office, 14, Southampton-street, Strand; and, having inspected the votes received, gave the following as the result of the gross poll:—

Ernest Jones . . . 900	Thornton Hunt . . . 282
John Arnott . . . 720	P. M. M'Douall . . . 198
Fergus O'Connor . . 600	J. B. Leno . . . 180
T. M. Wheeler . . . 566	C. F. Nicholls . . . 134
James Grassby . . . 565	H. T. Holyoake . . . 122
John Shaw . . . 502	A. E. Delaforce . . . 117
W. J. Linton . . . 470	A. J. Wood . . . 90
J. J. Bezer . . . 456	J. M. Bryson . . . 53
G. J. Holyoake . . . 336	George Haggis . . . 13
Robert Le Blond . . . 326	Robert Oliver . . . 9

Messrs. J. B. O'Brien, Gerald Massey, and Arthur Trevelyan, having declined to serve, the votes received on their behalf have not been recognized.

We, the undersigned, hereby certify the above to be a correct return, and declare the nine persons first named to be duly elected to form the Executive Committee for the ensuing year.

JOHN WASHINGTON, City Locality.

EDWARD JOHN LOOMES, Finsbury Locality.

14, Southampton-street, Strand, December 31, 1851.

### HOW THE "TIMES" ASSAILS WORKING-MEN.

#### A VINDICATION OF THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS.

The French Revolution of 1789 was a fortune to your iron-handed Conservative. Whatever harm it has done others, it has done no harm to him. Whoever else complains, he has no right to complain. The Tory, whose rapacious grasp is upon "landed possessions"—whose language is always supercilious to the poor—whose vote is ever for coercion—he has made a reputation out of the French Revolution. He has prated of the violence and excesses of that period till people have forgotten his own, always in course of perpetration. He has cried down the Liberalism of the Whigs, and denounced the Radicalism of the people. When the Whigs *would* have fulfilled their pledges, he prevented them—when Radicalism moved, he gagged it. In our days Conservatism has pursued its natural policy of repression; and what it has failed to accomplish by argument, it has brought about by slander. Magnifying Republicanism into an ogre, and Socialism into an enemy of Property, it has taken captive public credulity, and even beguiled the tongue of Liberalism into consenting to the ever creeping, ever relentless encroachments of arbitrary domination. Old Toryism—call it Conservatism, or by whatever name you will, is still unchanged—its instinct is despotism. It is the worm which dieth not—the fire which is never quenched under a monarchy. The Whig will avow a liberal principle, which at least teaches other men liberality, which at least becomes an authority to those who walk by great names—and if the Whig does attempt coercion, it is done with an inconsistent, and consequently with a qualified, hand. The Radical may in his turn menace the working class; but he tempers his oppression by limitations by which its criminality is diluted. The Democrat will be unjust; but he is generous at the same time, as he founds his conduct on a principle which gives to all men an equal chance of combatting him upon an open, free, and fair field of encounter. But your genuine friend of "order" puts his foot upon your neck, and his gag into your mouth. He pauses but to strike, and death is in his blow. Let any one recall to remembrance the kind of leaders which have, during the last fifty years, appeared in our newspapers, whenever the triumph of the people was the question—and he will mark that the organ of the country gentleman—of the Tory—of the monarchist—was always one of ferocity. As for the *Times*, its leaders have been written in gore. The "*Party of Order*" is the *party of blood*. As Lord Dudley Stuart once said at the City of London Tavern, Red Republicanism is mildness compared with Red Monarchy. When working men choose a party, let them remember the instincts of the Party of Order, of Family, of Property, and of Religion. All parties besides this, more or less, stand on the side of progress, of freedom, and of the people. The monarchical party are of the old party of conquest. Asserting their dominion by force, they do not always scruple as to their mode of strengthening it; and they always maintain it at the point of the sword. Recent doings in Paris develop its genius: it is the same with the Imperialists all the world over. Let the public remember these facts, and they will see with what appropriateness the *Times*, ever the organ of these instincts, charges upon the working class "violent" tendencies of which its perpetual policy has furnished them with so many lessons.

In the discussion instituted so peremptorily by the *Times* upon the proceedings of the Amalgamated

Society of Engineers, a tone is adopted and imputations indulged in, which would be discreditable to any working class paper. Indeed, we could name many papers circulating among the working class, in which such language would be excluded rigorously. One "*Amicus*"—whose name is certainly a misnomer—speaks of the "victims of the designing few." In this style "*Amicus*" opens his imputations. In his second letter of December 24, he stigmatizes the Council who direct the affairs of the Engineers' Society, as a "knot of plotting demagogues," and warns the men against "the insidious teachings of agitators, whose language is as false as their hearts are untrue." This vulgarity and grossness of imputation, through which the editor of the *Times* ought to have drawn his pen, is, however, taken as an example by the editor himself, who pens a leading article on the subject, and makes what variations the vocabulary of vituperation enables him. He talks of "dupes," and tells us that "the workmen have been misled by a gang of professional agitators." How any person, ever so slightly acquainted with the rules of intelligent advocacy, can forget himself so as to fall into this disreputable language it is hard to divine. In the editor of an important public journal it is simply disgraceful. The *Times* assures us of its honest attentions to the interests of the working men, and expects us to believe the profession and respect the feeling which animates it; but the *Times* disqualifies itself with respect to ready credence on this point. When the *Times* employs these imputations, we are forced to ask the ground thereof. Can the *Times* believe that 12,000 men, said to constitute the Society of Engineers, are duped by seven Councilmen? Can the *Times* believe that the Council do more than carry out the requirements founded on the experiences of the large body whose affairs they administer? If the *Times* does not know better than this, it is not qualified to write upon this subject. Why should it be assumed that the Council of these working men are a "gang of agitators"? Cannot the *Times* respect the sincerity of the advisers of working men? We have heard something of the advertisement of the Lancashire Masters—of a federation among them. What would the *Times* say if the *Operative* should denounce these as "a gang of plotting tyrants"? The *Times* would have no mercy on its humble working class contemporary. The *Times* tells us it writes for the information, service, and guidance of the engineers. Yet it sets them the dangerous example of imputation. If these men should imitate this example, their advocacy will be ruined, and the *Times* is too astute not to foresee this. The question of right will at once be obscured. The violence of such language will be taken by the public as an indication of the violent counsel given to the men, and they will be condemned unheard. The admirable replies of Mr. Newton to "*Amicus*" have betrayed a judgment, though not quite free from the reciprocation of accusation, yet of rare and honourable moderation.

(To be concluded in our next.)

We understand that a series of lectures will be delivered in the course of the present month, at the Westminster and Pimlico People's Institute, on successive Wednesday evenings, by Mr. Cathie, on Chemistry; Mr. J. Ingram Lockart, on Astronomy; Dr. M'Oubrey, on the History of the Earth; Mr. Bronte O'Brien, on the French Revolutions.

LEEDS REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—The moneys received this week are:—Leeds, 18s. 3d.; Plymouth, 8s. 5d. Propagandist fund:—54d. The store goes steadily on; its goods giving satisfaction, and is attracting members to the Society.—Pro J. HENDERSON, Sec.

HALL OF SCIENCE, SHEFFIELD.—At a general meeting of the members of the Sheffield branch of the Rational Society, recently held, memorials were unanimously adopted to Lord John Russell, praying that his reform bill may be based on the charter, and that the annual estimates be sent to the members a month before each session, and submitted by them to the public; to Sir George Grey, for the liberation of Smith O'Brien, Frost, Williams, and Jones, and all political offenders; to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge; to Lord Palmerston against the occupation of Rome by the French troops. The Secretary, Councillor Lawton, sent the memorials, and has received acknowledgments from the parties.—*Sheffield Free Press*.

THE PAST.—History is, so to speak, the Geology of Humanity. Its records are the annals of the growth and development of Humanity through the ages. The various forms of civilization which it tells us of, immature efforts to attain the true social state, developing up to a certain point, and then falling, because incapable of further progress, may be considered as the analogues of the various types of the animal creation which preluded to the culminant creature Man.—*British Quarterly Review*, No. 28.

LANGUAGE.—Language is the amber in which a thousand precious and subtle thoughts have been safely embedded and preserved. It has arrested ten thousand lightning flashes of genius, which, unless fixed and arrested, might have been as bright, but would have also been as quickly passing and perishing as the lightning.—*Trench, on the Study of Words*.



## 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.

### TO THE LONDON EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMALGAMATED IRON TRADES.

London, December 31, 1851.

GENTLEMEN,—Since you refused to give me a hearing at your meeting last night in the Hall of Commerce; since, as the Chairman stated from the chair, you were fearful of letting me speak, lest you should be supposed by the press, the public, or your masters, to be in any way connected with Chartism, and thus create hostility against you in the rich; and since I cannot stand by and see a numerous body of men, with large resources, rush blindfold into destruction, dissipate their means, and leave themselves weakened and powerless in the hands of the capitalists, without raising my voice against so ruinous a proceeding; I beg to express my readiness to meet you at any time in public meeting, for the purposes of friendly and mutual explanation.

Permit me to observe, that you invited your opponents to attend, and promised to give them a hearing; I don't know what chance they would have had, since you would not hear even a friend!

It is not very creditable to put down the free expression of opinion in so vital a matter, at the drilled signals of a platform committee. Wise and thoughtful men, men who wish well to the cause they profess to embrace, are generally glad to investigate it in all its bearings; you seem to shirk hearing any one speak, whose voice might tend to warn your members from the fatal error to which you are trying to commit them. That is not performing your duty wisely or well. If you seek to carry your object by mere clamour and onesided platform spouting, you will fail.

I had pledged myself not to commit or compromise the meeting to any political movement; but merely to analyse the propriety of the course you were pursuing, and the results to which it must lead. But notwithstanding that, you must drown my voice with violence merely out of fear lest you should irritate your employers and the Press, by letting a Chartist speak.

Would you have refused a man a hearing, simply because he was known as a Tory, or a Whig?

Permit me to tell you, if you feel yourselves as weak as that, if your success depends, not on yourselves, but on the goodwill of the Press and the rich, your resistance has not much prospect of victory. What a lamentable confession of cowardice and impotence!

Rest assured your repudiation of an attempt to seek political power, your repudiation of Chartism, —(yours, not that of the meeting)—will weaken, instead of strengthening you. Your masters well know they can beat you down with their own weapons: Time, Gold, and Law.

You fear to create hostility in the rich and the rich man's Press? Don't waste your labour, it is there already! You should try to face it,—not shrink before it, as you did last night.

I am, however, gratified to think, that the majority of the meeting did not support you in your noisy platform policy. It was but a minority, and a small minority too, of the meeting, that obeyed your signals. The iron trades are neither so unwise nor so cowardly as you strive to make them appear. On the contrary, they are an enlightened, manly body, who will soon see the errors of your guidance.

In conclusion, I hereby challenge you, gentlemen of the committee, to meet me in presence of the Amalgamated Iron Trades in London, at any place or time you may appoint, when I undertake to prove against you the errors with which I charge you.

ERNEST JONES.

### AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS.

To the Editor of the LYNN ADVERTISER.

Rectory, Flordon, near Norwich, December 3, 1851.

SIR,—Having read, with considerable interest, a letter signed Edward T. Yates, of Ayleham, I trust



I may be allowed, as an old correspondent, to express an opinion as to its general, and by consequence its individual, tendency with reference more particularly to "Agricultural Associations."

That such, and indeed every association which has for its object the general good, is, and ought to be, "based upon religious principles," I had not, until reading Mr. Yates's letter, the slightest shadow of a doubt, and I quite agree with that gentleman's observation, that without such a basis, "all morality is valueless." Mr. Yates, with great justice also, complains of the paucity and poverty of resistance to the temptations of "drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking," manifested by those whose chief toil is that of procuring their bread by the sweat of their brow. But let us hope that there are many exceptions, and that there are those over whom come those quiet, unobtrusive moments given to reflection and penitence, and which may be, and undoubtedly are, often experienced in the ploughed field, by many a poor, hard-working labourer, or, in the crowded mart, by many a deserving artisan, as also, in those temples made by hands, wherein we too often find the modern Pharisee, "thanking God that he is not as other men are," and holding himself up as a pattern to such of those who, as disciples of the honest Publican, content themselves by adopting his form of supplication, which was made up of the petition—"God be merciful to me a sinner."

But as example is before precept, I would simply recommend that those amongst our "farmy centurions," should see that the "soldiers under" each division be "trained in the way wherein they ought to go," and if found to be wilfully negligent of their duties as Christians, to withdraw both patronage and support. Then would religion's precept keep pace with religion's example, then would the "form of godliness" in many cases be the forerunner of the "spirit" thereof; and in all probability "use would become" their "second nature," and they, like David of old, would be "glad, when exhorted, to go up to the house of the Lord;" then would every country village become a Bethel, wherein would be found a habitation for the mighty God of Jacob; "His Sabbaths would be hallowed," and they would be a "sign" "between Him and them, that He was the Lord their God."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

CARTER WILLIAM MOORE.

Lynn Regis, December 26, 1851.

SIR,—The above rich morceau appeared lately in the *Lynn Advertiser*,—a paper in the "Protectionist" interest, and entitled to all consideration,—first, as the recognized mouthpiece of that particular section of the West Norfolk agriculturists; and, secondly, as occupying the proud position of "flunkey" to the whole parsondom of the district.

Scarcely a week elapses but we find in the columns of this same paper some such a paragraph as the following:—

"John Stiles, day-labourer, appeared on Wednesday before the Reverend so-and-so, charged with trespassing upon the lands of — (a brother magistrate) in pursuit of game. Committed to Walsingham Bridewell for three months' hard labour."

Here we have the minister of God sitting as a minister of justice to decide between the poor helpless poacher and the friend with whom he dined yesterday. And after this the reverend gentleman is surprised to find that John Stiles won't come to church; that he won't join with him in prayer that his "trespasses may be forgiven him, even as he forgives the trespasses of others." John's intellect, it is true, is not of the highest order, but he has sense enough to see that "the parson" is no friend to him; he knows, from bitter experience, that, with "the parson," forgiveness of trespasses sometimes means three months' hard labour in Bridewell, and he, therefore, determines to have as little to do with him as possible. His enmity to the man extends to the religion of which he is the unworthy minister. John is but a child in philosophy, and, to his mind, "the parson" is inseparably connected with the Christianity he talks about. The result is just what might be expected, he concludes the one to be as great a humbug as the other.

He is now, we may presume, fully ripe to be dragged to church under the high-pressure system of the rector of Flordon, and would, no doubt, make a very humble-minded Christian when he had lost all sense of his manhood.

A word might be said upon the hypocrisy involved in the assumption, whether forced or otherwise, of the "form of godliness," without the "spirit" thereof; but this letter having already exceeded my original intention, I will not now enter upon that subject.

In conclusion, I offer no apology; considering the oppressed as the natural clients of the *Leader*, I conceive none to be necessary. I will merely observe that a remonstrance addressed to the editor of the paper in question has been contemptuously disregarded, and that not one among the clergy has found it in the course of his duty to stand forward and disavow the proposition contained in that letter. Permit me to remain, Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

A LAYMAN.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

Consols closed on Monday at 97½; on Tuesday at 97½; on Wednesday at 98½ 7; and on Thursday the Bank lowered the rate of discount to 2½ per cent., and Consols closed at 97½. The closing price yesterday was—Consols, 97½.

Fluctuations of the week have been:—Consols, from 96½ to 97½; Bank Stock, from 215 to 216; Exchequer Bills, from 56s. to 59s. premium.

In the Foreign Stock Market yesterday the bargains have comprised—Brazilian, Small, 95½; Chilean Six per Cents., 101; Ecuador, 3½; Mexican, for money, 28½, 28, and 28½; for the account, 28½ and ¼; Peruvian, 94; the Deferred, 47½, 47, 47½, and 48; Portuguese Four per Cents., 34 and 33½; Sardinian Five per Cents., 87, 86½, and 87½; Spanish Five per Cents., 21½ and 22; Passive, 5½; Spanish Three per Cents., 40½, 4, and ½ ex div.; the New Deferred, 17½, 1, and ½; Venezuela Deferred, 12½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 58½, 59½, and 59 ex div.; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 90½.

### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock ....	—	—	215½	—	216	216
3 per Ct. Red ..	97½	98½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 p. C. Con. Ans.	—	—	98½	—	—	98½
3 p. C. An. 1726.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. Ct. Con., Ac.	97½	97½	97½	96½	97½	97½
3½ p. Cent. An.	98½	99	98½	98½	98½	98½
New 5 per Cts.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long Ans., 1860.	7½	—	7	7	7	7
Ind. St. 10, p. ct.	264	—	—	265	—	—
Ditto Bonds ..	62 p	63 p	67 p	65 p	65 p	68 p
Ex. Bills, 10000.	55 p	54 p	56 p	57 p	59 p	56 p
Ditto, 5000.	52 p	53 p	56 p	57 p	59 p	56 p
Ditto, Smal.	52 p	57 p	56 p	57 p	59 p	56 p

### FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	80	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	28
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct.	90	— Small ..	26½
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	95½	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	45	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	87½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	101	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	90½
Danish 5 per Cents.	102	— 4 per Cts.	33½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	59½	— Annuities	—
— 4 per Cents.	89½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	102½
Ecuador Bonds	3½	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	21½
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris 103.00	—	— Passive	5
— 3 p. Cts., July 11, 70.00	—	— Deferred	—

### AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 23rd day of December, 1851, is 21s. 7d. per cwt.

### TO TRADESMEN AND OTHERS REQUIRING LOANS.

**THE ADELPHI LOAN, DISCOUNT, AND DEPOSIT BANK**, 17, Adam-street, Strand, continues to make advances of £5. 5s. and upwards on most liberal terms. Good Bills discounted, and Money advanced upon the deposit of every description of Property as Collateral Security.—Office hours Ten to Four.

**HOMŒOPATHY.**—All the Homœopathic Medicines, in Globules, Tinctures, and Trituration, are prepared with the greatest care and accuracy by JOHN MAWSON, Homœopathic Chemist, 4, Hood-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne; and 60, Fawcett-street, Sunderland; from whom they may be obtained, in single tubes, neat pocket cases, and boxes, suitable for families and the profession. "Laurie's" and all other works on Homœopathy, together with cases and tubes, sent post-free to all parts of the kingdom. Dispensaries and the profession supplied on liberal terms.

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**MAWSON'S HOMŒOPATHIC COCOA.**—The Cocoa-nut, or nib, contains a very large proportion of nutritive matter, consisting of a farinaceous substance, and of a rich and pleasant oil. This oil is esteemed on account of its being less liable than any other oil to rancidity. Homœopathic physicians are united in their recommendation of cocoa as a beverage; and the testimonials from other sources are numerous and of the highest character. It was so highly esteemed by Linnæus, the chief of Naturalists, that he named it Theobroma—"Food for the Gods."

Dr. Pareira says, "It is a very nourishing beverage, devoid of the ill properties possessed by both tea and coffee."

Dr. Epps, the popular lecturer on Physiology, says:—"Mothers, while suckling, should never take Coffee; they should suckle on Cocoa. I have the testimony of mothers who have so suckled, and they state that they found, with Cocoa without Beer, they produced quite sufficient milk, and the children suckled with such diet were in better health than those suckled on a previous occasion, when Beer, and Coffee, and Tea formed the liquid part of their diet." The same author adds:—"Cocoa is the best of all flavoured drinks. It is highly nutritious."

Dr. Hooper says:—"This food is admirably calculated for the sick, and to those who are in health it is a luxury."

Many persons have been turned against the use of Cocoa and Chocolate from having tried the many, and very generally inferior article vended at the grocers' shops under that name. The preparation here offered by JOHN MAWSON contains all the nutritive properties of the nut without any objectionable admixture. It is, therefore, recommended as an agreeable and wholesome substitute for Coffee, to which it is certainly much superior, as it is also to the Cocoas sold as "Soluble Cocoa," "Flake Cocoa," &c. It is light, easy of digestion, agreeable, nutritious, and requires little time or trouble in preparing for use.

**TESTIMONIAL.**—"Having used the Homœopathic Cocoa prepared by Mr. Mawson, I have no hesitation in giving it my fullest recommendation."—Thomas Hayle, M.D.

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**AGENTS.**—North Shields—Mease and Son, druggists. Sunderland—Mr. John Hills, grocer, South Shields—Bell and May, druggists. Penrith—Mr. George Ramsay, druggist. Stockton—John Dodgson and Co. druggists. Durham—Scawin and Monks, druggists. Darlington—Mr. S. Barlow, druggist. Carlisle—Mr. Harrison, druggist. Agents wanted!

**THOMAS COOPER**, Author of "The Purgatory of Suicides," &c., delivers Oration on the following subjects:—

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The Life and Genius of MILTON; with Recitations from "Paradise Lost," &c.

The Life and Genius of BURNS; with the Music of some of his Songs, Recitations of "Tam o' Shanter," &c.

The Life and Genius of BYRON; with Readings and Recitations from his Works.

The Life and Genius of SHELLEY; with Readings and Recitations from his Works.

CIVILIZATION: What it was in the Past—What it effects for Man in the Present—and the Universal Human Happiness it must produce in the Future.

THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH: Founders of the Struggle—Coke, Seldon, Eliot, Pym, Hampden, &c.—Despotism of the King, and Tyranny of Laud—Civil War—Death of Hampden—Battle of Naseby—Imprisonment, Trial, and Execution of Charles I.

The Age of CHIVALRY, and the Crusades.

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