

Thornton Leigh Hunt, Wellington, New Zealand

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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Address.

THE third year in which our journal has existed commences with a promise of busy work; and the progress already made fills us with hope for the immediate future. National freedom has sustained a severe check in the success of Louis Napoleon; but Liberty suffers with open eyes, and gazes steadfastly at the brief authority which displaces her for a moment. The essence and principles of freedom are better understood now by immense numbers on the Continent, than they were even in 1848; the spirit cannot be quelled; the nations are drawing more and more to a common term for that united action which shall break up the conspiracy of the Despots; Absolutism and Bigotry are revelling in their last feast of blood.

The *Leader* has not yet attained such an extent of circulation and influence as to boast that it has had an active share in the achievements of the last few years; but this we have a right to say, that the principles with which we have identified ourselves, not long since held in contempt and alarm, are now daily gaining the adhesion of increasing numbers, and are rapidly becoming the master principles of the day. We have sought perfect freedom of discussion, and have endeavoured to show that such freedom needs neither to be antagonistic nor anti-religious: since we started, the impunity which we instantly realized has been an example to our contemporaries, and discussion has taken a bolder flight than it did before; while the tribute both of friends and opponents, to our own sincerity, reaches us from all quarters, even from clergymen! What we said on that point, at the opening of the second year, is still applicable with greater force than ever. We have laboured to turn the discussion of Socialism rather upon its principle and the practical application thereof to present improvements, than upon ulterior changes of society: the increase of Association, the extended discussion of the principle among opponents, the recourse which the discharged engineers are having to its aid, attest the soundness of our method. In politics we have laboured to keep the distinction between Governments and Peoples, and to promote the alliance of nations against the allied

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oppressors of nations; and the Anglo-American Alliance, the idea of which has risen simultaneously in different quarters within the year, and was first promulgated in this country by the *Leader*, is now a fixed idea with increasing numbers. These are instances of progress in those principles with which we have identified ourselves.

So much for the paper: it is now my part to announce that, in changing hands as a property, the *Leader* will continue to maintain its old principles, I believe with increased efficiency. Some difficulties which have beset our career, promise to be surmounted by the change. To pass to one of a minor kind, though vitally important for us—the irregularities of which our subscribers have had so much cause to complain in the receipt of the paper will, we believe, occur no more; or, if in exceptional instances they should, a direct complaint to our office will enable us immediately to set the matter right. The change affects the editorial staff in a very slight degree: the same pens, with some accessions, will continue to be employed on our columns. My colleague and dear friend, G. H. Lewes, will continue to edit the literary portion, and Vivian of course will be allowed to indulge his wayward will as before. At my own request, I am permitted to resign the chief editorship to a friend who has for some time worked with me in the political portion of the paper; and who has acquired the deepest interest in its welfare. I shall still, however, continue to take an active part, being relieved principally of certain routine duties which come little under the observation of the reader. And I trust that I shall be all the freer to devote myself to the propagation of the three principles which—now that absolute freedom of Opinion has been practically conceded—appear to me to be most needful for the further progress of our country—national franchise, as the means of attesting all measures with the popular sanction; the right of labour to reproductive employment; and the right of arms for every man, as the means of enabling the whole people to defend its liberties against aggression. Letters to myself can still be directed to the office of the *Leader*; letters to the Editor will be opened by the gentleman who fills the post. Thus much of explanation was necessary for the explicitness which has won for my colleagues and myself the confidence of many readers; but, I repeat, the modifications of the staff, all being in the nature of accessions, will make themselves apparent to the reader only in increased efficiency.

THORNTON HUNT.

News of the Week.

PARLIAMENT is summoned to meet for Tuesday the 3rd of February—about the usual time.—Nothing has transpired as to the course which the several "parties in the State" will take. One rumour is, that Lord John will at once bring forward his Reform Bill; and that the Opposition will outmanoeuvre him by bringing forward the Palmerston question on the first night of the session. Lord John might set all calculation at fault by bringing on no Reform Bill. The general feeling is one of expectancy, without confidence or care for any one of the parties themselves. The interest excited by the Ministerial crisis is quite worn out; most of the papers recently Ministerial are so no longer, but are neutral; and the Ministry is for the nonce the favourite butt of the *Times*, which is daily exposing the inefficiency of the Cabinet and all its subordinate departments.

Out of doors, the political movements are few. The Marylebone demonstration on the Palmerston question is postponed, to await disclosures. The Reform meetings are postponed, for the same reason. Political action is suspended; but the prevalent ideas are, either that Ministers will attempt to evade past promises, and will need to be coerced; or that the Whigs will be out of office, and the Liberals will once more be free.

Such activities as the officials are guilty of exasperate and tantalize, rather than satisfy, the public. The *Gazette*, for example, announces that a considerable portion of the Western African coast is blockaded—evidently in revenge for the Lagos repulse. But who cares for Lagos, when we are all thinking of France, with the possibility of war nearer home and on a grander scale? The report that there are to be defensive camps round London is contradicted; but not so the incessant reports that the arms and equipment of the national forces are terribly ineffective. The reception accorded to a passage in Mr. Roebuck's speech to his Sheffield constituents is remarkable: he was deprecating standing armies, and demanded a "national army"; and the cheering that followed lasted for some minutes. If the American mind has quite altered on the subject of Intervention, as the *Chronicle* admits, the English mind is quite altered on the subject of Peace: the public only wants to know now that we can repel aggression, about which the said public is growing nervously uncertain; and the expectation is, that the Government will draw out the national force. Meanwhile there is much talk, in print, of rifle clubs to train the uninitiated.

Abroad are incidents which provoke questions as to the real spirit and energy of our rulers. At Florence, Mr. Mather, who was wantonly cut down by an Austrian officer, still lingers under a painful wound; and the public desires to know what satis-

faction has been demanded. In the distant region of India have we Mussulman riots, Affghan raids, and other signs of disturbance under the surface; suggesting the question whether Russia has not already, in some sort, penetrated to our territory.

M. Louis Napoleon (he has dropped the family name of the Corsican) is doing his worst to merit the reputation and the fate of a "very fast man." He is surprising the expectations of his warmest friends by the reckless velocity with which, having scaled the dizzy height of power, he is plunging down to an abyss of ruin, more sudden than his exaltation, and more precipitate than his crime. At the rate he is now going, he will be thoroughly used up in violence and oppression, before he can be said to have exchanged Revolution for Authority. Strange! On Sunday, *Le Deum* No. 2, was "ordered" for his election; and in the columns of the same *Moniteur* appeared the decrees banishing some representatives from France to Cayenne, and others to anywhere else they might choose for a permanent residence. Then the National Guard is abolished, and finally the Constitution appears. Where we may be landed next week we know not; even now France is the darkest blot upon the map of Europe. Austria, Naples, Rome, are fairly surpassed in atrocity. Europe is covered with a pall; where despotism recedes, menace and outrage are not withheld. Even Switzerland shrinks in her fastnesses of snow; and prudent, bourgeois Belgium (the model of civic royalty adapted to the nineteenth century) cowers. Where the hero of Boulogne once sought and found a sure refuge, he now forbids asylum to political exiles, on penalty of invasion. His myrmidons tread the pavement of London as well as the mountain passes of the Alps. Of the two courses open to him both are equally fatal. Peace or War? either being certain death. As to the new Constitution, that will last—until the coronation of the Emperor.

At home, the most real movement is that of the Amalgamated Engineers, with the counter-movement of the masters who are "on strike." The masters have stuck to their threat, and at this moment thousands are thrown out of work. The employers who preach so solemnly against indiscriminate measures, make no scruple of confounding the innocent with the guilty, and dismissing hands that have no connection with the Amalgamated Society; nay, some masters have struck whose men appear to have in no way joined the movement! A case of more wanton aggression cannot be imagined; and if it had occurred among the men, we should have had no end of denunciations against tyranny and cruelty. Meanwhile, the men stick to their quiet and temperate course. The sum of £10,000 has been set apart, and is to be devoted to establishing workshops on the coöperative principle, in London and three or four others of the principal towns. And to provide for the unemployed, as a matter of mere subsistence, those who are in work are asked to give one day's wages in the week to those who are out. The meetings held by the Society, one of them in St. Martin's-hall, have been very numerous attended, and have done much to conciliate public favour and support. We repeat; if the men will render their workshops complete in themselves, they may serve as model establishments, and as a resource against the caprices of employers; and may thus prove, not only excellent establishments in themselves for illustrating and extending the blessings of Concert, but powerful checks against the continued encroachments upon the returns of labour and the freedom of the workmen.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER III.

Paris, January 13, 1852.

In my last letter I mentioned very briefly the dinner given at the Hôtel de Ville to the Delegates of the Departments, and the ball which followed it. On the next day, *Prince* Louis Napoleon gave a banquet at the Tuileries to these same "Delegates." These "Delegates of the Departments" were, in other words, the mayors of all the chief towns of the provincial districts (*chefs lieux d'arrondissement*) who had been summoned by command to Paris for the occasion. For all things are now done to and by order in this brave land of France; it was thus that during the first days of the Revolution of the 2nd of December the *Siccle* newspaper reappeared "by order"; the shops on the Boulevard were reopened "by order"; and the theatres resumed their performances to empty benches "by order."

To return to the fête at the Tuileries; this banquet

passed off coldly; no cry was raised but "Vive le Président de la République." After dinner Louis Napoleon entered into conversation with the nearest groups, and the ceremonial terminated with little or no ceremony. Wednesday, again, Louis Napoleon had resolved to entertain his "Delegates of the French People." He commanded a representation at the Opera of the *Prophète*. Only the mayors, the officers of the army, and some few functionaries, were admitted to the performance. The appearance of the house, it should be added, was magnificent.

The *Prince* was looking extremely pale. He seemed worn out with fatigue; and well he may be, if the report be true, that he is working day and night: whether it be at the decrees which every morning brings forth, or at the Constitution. I was told, a few days since, that General Magnan had lately requested to speak with the President, and had been unable to reach the Chief of the State, who was hermetically sealed in his private cabinet, and absorbed in the "salvation of the country." There are persons who attribute this interesting pallor to another cause. The Royalists are accused by some persons of having already taken measures to get rid of him, within a certain period. In the actual position of affairs even his loss would be a disaster. As it is, the Legitimists are governing under cover of Louis Napoleon. The sweeping proscription of all the Republican representatives in the National Assembly was, in a great measure, at their instigation. In not a few cases personal vindictiveness has marked its victims. Among others, M. Granier de Cassagnac had an account to settle with M. Créton, who had stigmatized him at the National Tribune as a "vile lampooner." M. Delamarre, proprietor of *La Patrie*, was jealous of *La Presse* ever since it was made an evening journal. He procured the banishment of M. de Girardin. The terrorist decree appeared in the *Moniteur* of Saturday. By ten o'clock in the morning all Paris had read it. All Paris was astounded. On 'Change, in the law courts, in private society, among all classes and professions, it caused the most lively surprise and emotion. The effect of the decree was so disgusting, that to this sullen manifestation of public opinion has been attributed the momentary suspension of a second list of proscription, which involves the fate of many thousands. The publication of this second decree is, therefore, deferred; but it can be only for a few days. The order of the Minister of the Interior to efface from all public monuments the Republican device, has been speedily followed by the disbanding of the National Guard throughout France, without exception. This series of measures makes us all suspect that the moment is well nigh come when M. Louis Napoleon will overstep the nominal barrier which separates him from a throne, and when the name of the Republic will suffer the fate of the reality. The Empire is but a logical sequence of events: the Empire, then, we shall have. Already the conquest of Belgium is talked of, and the "frontier of the Rhine."

The fact to which I am alluding is in this shape; Louis Napoleon, it is affirmed, has demanded of Belgium repayment of a sum of 80,000,000 of francs by way of indemnity for the immense public works effected by the Emperor in Belgium. "If you don't make up your mind to repay me" he is reported to have said, "I will undertake to repay myself." You know his alliance with the Czar; he may well have been authorized to hold this language to Belgium; there may well be a secret European project on foot, in which England has not been consulted. It is not quite impossible that you may once more hear of the "Camp of Boulogne." War with England is as much a logical sequence of events as the Empire in France. In the mean time the rigours of the Dictatorship continue relentlessly; numberless arrests, daily; members of the Councils-general, mayors, local magistrates, elective functionaries, are daily thrown into prison. No less than seventy colonels or general officers are in confinement at Bicêtre. In the South, the outrages of 1815 against Protestants are renewed in the name of Louis Napoleon. Dragged to prison and beaten by gendarmes with the flats of their swords, they are fortunate to escape (but rarely) more brutal treatment. These scenes of persecution are daily enacted (among other places) at Nîmes and Cotte.

Arrests are no longer partial. Letters from St. Etienne mention numerous arrests in that town and in the adjacent communes. From Arbois (Jura) we hear of twelve persons being recently arrested. At Salines there have been frequent domiciliary visits of the police. Papers have been seized; three persons, MM. Debrand, chemist, Guignot and Dugues provisionally placed in confinement. The *Journal de l'Yonne* states that the total number of arrests in that department was, up to the last week, 540. This week there have been 116 arrests in the Drôme. The *Moniteur du Loiret* of the 8th instant mentions three arrests on the two preceding days, and nine at Bonny sur Loire, where the total number is about seventy. The same state of things exists at Cahors and at Nérac, where arrests are the order of the day. Sentence has been passed this week on the unfortunate prisoners in the Fort of Ivry. All have been con-

demned to deportation to Cayenne. The courts martial have commenced their sittings at Paris.

There are, however, two courses of action in favour at the Elysée. M. de Persigny, supported by the old King Jérôme, inclines to clemency; De Morny, on the other hand, whose character is gentle, I may almost say soft, dreams of nothing less than the extreme rigour. He insists that all who are condemned to death by the courts martial shall, in fact, be executed, in spite of the law which abolished the punishment of death for political offences. Such are the two opposed systems in discussion at the Elysée. Louis Napoleon, impassible as ever, listens to the persuasions of both parties without saying a word to either. If he be a man of real strength of character, he will lean to clemency. If he be a weak man, as I do not think him to be, he will espouse violence; this is the law of nature, and nature's laws are never set aside.

Measures have been taken to ship off the wretched men sentenced to deportation to Cayenne. At Bordeaux, barracks are being constructed for their reception until they can be embarked. It is to Bordeaux that the five representatives of the people, recently condemned to deportation, will be despatched.

In certain departments the military proconsuls have published a decree that they will sentence to deportation, if not to death, as accomplices in the insurrection, any persons who shall be found to have given, or who shall give, shelter and refuge to insurgents. In 1793, any man who gave shelter to an émigré, was himself condemned. In 1852, the same rule holds good, and yet we hear of progress!

As to the press, it no longer exists but in name. I have two or three anecdotes to tell you on the subject, that you may be able to judge of the degree of liberty we are enjoying in France. The Government caused to be announced in some of the English newspapers that the *Journal des Débats* had completely rallied to the cause of Louis Napoleon. M. Bertin, director of the *Débats*, was on the point of soliciting the English press to rectify this unfounded assertion, when all of a sudden he received an injunction to desist from any remonstrance, under penalty of instant suppression of his journal. He now relates the facts to all his friends and acquaintance. Another fact. Within the last few days, M. Jules Martinet, editor of *L'Ordre*, was summoned by the Bureau de Censure. "Your journal" said the director of the Censorship, "is conducted in a bad spirit." "Sir, you are very kind to detect any spirit * at all in our columns: we are dull enough in all conscience." "Sir," rejoined the Censor, "I warn you that, if you do not conduct your paper in a better spirit, you will be suppressed." The *Siccle* has received similar intimations. I am ready to bet any man, that by the time the Carnival arrives, we shall have only one surviving journal—the *Moniteur Universel*. Now, this would be really ingenious policy! To condemn Frenchmen to read the *Moniteur* would be to sicken them of newspapers for the rest of their life.

The *Opinion Publique* has been suspended, and is now suppressed. M. Alfred Nettement had submitted an article to the Censorship. The Censors had expunged certain passages. The journal decided to appear with a column blank, as in the good days of the Restoration. Immediate suppression was the consequence. To make amends for our losses in the Press, we are favoured with thousands of nominations to the Legion of Honour. Not a day passes without a decree of appointments in the *Moniteur*. It is said that the Constitution is to be promulgated between the 14th and the 20th instant. I have already told you that it is to be simply a second edition of the Constitution of the Year VIII.

There will be a tribunate of *bavards* and a legislative corps of mutes. Bonaparte, the Emperor, was obliged to suppress or to purge the tribunate; we shall have then a legislative absolutely dumb. This consequence too, we may look for; as long as the institutions are in process of formation the mutes will hold their peace; but at the least shock, at the slightest check, at the first commotion, the dumb will recover their speech. This is what happened to the Emperor. Before the conqueror of Austerlitz all were silent; but before the vanquished of Moscow the mutes of 1813 suddenly regained their faculty of utterance. There is the danger for M. Louis Napoleon. That is but one constitution logically befitting such a position as the vote of his seven millions and a half (?) has given to the President. It is to combine in his own person and office the executive and legislative functions; to be himself the sole legislative, the sole representative of the People. For this he would only have to surround himself with special men in the different branches of administration, and to consult them on the making of laws special to their several branches. A man of genius, with an instrument so simple and so mighty, would accomplish grand measures, and

* "Monsieur, vous êtes bien bon de trouver de l'esprit à notre journal. Il est maintenant bête comme tout." Esprit is scarcely translatable into English: it is a word, and a gift, peculiarly French: our nearest word is "wit."

would probably reign twenty years! Any other constitution is impossible.

I return for a moment to the "conquest of Belgium." A friend of mine, just returned from thence, says that throughout the kingdom the prevailing topic is—annexation to France. The whole manufacturing world, the middle classes, the peasantry, are alive to the question. Be well assured of this fact: *The map of Europe is about to be resettled without the consent of England.* The repossession of the "Frontier of the Rhine" would make Louis Napoleon extremely popular, and would close the lips of all opponents, who, in the bottom of their hearts, would thank him for the act. Louis Napoleon would thus be established in power for a long time. It is too strong a guarantee for the three Sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, to allow them to resist the project. I have just obtained some further and, as I think, reliable information on the subject. The "Frontier of the Rhine" is to be conceded to France. Switzerland would be handed over to Austria. Mecklenburgh would be thrown in to Prussia. This arrangement is said to be on the point of execution. More than this, the very modes of procedure are indicated. England, it is said, will receive a summons to get rid of all political refugees—French, Italian, German, and Hungarian—to whom she now accords hospitality. In case of refusal, declaration of war: not a war of broadsides, but a war of hostile tariffs. All the ports of Europe will be closed against her. It is hoped that this measure alone will reduce the City to compliance, and that the merchants themselves will be the first to demand the expulsion of the refugees. All this will inevitably end, as you now see clearly,—by WAR. S.

The *Moniteur* of Monday last contained the decree for disbanding the National Guard throughout France, and its reorganization wherever the Government might deem fit, upon the principle of making it an instrument in the hands of the Executive, instead of an elective municipal force for the defence of the public liberties. The President will appoint the commandant, colonels, and lieutenant-colonels.

The National Guards of the Seine will be reorganized by battalions under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. The service is obligatory for all Frenchmen between the ages of twenty-five and fifty who shall be deemed apt by the conseil de recensement. The Government will nevertheless fix the number of National Guards for each locality. The National Guard is reorganized in all communes where the Government deem necessary; it is dissolved and reorganized as circumstances require. The President appoints the officers of all ranks on the presentation of the Minister of the Interior, according to the proposals of the Commander-in-Chief of the Department of the Seine, and according to the proposals of the prefects in the other departments. The adjutant non-commissioned officers are appointed by the chef de bataillon, who appoints also to all posts of non-commissioned officers and corporals, on the presentation of commanders of companies. The National Guard is placed under the authority of the mayor, sub-prefects, prefects, and Minister of the Interior. The citizens cannot take arms, or meet as National Guards, without the order of their officers, nor can the order be given by these without a requisition of the civil authority. No commander of a post can distribute cartridges to the National Guards placed under his command, except by virtue of a precise order, or in case of an attack. The conseil de recensement is composed as follows:—1. For a company: of the captain, as president, and of two members appointed by the sub-prefect. 2. For a battalion: of the chef de bataillon, as president, and of the captains of each of the companies. Provisionally, and until the appointment of officers, it is composed of three members for each company, and of nine members for each battalion, appointed by the prefect or sub-prefect. At Paris the appointment shall be made by the Minister of the Interior, on the presentation of the general commanding. The conseil de recensement decides on admissions.

To sum up briefly the changes made by this decree in the National Guard, hitherto all Frenchmen, with certain exceptions fixed by the law, were National Guards, chose their own officers, and were at the disposal of the municipal authorities of the commune. Now the officers are appointed by the President and the prefects, and none are admitted to serve, except those chosen by the central authorities. In the mean while this force, which is placed entirely under the control of the executive, lies at the charge of the municipalities.

Other decrees follow, appointing General de Laurestine Commander-in-Chief, and M. Vieyra colonel and head of the staff of the National Guard of the Seine.

The *Moniteur* of the 10th instant contained three lists of proscription. By the first sixty-six Republican representatives are banished, with the threat that, if they reënter their country, they will subject themselves to transportation. A second list of seventeen includes the most illustrious French statesmen and generals of the day. The penalty of their reëntering France is not mentioned. The third list condemns five ex-representatives of the Mountain to deportation to Cayenne, without form of law or trial, or even accusation. Here are these iniquitous decrees,

"FRENCH REPUBLIC."

"In the name of the French people, Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic, decrees:—

"Art. 1. Are expelled from the French territory, from that of Algiers and of the colonies, for the sake of general safety, the former representatives of the Legislative Assembly, whose names follow:—E. Valentin, P. Racouchot, A. Perdiguier, E. Cholât, L. Latrade, M. Renaud, J. Benoit (du Rhône), J. Burgard, J. Colfavru, J. Faure (du Rhône), P. Ch. Gambon, C. Lagrange, M. Nadaud, B. Terrier, V. Hugo, Cassal, Signard, Viguiier, Charrassin, Bandsept, Savoye, Joly, Combier, Boyssset, Duché, Ennery, Guilgot, Hochstühl, Michot-Boutet, Baune, Bertholon, Schœlcher, De Flotte, Joigneaux, Laboulaye, Bruys, Esquiros, Madier-Montjau, N. Parfait, E. Péan, Pelletier, Raspail, T. Bac, Bancel, Belin (Drôme), Besse, Bourzat, Brives, Chavoix, Dulac, Dupont (de Bussac), G. Dussoubs, Guiter, Lafon, Lamarque, P. Lefranc, J. Leroux, F. Maigne, Malardier, Mathieu (Drôme), Millotte, Rosellimollet, Charras, Saint-Ferréol, Sommier, Testelin (Nord).

"Art. 2. In the case in which, contrary to the present decree, one of the individuals designated in the first article should reënter the territories interdicted to him, he may be transported by measure of public safety [that is, by decree of the executive power].—Done at the Palace of the Tuileries, the Council of Ministers having been heard, January 9, 1852. "LOUIS NAPOLEON."

The second decree is as follows:—

"Art. 1. Are from the present moment banished from the French territory, and that of Algiers, for the sake of general security, the former representatives of the Legislative Assembly, whose names follow:—Duvergier de Hauranne, Créton, General de Lamoricière, General Changarnier, Baze, General Leflo, General Bedeau, Thiers, Chambolle, De Rémusat, J. de Lasteyrie, E. de Girardin, General Laidet, P. Duprat, E. Quinet, A. Thourer, V. Chaffour, Versigny."

"Art. 2. They cannot enter France or Algeria, except by virtue of a special authorization of the President of the Republic."

The non-official part of the *Moniteur* begins with the following statement relative to the lists of proscription:—

"The Government, firmly determined to prevent any cause of troubles, has taken measures against certain persons whose presence in France might impede the reestablishment of tranquillity. These measures are applied to three categories. In the first are the individuals convicted of having taken part in the recent insurrections; they will be transported to French Guiana or to Algeria, according to their degree of guilt. In the second are the recognized chiefs of Socialism; their residence in France would be likely to foment civil war; they will be expelled from the territory of the Republic, and will be transported should they return to it. In the third category are included the political men who have made themselves remarked by their violent hostility to the Government, and whose presence would be a cause of agitation; they will be temporarily expelled from France. Under existing circumstances, the duty of the Government is firmness; but it will know how to exercise its repressive measures within just limits. The different decrees which precede only regard the ex-representatives. Marc-Dufraisse, Greppo, Miot, Mathé, and Richardet, will be transported to French Guiana."

Our esteemed contributor, Mr. William Coningham, has sent to the *Times* the following statement, which he received from a friend of Colonel Charras, for whose honour and veracity he pledges himself.

"The Belgian journals have very inaccurately reported the details of the enlargement of the prisoners from the fort of Ham, viz., Generals Bedeau, Changarnier, Lamoricière, and Leflo, Colonel Charras, and M. Baze. Information received from an authentic source allows us to place the facts in their proper light. The prisoners were each separately apprised that they would be sent out of France; they were asked to which frontier they desired to be conducted, and passports prepared in fictitious names were offered to them. All gave answer that they protested against this expulsion; they would not quit unless violence were used against them, that consequently it was not for them to indicate the frontier towards which they were to be conducted. With regard to the false passports, they rejected them, energetically expressing their opinion of a proceeding so well in accordance with the habits of life, both civil and political, of the men who for the moment are governing France. In spite of the protest of the prisoners, their removal was immediately proceeded with. Each of them was placed in a separate carriage, and accompanied by police agents. General Changarnier and Colonel Charras were despatched towards Guldévain, M. Baze and General Lamoricière were despatched one to Cologne and the other to Aix-la-Chapelle, and Generals Bedeau and Leflo started in another direction. At Valenciennes the carriage which conveyed MM. Changarnier and Charras was stopped by the local police, who imagined the prisoners were making their escape. After a long delay, the agents caused them to proceed on their journey, and crossed the Belgian frontier with them. The prisoners having remarked to the agents that they were committing a flagrant violation of the Belgian territory, and that at the first summons the authorities of Belgium would lend their assistance to the victims of such an abuse of power, the agents replied that they had orders to conduct M. Changarnier to Mons and M. Charras to Brussels, and to employ violence if those gentlemen should endeavour to withdraw from their surveillance."

"The two prisoners for a moment entertained the idea of enforcing respect to the right of nations thus audaciously violated, but on reflection both agreed as to the propriety of maintaining silence. To claim the support

of the Belgian authorities would be to raise up a cause of difference between the de facto Government of France and the de jure Government of Belgium. This event, this pretext for a rupture, for an attack vi et armis, had been foreseen, calculated on perhaps. Austria and Russia had, perhaps, included this trap in the programme imposed upon M. Bonaparte, in order to raise up an occasion for acting against the only remaining monarchy on the Continent, whose subjects enjoy liberal institutions. MM. Changarnier and Charras could not consent to vindicate their rights at the expense, perhaps, of the independence of a free nation. M. Baze, who had rejoined them, and M. Lamoricière, who followed them at a short distance, yielded to the same sentiments. Another consideration of a less serious character equally concerned them; from a simple disagreement complications might arise which would force the Belgian Government to refuse hospitality to the numerous exiles with whom vengeance, cupidity, or fear fill the lists of the proscribed. No official protest was therefore made against the violation of the Belgian territory. But it is nevertheless an established fact that the prisoners of Ham yielded only to violence; that they entered into no compromise with M. Bonaparte; that they asked for nothing and promised nothing. They will one day, perhaps, pardon the indignities to which they have been personally subjected; but they will never forget the shame inflicted on their country, and on the army of which they were the glory."

The Salle de Carton, in which the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies held their sittings, has completely disappeared. The materials have been sold for £1720. The erection of the building, less than four years ago, cost £16,000.

The effigy of Louis Napoleon is to figure on the postage stamps, instead of the female head of the Republic.

In addition to the 658,000*f.* already granted, a fresh credit of 3,587,000*f.* is opened to the Ministry of Marine and of the Colonies, to provide for the expenses of forming a penal colony in French Guiana.

Telegraphic communications are being established between the Tuileries and all the Ministries.

News have been received from Algeria up to the 5th instant. The colony was perfectly quiet.

On Thursday evening an analysis of the New Constitution, and the accompanying Proclamation of the President, reached London by Submarine Telegraph. The leading features of the Document had been correctly anticipated by our Correspondent.

The President is to preserve his present title; he is responsible before the people, to whom he can always appeal. He commands the land and sea forces. He alone has the initiative of the laws; he has a right to declare the state of siege, saving the referring of it to the Senate. He presents one message every year. No accusation can be brought against Ministers but by the Senate. They are only responsible for their respective duties.

The functionaries take the oath of obedience to the Constitution and fidelity to the President.

In case of the death of the President the Senate calls upon the nation for a new election.

The President has the right, by a secret deed, deposited with the Senate, to designate to the people the citizen whom he recommends to the suffrage, until the election of a new President.

The President of the Senate governs jointly with Ministers.

The number of senators not to exceed one hundred and fifty. It is fixed at eighty for the first year.

The senators are named for life by the President. Their functions are performed gratuitously. However, the President may grant a salary not exceeding thirty thousand francs.

The sitting of the Senate not to be public. It regulates the constitution of colonies, and all that has not been provided for by the constitution. It may propose modifications of the constitution; but any modification of the bases laid in the proclamation of December 2 will be referred to universal suffrage. There will be a deputy to the legislative body for every thirty-five thousand electors, elected by universal suffrage for ten years, and receiving no emolument.

All adopted amendments to be sent, without discussion, before the Council of State, and cannot be discussed if not equally adopted by this one.

The sittings will last three months.

Reports of the sittings by newspapers will be confined to the official reports of the proceedings drawn up by the bureau. The president and vice-president are nominated by the President of the Republic for a year.

Ministers cannot be deputies.

Petitions may be addressed to the Senate, but none to the legislative body.

The President of the Republic convokes, adjourns, prorogues, and dissolves the legislative body.

In case of dissolution, a new one to be convoked within six months.

The Council of State, composed of forty or fifty members, is nominated and presided over by the President, who may revoke its members. They receive an annual salary of twenty-five thousand francs. They draw up the project of laws, and discuss them before the Legislature.

There will be a High Court of Justice, without appeal, before which will be tried all attempts against the State or its chief.

The mayors are appointed by the executive power.

The dissolution of the National Guard may be considered one of the organic laws, which will be the complement of the Constitution.

In a letter from Florence, dated the 6th instant, and published in the *Daily News*, we find more particulars of the Austrian outrage to a British subject perpetrated in that city.

"Mr. Mather, an Englishman, was seriously wounded a few days since by an Austrian soldier. He remains still in the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. The blow he received on the 29th was given with such hearty good will that, although the sword happily did not fracture the skull, it sufficiently injured the bone to render the cure slow and difficult. The wound, having healed too fast on the surface, has had to be reopened to admit of suppuration from within. Mr. Mather's friends are preparing evidence for the investigation promised. Several of the bystanders have voluntarily come forward to testify that, on his part, not the slightest provocation was given. His only offence was wearing the hat common to four-fifths of the population and an Italian scarf. The apology made by Prince Lichtenstein, that Mr. Mather was mistaken for a Tuscan, while but a sorry satisfaction to the English, has greatly increased the fermentation which prevails here among the Italians. They express the greatest anxiety to learn whether, after such an explanation, Lord Granville will content himself with recommending his countrymen to stay at home and keep out of harm's way, or will have something to say about the laws of common humanity as a part of the law of nations. Mr. Scarlett is much blamed for having embarrassed the question by addressing Prince Lichtenstein on the subject. Prince Lichtenstein holds the military command of Tuscany for the Austrian Government; but Tuscany is still, nominally at least, an independent power, and the British Legation here is accredited to the Tuscan, not to the Austrian court. Mr. Scarlett's only official communication, in the absence of instructions from home, should have been with the Duke of Casigliano, Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is further contended that after the assault on Mr. Mather had been formally defended as an act of necessary discipline, no vague verbal promise of inquiry and compensation (which means merely that the matter shall be hushed up) should have induced Mr. Scarlett to present himself the very next day at the duke's ball. It is creditable to him that his first impulse was to stay away; but his better judgment, it is said, was overruled by a section here of the London fashionable world, who think much more highly of court presentations than of English interests. Mr. Scarlett, you are aware, is Secretary of the Legation, and acts only as our English Minister ad interim, Mr. Hudson (Mr. Sheil's successor) not having yet arrived. Mr. Hudson, it is hoped, will prove a man of ability, possessing the firmness as well as the judgment required for a critical position."

CHURCH MATTERS.

A correspondence has been published in the daily journals, between the Reverend G. Goode and the two Archbishops of the Church of England. Mr. Goode inclosed the subjoined declaration to the two Primates, informing them by letter that it has been signed by 3262 of the clergy, among whom are seven deans and twelve archdeacons, and a large number of "dignitaries."

THE DECLARATION.

"A Declaration, by the undersigned Clergy of the Church of England, in support of the Royal Supremacy in things Ecclesiastical, and of the wisdom and authority of the Judgment emanating from its recent exercise.

"We, the undersigned clergy of the Church of England, viewing with surprise and concern the attempts made by parties holding office in the Church to invalidate and nullify the judgment recently delivered by the Sovereign, as 'supreme governor of this realm, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal,' by the advice of the Privy Council and the Primates of the Church, in the case of 'Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter,' hereby testify our thankfulness for the judgment so delivered, and feel ourselves called upon, under present circumstances (whether holding or not the view which called forth the judgment), humbly to state our conviction that it was a wise and just sentence, in accordance with the principles of the Church of England.

"And we respectfully, but firmly, protest against any attempt, from whatever quarter it may proceed, to bring into contempt a judgment so issued, and to charge with false teaching and discredit with their flocks those whose doctrine has been pronounced by that judgment to be 'not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England.'

"Such attempts we hold to be equivalent to the enforcement of a standard of doctrine in our Church, by unauthorized individuals, opposed to that established by its supreme authority; and, consequently, to be irreconcilable with the first principles of all Church polity, and necessarily to lead to a state of disorder, strife, and confusion in the Church."

Archbishop Sumner replies without circumlocution, that he views the above with "much satisfaction," a technical phrase for, I am greatly delighted; as appears from the rest of the epistle, which we give entire.

"There are many questions in theology upon which Christians may differ without reproach to themselves or injury to others. From the Reformation until the present time numbers of our clergy have subscribed the same articles, have used the same formularies, have ministered in the same churches, whose sentiments, if they had been obliged to state them with logical precision, would have been found to vary, more or less, from each other, both with regard to regeneration and to the effect of infant baptism. But this difference has not prevented their harmonious cooperation, or impaired their usefulness; and I should have been seriously grieved if the period of my archiepiscopacy had been chosen as the

period when freedom of opinion, within the reasonable limits hitherto deemed allowable, was, for the first time, denied to our clergy in a case where it is not denied them by the word of God or the declared doctrine of the Church of England."

This is a wonderful paragraph. The Archbishop of York is more laconic, simply accepting the decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case.

"I am glad to find such a large number of the clergy agree in regarding 'the judgment' alluded to as 'a wise and just sentence, in accordance with the principles of the Church of England.'

"Concurring entirely in that opinion, I would only add the expression of my sincere hope that it may be considered by all parties as a final settlement of the point in dispute, and thus tend to promote that peace and harmony among ourselves, which the times and the circumstances of the Church require."

"J. B. Cantuar." and "T. Ebor." are unmistakable *State-churchmen*.

The case of the "clergy of Frome" versus the Marchioness of Bath, in the matter of the Reverend W. J. E. Bennett, is assuming larger proportions. The clergy, rebuffed by the Marchioness, have appealed to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who has declined to accede to the request of the clergy of Frome, and refuse institution to Mr. Bennett.

The monthly meeting of the London Union on Church Matters was held on Tuesday, at St. Martin's-hall. The Secretary's report was read and adopted. In it the following passage occurs:—

"Papers setting out the way in which bills are brought into Parliament affecting the clergy, without their feelings or opinions being consulted in the matter, have been brought under the committee's notice, and have been referred to the consideration of the sub-committee on diocesan synods. The Union has, however, already stated its opinion that it will be the better course for Churchmen to object to all legislation for the Church until her own provincial synods have been reconstructed with powers to make canons that shall not need the assent of Parliament *serialim*."

Should any such bills as above referred to be brought into Parliament, the committee recommend the clergy to act on the judicious suggestion made by the South Church Union at its recent meeting, and call on their respective bishops to summon their clergy in synod, for the purpose of hearing their opinions on this mode of legislating for the Church, and, should it be thought expedient, of considering the provisions of the bill.

MR. ROEBUCK AND HIS CONSTITUENTS.

ON EDUCATION.

The annual soirée of the Sheffield Mechanics' Institution was held on Monday. Mr. J. A. Roebuck, M.P., and Mr. Parker, M.P., were present. The audience was very small, and its smallness caused some severe remarks from the President of the Institution, Mr. Dunn, on those parents who neglected to avail themselves of the benefits offered for their children.

Mr. Roebuck made, of course, the speech of the evening, and took the Manchester movement and the recent deputation to the Premier for his text.

"There was what he called the raw material. There were the people to be educated; there were the people desiring to educate them. There was great wealth in Manchester, and they went up to the Prime Minister, at the present moment, and said, these are our circumstances, and we want to educate this people. The Reform bill was passed in 1832, and here, twenty years after, with a supposed representation of the people of England, what was the answer of the Prime Minister of this country? 'I don't think the time has yet come.' (Laughter.) The time not yet come! Children would grow up, and were educated in some way, do what they would. It is not enough to say that we did not educate them. They were educated; they were badly educated, and the question they put to the Government of this country was, 'Won't you endeavour to educate them better?' (Cheers.) They did not ask that it should be a Church of England education, but they wanted them to be good citizens and good Christians, which was better than they were at present. And the answer they got was, that Lord Lansdowne fancied it was not the time yet. (Laughter and a cry of 'Shame.') Lord Lansdowne had run his course. The people of England, he hoped, had not run theirs. They wanted the people to be educated. They had got police, they had judges, and they still got the hangman; but they did not consider that there was something still better than any of these, and that was the schoolmaster. To the person who wished to make this country a well-governed community, the schoolmaster was worth them all. And they were told by those very persons to increase the number of gaols, who were willing to have fifteen judges instead of twelve; who were willing to have quarter sessions eight times a year instead of four—they were quite ready to build prisons—anything but schools. They were ready to coerce, but not to instruct—to command, but not to enlighten; in every way to control and enforce, through the fears of the people, that dominion which they ought to obtain through their intellect and love. He could not, for the soul of him, understand how gentlemen, who talked about religion, and Christianity, and kindness, could allow the feeling of their own peculiar class or sect to interfere with the great business of making those children—what they were not now, whatever they might call them—Christians. But they all stood off, and the mass of ignorance and evil was allowed to fester and corrupt within the seeming beauty of what

was called European civilization. It was a corpse decked in all the array of bridal beauty. Under the mask of youth and loveliness was a mass of horrible and pestilent corruption. This was the state of modern England."

Mr. Roebuck declared that England had stemmed the flood, not by this miserable mass beneath, but by the greatness of those above; and he saw no safety but in a system of national education.

ON THE ARMY.

The next day Mr. Isaac Ironside presided over a meeting, at which Mr. Roebuck spoke long and pointedly on Parliamentary Reform, the doings of the Ministry last session, and cognate topics. Upon all these points Mr. Roebuck's opinions are well known. But he said a clever thing about the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill which we cannot willingly pass by.

"It is in the power of a statesman one day to fulminate acts of Parliament against a whole religion, and the next day to pour water in the pan lest the thing should go off.

The novel matter in the speech is the following on the suspected French invasion.

"Now I come to the last remaining section of what I intend to speak upon, and that is the foreign policy of this country. And I do so with great anxiety, because I believe we are upon the eve of very great and stirring times. (Hear.) I know that amongst my fellow-countrymen, and amongst those for whose politics I have the greatest regard, with whom I have the greatest sympathy, with whom I daily act in the House of Commons, there is a feeling which I believe is an erroneous one. Now, Mr. Cobden—I call him, and I am sure he will permit me so to do, my friend Mr. Cobden—not long ago, when that wonderful, and in my notion horrible, catastrophe happened in France, said, 'That is the consequence of an army.' (Hear.) But supposing that you are living in the country and in an isolated house, that you learnt to-morrow morning that the house of a neighbour in the same situation as yours had been entered and rifled and its master killed, should you think it wise to open your doors, to take away all your bolts, to draw the loading from your guns and pistols and bury them in the garden, and expect that you were to be quite safe from moral force and public opinion? Now, that is our difficulty at present. I acknowledge the evils and horrors of an overwhelming army; but I say to my country, Do not be in a fatal security. There are mischievous feelings abroad, and despotism is triumphant in Europe now. Constitutional government, liberty, and truth have their sacred sphere only in England. If England be invaded and crushed, that liberty and that truth must fly across the Atlantic for protection. We should be a continent of slaves; a darkness would come over mankind; and that torch of truth which is now held up almost singly by the glorious arm of England, would be reversed and extinguished. (Cheers.) Shall such a thing be? And shall I, representing the people of England, tell you not to be alarmed, not to expect encroachment, not to expect that real aggression? I will do no such thing. (Hear, hear.) Be prepared. (Hear, hear.) Have a national army. (Cheers, increasing in force for some moments.) And let soldiers say what they like; but if the thing be properly done, we shall give a good account of anybody who comes here. (Laughter, and much cheering.) Now, I am not going to terrify my countrymen—I am not going to hold the hand, and say, 'For God's sake, do come here'—for that is the language of most people who are so terribly afraid that they should give courage to their opponents. I say, Be not afraid, but be ready; and if they do come, let them never return. (Vehement cheering, at the decline of which the speaker's countenance was so highly animated and expressive that the vociferations of the audience were renewed with great power.)"

Let those who are sceptical of English pluck, and those who mourn over the decay of a warlike spirit among us, mark well the enthusiasm of the men of Sheffield. And they are not alone.

THE REFORM CAMPAIGN.

The following circular letter has been sent out by the Council of the National Reform Association:—

"The Council deem themselves justified, at the opening of their fourth year, in congratulating the members of the Association upon the progress which has rewarded their efforts during a long season of apathy and indifference. In the language of Mr. Cobden, they 'have kept burning the lamp of Reform, and trimmed it, at a time when it was very likely to have been neglected by the great body of the people.' With funds of comparatively small amount, they have held during three years nearly six hundred meetings, and have published upwards of 250,000 addresses, tracts, and other papers.

"Without assuming to themselves the merit of inducing the Prime Minister to pledge her Majesty's Government to the introduction of a measure of Parliamentary Reform, they may fairly claim that the exertions of the National Reform Association have had their due effect. These exertions will be still persevered in. Public meetings will be held in the early part of the present month, in Oxford, Reading, Worcester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Derby, Nottingham, Hull, and other influential towns; and the Council have resolved that on the commencement of the next session the members of the House of Commons should be urged to the performance of their duty to the people by the resolutions of a general conference of Reformers, to be then assembled in London from all parts of the kingdom, and by a great metropolitan demonstration.

"It is a matter of much gratification to the Council to be able to declare that, at every meeting which has been held under their auspices, resolutions have been unani-

mously passed in support of the principles and objects of the Association.

"Conscious of having done their best to deserve the confidence of their constituents, and resolved to persevere with the same activity in the performance of their duties, the Council earnestly solicit the pecuniary support of all true Reformers, in the hope that a new Reform Bill may pass into law during the session of 1852; and that such a measure, by embodying the principles of the Association, will satisfy the country at large."

The Manchester branch of the Parliamentary Reform Association have summoned a meeting of its members, for the purpose of holding a conference, on the 19th instant; and they "solicit the presence and advice of those members of Parliament who are known friends of the people and favourably disposed to a real reform of the House of Commons."

The liberals of Leeds met in the Reform Registration-rooms, on Friday week. Every shade of opinion was represented. It was agreed to call a public meeting, at which the Manchester resolutions should be proposed, with the distinct understanding that no amendment should be moved, but also that every one should be perfectly at liberty to state either that he went beyond the resolutions or that he did not go so far.

Sir Joshua Walmsley and Mr. George Thompson were received by the people of Worcester as a deputation from the National Parliamentary Reform Association, on Monday. Resolutions, based on the well-known principles of the association, were agreed to unanimously.

PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

THE "EMPLOYERS' STRIKE."

On Saturday night a meeting of the Executive Council was held at Little Alie-street, when a document, of which the following are the material paragraphs, was agreed upon for the approval of the branches:—

"1. That £10,000 of the funds of the Amalgamated Society shall be paid over to such number of trustees, not less than six, as are selected by the executive, on trust, to advance the same from time to time to managers appointed by the executive, whose appointments will be afterwards confirmed by the society, for the purpose of carrying on the business of engineers, machinists, &c."

"2. These advances, as well as those which the trustees may obtain from other sources, shall be secured by a mortgage of all the plant and stock in trade employed in such business to the said trustees, who shall have a power to give preference security to any other advances over sums advanced out of the funds of the Amalgamated Society."

"3. The conditions of work under which such business is carried on, shall be such as are approved of by the executive of the Amalgamated Society, from time to time, with the view of giving employment to the greatest possible number of members of the trade out of employment for the time being, consistently with the stability of the business, and the welfare of the workmen employed."

"This is such a contest as has never before occurred between the employers and the employed. The independence and welfare of the labourer is threatened. The right of a working man to dispose of himself is jeopardised, and in its place a power is sought to be established, enabling the employer to command the services of his workpeople night and day without intermission. Was ever slavery so bad as this? If a man claims liberty from his master after he has done his work, he is stigmatised as being dictatorial and mischievous. The old feudal times have passed away, when the baron had a property in the person of his retainer; but their spirit is inherited by our employers of to-day, and they seek to own and dispose of our persons at will, and to enslave and degrade our minds by destroying all our opportunities for mental improvement."

"There is but one way in which this can be met, workmen must work for themselves, the labour of the country must be done. In every town let an organization be commenced at once. Let every man find some employment. Gather together all the tools you possess. Instead of paying the funds of the society to men kept in compulsory idleness, receive your money as the reward of industry. In the manufacturing districts there is much work to be had, which must be done. In London, Easton and Amos's men have already formed their coöperative association, subscribed their own money to the amount of £5 each, and appointed their manager. They are also negotiating for a workshop, and have got work to do. Wherever you can, do likewise. Interest the public in your behalf by being moderate and well behaved. The man who assaults another, whatever he may do, or whatever he may say, is a traitor to the cause of progress. If your employers cast you upon the world, make up your minds to do without them, and with a self-reliance worthy of Englishmen, with a devotion worthy of the cause of labour, strive to meet the crisis by earnest efforts in behalf of your order."

"Non-society men must be protected; be that our duty. We will appeal to the country in behalf of the labourers and non-society men. Those who are at first called independent workmen, and then sacrificed for their own protection, must be cared for by their own order. If 4000 of our members are thrown out of employment, the other 8000 must devote part of their means to support them till employment is found. If 6000 are thrown out of employment, the others, if necessary, must divide their earnings. An endeavour may be made to punish you for that. The employers will, perhaps, say that you are not at liberty to do what you like with your money after you have earned it. Let the world see that you

value rational liberty above all things, and do it the more earnestly because you are doing it for a permanent benefit. You will have the satisfaction of knowing that your subscriptions are not wasted upon idle men; but are, in part, bestowed on the establishment of the means of labour."

"Subscriptions from the public can be obtained in every district, and our members who remain in employment will be called upon to support those who are out, with liberal hand."

On Monday the following communication, in answer to the letter of Lord Ingestre, which we quoted last week was forwarded to him by Mr. Allen, secretary, on behalf of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, &c.:—

"General Office, 25, Little Alie-street, Whitechapel."

"MY LORD,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th inst., in which you state 'that having been applied to for your consent to become a trustee of a fund to enable the workmen to set up in business for themselves—that you have recommended a settlement of the dispute by arbitration, &c.' the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society desire me to express their thanks for the interest you have taken in the dispute between them and the employers of operative engineers, and to state that they have made a public declaration of their willingness to entrust their case to arbitration, and have written directly to the Masters' Association, to the effect that if they are desirous of seeing a deputation, one from the Council of the Amalgamated Society would wait upon them. The first of these they have noticed—the last they have refused. We therefore, believing that there is nothing left for us but self-employment, have determined upon adopting that course, and this, I hope, will be a sufficient apology to your lordship for any gentlemen who, on our account, may have solicited your name as trustee."

"Be assured, my Lord, that we appreciate your kindness, and hope that you will yet be enabled to afford us good service.—I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant, W. ALLEN, Secretary."

"To Viscount Ingestre."

The workmen held a meeting on Monday at St. Martin's-hall, "to consider their present position, and to devise means for the future." Lord Goderich and other gentlemen who approve of Association as a remedy for the grievances of the working classes, were on the platform. Mr. J. Cromack occupied the chair. The first resolution was moved by Mr. Usher, as follows:—

"That many of the employers of London and Lancashire having closed their workshops, this meeting is of opinion that their conduct is unjust, and particularly oppressive to non-members and labourers, and pledges itself to use every exertion in obtaining subscriptions in behalf of all who are thrown out of employment."

He stimulated working men to have faith in one another, and spoke very hopefully of the future. Mr. Potts seconded the resolution.

Mr. W. Newton spoke to the resolution, vehemently and bitterly attacking Sidney Smith of the *Weekly Dispatch*, and secretary of the masters, and replying to an article in the *Times* of Monday. The latter he performed in a masterly manner, taking up the fallacies of the leading journal one by one, and exposing them in firm, decided, but moderate language. He then continued:—

"The position taken by the employers towards the workmen would force the labour classes to reconstruct the relations between them and the employers. The steps already taken were not to be relaxed, but were rather to be advanced, and they should follow the example of their brethren over the water, and subscribe their money and tools, to concentrate them in some place where they could carry out a proper subdivision of labour, and not for the benefit of others, but for the advantage of themselves. They were willing to submit their work to the principles of supply and demand, but they were not to give seven days' work for six days' wages. They had never demanded an increase of wages, but a decrease of the number of those out of employment. But the employers had refused to come in contact with them, and they had discharged the men of deputations who had gone up to them. Individual remonstrance was individual suicide, and the worst thing in the conduct of the employers was their tracking a man from one situation to another till they had driven him from the trade or out of the country. He could give them instances of what he alluded to—there was a kind of conspiracy which pursued a man from town to town, and employer to employer. The men had not sought a strike, nor had they struck even now; but they would resist tyranny wherever it appeared, and, when they had no other redress, they had determined to right themselves. The moral aspect of their position was just; they had now no more to do with their employers, but every one would rely on his own honest exertions. They were prepared to appeal to the public for those who did not belong to the society, and to support them, not for two or three, but for twelve months and longer, if necessary—(cheers)—till such time as they had established their own means of employment. Among the 12,000 workmen on the society were the best and most skilled and industrious men in the trade. How could their places be filled up by unskilled labourers? The masters must have them—the labour of the country could not proceed without them. If only one workshop was successful, it would show the practical character of the scheme, and there would be a sufficient inducement for them to raise a large amount of capital by their united contributions. Workingmen would no longer make overtures and concessions unless they felt them to be right, for they had self-respect and

dignity as well as their masters. The society had £25,000, a part of which should be at once devoted to their objects; and they had been offered a large establishment, with machinery complete, for a part of the purchase-money down and the rest to be left as a charge on the building. The number out of employment was much less than the society had expected. In Manchester they were only 650—(cheers)—in Preston but 20—(hear, hear)—and in London there was not only a number of men still in employment, but several employers had conceded the demands of the men, and he believed there was great regret among many of those who had joined the body of employers, for they knew they would be compelled to withdraw from this combination and to settle the dispute by concession. (Hear, hear.) The Bristol men had just done what the council of the society wished—they said they would go on. Mr. Slaughter was a good employer, and they would have no piecework or overtime till the contest was settled. The council wanted every district but London and Manchester to do the same. Let them leave the matter in their hands. Not more than 2000 men of the society were out of work, and there must be 10,000 in work; and less than one day's wages would be able to provide for those out of work. The utmost moderation must characterize all their proceedings; the employers did not want to immolate them all, but they would dearly like to lay hold on some few, and make them responsible for the rest. There must be no 'picketing.' Let the masters picket their clubs if they liked; they had commenced already, and the clubs had been picketted with policemen; but they were quite welcome to enter, and listen to what they pleased, while the masters held their meetings with closed doors; no policemen were there, and even the press was not admitted,—so that they could not hear one word of the bickerings, disputes, and dissensions that prevailed there. The speaker concluded, amid loud cheers, by reiterating his advice to the men to be peaceable and moderate."

Mr. Braddon proposed, and Mr. Reid seconded the next resolution, which was adopted.

"As a means of removing the evils which beset the condition of working men in relation to the unjust conduct of employers, we recommend the principle of self-employment on a coöperative basis; and this meeting is of opinion that workshops should be immediately commenced by the workmen themselves, in order that the business of the country may be proceeded with."

On the same day a meeting was held in Southwark and at Stepney, for the purpose of carrying out some coöperative scheme of employment for those thrown out by the strike of the masters. The men in Southwark spoke confidently of their prospects in establishing some association, and they carried a resolution declaring that it would be expedient to amalgamate the whole of the coöperative societies in the district. Mr. Cromack spoke most decidedly as to the advantages of coöperative associations. He had himself joined a coöperative bakery, and within the last two years they had paid seventy-five per cent. upon the money invested. At the same time they had paid their men proper wages. They had closed their bakery on Saturday evening and opened it again on Monday morning. They had not overworked their men, and had sold their bread at a halfpenny per loaf cheaper than competing bakers. He was also connected with a society established within the last three months at Greenwich in connection with their own trade, and he was happy to say that it was going on most satisfactorily. (Cheers.)

At the meeting of the central club, Stepney, £10,000 were, on the motion of Mr. Newton, granted from the funds of the society, to be invested in trustees for the establishment of coöperative workshops. Mr. Newton announced, what has, indeed, been current for some time, that many gentlemen of property had volunteered their assistance, and it was expected that a nobleman belonging to one of the wealthiest families in the country, would in a few days publicly avow his intention of becoming one of the trustees.

The number of men thrown out of employment by the aggressive policy of the masters, is above ten thousand in and near Manchester alone.

A paragraph appeared in the *Times* of Wednesday purporting to be from its Manchester Correspondent, which describes very accurately the humane working of competition and economical laws as understood by employers.

"Having heard it stated that a large mill-fitter at Leeds, principally employed in making flax-spinning machinery, had turned out all his society hands, because they had dictated to him the proportion of apprentices he should employ to his journeymen, and had replaced them by men taken from the streets, whom he had trained to supply their places in three months, we asked the possibility of this, where so much skill is supposed to be required. The gentleman in question, we were told, had been to the United States, where he found none of the trade restrictions of the mother country. Boys were taken into the workshops to learn a trade without indentures of apprenticeship, and were paid according to their value from the first, and liable to discharge, or at liberty to seek a new employer at pleasure, like the older workmen. This gentleman had returned with a determination not to suffer dictation any longer, and had not only completely broken through the restrictions sought to be placed upon employers by trades' unions of workmen, as respected piecework and overtime, but, instead of one apprentice to four men, had nearly four apprentices to one man. A great portion of his work was done by machines, which persons can soon be trained to manage; and, driven to extremities by the arbitrary conduct of his workpeople, he had not only emancipated himself from dictation, but

had reduced his payment for wages to an average of fourteen shillings per head, while the average of Manchester establishments, taking young and old, skilled and unskilled, is nearer twenty-four shillings per week. We asked if this was possible, or had we been imposed upon. The overlooker replied that it not only could be done, but most likely would be, in Manchester, if the society persisted in forcing things to a crisis. With a few skilled artisans (who could be induced to give up the society for a consideration) to direct, he said, lower-priced labour might be secured than had ever yet been attempted, and a comparatively well-paid class of workmen might find their trade ruined, much as had been that of the cotton-spinners, whose strikes had led to the introduction of the self-acting mule, and the constant substitution of machinery for hand labour."

There is a captivating frankness in the utter disregard of the higher aims of society, family, &c., manifested in the above exposition of how to make paupers and secure low wages, which is unequalled.

The boiler-makers held a meeting on Wednesday, at which Mr. Newton attended. They are not members of the Amalgamated Society. The following resolution was agreed to:—

"That this meeting, feeling the injustice that has been done to the boiler-makers generally by their employers, pledge themselves not to accept situations again under any conditions opposed to the interest of their trades' association."

Several firms in Manchester have not closed their works. On Thursday it was estimated that by the Employers' strike twenty-three thousand men are thrown out, of whom seven thousand belong to the Amalgamated Society.

IRISH SYMPATHY WITH THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The engineers' strike has called the attention of the Board of Manufacture and Industry, Dublin, to the coöperative system. They have invited a meeting for consultation, composed of the most "influential men" from all parts of Ireland, to assemble on the last week of this month, for the following among other purposes:—

"1. To adopt measures for converting the workmen into coöperative and self-sustaining establishments. 2. For extending the means of education, and directing its chief force to industrial instruction in all places, whether colleges, schools, prisons, or workhouses. 3. For organizing an extensive and available system of banking and currency to represent the labour of the people. 4. For taking steps to remove the duty off the manufacturers, off paper, off newspapers, and all agencies for disseminating knowledge."

This is an important fact, and at once strengthens the position of the men. Coöperation in Dublin will have a trustworthy advocate in Mr. William Pare.

THE CENTRAL COÖPERATIVE AGENCY.

By the following report from the Office, at 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, it will be seen that between the 6th and 12th of January inclusive, the London centre of the Agency transacted business with the following Stores:—Barhead, Leeds, Edinburgh, Burnley, Banbury, Braintree, Bradford, Halifax, Galashiels, Ullesthorpe, Rochdale, Padiham, Birmingham, Bury, Derby, and Woolwich. The High-street Mill, Congleton, forwarded samples of the various kinds of ribands, with lists of pieces, which they offer for sale; they state that they have sufficient capital to carry on their business, and as yet have had no difficulty in selling their ribands in the ordinary markets; but they desire, for many and obvious reasons, to place themselves in connection with the general coöperative movement. The members of the Galashiels Store offered to make Tweeds of any pattern border. The Leeds Redemption Society wrote that they are in a position to supply all kinds of woollen cloth. An association in operation is desirous of obtaining a loan of £500 or £700, at five per cent., for the extension of their business; further particulars may be obtained from the Agency. It has been resolved that the Central Coöperative Agency should henceforth act under the same trust as bankers for the associations, of which a certain number are already in connection with it for that purpose.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—Dr. Lees lectured on New Year's-day, in the new lecture-room of the Society, on the article in the *Westminster Review* on "Employers and Employed." The moneys received for the week were as follows:—Leeds subscriptions, £1. 16s. 11d.; Candidate, 6d.; Halifax, by Buckle, £1. 19s. 8d.; Hyde, by Bradley, £1. 1s. 6d.; Trade subscriptions, by ditto, 8s.; Huddersfield, by France, 10s.; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by Johnson, £1. 11s. 3d.; Longton, by Riley, 1s. 6d.; Building Fund, 12s.; Propagandist Fund, 7s. 2d. Gross receipts at the Store, first month, from December 3 to 31, £70. 2s. 11d. Moneys received up to January 10:—Coventry, by Shuttlebotham, £1. 8s. 7d.; Leeds subscriptions, £1. 0s. 5d.; Edinburgh, 1s.; Building Fund, 3s. 5d.; Propagandist Fund, 3s. 9d. The annual meeting of the members is adjourned till the 2nd of February, when the annual report will be issued. The workers among us having had our hands full lately organizing the store, we are now ready to receive orders for cloth of price and quality as advantageous as can be obtained. We look with confidence to the tailoring associations and coöperators generally for their aid in the development of this portion of our undertaking. We can also supply pieces for a single garment, of the kinds in which we deal, at wholesale prices to the stores; and, where at all practicable, to take the commodities or

manufactures of other stores in exchange; and are ready and glad to receive or forward samples of goods and lists of prices. We are attending also to the advancement of coöperation by lectures. Our manager, Mr. Henderson, last week gave us a lucid exposure of some of the adulterations of the grocery trade, including the cheap, strong-tea drinkers' pet Catechu.—ROBERT JONES, Secretary.

THE STATE OF IRELAND.

A meeting of the tenantry of Mr. Fortescue, whose life has lately been threatened, was held on Friday in Dundalk. It had been called by a circular from Mr. James Arthur. Two Catholic priests attended, one of whom, the Reverend J. Marmion, was the chief spokesman. He said that he objected to the meeting, because Mr. Arthur was a Protestant, and secondly, because in the circular convening the meeting "Ribandism" and "Catholicism" were spoken of as synonymous. He had nothing to say against Mr. Arthur's private character, and only praise to bestow on Mr. Fortescue. The upshot of the discussion was that a public meeting should be called for the 19th instant, for the purpose of expressing "the feeling of the tenantry respecting the outrage alleged to have been offered to their respected landlord, Mr. Fortescue." The Roman Catholic priests subsequently inserted advertisements in the Dundalk papers, requesting the attendance of the tenantry at the meeting to express "abhorrence" of the "alleged assassin threat" offered to Mr. Fortescue. It is positively asserted that Mr. Fortescue will not leave the country. While the Catholic priests believe that there is no conspiracy, the *Belfast Chronicle* stoutly maintains that "there is a conspiracy"; and it publishes an invidious table, showing that in thirteen townlands the majority of tenants are Protestants and they have all paid up their rent, while the Papists are in arrear.

There is considerable doubt as to how widely the decrees of the Synod of Thurles have been promulgated. Be that as it may, the Queen's Colleges have not suffered; and at present it seems probable that the more enlightened of the Catholic laity will not desert the means afforded by the Government for a home and effective education.

Eviction is still going on to a frightful extent in the West.

It appears by an announcement in the *Evening Post* that the special commission for the disturbed districts in the North is to open on the 27th instant. The last commission of a similar kind took place in the country of Westmeath, in January, 1846.

The *Cork Constitution* says:—"A large French vessel is now at Queenstown, taking in powder (200 tons it is said) for, if rumour be correct, the Kafirs! Her Customhouse 'clearance' is 'Coast of Africa,' and she has on board, we understand, 5000 long-range muskets, to be employed in giving effect to the powder. This is the statement; we cannot, of course, guarantee it; but it is very generally believed. Might not this vessel be seized in the harbour if her cargo could be proved to be for the purpose to which we have alluded? Yet where would be the use? Powder the Kafirs will get, and might we not as well have the profit on its manufacture? Previous to the war they obtain rather large supplies of it from this; and we doubt not that it is with it, and with those capital 'long ranges' with which it is Britain's misfortune to find even the most uncivilised of her foes ready to overmatch her miserable muskets, they have been picking down our officers and troops."

AMERICAN NEWS.

KOSSUTH'S PROGRESS.

Kossuth's reception in Philadelphia was equal to that at New York. Vast bodies of people assembled to greet him, the clergy, the military, the constituted authorities, waited on him. On the 25th of December there was a torchlight procession and a serenade; but Kossuth was too ill to acknowledge the compliment. It was at Philadelphia that he first found an opportunity to speak of Louis Napoleon's usurpation, which raised his hopes instead of depressing them. He delivered the speech at "the Citizens' Banquet," and held that the coup d'état was all that was needed to rouse the slumbering fire of such a war in Europe as should give freedom to the oppressed and independence to the enslaved. He dwelt at great length on the French news, explaining it and illustrating it; and winding up by drawing a moral from it to advance his views on the foreign policy of the States.

"But why have I this topic for this occasion? Why have I dwelt so largely upon it? First—To show that there is nothing in the news from France to arouse that attention which the public opinion of the people of the United States have been pleased to bestow upon the question what course this country has to adopt in its foreign policy in respect to European concerns; but that this news from France—thus forming my prophecy of being on the very eve of a crisis in Europe into an accomplished fact—brings that question of foreign policy to your immediate decision, which you cannot further postpone or delay, because even the very delay of it would be more than a delay—it would be a positive answer given to the expectations of the world, an answer which not only I, but all the oppressed nations of Eu-

rope, would exactly understand to be as much as to say that the people of the United States have good wishes for the freedom of the European continent; but in its public capacity as a power on earth it declares not to care whether the public laws of nations are respected or violated by the interference of the strong arm of foreign power oppressing the spirit of freedom in whatever country. Well, gentlemen, it may be that it is the will of the sovereign people of the United States to give such an answer to the expectations and hopes of the world. (*Cries of 'No, no.'*) You will see a mournful tear in the eye of Humanity, its breast heaving with a sorrowful sigh, and the answer must be accepted. Of course, You are mighty and powerful enough not to care about the law of nations, or about the oppression of down-trodden land, and about the funeral of freedom—the European continent, if you would. I will not speak of the future unavoidable consequences of a lost opportunity to save liberty on earth by assuring the power of the people to its trouble against despotism. No. I will even object in nothing to those who believe that, should even liberty, and nature's law, and the law of nature's God, be beaten down on the earth, that can even bring no harm to you; because you feel powerful enough to defend yourselves, when it will become your own domestic interest to maintain the laws of nature and of nature's God in your own particular case. Well, let it be so, if you please. I have, in the name of oppressed nations, and of down-trodden liberty, entreated the people of the United States not to fight our battles, but to maintain the law of nations against foreign interference, in order that down-trodden liberty may have fair play to fight its own battles with its own force. (*Great applause.*) Perhaps you may answer no, no. I have reminded the public opinion of your people that your own statesmen say you, as a nation, have precisely the same interest in international laws as a private individual has in the laws of his country. Well, you may answer no; you may answer let every one take care of himself, and God for us all—we are not the keepers of our brethren in humanity. I took the liberty to remind you that in the hour of your need you have asked, accepted, and received more from Europe to help you, than I humbly ask for Europe from you in return. (*Long-continued applause.*) I have said that by declaring the sovereign right of every nation to dispose of its own domestic affairs, and inviting England to be united with you in this policy as it has united with you when in the South American question, you thought it to be your interest to adopt such a policy, and to unite with England for it. I have said that all these will bring you in no complication, in no way, because you are powerful, and the word of the powerful will be respected. Well, you may answer me that you do not believe me—that you are not conscious of your power—that you fear Russia. You may answer, that Russia does not fear you—and that it will not respect your word—that you would rather be on friendly terms with the Czar than rejoice in the liberty and independence of Hungary, Italy, Germany, France—all this you may answer if you please. Dreadful as it is, I will wipe off the tear of sorrow from my eye, and say to my brethren, Let us pray, and let us go the Lord's last supper, and then to battle and to death. (*Great applause—the people rise and cheer.*) I will say to them, there is no help for us but in our trust in God, and in our own good swords. I will leave you, gentlemen, with a dying farewell; and in giving you this farewell, I will bless you with the warmest wishes of my heart, and pray to God that the sun of freedom may never decline from the horizon of your happy land. (*Applause.*) I will not urge you more about the policy of not meddling with European concerns; but one thing, gentlemen, you must allow me to remark, that if the people of the United States intend to give such an unfortunate answer to my humble request, as I was about, by supposition, to say, then you may well adjourn the decision, because you have already answered by not taking any decision at all. But if, happily, the people of the United States were willing to decide otherwise, then let me entreat you to do it, because soon it may be too late. The struggle is begun in Europe. The revolution has broken out. Every day of delay is a decision too late. When a man is swimming, and about to reach the shore of salvation, and a robber is ready to throw him from the shore, and you say, 'Look, the poor man will be drowned. We sympathize with him, and we will tomorrow, or the day after, or in a month, consider whether we should allow him to be thrown back in the waves. We will adjourn the question.' Your very adjournment is a decision, and, to be sure, a very negative one. (*Applause.*) Hungary—nay, the European continent—is in this very condition. I am on my way to Washington. If the Congress of the United States adjourns to come to a decision in respect to your policy pointed out to its consideration by the President in his annual Message—if your national Government delays to answer my humble request, I will understand it is a negative. So much is true. History has received my humble request, and history is recording the answer of the people, Congress, and Government of the United States. No answer at all will also be recorded; it is an answer too clear to be misunderstood. My task here is nearly done. It was a duty imposed on me by Providence, by the confidence of nations, by the voice of peoples, from Sweden down to Italy, and from Hungary across to Portugal, by the expectations aroused by my liberation by your gracious aid. The confidence may fail—the voice of Europe die like the sound of the wanderer's step in the desert, and the expectation turn out to have been vain. I am in the hands of God, and no man is too humble to become an instrument in the hands of Providence, if it be God's will. So I have done what it was my duty to do—too much at least. Nobody can lay to my charge that I have not dealt fairly, openly, or left any doubt about what I wish, request, and humbly ask. (*Applause.*) I am in Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love, the city founded by William Penn, whose likeness I saw this day in a history of your city, with the

motto under it, 'Si vis pacem para bellum'—prepare for war if thou wilt have peace—a weighty memento, gentlemen, to the name of William Penn; and I am in that city which is the cradle of your independence—where, in the hour of your need, the appeal was proclaimed to the law of Nature's God; and that appeal was extended for help from Europe, and that help was granted to you. I stood in Independence-hall, whence the spirit of freedom lisped eternal words of history to the secret recesses of your hearts. Man may well be silent when from such a source history so speaks. So my task is done—with me the pain—with you the decision; and let me add the prophetic words of the poet, 'the moral of the strain.'"

At Baltimore Kossuth was equally well received, and his "non-intervention" doctrine enthusiastically responded to by the people. He arrived at Washington on the 30th of December. We are indebted to the *New York Herald* for an account of what took place in Washington. It is very brief, no particulars being given.

"WASHINGTON, December 31, 1851.—Kossuth, accompanied by his suite, was presented to the President to-day, at noon, at the White-house, by Mr. Webster. The interview was strictly private. General Shields and Mr. Seward were present, and Messrs. Hall, Graham, and Conrad, of the Cabinet. The interview lasted about twenty minutes. It took place in the circular room. Kossuth came out first, and remained alone in the hall for some minutes. He looked very grave, and apparently somewhat disappointed. After he was seated in his carriage, Mr. Webster joined him, and they drove away together. The other members of the Cabinet remained to attend a Cabinet meeting. The President will give Kossuth a dinner on Saturday next. Thirty-six covers are ordered. The secretaries, with their ladies, in all twelve—three of them belonging to the President's family—the committees of the Senate and House, the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, together with Kossuth and his suite, will make up the number within three or four, and who they are to be has not yet transpired. Personally the President is desirous of showing every attention to Kossuth; but officially he will be, of course, governed strictly by the proceedings of Congress. The reception of the diplomatic corps is to take place an hour earlier than usual to-morrow. Some assert that this arrangement has been made so as to avoid any unpleasant collision between the despots of the Old World and the apostle of liberty. Perhaps."

Another report mentions that after he left the President, Kossuth called on Mr. Cass.

"WASHINGTON, December 31.—Immediately after the adjournment of the House this evening, the subscribers to the Kossuth banquet were called to order, Mr. Clingman in the chair, and Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, secretary. On the motion of Mr. Stanton, of Tennessee, the chairman was authorized to appoint a committee to confer with a committee to be appointed by the Senate, to make the necessary arrangements. The following gentlemen were appointed:—Messrs. Briggs, chairman, Stanton (Tennessee), Robinson, Cartter, Stanton (Kentucky), Bissell, Walsh, Florence, Porter, Magercoll, Setcher, Peaslee, Wabors, Davis (Massachusetts), and Doty. A committee from Columbus, Ohio, invited Kossuth to-day to visit that city. He replied that he should stay here about a week, and would let them know in a few days whether he would go, and when. The accounts received here from the West are very flattering. Kossuth received to-day the calls of many public men. A fine serenade was given to Kossuth at eleven o'clock last night. He came out and briefly returned thanks."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Reader*.

New York, December 31, 1851.

SIR,—The reception of the great Hungarian in this country has been the most significant thing of the kind that has ever taken place here. It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which he has been received by all classes of our citizens. From the moment of his landing at Staten Island until his arrival at the seat of government, where he is now, his progress has been one incessant ovation. In New York city particularly, his welcome has been unparalleled, both as it respects the members who took part in it, and the brilliancy and feeling of the demonstration. I have been familiar with all the affairs of the sort that have occurred, from the landing of Lafayette in 1826, to the last visit of General Jackson; but I assure you that none of them were comparable to the demonstration made in behalf of Kossuth and his cause.

What is true of New York is equally true of Philadelphia and Baltimore; and even at Washington, which is only a large Government office exposed to all the influence of the foreign ambassadors, the studied reserve of the Cabinet, and the timidity of the politicians, could not so much as chill the fervour of the people. They have everywhere turned out en masse to meet and salute him with their warmest expressions of regard. It will show you the universality of the movement, to observe that no one class of persons have abstained from participating in it; but that, on the contrary, all classes have been eager to do him honour. Thus, in New York, the first banquet given to him, after the grand reception and parade, was by the municipal authorities, representing all political parties; the second, was by the public press, whose editors, I believe, have never before united in the same cause (only one paper out of the one hundred published in the city having refused to take part); the third, was by the bench and bar, or the

whole legal fraternity; the next public, by the volunteer military companies; by the foreign residents, exiles from every nation in Europe, not excepting Russia; the next, by the workingmen; and, to say nothing of innumerable deputations from the clergy, private societies, &c., finally, the women.

Kossuth in his replies to the various bodies who have addressed him, has shown the most consummate ability; always frank, eminent, and eloquent, he has yet avoided all questions of a mere partisan character, and commended himself to all parties. His speech at the municipal dinner in this city has been pronounced by many of our best critics—(and you know that we have critics in that line here, where eloquence, as Emerson says, is dog-cheap)—the greatest oration ever delivered on this side of the water. Certainly, in its knowledge of our policy, in its ingenuity and force, and in the boldness with which it announced the speaker's aims and objects, it has never been surpassed.

Kossuth rests his claims upon three points:—1. The recognition by our Government of Hungarian independence; but this he will not get, because there is now no Hungarian Government de facto, and Congress will not legislate on a mere question of abstract right. 2. A distinct adoption of his non-intervention doctrine, or rather of intervention to prevent intervention. At present Congress will not even take this stand; but it is pretty certain that the next popular election will force them into it. 3. A national or voluntary loan; and here again the nation will do nothing, but the people will. How much money he will secure I know not; but the subscriptions are already quite large, and may amount to enough to enable him to carry out his plans in Europe.

Kossuth's advent here has has a most important effect on the sentiment of the country. It has awakened a deep and earnest interest in European affairs. We have before been too much absorbed in our own petty disputes; but now our sympathies and convictions go forth to embrace the world. The question of an Anglo-American alliance, among the rest, receives a profound discussion everywhere; and should the worst come to the worst among the Continental States, you will find the Western Republic perfectly alive to her duty. Yours, G.

THE FIRE.

By the fire at Washington, announced in a telegraphic despatch received by the last mail, the library of Congress was partially destroyed, the Capitol having been saved with difficulty from the flames. About 35,000 volumes of books were destroyed; this is estimated from the supposed number saved, which is 20,000, the original contents of the library being about 55,000 volumes in all. The contents only of the principal hall were consumed, the north room and law library having escaped the fire, owing to the thickness of the intervening walls. Besides the books, a number of valuable paintings were destroyed. Of these were Stuart's paintings of the first five presidents; an original portrait of Columbus; a second portrait of Columbus; an original portrait of Peyton Randolph; a portrait of Bolivar; one of Baron de Kalb; one of Cortez; and one of Judge Hanson, of Maryland, presented to the library by his family; and between eleven and twelve hundred bronze medals of the Vattermare exchange, some of them more than ten centuries old, and exceedingly perfect, are lost. Of the statuary burnt and rendered worthless, were a statue of Jefferson; an Apollo in bronze by Mills; a very superior bronze likeness of Washington; a bust of General Taylor, by an Italian artist; and a bust of La Fayette, by David. Only three books were saved from the principal library, namely, the Librarian's Register, an account book, and an odd volume of Lord Kingsbury's magnificent work on the Antiquities of Mexico. The library, situated in the centre of the west front, was constructed with great taste and beauty; the room, 92 feet in length, 34 in width, and 36 in height, having alcoves over which were two galleries extending throughout the apartment. The room was handsomely ornamented, and the light was admitted both from ample windows and from three skylights above. Paintings, marble busts, and cabinets were a part of the attractions, in addition to the elegant folios of coloured prints, and a choice collection of books, gathered from all civilized countries, and from international exchanges.

Mr. Jefferson's library, embracing about 7000 volumes, was purchased in 1815 for 23,000 dollars; and this formed the nucleus of the 55,000 volumes which have since accumulated. Congress has, for a series of years, annually appropriated 5000 or 6000 dollars for the purchase of books and papers; and it is estimated that these have cost the Government, in addition to the Jefferson purchase, about 200,000 dollars. The original declaration of independence has been preserved. The origin of the fire has been ascertained beyond a doubt. On the removal of the rubbish one of the timbers of an alcove, entering the wall on the east side of the library, exactly where the fire was first observed, was found to extend into a defective flue leading from the committee-room, where a wood fire was kept. This timber was mostly consumed, while other timbers in parts of the wall were but

slightly burned. The chimney connecting with this flue was also ascertained to have been on fire. It is considered satisfactory proof that this was the cause of the fire.

THE LOSS OF THE AMAZON.

ESCAPE IN THE BOATS.

Two narratives have been published of the escape in the boats of those who were picked up by the Gertrude. The first is by Mr. Allen, the foreman to the engineers at Messrs. Seawards', who fitted the machinery to the Amazon, and went out in her to render assistance, should it be required.

"About half-past twelve I had taken a turn round the engines, and then to the paddle-boxes, to oil the outer bearings. I then went to the engineers on watch, and told them that the outer bearings were all right, and they would not require to go there for two hours. It was then blowing half a gale of wind. Took my lamp, and went to Mr. Angus's cabin to bid him good night. He was lying on his sofa dozing. I did not disturb him, but went to my own cabin on the lower deck. I undressed for bed, but had not been there ten minutes before I heard a voice cry 'Fire! fire!' twice, very distinctly. I jumped out of bed, hastily dragged on my trousers, and ran up the fore companion onto the maindeck, when I saw flames issuing up the fore stokehole hatchway, as if they were coming from the engineers' storeroom on the starboard fore boiler. I then ran aft towards the engineroom, and saw two or three hands at Downton's pump, and then went with others to pull down the fire buckets. I turned round to go towards the fire, when the flames and smoke came rushing along between decks, forcing every one to make their escape to the spar deck. I did not see a drop of water thrown on the fire. I then saw the second and fourth engineers clearing hay between the hatches, and every one, passengers and crew, rushing up through the after companion on to the quarterdeck, many of whom were in a state of nudity. When I saw the state the ship was in, and knowing the capabilities of the pump, I was certain there was no chance of saving the vessel. I then, with others, flew to the nearest boat, to the paddle-box on the starboard side. Mr. Roberts came and said, 'Leave the boats alone, don't lower.' I and others consequently desisted for a few minutes. All hands, however, rushed to the boats, Mr. Roberts calling out for the females to be placed in them first. Mrs. Macclennen and child were then placed in the boat, when several others jumped in. I and the fourth engineer followed with the others. Word was then given to lower the boat.—We endeavoured to do so, but could not on account of the cranes, which we did not know were there. We knocked away the hooks, 'boused' up, and cleared the cranes. Word was again given to lower, and when it was down about two feet the after blocks would not leave, on account of a half hitch being in the after tackle. The people who had hold of the after tackle lowered away, but a sea struck her, unhooked the fore tackle, and left her swinging perpendicularly, some falling into the sea, others clinging on. I was towards the head of the boat, and Mrs. Macclennen seized hold of my leg as I was trying to regain the deck, and said, 'For God's sake don't leave me.' She held her babe in her arms, clinging on to the thwart. I said, 'Hang on till we right the boat.' I and William Stone, the fourth engineer, regained the deck, and called two or three to our assistance, but through their excitement could not get them to pull together, to get the half-hitch out. I then ran over on the larboard side to see if there was any chance of escape from that quarter. The last boat was just launched into the water with people in it. I then returned to the same boat, when I and Stone, and some others, made a last effort to get the boat off, the flames being close upon us. By the assistance of William Berryman, who went down to the water and cleared the fall, we lowered the boat into the water. I then jumped into the gig, which a few minutes before I had seen stove by the cranes in attempting to lower her, and from her, I can hardly tell how, I got into the boat below, followed by Stone, John Lamont, Mr. Glennie, passenger, and one or two others, when a sea rising threw our boat under the gig, which was still lashed, nearly capsizing us several times. I called out to cut away the rope and let her go. It was done, and we went rapidly astern, the ship having way upon her, notwithstanding the engines had stopped. To our surprise we found Mrs. Macclennen and her child lying in the bottom of the boat. The poor lady had nothing but her nightdress on. Finding the boat rapidly filling, and on looking for the cause, we discovered the plugs were left out! With some waste, Stone and another blocked up the holes. We then prepared to put the boat ready for sea. We lashed the mast in the boat and threw it overboard, in the expectation it would keep her end on, but finding the sea breaking over us, we pulled the mast aboard again, and got two sculls out to pull, lashing the other (there being only three on board) at the stern, to steer the boat. We went before the wind, not having sufficient strength to contend with the sea, which was running mountains high. We hoisted a lady's shawl for a sail, and carried on in that way until three in the morning, when it came on to rain heavily. A sea breaking over us, carried away our tiller, and I thought, then, it was all over. By means, however, of a beaker, which was left in the boat, and our boots, we managed to bale her out. Towards four in the morning the wind abated. We were then drifting away many miles from the ship, which was one mass of flames, the fire rushing out of every window and porthole, and from the funnels to the height of twenty feet. We lost sight of her about five, but did not see her go down. We continued on our course until about ten o'clock on Sunday, when we thought we saw a sail; but, after pulling towards it for one hour, we lost all sight. At half-past eleven, or about twelve, a sail hove in sight, and every man plied the oars, and we pulled until half-past six, when we fortunately reached the vessel, a Dutch galliot."

The second is by Miss Anna Smith, whose conduct has deservedly won for her the admiration of all who hear of her courage and fortitude.

Miss Anna Maria Smith, of 9, Dawson-street, Dublin, states, "As near as I can recollect, it was about half-past twelve o'clock on Sunday morning when I first heard the alarm of fire. I was in my berth. I hastily jumped out of it, and ran to the seats at the foot of the companion stairs, and went forward to a gentleman and asked him if he knew the cause of the alarm. He told me the ship was on fire, but that there was not the least occasion for alarm, and advised me to return to my berth to dress. On refusing, he carried me to my berth, and called the stewardess to attend me. She came out of her room quite dressed; but, being much frightened, she went forward without assisting me. Being alarmed at seeing so much in others, I immediately took up a blanket and two petticoats, and rushed up the companion stairs aft. The flames at that time were rushing through the after bulkhead. I stopped for a moment to observe if there was any chance of the fire being extinguished, and observed Captain Symons undressed, with a bucket in his hand, surrounded by his officers. Everything then was much confused, consequent upon the fire breaking out so suddenly. I immediately ran aft, towards the wheel, where I saw a gentleman standing undressed, whom I believe to be Mr. Warburton. I went to the side of the ship, and seized a rope, and on looking round I saw an officer running towards me, in flames. He threw himself down, and rolled over towards me, with the endeavour, no doubt, to extinguish the fire. I then asked Mrs. Scott, the stewardess, who was close behind me, if there was any place I could put my foot outside? Mrs. Scott said, 'Oh yes; there!' and ran to the other side, crying 'Save me! save me!' Observing a boat alongside, I swung out, holding by the rope for some time, the boat under me having capsized twice. At last, seeing a favourable opportunity, as the boat righted and was again under me, I let go my hold and dropped into the boat, a sailor at the same time endeavouring to catch me. I should think the fall was at least fifteen feet. I was not much hurt. I fell into the bottom of the boat. I found there a M. Jean Strylus, a Belgian, and one sailor. The former told me he was the only one saved when the boat capsized the second time. Four other sailors soon after reached the boat, and got in, but by what means I cannot tell, as I was so much exhausted. One of them called out, 'Cut the rope, or we shall be lost.' It was quickly done by one of the parties in the boat. It immediately drifted astern, when soon after we observed a person in the water supporting himself upon two oars. The sailors rowed towards him, and fortunately succeeded in getting him in; it proved to be Mr. Evans. This was no sooner done than we saw another, and every human effort was made to save him; but just as we got within a boat's length the poor creature sank. One of the men, Attwood, a very humane man, seemed most anxious to approach the ship, to do all he could to save more lives. Some objected, fearing the steamer's magazine would explode, and then all might be lost. We remained, however, within a short distance of the burning ship, in the hope of saving others, for, I should think, two hours; and although we could distinctly observe the poor creatures huddled together aft, and many on the bows and bowsprit, we did not perceive any in the water. By this time the engines had ceased. When all hope was gone, the men prepared to pull towards land, if possible. There were, I think, five oars on board. We finally lost sight of the ship about four o'clock. I lay in the bottom of the boat in my nightdress, covered with the blanket which I flung into the boat previous to lowering myself; but hearing the men say a sail would be serviceable, I immediately volunteered to give it up, which was gladly accepted, at once formed into a sail, and hoisted. The Belgian, who was sitting forward, then offered me a part of his cloak, and two of the sailors carried me aft for that purpose. During the whole of this night one of the sailors steered, as the sea was running very high. In the morning, as we had but five hands, M. Strybus was requested to row, but he could not from weakness. I then proposed his taking the helm, and, as I can speak French, the orders were given by the men to me in English, and transferred in French to M. Strybus, to enable him to steer as they wished. About nine o'clock we discovered, to our great joy, a sail, and immediately the men pulled with redoubled vigour towards her. She, however, appeared not to see us, and kept her course. The sea was tolerably calm on the Sunday, and the men continued to pull towards the east, thereby hoping to reach the French coast. About eleven or twelve the same night the men observed a brilliant revolving light, and pulled vigorously towards it for six hours; but as the sea was increasing in violence they feared to approach nearer, on account of the cross swells. By this time the poor fellows were completely exhausted, and nature could hold out no longer. Seeing the condition we were in, M. Strybus said to me, 'You have roused their energies on two occasions, try again.' I then cheered them on; but as their hands were almost scarified from their laborious exertions, it was almost impossible to do so. They, however, used another effort, and soon afterwards we observed another light in another direction; we did not know what it was, but the men at once resolved to make a last push, and shortly afterwards their exertions were rewarded by reaching a Dutch galliot, the captain of which, who had previously fallen in with the other boat, kindly took us aboard, and at once made for Brest, where we arrived at four o'clock on Monday afternoon. Altogether we were thirty hours in the small boat, during the whole of which anxious time there was nothing either to eat or drink; but, notwithstanding, the gallant fellows who had so labouriously exerted themselves to save our lives, uttered not a murmur; they were all most kind and attentive to me throughout this trying and distressing scene, but the fireman, Attwood, particularly so; he kindly bound up my feet in handkerchiefs and placed something round my head, to protect me as far as he was

able from the inclemency of the weather. Mr. Gould, who was saved in the first boat, was also very kind and attentive to me after we had got on board the galliot. Our obligations to the family of the consul at Brest, and many other ladies, are great indeed. Immediately it was known we were on board, clothing and every necessary was sent off in abundance, and after we had somewhat recovered from our exhaustion we were landed, and I and Mrs. MacLennan and child taken to the consul's house, where we were most hospitably received and attended to until our departure for Morlaix. Our gratitude to the English consul at Havre is also due. He was most kind and attentive, and when we left, generously placed money at our disposal. I cannot close without expressing my warmest thanks to Captain Smith, his stewardess, and all on board the Grand Turk steamer, who, during the bad passage from Havre to Southampton, were constant in their endeavours to make us as comfortable as possible under existing circumstances."

In addition to these, Mr. Frederick Glennie has furnished some particulars of the last sight of Eliot Warburton. All the escapes smack of the miraculous; Mr. Glennie's was no exception.

"I was the last person, I should think, to arrive on deck. At that time they were attempting to lower some of the starboard boats, and some of the larboard, I fancy, were already in the water. I remained for some time looking round and seeing boats lowered from both sides in the greatest confusion. Presently I heard the captain give an order to lower the larboard lifeboat; but the answer was, 'She is on fire.' On going to see whether this was the case, I found it was so. The captain then ordered the starboard lifeboat to be lowered. Again the answer was, 'She is on fire.' Just then I saw the only remaining boat, except the two lifeboats reported to be burning, being lowered, and without waiting to ascertain whether the second lifeboat was really on fire, I heaved a rope over and slid down by it, with the intention of dropping into this boat as she cleared away from the vessel. I did not succeed in this attempt, and fell into the water. Happily the next wave brought her within reach of my arm, and I got in. As the steamer at this time was proceeding before the wind very rapidly, we were immediately swept behind. At the time I slipped down, the captain and another man were at the wheel; and I saw Mr. Warburton, with whom I was acquainted, but whom I had not perceived before, completely dressed, and walking quickly towards the starboard lifeboat. In two or three minutes from the time I reached the boat, I again looked at the wreck. I saw the captain and man still at the wheel; and Mr. Warburton had returned and was standing beside them. That was the last I saw of them."

Nothing more has been heard of the boats supposed to have lived after being launched.

There is a variety of rumours in Southampton about Captain Symons's unwillingness to go to sea in the Amazon. It is an undoubted fact that he would much rather have stayed at home than have taken the command of the Amazon. This desire he expressed while dining at the Royal George the day before he sailed. A friend likewise wishing him good bye in Southampton Water a few minutes before he sailed said jocosely, "Good bye, Captain Symons, of the Amazon." He replied sharply, "No, I will not have it; I am Captain of the Orinoco" (one of the large steamers not yet completed). When Captain Symons took leave of the pilot at the Needles he was depressed in spirits. He shook hands with the pilot, and said, "Well, God bless you, you have done your duty; the responsibility now rests on me." The truth was, Captain Symons did not like the Amazon because it was not his ship, and all sailors are fanciful and superstitious; but it is a libel on the humanity and manliness of a truly brave, kind-hearted, and honourable man to suppose that he had any doubts as to the safety of the ship. In fact, there is not the slightest foundation for thinking so.

Among other rumours of escapes from the ill-fated Amazon is that of the Earl of Sheffield, who had intended to go out in her to Barbadoes, but learning at the office in Moorgate-street that she was to start on a Friday, an *unlucky* day, he was deterred, and remained in town. While, as an instance of contrary presentiment, Mr. Pest, President of the Assembly of Barbadoes, had always voyaged in sailing vessels, avoiding steamers as precarious. He saw the Amazon; her beauty seduced him; he took his place, and shared her fate.

A searching public investigation into the causes of the fire which destroyed the Amazon commenced on Thursday, before the Directors of the West India Mail Packet Company. Mr. Neilson, Mr. Glennie, and Mr. Allen were examined; but as the proceedings were adjourned, we shall reserve a summary of them until next week.

THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

The projected expedition of Lieutenant Pim in search of Sir John Franklin, has been cut short at St. Petersburg. The Russian Government allege that the difficulties attending the journey would be insurmountable; that the tribes native to those northern regions are cruel and intractable; that the number of dogs alone required by Mr. Pim could not be collected without ruining the natives, and that, in fine, the journey is philosophically impossible. Lieutenant Pim has been well received by the Emperor and the Russian geographers, and great interest is felt in the fate of Franklin. Captain Beaton is fitting up a

screw steamer, and intends to sail for Behring's Straits in a few weeks. His plan is detailed in a letter read at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on Monday, and a resolution was passed, declaring that "the generous and noble devotion of Captain Beaton deserved the countenance and support of the Society." Lady Franklin has also given him assistance.

We continue below the "Extracts from the Journal of a distinguished officer on board the Erebus."

Her Majesty's ship Erebus, June, 1845.

6th. Towards midnight.—I can't make out why Scotchmen just caught always speak in a low, hesitating, monotonous tone of voice, which is not at all times to be understood—this is, I believe, called "cannyness." Mr. Goodsir is "canny." He is long and straight, and walks upright on his toes, with his hands tucked up in each jacket pocket. He is perfectly good-humoured, very well informed on general points, in natural history learned, was Curator of the Edinburgh Museum, appears to be about twenty-eight years of age, laughs delightfully, cannot be in a passion, is enthusiastic about all 'ologies, draws the insides of microscopic animals with an imaginary-pointed pencil, catches phenomena in a bucket, looks at the thermometer and every other meter, is a pleasant companion, and an acquisition to the mess. So much for Mr. Goodsir.

7th. 11 P.M.—Pitching heavily, breeze increasing from W.N.W. It came on as the sun was thinking of setting, about nine, in the form of a bank, behind which he vanished; it then rose in the form of an arch, and I expected wind; but, having overspread the sky, it settled into a steadily increasing breeze. Barometer rising as rapidly as it fell, and I have been prognosticating a sort of gale in consequence. It was calm all last night, cloudy all to-day. Passed the day in working and making observations, when the sun did peep out, with Le Viscomte. There is nothing in this day's journal that will interest or amuse you at all events, and I am not in a humour for describing any more messmates.

8th.—I like a man who is in earnest. Sir John Franklin read the Church service to-day and a sermon so very beautifully, that I defy any man not to feel the force of what he would convey. The first Sunday he read was a day or two before we sailed, when Lady Franklin, his daughter, and niece attended. Every one was struck with his extreme earnestness of manner, evidently proceeding from real conviction. We had a heavy sea and stiff breeze to-day; but it moderated at four o'clock, and the sun came out clear and beautiful. In latitude 62 degrees, at nine o'clock this evening, we tacked (if you know what that is), and stood to the S.W. We saw a ship from Peterhead to-day.

9th. —
10th.—I was beginning to write last night, but the ship was tumbling about to such an extent that I went to bed, and had to turn out again immediately and get the topsails reefed, as it blew very hard in squalls. The ship pitched about as much as I ever saw any vessel, but still very easily. Reid says he does not like to see the wind "seeking a corner to blow into." I worked observations all yesterday, and to-day took several on deck. The weather moderated this morning, and all day we have had little wind and tolerably smooth sea. A clear, fine sunset at a quarter to ten, and Goodsir examining "mollusca" in a microscope. He is in ecstasies about a bag full of blubber-like stuff which he has just hauled up in a net, and which turns out to be whales' food and other animals. I have been reading Sir John Franklin's vindication of his government of Van Diemen's Land, which was to come out a week or two after we sailed. He has ready all the sheets, and cuts up Lord Stanley a few, and says he is haughty and imperious.

Here ends, I find, my third sheet; so if you don't like your letter thus far, pray don't read the following which I intend to write. There is nothing to interest you now, and we are not far on our journey, so I wind up this and call it a letter, just for the sake of adding that I am, as ever, yours, &c.

More of the 10th.—Crouch is a little, black-haired, smooth-faced fellow—good humoured in his own way; writes, reads, works, draws, all quietly. Is never in the way of anybody, and always ready when wanted; but I can find no remarkable point in his character, except, perhaps, that he is, I should think, obstinate. Stanley, the surgeon, I knew in China. He was in the Cornwallis a short time, where he worked very hard in his vocation. Is rather inclined to be good looking, but fat, with jet black hair, very white hands, which are always abominably clean, and the shirt sleeves tucked up; giving one unpleasant ideas that he would not mind cutting one's leg off immediately—"if not sooner." He is thoroughly good natured and obliging and very attentive to our mess. Le Viscomte you know. He improves, if possible, on closer acquaintance. Fairholme, you know or have seen, is a smart, agreeable companion, and a well informed man. Sargent, a nice, pleasant-looking lad, very good natured. Des Vaux I knew in the Cornwallis. He went out in her to join the Endymion, and was then a mere boy. He is now a most unexceptionable, clever, agreeable, lighthearted, obliging young fellow, and a

great favourite of Hodgson's, which is much in his favour besides.

Graham Gore, the first lieutenant, a man of great stability of character, a very good officer, and the sweetest of tempers, is not so much a man of the world as Fairholme or Des Vœux, is more of Le Viscomte's style without his shyness. He plays the flute dreadfully well, draws sometimes very well, sometimes very badly, but is altogether a capital fellow.

Here ends my catalogue. I don't know whether I have managed to convey an impression of our mess, and you know me sufficiently to be sure that I mention their little faults, failings, and peculiarities in all charity. I wish I could, however, convey to you a just idea of the immense stock of good feeling, good humour, and real kindness of heart in our small mess. We are very happy, and very fond of Sir John Franklin, who improves very much as we come to know more of him. He is anything but nervous or fidgety; in fact, I should say remarkable for energetic decision in sudden emergencies; but I should think he might be easily persuaded where he has not already formed a strong opinion.

Our men are all fine, hearty fellows, mostly North countrymen, with a few man-of-war's men. We feared at Stromness that some of them would repent, and it is usual to allow no leave—the Terror did not. But two men wanted to see—one his wife whom he had not seen for four years, and the other his mother whom he had not seen for seventeen—so I let them go to Kirkwall, fourteen miles off. I also allowed a man of each mess to go on shore for provisions. They all came on board to their leave; but finding we were not going to sea till the following morning, four men (who probably had taken a *teetle* too much whisky, among them was the little old man who had not seen his wife for four years) took a small boat that lay along side and went on shore without leave. Their absence was soon discovered, and Fairholme, assisted by Baillie, and somebody or other, brought all on board by three o'clock in the morning. I firmly believe each intended coming on board (if he had been sober enough), especially the poor man with the wife—but, according to the rules of the service, these men should have been severely punished—one method being to stop their pay and give it to the constables, or others, who apprehend them. It struck me, however, that the punishment is intended to prevent misconduct in others, and not to revenge their individual misconduct—men know very well when they are in the wrong—and there is clearly no chance of any repetition of the offence until we get to Valparaiso, or the Sandwich Islands; so I got up at four o'clock, had every body on deck, sent Gore and the Sergeant of Marines below, and searched the whole deck for spirits, which were thrown overboard. This took two good hours; soon after which we up anchor, and made sail out. I said nothing to any of them. They evidently expected a rowing, and the old man with the wife looked very sheepish, and would not look me in the face; but nothing more was said, and the men have behaved not a bit the worse ever since. I don't know why I tell you all this. I meant to go to bed when I finished the other sheet; but went to look at some beautiful specimens of crustaceous animals in the microscope, one of which, about a quarter of an inch long, is an entirely new animal, and has a peacock's tail. Goodnight is drawing it. And now I must really say good night; it is past one o'clock.

11th and 12th.—All yesterday it blew very hard, with so much sea that we shipped one or two over the quarterdeck, by which I got a good drenching once. The sea is of the most perfect transparency—a beautiful, delicate, cold-looking green, or ultramarine. Long rollers, as if carved out of the essence of glass bottles, came rolling towards us; now and then topped with a beautiful pot-of-porter-looking head. At sunset the wind moderated, and was calm at night. This morning a fair wind until four o'clock, P.M., when thick fogs blew over at last, and settled this evening into a strong northerly breeze (fair for us), by which we are going on at a good rate, with another sea getting up in an opposite direction to the last, and between the two we are rolling somewhat. We are now only six miles from Iceland—south of it.

14th.—Yesterday evening the sea went down much, and the wind became very light. This morning the wind was quite fair, having been so more or less all night; but instead of having clear weather as with the N.E. wind, it came to S.E. and brought hard rain and thick fogs all day. We are now, however (eleven P.M.), going seven knots and a quarter in a thick fog, with the Terror on one side and transport on the other, keeping close for fear of losing sight of us. To-day we arranged all our books in the mess, and find that we have a very capital library. Reid still amuses us. He has just told me how to boil salt fish when it is very salt. He saw the steward towing it overboard, and roared out:—"What are you making faces at there? That's not the way to get the salt out." It appears, that when it boils it is to be taken off the fire and kept just not boiling. This is Saturday night. Reid and Osmar are drinking "Sweethearts and wives"; and they wanted me to join. I said I had not the one, and did not want the other. Good night.

(To be continued.)

BATHS AND WASH-HOUSES.

Some statistical returns have been published, showing the success of the baths and wash-houses already established in London and the provinces. Here are some of the more striking results. In the establishment which is situated in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, during the course of the year 1851, there were 213,485 bathers; and the receipts amounted to £3437. 17s. 9d. There were 50,200 washers; the number of hours' washing was 103,836; and the receipts under this head were £499. 14s. 1d. So at "the Model," in Whitechapel, there were, during the same period, 156,310 bathers, with £2143. 7s. 8d. receipts. There were 43,462 washers, who washed for 98,824 hours, and paid £531. 1s. 2d. Taking the metropolis generally, which as yet yields us reports of but five establishments, of which one was opened on the 2nd of September, we find that during the past year there were 647,242 bathers, who paid in all £9141. 8s. 6d., and 132,251 washers, who paid £1498. 19s. 2d. The sum of the combined receipts is 10,640. 7s. 8d. The country returns yield similar results, for the periods during which the establishments have been opened to the public.

FOX-HUNTING GLORIES.

Nimrod dining at the "Tower of Babel," and presented with a piece of plate by admiring neighbours, is what we do not read of in history; but it is a sight the nineteenth century can exhibit—as well as French Constitutions. At Copt-hall, Epping, lives a gentleman named Henry John Conyers, described as "a fine old English gentleman,"—certainly a boisterous one. He is a mighty hunter, and has spared neither expense nor pains to keep foxes in the county of Essex, and a pack to hunt them. And to testify their sense of his immense services to Essex-humanity, a company of gentlemen, headed by Mr. Bramston, M.P., donned their "bits of scarlet," dined, and drank together on Thursday, and presented Mr. Conyers with a handsome piece of plate. Of course, the eloquence of the evening was expended in celebrating the glories of fox-hunting. Mr. Bramston, with a certain reminiscent ardour, entered on the enticing theme.

"Depend upon it, no successful foxhunter was ever a fool. (Cheers.) He must not only be a man of sense, but he must have a good eye, a ready hand, a cool head; he must be capable of enduring great fatigue; he must, above all, have great nerve, and an unswerving determination to accomplish the object he has in view, no matter what difficulties and obstacles may present themselves in his way. It is upon these qualities that the national character of Britons is based. (Hear, hear.) But, to return to the topic which more immediately concerns us, I would remind you, gentlemen, that we are assembled to pay a tribute of respect and esteem to Mr. Conyers, who, for forty-eight years of his life, has been the master of a pack of foxhounds. (Loud cheers.) We have heard of the father of the bar, and the father of the house—but here, gentlemen, is the father of the chase. (Enthusiastic applause.)"

The Father of the Chase beat his senatorial admirer hollow in enthusiasm. Of course, Thursday was the "happiest day of his life"; and the kindness he received greater than he deserved.

"When I come to think of the blessings of foxhunting, I have no language to do justice to the subject. It is easy to talk of love and of 'its sweet return'; but what is there that promote love and kindness, and benevolence and benignity, and every thing that is good, genial, and kind-hearted, amongst countrymen and neighbours, like foxhunting? (Cheers.) At a foxhunt men of the most opposite opinions—men who, on questions of religion and politics, have scarcely one sentiment in common—Whigs, Tories, Radicals, and anythingarians—(laughter)—can mingle together, with as much harmony, good humour, and good fellowship, as if they had been all their lives on terms of the most cordial unanimity and the most ardent sympathy. Serious people, who look upon religion as a matter of gloom, occasionally say to me, 'How wicked it is to hunt!' (Laughter.) No later than yesterday morning a very great lady, whose name I will not mention, said to me, 'How very wicked it is of you to hunt a fox!' 'What, madam!' said I, 'to see all my friends and neighbours thronging round me to enjoy a manly, healthful recreation—with happiness beaming upon every brow, and a smile upon every lip—how can that be wicked?' (Loud cheers.) The lady seemed to feel the justice of my statement, but she took advantage of my infirmity—(laughter)—and told me that I swore when I hunted. Well, perhaps, I have done so before now—(laughter and cheers)—but I told her, what is the fact, that I nevertheless regard the swearing with as much disfavour as herself, and so I do. (Loud cheers.) Swearing is a vulgar and ungentlemanlike habit. I ought to be ashamed of it, and so I am. (Laughter and cheers.) I will endeavour never to do so any more; indeed, I have almost taken an oath never to do such a thing again. (Loud laughter.) But the fact is, a habit that one has contracted very early in life, is not very easy to be got rid of. (Cheers.) However, I can declare with all sincerity, that there is not a serious person in the country who disapproves of swearing more strongly than I do; and I could wish to impose a fine upon myself for every time that I indulge in an oath. (Continued applause.) But as for fox-hunting, I will ever maintain that the blessings it confers on a country are great and numerous. It encourages bravery, courage, and enterprise in a people, and, above all things, it promotes kind feeling and good fellowship."

Every man not a foxhunter must blush in his shoes. This extravagant praise is laughable enough; but what a basis of pluck, good nature, and energy it discloses! applied to rural sanitary reform, for instance.

THE KAFIR WAR.

A public meeting was held at Birmingham on Tuesday, attended by Mr. Joseph Sturge, Mr. C. B. Adderley, M.P., Mr. Chameroozow, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, the Reverend H. Richards, one of the secretaries of the Peace Society, and other gentlemen, for the purpose of affording the inhabitants of Birmingham an opportunity of protesting against the cruel and aggressive war now desolating South Africa, at an enormous cost to the people of this country. Mr. Alderman Baldwin presided. Letters were read from Mr. Hume, M.P., and Mr. Cobden, M.P., who both agreed in referring the war at the Cape to Lord Grey and the delay in according to the Cape the long promised constitution; at the same time severely censuring Sir Henry Smith for his method of conducting the war. Mr. Adderley, M.P., took views nearly analogous. He was opposed both to the policy of "conciliation" and "extermination," the policy proposed by the leader of the meeting, and that of Sir Henry Smith. He thought we should act upon the principle of justice towards the Kafirs, and grant a constitution to the Cape. Colonies ought to govern themselves. He denounced the colonial policy of Downing-street as a "policy of corruption, jobbery, and weakness." Resolutions were agreed to, lamenting the origin and continuance of the war, and regarding it as "the direct result and retributive consequence of a cruel and unrighteous policy;" protesting against the "enormous expenditure," and urging an immediate return to the "just and conciliating policy of Lord Glenelg." A memorial to Lord John Russell, and a petition embodying these views were ordered.

BAYARD TAYLOR ON AUSTRIAN CURRENCY.

Bayard Taylor, who has lately been travelling in Austria, has the following on Austrian currency:—

"My recollections of 'shinplaster' times have greatly advanced in dignity since I have made acquaintance with the Austrian paper money. The notes from one florin (fifty cents) upward are engraved on steel, and printed on paper of moderate fineness. They contain the value of the note in German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bohemian, with a statement that the Austrian National Bank will pay the holder the full amount in silver. (The coin, it need not be said, is handed out over the left shoulder of the applicant.) They are also adorned with a female head, which at first I greenly took to be Liberty, but have since been informed that it represents Austria. The smaller notes, down to the value of six kreutzers (five cents), look like apothecaries' labels; they are printed with ordinary type and on very ordinary paper. Even the copper kreutzers are so scarce that you are obliged to pay three kreutzers by tearing a six-kreutzer note in twain, and giving half of it. These half-notes are current among the small merchants, but you can always pass them by pasting two together. They are generally so black and greasy, from long use, that you are tempted to spend your money for the sake of getting rid of it. In the public offices they have whole sheets of the small notes, and will give you a dozen together, like so many post-office stamps."

MURDER NEAR BANBURY.

Kalebergo was an old man living in Banbury, and following the craft of a jeweller. He had laid up good store of wealth, but was still active in adding to his accumulations. Some time ago he sent for his nephew from Germany, who arrived and immediately lent his assistance in carrying on the thriving trade. On Saturday morning both started in a cart to make the usual trading round among the villages—a semi-peddling expedition. They were out all day, and were observed in the evening coming home by a baker driving also a horse and cart. Kalebergo and his nephew were walking. Shortly after the baker heard two shots fired; but of this at the time he took no notice. Two other persons going in a contrary direction passed him, and proceeded up the hill called Williamscoot, on the road to Daventry, and lying between two steep banks. One of these, a woman, first met a cart without a driver, and then saw, about half way up the hill, something like a greatcoat on the ground, but which on approaching she found to be the dead body of a man. It was Kalebergo, the old jeweller. Meanwhile, the nephew, hatless, had rushed into Banbury, declaring that his uncle was murdered, that three ruffians had attacked them, and that he in fear had fled after his uncle had been shot down. This story being held unsatisfactory, the nephew was arrested. He attempted to escape from custody by jumping out of a window; but as he broke the small bone of his right leg and sprained his wrist, he was easily captured.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Court is still at Windsor. The Queen, Prince Albert, and the royal children performing the usual rides and walks necessary for health and pleasure. The Queen will open Parliament in person.

A Privy Council was held on Saturday at Windsor Castle, attended by Prince Albert and the whole of the Ministers, except Lord Broughton and Lord Minto. It was resolved to prorogue Parliament until the 3rd of February, then to meet for the despatch of business.

Two Cabinet Councils have been held this week at the Foreign-office.

It is currently reported that the address on the opening of Parliament, on the 3rd of February, will be moved by

Sir Richard W. Bulkeley, M.P. for Anglesea; and seconded by Mr. Bonham Carter!

Mr. Plumptre has resigned his office as M.P. for East Kent. Sir Edward Dering and Sir Brook Bridges are in the field, candidates for the honour of senatorship.

We have authority to state, that there is no foundation whatever for the paragraph which has appeared under the heading of "Military Camps round London."—*Morning Post*.

Major-General the Honourable George Cathcart is appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, in the room of Sir Henry Smith. It is said that a Lieutenant-Governor is to be appointed to take charge of the civil Government during the absence of the Commander in Chief.

M. Theirs and Generals Changarnier and Lamoricière have arrived in town.

The Hanover journals of the 5th state that a consultation of physicians and surgeons has been held on the blindness of the King, and that all the members present, with the exception of Dr. Leuw, expressed an opinion that the malady is incurable.

Sir James Graham, Baronet, M.P., left Netherby-hall for London by the express train on Tuesday. It is understood that he was sent for by Lord John Russell to lend him a helping hand. The gentleman who came for him was a stranger, but apparently a man of rank, as he travelled in the same carriage with Sir James, and they occupied the whole of it, a board being attached to the door with the notice that the moving council-chamber was "engaged," and not to be intruded upon by ordinary mortals.—*Newcastle Journal*.

Captain Henry Hollinsworth has been recently appointed a Military Knight of Windsor. He served in the campaign of 1799 in Holland; in the Egyptian campaign of 1801; at the battle of Maida in 1806; campaign of 1808-9, including the battles of Vimeira and Corunna; expedition to Walcheren in 1809; Peninsular campaigns, from October, 1812 to end of 1814, including battle of Vittoria, battles of the Pyrenees, affairs on entering France, and battle of Orthes, in which he was severely wounded in the right thigh. Has received a war medal with nine clasps. In addition to this we understand that he lost a son, a captain in the Tenth Foot, at Mooltan, in 1848.

Baron Kemeny, a distinguished Hungarian exile, who died last week under peculiar circumstances, was buried on Sunday at Kensal-green Cemetery. His funeral was attended by Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., Count Paul Esterhazy, Count Ladilas Vay, the ex-minister Vukovics, the Reverend Dr. Ronai—a distinguished ecclesiastic of the Catholic Church in Hungary, exiled for his love of fatherland, Colonel Kiss, Colonel Thaley, Captain Wekey, late aide-de-camp to the Governor Kossuth, Professor Newman, Mr. Charles Gilpin, Mr. Nicholay, and others. There were many burials on that day; the corpse of the gallant Kemeny had to wait its turn, and it was twilight before the coffin, surmounted by the shako with its white egret's plume and the sword of the dead patriot soldier, was borne to the grave. A loving and manly oration was delivered by Dr. Ronai over the last resting-place of the exile.

The following notification appears in the *Gazette* of Tuesday.

"It is hereby notified that Earl Granville, her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has received from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty a copy of a despatch, dated the 6th ultimo, from Henry William Bruce, Esq., Commodore and Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's Naval Forces on the west coast of Africa, informing their Lordships that he had issued the following notification of a blockade of ports and places in the Bight of Benin:—

"Her Britannic Majesty's Steam-ship, Penelope, Sierra Leone, December 6, 1851.

"In compliance with instructions from her Majesty's Government, it is hereby notified that a blockade of all ports and places (except Badagry) situate in the Bight of Benin, from longitude 1 deg. to 4 deg. 30 min. east of Greenwich, will forthwith be established by me, with an efficient force; and no merchant vessel will be permitted to hold any communication whatever with the ports and places interdicted from and after the 1st day of January next.

"H. W. BRUCE,

Commodore and Commander-in-Chief of her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces on the west coast of Africa."

The following letter, on the appearance of "foreign police" among us, is from the *Daily News* of Wednesday:—

Sir,—Within the last few days the French Government have despatched to London a posse of its secret police agents, to watch (*surveiller*) and hunt down their proscribed fellow-countrymen. (Most of the above agents are desperate, reckless characters, and little likely to conform to our police regulations.) It is to be hoped that, instead of countenancing this Parisian intrusion, the authorities of Scotland-yard will closely watch the proceedings of the usurper's spies, and prevent peaceable French emigrants from insult or annoyance in this country. I address you on this subject, in consequence of a French literary gentleman of my acquaintance, who, for several days past, has been watched and dogged by foreign secret agents, to his serious inconvenience and annoyance. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, A TRUE JOHN BULL.

The following is the official return of the present military force of Great Britain (not including the troops in the service of the Honourable East India Company):—Cavalry—First and Second Regiments of Life Guards, and First Regiment of Royal Horse Guards Blue, Cuirassiers, forming the cavalry of the Household Brigade; Seventh Regiment of Dragoon Guards (Sixth Carabniers); First Regiment Royal Horse Artillery; 16 re-

giments of Dragoons, viz., 3 regiments of Heavy Dragoons, First, Second, and Sixth; 4 regiments of Light Dragoons, Third, Fourth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth; 5 regiments of Hussars, Seventh, Eighth, Tenth, Eleventh, and Fifteenth; 4 regiments of Lancers, Ninth, Twelfth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth; and 1 regiment of Cape Mounted Riflemen. Infantry—3 regiments of Foot Guards, First Grenadiers (3 battalions), Second Coldstream (2 battalions), Third Scots Fusiliers (2 battalions), forming the Infantry of the Household Brigade; 1 regiment of Royal Artillery (12 battalions); 99 regiments of the Line (Sixtieth King's Royal Rifle Corps); 1 Rifle Brigade (2 battalions); 3 West India regiments; 1 Ceylon Rifle regiment (2 battalions); 1 Royal Malta Fencible regiment; 1 Royal Canadian Rifle regiment; 1 St. Helena regiment, and Royal Newfoundland companies; 1 corps of Royal Engineers; forming an effective military force of 130,000 men. Besides the above, there are 140 regiments of militia in England, Wales, the Channel Islands, Ireland, and Scotland, the staff of which only is kept up in time of peace; and 60 regiments of country Yeomanry Cavalry, and the Out-pensioners' battalions.

The latest intelligence from Australia tells of increased discoveries of gold and a constant influx of persons into the gold regions, who have deserted the common employments and engaged in hunting for gold.

The various states of Switzerland have subscribed 295,912 francs as a loan, without interest, for the construction of electric telegraphs. The sum required is 500,000 francs.

The periodical comet of Encke was detected at the Liverpool observatory on Sunday night, during a brief interval between clouds. The comet appeared as a faint patch of nebulous light of one or two minutes' diameter.

The screw steam-ship *Great Britain*, Captain Mathews, is to be placed on the New York and Liverpool station early in the ensuing spring. This magnificent vessel has been thoroughly repaired and strengthened, and her machinery, manufactured by Messrs. Penn and Sons, of London, is of the most approved construction.

A large meeting was held last Thursday at Newcastle, for the purpose of agreeing to a petition to Parliament against the renewal of the income and property tax in any shape whatever. But in discussion it turned out that there were many opinions represented at the meeting. Mr. Crawshaw, Sir John Fife, and others, stood out for direct taxation and a revised income-tax; but they were defeated. Newcastle, therefore, goes for a repeal of the income-tax on trades and professions, a slight modification of the resolution originally submitted to the meeting.

Mr. Anderson, M.P., and Mr. Samuel Briggs, waited on the Pasha of Egypt, at Cairo, on the 27th ultimo, to present an address to him, agreed to at a meeting of British Merchants, on the 14th of October. The address desired to convey to the Pasha of Egypt the assurance of their sympathy and their support by every legitimate means in the present position of affairs—a sympathy and support which they consider he has fully earned by the liberal, active, and judicious manner in which he has devoted, and purposes to devote, his resources to the security of the transit of the British mails, travellers, and property to and from the East.

The *Mark Lane Express* of Monday records, in one column, the occurrence of no less than thirteen incendiary fires.

Two garrotte robberies were perpetrated in Edinburgh last week. This species of robbery is on the increase.

Several children were burnt last week, owing to the carelessness of their parents in leaving them alone in rooms where there were fires.

An explosion of firedamp took place about noon, on Friday, at Mr. John Daglish's colliery, Kit-green, near Norbury-hall, Pemberton, about two miles from Wigan. Sixteen persons were burned, but none of them were killed.

A man at Preston, named William Shaw, has been fined five shillings and costs, amounting to eighteen shillings and sixpence, for selling two pennyworth of lollypops on the "Lord's Day." The conviction took place under an act of Charles II, of "pious memory," as the pension list declares.

An action, arising out of the building for the "Great Globe" in Leicester-square, was tried on Tuesday in the Bail Court. The plaintiff was a Mr. Abraham, and he claimed £492 for labour in preparing plans. £200 had been paid into court; and after hearing evidence the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff, damages £78 beyond the amount paid into court.

A meeting for the prevention of destitution and mendicancy in London was held on Thursday, at the London Tavern. The plan proposed is the establishment of a number of hospices and asylums, with soup kitchens attached, similar to that now existing in Leicester-square; a free registry for labourers and servants, and lavatories and other conveniences. The Lord Mayor presided, and resolutions were agreed to in accordance with the above plan.

A commission of lunacy has been sitting for some days at the Eyre Arms, St. John's-wood, to inquire into the state of mind of one Mrs. Catherine Cumming, aged seventy-three years, and the possessor of some fortune. The inquiry opened on Wednesday week and is not yet concluded. Mrs. Cumming is a lady much given to brandy, very fond of cats, uncleanly in her habits, and unkind to her children. The evidence of her insanity turns on these points, and is extremely voluminous and uninteresting. The cats were tenderly kept, they had a doctor, were allowed wine sometimes, and covers were laid for them. Dr. Forbes Winslow, after a searching investigation, concludes that Mrs. Cumming is of sound mind, and quite capable of managing her property. As to the allegations in proof of her insanity, he found that the first antipathy to her children was referable to the treatment she had received at their hands, as

it operated on her mind—she believed they wanted her property, and therefore confined her in an asylum. The second allegation in proof was that she had said one of her daughters attempted to strangle her. The daughter, Mrs. Ince, having rushed in one day and flung her arms round her mother's neck with apparent affection, whereupon the old lady, who disliked her daughter, and suspected her affection, exclaimed, "Oh, do you want to strangle me?" an exclamation quite natural under the circumstances. Mrs. Cumming does not now believe that her daughter wished to strangle her. The third allegation is that Mrs. Cumming believed oxalic acid had been put in her milk. Poison had been put in her milk, with what intent does not appear. On the whole, we should say Mrs. Cumming is not insane, but simply a woman of low tastes, bad temper, and uncleanly habits.

A fire broke out in the vaults of Exeter-hall on Wednesday, but was speedily extinguished.

An engine driver on the South Western Railway was killed at Woking, on Thursday week. He had got down to oil the machinery, and, in so doing, placed his right arm and the upper part of his person between the spokes of the hind wheel, and whilst he was in this position several trucks were by some means forced violently against the end of the tender, which caused the connected rod to rise and crush the deceased's head and body against some portion of the works. The immediate cause of death was laceration of the brain. An inquest was held on Wednesday, and a verdict of "Accidental death" returned.

On Monday morning, the 5th instant, a serious accident happened to the omnibus which, until the completion of the Alston Branch Line, runs between Alston and the Shafthill station. The omnibus left Alston at a quarter after six in the morning with four passengers, and on going down Thornhope bank at a rapid rate, was very awkwardly upset. The road at this place is, apparently, cut out of a hill side, and is embanked at one side without a sufficient wall to protect it. Over this embankment the omnibus was precipitated, and it afterwards rolled twice over down the hill. One of the passengers was severely cut on the head and face. The others, with the exception of a dreadful shaking and many ugly bruises, were no worse. The coachman, however, was seriously injured, one of the horses having rolled over him: his recovery is very doubtful.

A British schooner has been captured by pirates in Melluda Bay, Indian Archipelago, and two of her officers and a portion of her native crew murdered.

Two revenue officers in the north of India have been waylaid and murdered.

Died on the 9th, in St. Patrick-square, Edinburgh, at the advanced age of one hundred and one years and eleven months, John Wilson. He was originally a mechanic, and, for many years, has been supported by the industry of his daughter. Until the last few months he was able to read and occasionally to walk out by himself.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

In the week ending last Saturday the number of deaths registered in the metropolitan districts was 1111. In the ten corresponding weeks of 1842-51, the average number of deaths was 1138, and if this be raised by a certain amount, in proportion to increase of population, it becomes 1252. Compared with the corrected average, last week's return of mortality shows a decrease of 141. Last week the number of fatal cases caused by smallpox was 32, of which 27 occurred among children.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 8th of January, at Government-house, Isle of Man, the Lady Isabella Hope: a daughter.
On the 8th, at Hintlesham-hall, Suffolk, the Honourable Mrs. H. Lloyd Anstruther: a son.
On the 10th, at Worthing, the Lady Marcus Hill: a daughter.
On the 11th, at Westborne-terrace, Mrs. William de la Rue, prematurely: a daughter.
On the 11th, at Earl's-terrace, Kensington, the wife of John Thomas Longman, Esq.: a daughter.
On the 12th, at Wicken-park, Stony Stratford, the Lady Louisa Douglas Pennant: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 7th of January, at St. George's, Hanover-square, Marshall Holmes, Esq., M.D., of Park-street, to Annie Baker, daughter of the late Joseph Cox Baker, Esq., M.R.C.S.
On the 8th, at the parish church of St. John, Hampstead, William Grover Carter, M.D., of Manchester-terrace, Kilburn, to Miss Emma Marshall Paul, of Upton-villas, Kilburn, late of Gosport.
On the 8th, at the Abbey Church, St. Alban's, John T. Nicholson Lipscomb, Esq., M.D., of the same place, to Margaret Mary Jane, eldest daughter of the Reverend Samuel Williams, of Stourton, Wilts.
On the 8th, at St. John's, Paddington, Lieutenant Osborn, late of her Majesty's ship *Pioneer*, eldest son of Major E. Osborn, Madras Army (retired), to Helen H. G. Hinxman, eldest daughter of the deceased John Hinxman, Esq., Navy Agent, of London.
On the 14th, at Trinity Church, Marylebone, the Reverend Thomas Garden Carter, to Louisa Jones, eldest daughter of the Right Honourable the Vice-Chancellor Turner.

DEATHS.

On the 6th of November, of wounds received in action on the heights above the Waterkloof, Lieutenant John Gordon, Seventy-fourth Regiment, eldest son of the late Sir Charles Gordon, of Drimnin, Knight.
On the 2nd of January, at her residence, Upper Gloucester-place, Marie Dorothee St. Martin, Dowager Countess de la Tour de Balre.
On the 6th, at Plymouth-roads, Octavius Walker, late Midshipman on board her Majesty's ship *Acheron*, Captain Stokes, and youngest son of Charles Walker, Esq., late Major of the Fifth Dragoon Guards, aged eighteen.
On the 10th, at Regent's-park-terrace, of pleurisy, Alfred Augustus Fry, Esq., of the firm of Thomas de la Rue and Co., in the sixty-fourth year of his age.
On the 11th, at Brompton-row, Brompton, William Savage, Commander, Royal Navy, aged seventy.
On the 11th, in his sixty-sixth year, Sir Benjamin Smith, late of Regent-street, Portland-place, and of East Heath-lodge, Berke.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, January 17.

Just one week ago Lord Cranworth wrote a letter to Lord Ashburton, on the pending dispute between the engineers and their employers. Lord Ashburton had been asked whether he would act as an arbitrator; and, having heard that the operatives desired to place Lord Cranworth at the head of a council of arbitration for the decision of the questions at issue, Lord Ashburton at once proceeded to consult with Lord Cranworth. The result of the interview was a letter dated the same day, addressed to Lord Ashburton, and which he has forwarded to the *Times*. He writes:—

"Before these sacrifices are actually made by a gallant band of men, in a spirit of heroism, to what I cannot but conceive to be a mistaken sense of right, I desire to put before them the impartial and disinterested testimony of one to whose enlightened arbitration it had been the wish of their leaders at one moment to appeal."

The "impartial and disinterested testimony" of Lord Cranworth is to this effect—the men are entirely in the wrong—I am very sorry for them—but they must give way.

He states the question at issue under three heads: the dismissal of unskilled labourers (not one of the points at issue), the cessation of piecework, and overtime. On all these points he thinks that "the men are entirely in the wrong."

"The masters ought, surely, to be at liberty to employ whomsoever they may please for each and every portion of the work. If it is work only to be done well by skilled workmen, they must employ skilled workmen, and unless they do so the work will be badly done, and the masters will be the sufferers. If it is not work requiring skilled workmen, on what possible principle can the masters be called on to employ them? The master ought to be at liberty to employ whom he may choose. Of course, the workman must equally be left at liberty to accept the terms offered by the master and work, or to reject those terms and abstain from working. Both parties ought to be left at perfect liberty to do what they think most for their own interest. So as to piecework and work overtime,—all the relations between employer and employed are, or ought to be, those of contract between two perfectly free agents. The master may propose whatever terms he chooses; the workmen may accept or reject those terms. In such a state of things, when there are no combinations on either side, the result must eventually be fair and just to both sides. If the master proposes what is harsh and unreasonable, he will get no workmen to work for him. If, on the other hand, a workman insists on terms which fetter the master, the master will not give employment, and the workmen will be unemployed."

He considers combination on both sides as a "misfortune," and would like all disputed questions to be settled between the isolated workman and the employer! Men always fail, he says, in combinations. They intend well; they wish to avoid violence; but they are sure to have recourse to it. But the masters, he says, have an immense advantage over the men.

"The worst that can happen to them is, that capital is for a season unproductive. The reason for their insisting on perfect freedom on the disputed points is, that they think that without such freedom they could not make their capital adequately productive; and so they are content to let it be altogether fruitless for a time, in the hope of a brighter future. There is no chance of any violation of the law on their part, and they are, therefore, content to bide their time."

The men, however, in his opinion, must descend to injustice and outrage. Recurring again to the kernel of the topic he continues:—

"I cannot wonder that the masters refuse to agree to any arbitration that is to impose on them any restriction whatever as to the terms on which they are to contract with their men. No one ought to presume to define such terms, any more than to bind the men as to the terms which they ought to submit to in favour of their masters. The obvious duty and interest of the men is to treat the matter as a mere question of bargain. If once they do that—if once they allow that the master is at liberty to propose his own terms, and the workman to accept or reject them, I should think the masters would—I am sure they ought—to be quite ready to listen to any suggestions of the men, as to any modifications of the system which should be more agreeable to them, without infringing on the free agency of their employers."

On the question of a tribunal to decide disputed points between masters and men, he thinks that such a tribunal is not only an impossibility—but not, by any means desirable—because the men are free agents.

"When, indeed, the employed is not a free agent, not therefore an equal with the employer, as, for instance, a child or a woman, there we know the Legislature has reasonably enough interfered. But I should be sorry indeed to think that the adult workmen of this country should claim protection, on any such ground as that which has led to the legislative protection of women and children in their dealings with their employers."

That is the substance of Lord Cranworth's opinion on the strike of the masters, which, it will be seen, reads as if it were written from no other basis than

that furnished by the misrepresentations of the leaders in the *Times*.

Two meetings were held on Thursday—the one in Manchester, the other in Oldham. At the former two resolutions were passed, one condemning piecework and overtime as "gross evils," the other calling on the public to assist in supporting the unskilled thrown out of employment by the strike of the masters. The Oldham meeting was chiefly local, and turned pretty much on the ever-enduring Hibbert and Platt squabble. But really that is the pivot upon which all the history turns. The following resolution was passed among others:—

"That having read in the different papers that the members of the Amalgamated Society are the dupes of a number of paid demagogues, Communists, Socialists, idlers, &c., we at once, without hesitation, repudiate such statements as being totally unfounded, inasmuch as we have only two paid officers, who devote the whole of their time to the business of the above society."

The tone of both meetings was moderate, but cheerful and resolute.

A story has been ventilated in the columns of the *Scotsman*, demi-semi Ministerial organ, to the effect that Sir James Graham and the Peelites have only declined, at present, to enter the Ministry. Lord John, it is asserted, will, before Palmerston can open his bag of grievances, lay on the table of the House his measure of reform and at once dissolve; and that between the dissolution and the meeting of the new Parliament a new Ministry including Sir James and the Peel party will be formed. The reason assigned for the refusal of Sir James is that neither he nor any of the sect would get re-elected. Not a very likely looking rumour.

We have been requested to insert the following letter relative to a contest which has been going on for some time amongst the clergy of the parish of Bethnal-green. The late Incumbent of St. Philip's thinks our contemporary the *Guardian* has not done him justice, in refusing him the opportunity of defending himself in his own way, after he had permitted others to attack him in theirs. And as this letter from the late clerk of St. Philip's is a brief statement of facts and nothing more, we have can no objection to its appearance in our columns. We can have no interest in the matter but fair play for all concerned: but what a touching illustration of the Church in Distress is this fight for fees!

return to the whole subject of contention.

January 14, 1852.

REVEREND SIR,—In answer to the communication with which you favoured me of the Reverend T. Gibson's letter, as published in the *Guardian* of December 24, I beg leave respectfully to say that the statements contained therein, respecting the fees of marriage received at St. Philip's Church, are totally incorrect.

The fees as established by yourself at the commencement of marriages in July, 1843, were 9s., viz., banns, 2s.; marriage, 5s. 6d.; certificate, 1s. 6d. This rate of fees continued until December, 1850, when the Reverend A. Edwards, of St. Matthews', having placarded his own and some other districts with a reduced scale of marriage fees, you lowered those of St. Philip's to 8s.; viz., banns, 1s. 6d.; marriage, 5s.; certificate, 1s. 6d.

The fees remained at this amount until some weeks after the Rector of St. Matthews' had placarded the whole of the parish of Bethnal-green, and also in several of the surrounding parishes, with large bills headed "Reduction of Marriage Fees," when you thought proper to reduce yours to the same amount, viz., banns, 1s.; marriage, 4s.; certificate, 1s.; total 6s.: and it was not until some weeks afterwards, when you were informed that they were taking less than the 6s. at St. Matthews', that you lowered the fees at St. Philip's to 2s. 6d.

These statements I know to be correct, for, having by your direction always received the fees, the whole of these amounts have passed through my hands.

I remain, Reverend Sir, yours obediently,
WILLIAM SAWENT.

The gratifying news reached town yesterday that thirteen more of the passengers and crew of the Amazon were picked up from the port lifeboat in the Bay of Biscay, by a Dutch galliot. Eliot Warburton and Captain Symons are still missing. Angus, the second engineer, is among the saved.

The Lords of the Admiralty yesterday directed two steamers, the *Confiance* and the *Sprightly*, to sail immediately in search of possible survivors from the wreck of the Amazon.

Mr. Montague Gore suggests through the *Times*, that the Militia should be trained and organized as Rifle corps. "If," he says, "they were practised a few weeks every year in firing at a mark, and were instructed in a few simple manoeuvres, such as skirmishing, lining hedges, and retiring upon call, they would constitute a force which might render essential service in harassing and impeding the progress of an invading army. Each county might be divided into districts under the superintendence of deputy-lieutenants; and the men might be taught all that is here suggested, in their respective districts, without the necessity of going far from their homes."

Inspired by Mr. Roebuck's Sheffield speech, a "Citizen" in the *Morning Chronicle*, makes a similar though more extended proposition:—

"Let those who are willing to become soldiers for the preservation of peace in each parish or district, form themselves into volunteer companies."

The Leader

SATURDAY, JANUARY 17, 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.

A PROCLAMATION BY THE QUEEN.

PARLIAMENT is summoned, and will meet in little more than a fortnight; yet somehow we do not feel that sort of reassurance that we ought. When the family is sick, how the heart expands to hear that "the Doctor is coming"! but we hear that Parliament is on the way without any certain conviction that it will at once "save society." Three quarters per cent. the funds fell on Tuesday, and the day was "gloomy" in the commercial world. The City was uneasy, and various causes were assigned for its nervousness—especially the rumours of war, and the dispute between the engineers and their employers! The City, then, has, at last, found it out!—that something is the matter in our foreign relations, and something also in our internal relations. The City begins to think it possible that peace should not continue, and to wonder how far we are prepared to resist aggression. Begins also to think the industrial dispute a very ugly one, and to wish that it would leave off. And the proclamation convening Parliament was no reassurance, but rather the reverse; since there is no party trusted, all are mistrusted, and the session is to open with prospects of squabbling. War abroad, industrial discord at home, and the usual Parliamentary squabbling somewhat aggravated—such is the prospect.

The reasons for the war apprehension are obvious enough. Our soldiers have sustained constant rebuffs at the hands of the rude native tribes of Africa; our newspapers teem with letters from military men, declaring that our military condition is antiquated and absurd, and that the Continental armies are in the highest state of efficiency; our boasted steamers break down before our eyes; the Duke is said to be preparing fortifications on the coasts, though no defence for London; war is reported to be imminent between France and Belgium, or if not there, somewhere else; and, in the midst of it all, the public does not know in the slightest degree what is the position of our Government towards the States that are conspiring against the liberty of the world. Are we to side with France, or with Austria and Russia, or with Italy and Hungary? Nobody knows.

We know, indeed, that insolent demands have been addressed by the despotic Powers to our Government, and that such demands are likely to be followed up; we know that, if our Government were to resist, America—not only the People, but the Senate and the House of Representatives—would join in support of England as one man; we know that if England and America appeared in Europe as the joint champions of national independence and freedom, every one of the principal nations would declare on the same side, the Governments would be powerless against us, and we should be masters of the most glorious peace the world ever witnessed. But do we know any set of men in Downing-street capable of accepting the opportunity thus offered? Alas! our present rulers cannot conquer the Kafirs, cannot keep our Navy supplied with sound meat, cannot furnish out our soldiers for active service, cannot supply London with water, cannot even reconstruct their own Ministry.

The reasons for apprehension from the engineer dispute are of a practical kind. The masters are obstinate; it was expected that a strike on their side would instantly frighten the men into submission, which it has not done; the attempts in the leading journal to persuade the men that they ought to yield, betray the strong wishes of the employers; and in the continuance of the struggle, the commercial men foresee that capitals may be sacrificed, to say nothing of the vague apprehensions

caused by the resort of the men to "Socialist" measures. Yes, the contest between capital and labour is inevitably coming, if it has not come. For our own part we view it with no fear, knowing well that it cannot fail to end in measures beneficial to both parties—that it is only the struggle to attain a better stage of existence for both; but it is not wonderful that those who enter into it in bitterness and bad faith, see with alarm a progress of events beyond their strength to resist. The men are now employing their savings and resources, not in passive idleness, but in production; they meet discharge from employment with self-employment; they take the business into their own hands; and if they persevere, by that course they settle the dispute on their own terms. Meanwhile, capitalists have the fear of commercial death before their eyes, and are afraid.

Commerce always views change with dismay, and here are two changes imminent—the change from peace to war, and that from the old antagonistic industry to concert; but even those awe-striking cases might be approached with less trepidation if we really had a *Government*, in lieu of the elderly tea-party that sits at the top of the empire, and can't help itself. We have no Government; we scarcely hope that Parliament can give us one; and if either Ministers or their successors "appeal to the nation," we have no hope that a new Parliament would give us a Government worthy of the name; nay, we are not certain that the nation itself could do so.

For it is scattered, divided, in a fit state to be mastered by any unscrupulous power that might choose to step in. Our aristocracy is not to blame for being too aristocratic—would it were more so, for then it might have some chivalry, some dignity, some sense of nationality. It is nothing. It furnishes the helpless gentlemen that call themselves statesmen, and have reduced English statesmanship to an organized helplessness. Our middle class—what is it doing?—quarrelling about "reforms," splitting itself up into Manchester sections, and London sections, and courting rebuffs from the chief of the Helpless. It is arraying itself in this industrial dispute against the working class. The working classes, too, politically dead—the relics of their organizations rotting to pieces, their power of action sapped by universal mistrust, show no sign of vigour except in this industrial movement. Say not that we are railing when we enumerate these pieces of "old news": they are deplorable facts, upon which it behoves us to fix our eyes until we can muster heart of grace and conquer them, forcing them to be no facts.

What is the issue out of this national trifling? Are we to look to Parliament, which is summoned for the 3rd of February, "then to meet for the despatch of business"? No; we understand that farce. Are we to find a rescue in any mere "Liberal" agitation? Are we to attain anything better, any mastery over ourselves and our own destiny, while we remain in "the rut" of used-up political devices? Truly the world will not accommodate itself to our mechanical ways: Europe is heaving with immense movements, and England will not be spared. The day of danger will at last overtake us, and then we may become once more a nation, with a fresh unity and a new spirit; but if we could arouse that spirit in ourselves beforehand, it would be all the happier for us. If there were any dozen men, just now, commanding the ear of the public, that could abandon the old stale fuss about "keeping out the Tories," about Manchester squabbles, about "reforms," in all their varieties, about constituencies and candidates, about middle class and working class and all distinctions between them, about Gorhamites and Puseyites, about Protection and Free-trade,—in short, about every subject that has been reduced to a pretext and a cant, and were really to "appeal to the nation," declaring that henceforth they would trust solely and wholly to the entire nation, seeking for political measures the national sanction by means of national franchise, and for national security by arming the body of the nation for its own defence—that set of men would the nation recognize as a national party, and it would become a national power, with more vitality than lies in the worn out old "Parties in the State" which make Cabinets, or prostituted Parliaments. Give us "national franchise," an armed nation, national allies, and God defend the right. But as a means to that end, give us a national party—a party refusing to look any more at class distinctions, or sects, or degrees, and acting only for the whole nation in the name of the whole.

THE LAST NEW CONSTITUTION BY LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

THE Neo-imperial Constitution, so graciously vouchsafed by the Saviour of France to a people reluctantly grateful for the obligation, will not have disappointed the majority of expectants, who were farsighted enough to expect—nothing. They have fairly earned the proverbial blessedness of indifference. This precious document has just come to hand, as we were meditating on the boasted "political institutions" of the Empire; institutions which, as we said last week, were based on the negation of all that constitutes the vital forces of a nation. By these "vital forces" we mean liberties, without which man individually, or man collectively, is incomplete; we mean, too, all that constitutes the intellectual and spiritual life of a nation—its genius, its virtue, its public morality, its intelligence, its arts, its letters, its political culture, its mental independence, its freedom of speech, of thought, of conscience.

To these political institutions, then, to this absolute negation of a nation's life, France, like a strong man blindfold and handcuffed, is tied and bound by her present deliverer, after all her struggles and convulsions, after the unripened hopes and unfulfilled promises of thirty-seven years of imperfect constitutionalism. Into the social edifice of the Emperor, as the perfection of human wisdom, the "regenerated France" of 1789 is invited to seek peace and shelter in 1852. As if this "social edifice" had not been tried and found wanting; even when fresh from the hands of victory, adorned by glories, and consecrated by conquests; sustained by an arm that had organized Democracy on the ruins of thrones, and had never known palsy nor decay till the source of its vitality was forgotten and betrayed.

We defer to more mature consideration a more thorough sifting of these new "conditions of Government" which, as "at the commencement of this century," "under analogous circumstances" (to quote the text), are to "strengthen tottering society, and to raise France to a lofty degree of prosperity and grandeur." For the present we are content to cull from a heap of sophisms, a few of the most mendacious disfigurements of reason, and of history.

M. Louis Napoleon "has not the pretension of substituting a personal theory for the experience of centuries." The Monarchy of eight hundred years was then, it seems, "the personal theory," and the Empire of eleven years was the "experience of centuries." So again, when the present M. Bonaparte sought in the past the examples that might best be followed, what men had given them, and what benefits had resulted, he is imperially using the plural for the singular; for the men and the examples, and the benefits are, purely and simply, "my Uncle," and nothing else.

When he talks of the "prosperity and grandeur" to which France was raised by the Empire, we ask to what period of the Empire does he refer? To the retreat from Moscow, or to the occupation of Paris?

"I have taken as models those institutions which, instead of vanishing at the first breath of popular agitation, were only overturned by the might of all Europe coalesced against us."

It is true that the institutions of the Empire were destroyed by the allied armies; but born of war, how long would they have lived in times of peace?

In the next paragraph we are asked why France, which, for fifty years, has "made progress" in virtue alone of Napoleonic institutions, should not readopt them. Here is the confession that France has made progress during this half century, of which only the first fifteen years enjoyed the blessings of the Consulate and the Empire; the remaining thirty-five years having been sacrificed to your much-abused constitutional régime.

Then follows a resumé of that disastrous centralization which the Emperor consolidated and developed; and under which, as under an Upas, all efforts at self-government have languished, and all independence faded. In eulogizing this vast engine of corruption and servility, M. Louis Napoleon too faithfully points out the secret of his own domination—the causes and the cure. Let France well ponder on that same centralization, with its army of functionaries—in every house a slave of Government, if not a spy.

"Wherefore, since they have the same origin, should not his political institutions have the same chance of duration?"

Only from the heated brain of the monomaniac

of Strasburg and Boulogne could such an inquiry have sprung.

In 1804, Napoleon did but reknit, under a revolutionary form, that despotism of Louis XIV., in which the King was the State. It was only a brief paroxysm that had separated the France of the Empire from the France of the lettres de cachet and of the Bastille. But this chance inheritor of the Imperial institutions has to wipe out from the mind of the France of to-day the "fond records" of more than thirty years of a more or less liberal and constitutional peace. The difference is immense.

The rest of the draft, indeed the entire composition, is but an official reproduction of the pamphlet on "Revision," which appeared a day or two before the coup d'état, and of the refined and truthful lucubrations of that congenial historian M. Granier de Cassagnac. The Constitution is, in fact, as we announced some weeks since in our Letters from Paris it would be, the Constitution of the Year VIII.

The SENATE, which is to be the depository of the fundamental part and of the public liberties, "will be composed of members named for life by the President." Their functions, as befits their high calling, will be gratuitous. "However, the President may grant a salary not exceeding thirty thousand francs." So much for the dignity and virtue of the Senate: so much for its independence. Does the sentence we have italicized require comment? The Senate will rival its infamous prototype in servility, faithlessness, and degradation. The legislative corps is to hold the pursestrings, and to accept or reject, without initiation of its own, and without the power of enforcing amendments, the measures of the Government, with closed doors and deliberations unpublished—save in the pliant *Moniteur*. The projects of laws are drawn up and discussed by the Council of State, nominated, presided over, and always revocable by the President.

A Chamber of Mutes, a Senate of Satellites, a Council of Mercenaries, such are to be the bulwarks of the political institutions under which France is again to become united and society strengthened. Such is the blessed result of Napoleonic ideas!

To be sure—the last appeal to the people (under proper conditions of preliminary massacres, wholesale incarcerations, sufficient deportations to the torrid zone) is still acknowledged. If you ever again desire a change, O ungrateful and inconstant French People! there still remain for you—"the vote and the sabre."

The last paragraph of this splendid document (destined to be as immortal as its predecessors) has a solemnity worthy of the occasion and of its pious and gentle author. It has been thought worthy of the largest type by the sympathizing *Globe*. Of course, the words that fall from the pen of that punctual observer of oaths, M. Louis Bonaparte, are "strong as Holy Writ."

"May the sanction which you have given to my efforts be blessed by Heaven! Then—PEACE WILL BE ASSURED AT HOME AND ABROAD, MY ARDENT HOPES WILL BE FULFILLED (*mes vœux seront comblés*), MY MISSION WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED.

"LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE."

The best commentary on these memorable words is the signature affixed. There was a time when the mission of M. Louis Bonaparte was said to be the Frontier of the Rhine and the avenging of Waterloo! Has he changed his mind, with his army of assassins, generalised by marauders, at his back? It is difficult to say where his own chief danger lies—in peace or in war. He seems as fatally condemned to the one as to the other. In either case we may, without the gift of prophecy, be permitted to predict that the second edition of the Constitution of the Year VIII. will be the briefest in duration—even of French constitutions.

THE CHURCH IN DISTRESS.

PEOPLE say the horizon is dark; that there are breakers a-head, black clouds charged with lightnings above, and a roaring wind astern, driving the vessel of the State into the very jaws of destruction. It may be so. The vessel of the State is a very old and a very well-worn figure; but we suppose there is a vessel of the Church also, and though the question may be inconvenient, is she not in the same predicament?

In the same predicament? Yes; with the important difference that her crew are in a state of irreconcilable mutiny; her rudder quite gone; her course nowhither; her "Articles" disputed; "wise obedience" put out of joint by the aberrations of "private judgment"; one part of the crew constantly on the eve of deserting to the enemy, and another daily threatening to take to the boats; the

only things common to them all being their daily rations, their periodical pay, and suits of unexceptionable black kerseymere and superfine broadcloth—for those who can get them. Of course, the "mission" of the vessel is unfulfilled. She simply runs before the wind, drifts down the tide, or welters in an unenviable calm. All this is very true and very sad. If there is to be a Church of England—a Church of the People of England seems out of the question—let there be, at least, unity of command, unity of belief, unity of discipline, and captains resolute to enforce obedience, and not under the control of "landsmen." "Lambeth" and "York" are only lieutenants without powers; "Buckingham" is the real captain, also without powers, and, what is worse, unwilling that there should be any powers!

How can Mr. Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter, for instance, row in the same boat; or Mr. Bennett and "J. B. Cantuar." trim sails to the same wind? or Archdeacon Denison and Dr. Lee agree upon the soundings? It is manifestly absurd. And yet these gentlemen exist in the same institution, pretend obedience to the same articles, concurrence in the same doctrines, belief in the same fundamental interpretations of Scripture. It is monstrous. Let the Church be the Church, or give up her pretensions to be the Church. "Salvation" by means of a ministry more or less conscious of imposition? It is impossible. The moral health of the country is damaged by the continuance of this state of things; the real religious health of the country undermined.

Two cases have lately been made public, illustrative of our views.

The Marchioness of Bath appoints the Reverend William Bennett to the vicarage of Frome. Mr. Bennett is a high Churchman; he is, like Dr. Pusey, logical in his interpretation of the scriptures, creeds, doctrines, and formulas of the Church. He has high notions of the divine nature of his ministry as derived from the Apostles; and altogether pretensions, intolerable to us, but *honest*, and therefore we respect them. He was forced to resign the ministry of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, for "histrionic practices" and a general tendency to Romanism. What are the consequences of his new appointment? An appeal from the "clergy of Frome," first to the patroness, next to the Bishop; the former replies that "Mr. Bennett is appointed"; the latter, that he fully concurs, not only with the appointment, but with Mr. Bennett! Meanwhile, what becomes of the unity of the Church?

But a more astounding instance of the mental anarchy extant among clerical persons, is to be found in the correspondence published by the Reverend W. Goode, between himself and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The point in question is the supreme right of the Queen, mediated through the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to settle Church matters. The Reverend W. Goode informs us that a "declaration" has been handed about, a copy of which is before us, testifying the "thankfulness" of the undersigned at the Gorham judgment—"a wise and just sentence, in accordance with the principles of the Church of England." Further, they hold all attempts to bring said judgment into contempt "to be equivalent to the enforcement of a standard of doctrine in our Church by unauthorized individuals, opposed to that established by its supreme authority; and, consequently, to be irreconcilable with the first principles of all Church polity, and necessarily to lead to a state of *disorder, strife, and confusion* in the Church."

This declaration of servility is signed by 3262 of the clergy, including "dignitaries." We are told, with exquisite naïveté (as we presume the facts are an indication of the absence of "disorder, strife, and confusion" in the Church), that the declaration represents only a fraction of those who cordially agree with the views therein stated, "a very large number of the clergy being reluctant, from failing to recognize its necessity and other causes, to make any public movement in the matter."

Mr. Goode enclosed the declaration to Dr. Sumner and Dr. Musgrove, and from both these lofty personages he received replies whereat he rejoiced greatly. The epistle signed "J. B. Cantuar." is a miracle of audacity.

"From the Reformation," he says, "until the present time, numbers of our clergy have subscribed the same articles, have used the same formularies, have ministered in the same churches, whose sentiments, if they had been obliged to state them with logical precision, would have been found to vary, more or less, from each other, both with regard to regeneration and to the effect of infant baptism. But

this difference has not prevented their *harmonious cooperation, or impaired their usefulness*; and I should have been seriously grieved if the period of my archiepiscopacy had been chosen as the period when *freedom of opinion, within the reasonable limits* hitherto deemed allowable, was, for the first time, denied to our clergy in a case where it is not denied them by the word of God, or the declared doctrine of the Church of England."

Freedom of opinion, within reasonable limits! Happy elasticity of phrase! But what limits? An infallible Church—within reasonable limits; Articles, necessary to salvation—within reasonable limits; regeneration and the effect of infant baptism—within reasonable limits; truth, why not? truth, within reasonable limits—Where are we? For a ruler, deriving under the Apostolical succession, for the head of a Church which takes upon itself to save our souls—this is the most extraordinary Gospel ever preached! Said we not that the vessel of the Church is manned by a crew in a state of irreconcilable mutiny?

What remedy? Honesty. As we have repeatedly urged, the Church must be set free to develop what is really in her. She must have Self-Government. The reputation of her ministers is at stake. Emancipate her, and let her do her best. But, for the sake of public moral health, for the sake of honesty, for the sake of conscience above all, let an end be made of "freedom of opinion, within reasonable limits"; and let the members of the Church be made, either to take the consequences of what are called Church principles and Church doctrine, or let us *all* have real freedom of opinion and true Catholicity.

BREECHES' POCKET PUNISHMENTS.

If Fresco decoration should ever be extended from our Courts of Parliament to our Courts of Law, and artists should be called on to adorn the blank walls of Police Offices with appropriate impersonations of Justice, we recommend to our rising generation of painters some such composition as this:—Represent Justice as an avaricious old woman, sitting behind a counter, with one hand on a "till," and the other holding a ledger. Let the stock in trade of this commercial female's shop be composed of ticketed indulgences for the commission of crime, plainly marked at so much each, in the following manner:—"For brutally assaulting your own child, £3—Very cheap!" "For hurling one policeman to the ground, and violently kicking another on a nice tender place, say the lower part of his stomach, £1—Exceedingly reasonable!" Moreover, let it not be forgotten to paint a placard, hanging in a conspicuous part of the shop, and thus inscribed:—"No credit given: those who can't pay ready money, must go to prison, like other fraudulent debtors." Depict such a scene as this, and your allegory of Justice, though it may not be very classical, will have the great compensating merit of being perfectly appropriate.

To persons perversely doubting the accuracy of this assertion, we beg to present some passages from a case reported in the *Times* of Wednesday last. Daniel M'Carthy, an Irish labourer, was brought before Mr. D'Eyncourt, at Worship-street, charged with assaulting his own child (a little girl only six years old), and afterwards attacking the police who took him into custody. The evidence proved that this miscreant, after having beaten his daughter cruelly about the head, finally struck her so violently as to "send her staggering against a brick wall." The poor little creature, on recovering from the blow, took to flight, pursued by two bricks, thrown after her (but happily without hitting their mark) by her father. The indignant bystanders interfered at this point, and probably saved the little girl's life by securing M'Carthy till the police came up. On two constables arriving to take him into custody, he violently kicked both—one in the "lower part of the stomach." The policeman gave his evidence, still "sick" from the effect of the injuries he had sustained.

Now, how does the law, as administered at Worship-street, punish this cowardly Irish savage? M'Carthy's defence before Mr. D'Eyncourt was that he was drunk. He did not deny that he had vilely maltreated his own helpless child, or cruelly kicked two policemen—but he was drunk, poor fellow! and therefore excusable. The magistrate admitted this gin-bottle defence; and, bowing before the mediation of the publichouse, told the prisoner that, had he not been drunk, he would have been committed for trial; but that, being drunk (that is to say, having added another offence to the offences with which he stood already charged), he would be

let off with a fine—£3, for furiously using his fists on his own child, and £1 more, for cruelly injuring two policemen. This fine, M'Carthy happened to be unable to pay, so he went to prison, by a fortunate accident, for six weeks—not, mark, because he had savagely attacked a child six years old, and tried to injure two policemen for life; but because he could not pay four pounds.

Oh, wise and worshipful legislators! when you allow of the principle as punishing a man through his breeches' pocket, punish him for offences that payment can atone for. Is the outraging and defacing of God's image—an image doubly sacred when tenderly shrouded in a child six years' old, an image that should be trebly sacred to a father in the person of his own daughter—is the commission of such sacrilege as this, a crime to be punished through the purse, whenever the purse can pay for it? A crime that only sends a man to prison, in the event of his being unable to compound for it by dropping a few gold pieces into the cash-box of Justice? Oh, Mr. Magistrate D'Eyncourt! remember that M'Carthy *might* have been able to pay you,—remember that he *may* be able to raise the money for his fine yet; and the next time a prisoner excuses himself before you, as that Irish villain excused himself, think on the frightful consequences drunkenness can produce; and, if you have no other motive for the proceeding, righteously send the man to trial, though it be only on the charge of *having been drunk*!

GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS.—No. V.

II.—SECRETARIES OF STATE (continued).

WE have seen how the number of Secretaries of State varied from time to time—sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes three; but, whatever their number, they are considered to fill one office only, being equal in rank and authority, and each one competent to execute any part of the duties appertaining to the Secretary of State; although the practice is for each to be restricted to his particular department. Let us just glance at the functions and establishment of each.

1. THE HOME SECRETARY.

To the department of the Secretary of State for the Home Department belongs all that description of state-business which the designation implies; he has cognizance and control of whatever relates to the internal government of the kingdom—including Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant of which is in immediate correspondence with him;—excluding, only, matters of revenue and Admiralty. Crown grants, patents, charters of incorporation, commissions of the peace and of inspection, as well as army commissions and Crown grants, and militia and magisterial appointments, pass through his hands. In cases of emergency, he commands the military through the magistracy; and issues warrants for the opening of private letters passing through the Post-office—a power, however, so repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen, that, when known to be exercised, it never fails to elicit strong animadversion; as in the case of Sir James Graham, in 1845, when committees of both Houses of Parliament were appointed to inquire into the allegations touching the opening of letters addressed to M. Mazzini and other foreign exiles in England, under warrants issued by the Home Secretary.

The Secretary of State for the Home Department has the supervision of the inspectors of factories, mines, and prisons, and other convict establishments; and the police and constabulary force are under his direction.

Connected with the Home-office is the

STATE PAPER-OFFICE.

established in 1758, for the reception of papers "concerning matters of State and Council," although it was not till the time of James I. that these papers were reduced to form and order. Mr. N. S. Thomas, Secretary of the Public Record-office, gives, in his History of the State Paper-office, a patent of James I., dated March 15, 1609-10, in which is set forth the importance of preserving and well-ordering papers and records, especially such as concern matters of State and Council, as well respecting negotiations with foreign princes as other institutions and directions; and it recites "the careful endeavours of Robert, Earl of Salisbury, our Principal Secretary, and our High Treasurer of England, to reduce all such papers, as well those that heretofore remained in the custody of Sir Thomas Lake, Knight, being the papers of some of the Principal Secretaries of our predecessors, as also some such papers as he shall think fit to depart with, being either such as he hath collected of

his own times, or such as were left to him from his late father, the Lord Burleigh, then Lord High Treasurer of England, into a set form of library, in some convenient place within our Palace of Whitehall, to be at all times the reader for our use, and for the use of any of our Principal Secretaries hereafter, for the better enabling them to do us service." Levinus Muncke and Thomas Wilson were appointed Keepers and Registrars of the Papers and Records so to be collected and preserved; and on the death of the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, in 1612, his collection of papers was delivered to them. We are indebted to Mr. Thomas for an accurate description of the documents preserved in this office, which consist of four great divisions, viz.:-

1. Domestic correspondence subdivided, and including the correspondence with the chief officers and chiefs of Ireland.
2. Colonies—including Foreign Possessions, from about William III.
3. Trade Papers.
4. Foreign—arranged in alphabetical order, commencing *Abyssinia* and ending *Wirttemberg*.

The State Papers were removed to the present office, in Duke-street, Westminster; and in August, 1848, an important Treasury minute was made, recommending that the State Paper-office and the Record Department should be consolidated, and that the printing of Calendars, Catalogues, and Indexes, as well as of such Records "as may be approved by her Majesty's Secretaries of State and the Lords of the Treasury, should be conducted under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, as directed by the 14th and 15th sections of the Record Act, 1 and 2 Vict., c. 94."

The assent of the Secretaries of State to these propositions was communicated to the Master of the Rolls, and the arrangement was finally completed. A fine pile of buildings, wholly fireproof, for the custody of the Papers and Records, is now in course of erection on the Rolls estate, on a site of ground lying between Chancery and Fetter Lanes.

The following is the establishment of the Home Secretary:—

Principal Secretary of State (£5000), Sir Geo. Grey.
Under Secretary (£2000), Hon. E. T. Bouverie, M.P.
Ditto (£1500), Horatio Waddington, Esq.
Private Secretary to Sir G. Grey (£300), T. G. Baring, Esq.
Counsel for Drawing Bills (£2000), W. Coulson, Esq.
Chief Clerk (£850), H. J. Knyvett, Esq.
Librarian and Registrar (£480), J. H. Keating, Esq.
Clerk for Criminal Business (£640), G. Everest, Esq.
Keeper of Criminal Register (£350), S. Redgrave, Esq.
Senior Clerks (£2680), F. G. Currie, R. S. Dawson, F. S. Leslie, and J. Streatfield, Esqrs.
Nine Junior Clerks (£2370).
Alien Clerk at the Outports (£200), C. Fabian.
Chamber Keepers, Messengers, &c.

STATE PAPER-OFFICE.

Keeper of State Papers (£900),* Right Honourable H. Hobhouse.
Deputy ditto (£360), C. Lechmere, Esq.
First Clerk (£200), R. Lemon, Esq., F.S.A.
Secretary to Commission (£250), the same.
Junior Clerk (£150), Thomas Temple, Esq.
Six other clerks, housekeeper, &c. (£1200).

FACTORY DEPARTMENT.

Clerk and Sub-Inspector (£340), A. Redgrave, Esq.
Inspectors (£1000† each):—Leonard Horner, T. J. Howell, A. J. Saunders, Esqrs., and Captain Kincaid.
Sub-Inspectors (from £300 to £350‡):—W. Graham, J. Ewings, T. Dudley Ryder, H. Broughton, Edw. Davies, D. Jones, C. Trimmer, W. Jeikes, S. Savill Kent, J. P. Hudson, C. Balfour, D. Walker, R. Baker, J. Bates, A. Redgrave, Esqrs., and Captain Hort.

PRISONS DEPARTMENT.

Surveyor (£750 ||), Lieutenant-Colonel Jebb.
Inspector (£800 ¶), Captain Williams.
Ditto (£700), J. Y. Penny, Esq.
Ditto (£700), H. P. Voules, Esq.
Ditto (£700), Captain Kincaid.
Architectural Assistant (£200 **), James Otley, Esq.
Clerk of Works (£172. 10s.), R. C. Dawson.

* Also pension of £1000, as late Under Secretary of State.

† Captain Kincaid receives £700 of this as Inspector of Prisons.

‡ And from £1800 to £2000 in addition, for personal and travelling expenses.

§ Also £195 as Clerk to Inspectors.

|| An additional salary of £150, as Chairman of Directors of Prisons; £202. 6s., as military pay; and £350, as Inspector-General of Military Prisons.

¶ The Inspectors receive from £800 to £1000 a year in addition, for personal and travelling expenses.

** An additional £30, as Assistant to Inspector-General.

Clerk (£132. 10s. *), W. H. Weaver, Esq.
Director of Prisons (£700), Donatus O'Brien, Esq.
Ditto (£600), Captain Whitty.
Accountant (£430), W. H. Weaver, Esq.
Secretary (£430), R. C. Dawson, Esq.
Three Inspectors in Ireland (£2271).
Assistant Secretary (£230).
Four Clerks (£485).
Secretary to Board in Scotland (£700).
Extra Clerks, Messengers, &c. (£542).

MINES AND COLLIERIES DEPARTMENT.

Inspectors—Herbert Mackworth, Thomas Wynne, William Lancaster, Esqrs.

THE GREAT SOAP INFLUENCE.

THE baths and wash-houses are not only a great fact—they are a great success. The statistics of the metropolitan establishments show a great resort to them: there have been 647,242 baths used, and 132,258 washes effected in the past year. This success is both greater and less than it seems. In the first place, the numbers are not so great as they look, because each bather or washer is reckoned as a new person every time he goes, and thus the fact is somewhat obscured. The truth is, that while a large class contract the *habit* of cleanliness, a still larger class stop away altogether; otherwise the numbers would be enormously above what they are. And many who resort to these baths are not properly members of the working classes.

Now, what are the reasons for the continued neglect of the bath? We take them to be principally these—the want of extended accommodation, especially in neighbourhoods distant from the new establishments, the duty on soap, the want of time, and above all, the want of appreciation. The duty on soap is a tax on cleanliness, and is a disgrace to our tariff which would not survive a day after her Majesty should have "sent for" a Chancellor of the Exchequer really able and earnest in his vocation. The want of time will be remedied, when such movements as that of the Amalgamated Engineers, and other legitimate sequels of the Ten Hours Act, have been accomplished. But as for the appreciation, it needs some plain speaking to the working classes, and a little experience on their own part.

In country life, with avocations in the open air, the organization of the body performs its functions vigorously; but the confined occupations of towns benumb the faculties, the animal functions are deadened, and health grows feeble. Unstimulated by exercise or the fresh breezes, the skin especially cannot throw off the outward accumulations that clog its pores; and when the skin is clogged, the organs both of digestion and of breathing are injured; the skin being a more active *organ* in aiding the breathing and in keeping up the balance of the circulation than many imagine. Now, soap is the substitute for active bodily exertion: it enables the skin of the sedentary man to cast off that which exercise enables the active man to cast off. So widely is the knowledge of this simple fact extending, that the habit of washing becomes daily more general and regular among all the educated classes; and many a professional man, whose hours of toil equal, if they do not exceed, those of the hardworking artisan, performs the cleansing process every day as religiously as a Mussulman. The accession to the vital energy is immense.

But there are further results. It is commonly said that "Cleanliness is next to godliness"; but *why?* Because, rendering the faculties pure and acute, it enables them more distinctly to perceive that which is healthy and pure. Cleanliness is, in fact, a practical piety, fitting the body more aptly to obey the laws which God has assigned for its working. Freed from impurities and impediments, the faculties also become the better fitted to take in sensations and ideas; and thus, most literally, the cleanly man is refined and made wiser. There have, no doubt, been filthy scholars; it is said that Sir Humphry Davy did not change, but only accumulated, shirts, one at top of another. Speaking generally, however, cleanliness gives to each man a wider and clearer range for his faculties: the cleaner the instrument, the more efficient it is for all useful purposes.

But cleanliness endows man with a stronger distaste for that which is impure; and one of the most insurmountable causes of the social separations of class we take to be the difference in the matter of cleanliness. That difference divides several circles in the same social classes; but still more widely the different classes themselves. And

* Also £430, as Accountant.

there is this truth to note: that in proportion to the narrow circumstances of a man, in proportion to the scanty allowance of clothing, its infrequent change and long wear—including in the consideration the external as well as internal clothing—personal cleanliness becomes more essentially needed. The practice of cleanliness is in itself social elevation.

CARLIER IN LONDON.

We have good private authority for stating that M. Carlier, late Prefect of Police, Spy-Master-General to the Dictator, and Revolutionary Commissary of the coup d'état, the aspiring Fouché of the new Empire, is among our "distinguished foreign visitors." His business in London, perhaps the Earl of Granville will explain. M. Carlier is accompanied by a band of unscrupulous subordinates, "with Imperial orders," it is said, to "kidnap" some of the French refugees who have sought an escape from the tender mercies of the latest occupant of the Tuileries. The *fact* is denounced to us from a quarter we are entitled to consider worthy of credit; but as our correspondent is anonymous, we cannot vouch for his statements on our own responsibility. Other facts which have come to our knowledge within the last few days, and other credible reports, add weight and significance to the information. It may be convenient to Belgium, or to Switzerland, to permit the violation of international laws and of the sacred rights of hospitality; but how will England regard such an insolent interference? Never was there a time when it behoved the national spirit of our country to be more sensitively jealous of the national honour and independence, or more vigilant in pursuing the courtesies and concessions of the Foreign-office.

WHAT IS A GENTLEMAN?

To keep a gig is to be "respectable"—that was laid down in Thurtell's case; to do nothing for a livelihood has long been the extra-legal definition of "gentleman"; but a remarkable illustration of the truth was given in an assault case at the Middlesex Sessions this week. A prosecutor was asked if he was a gentleman; which he admitted; and then followed this colloquy:—

Mr. Ballantine: "Have you not been an omnibus driver?"

Prosecutor: "Not for a living."

Mr. Ballantine: "Will you swear you have not been an omnibus driver?"

Prosecutor: "I am a gentleman; but I have driven an omnibus by way of amusement."

Mr. Ballantine: "Have you not been an omnibus cad?"

Prosecutor: "Certainly not; I never did anything to earn a living."

Thus it appears that you may be an omnibus driver, and even a clown—for such the prosecutor had been—and remain a gentleman, as long as you do it in idleness or from a positive taste for the business. The forfeiture of the gentle condition lies in turning the honest penny.

SOCIAL REFORM.

"NOTES OF A SOCIAL ECONOMIST."

THE COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS OF ENGLAND.

XIII.

"The whole world as to trade is but as one nation or people, and therein nations are as persons."—SIR DUDLEY NORTH.

THE Amalgamated Masters have declared war—social war—against their men, and will listen to no terms short of *unconditional surrender*. The Roman masters reduced their slaves to obedience and subjection by the sword; the English masters are about to subdue their servants by starvation.

The workman, if he fail to execute his work after accepting employment, can be compelled to perform it, and he is punishable by a magistrate by fine and imprisonment, for *NEGLECT*. But the workman can compel his master to perform his share of the contract only by civil process, and by no summary jurisdiction.

The masters may combine to enslave the workmen; but if the workmen combine to emancipate themselves, they are denounced as conspirators. There is one law for the rich another for the poor: the rich are the lawmakers. Political might is right—the right of the wolf to the lamb.

I now return to the subject of my former letter—wages and profits.

As the rent of the landowner is the interest paid for the use of his land, and the wages of the labourer is the recompense for his labour, so the profit of the capitalist or owner of stock has been defined as the remuneration of "abstinence," or what he gains by forbearing to consume his own capital, and by using it for the employment of labour.* For this forbearance he requires a re-

* See Stuart Mill.

compense, such as another person would be willing to pay for the loan of this capital, which is called interest; and the remuneration which is obtained for mere "abstinence" is measured by the current rate of interest on the best security. But the remuneration of superintendence is much more than this, the rate of profit exceeding the rate of interest; the surplus being compensation for the time, labour, and increased risk, without which the risk would not be incurred; and, if the concern be large and complicated, it requires great assiduity and skill, which must be remunerated. The gross profits, therefore, must afford sufficient remuneration for "abstinence," for risk, and for the labour and skill required for superintendence. The lowest rate of profit, therefore, must afford an equivalent sufficient for these three purposes. How much will be required to form this equivalent must depend upon the "strength of the effective desire of accumulation." If the surplus be only sufficient to remunerate the larger capitals, none but those larger masses could be employed productively; and, if the surplus do not amount to this, capital would be withdrawn or consumed until, by its diminished amount, the rate of profit be again raised. The remuneration of capital in different employments varies according to the circumstances which render one employment more attractive or repulsive than another. But the amount of gross profit depends in a great measure upon the knowledge, talents, economy, and energy of the capitalist or his agents, on his personal connections, and even on chance. Mr. Stuart Mill has thus defined the law which regulates the rate of profit, which tends to fall from:—

"1. An increase of capital beyond population, producing increased competition for labour.

"2. An increase of population occasioning a demand for an increased quantity of food, which must be produced at a greater cost."

The rate of profit tends to rise from:—

"1. An increase of population beyond capital, producing increased competition for employment.

"2. Improvements producing increased cheapness of necessities, and other articles habitually consumed by the labourer."

In the United States of America, where the labourer enjoys a larger share of the comforts and necessities of life than in England, in consequence of the cheap price at which they may be obtained (combined with the greater efficiency of the labour, arising in a great measure from the superior education of the workman), the cost of labour to the capitalist is lower, since the rate of interest is higher. Profits are said, therefore, to depend upon the cost of production of wages, or upon the ratio which the wages bear to the produce of labour.

Mr. Thomas Wilson, in his valuable work on *Partnership en Commandite*, in summing up the respective data on which to form an opinion of the comparative ability of America to compete with England in producing manufactures, has arranged and contrasted them thus:—

"ENGLAND.

"1. Abundance and cheapness of iron for machinery.

"2. Abundance and cheapness of coal to produce a motive power, and to warm the factories.

"3. Great ingenuity, skill, and experience in the work of mechanics.

"4. Great division of labour, and consequent saving of time and cost.

"5. Extended and long-established commerce, with its consequent facilities for obtaining the best markets.

"6. Capital at a lower rate of interest.

"7. Wages at a less amount.

"8. Security of property.

"9. The natural perseverance, which forms a leading feature in the character of Englishmen.

"AMERICA.

"1. Iron, whether native or imported, with an extra cost of production on one side, of British profit and carriage on the other.

"2. Immense water power, which constitutes an efficient and unexpensive substitute for steam; with adequate supply of coal, but at a dearer price than in England, for warming the buildings.

"3. Equal ingenuity and skill, with the experience of mechanics who have emigrated from England.

"4. Approximation to this, as shown in the establishment of factories on the largest scale, where division of labour is practised.

"5. Capabilities of extending commerce, already shown by the great trade with South America and China.

"6. Capital dearer, but more readily supplied under limited partnerships.

"7. Wages higher, but more labour obtained for them in proportion.

"8. Equal.

"9. The national perseverance of Englishmen, added to the energy of the American character.

"10. England, surfeited with the success of wages, overstocking the markets every five years, which leads to a 'Panic' (accompanied by insolvency, prostration of credit, sacrifice of twenty to thirty per cent. on forced sales or barter of manufactures), and the social and political discontent arising from non-employment and loss of wages, with their circulation.

"11. An overpowering money aristocracy, with banks which foster the bill and credit system, moving the cotton trade, to give it a superiority over other branches of national industry, and leading to commercial difficulties, which constantly derange the whole system of business.

"12. Monopoly, among a few, of the available capital of the country employed in business, which is estimated at £500,000,000. This has been moved from time to time for the interest of individuals, banks, and speculators—with the result almost invariably to the detriment of the public at large, and of fair trade."

Although some of Mr. Wilson's "data" may be disputed, and require to be modified, yet I believe them in the main to be correct; and they have been strikingly confirmed by the increase of exports of American iron and cotton manufactures, and by the rapid augmentation of the American mercantile marine. One of the most distinguished citizens of the United States recently informed me that he attributed the rapid and progressive development of American industry, in a great measure, to the superior EDUCATION of the working classes. In America there is an *untaxed* Press, and a comparatively untaxed People.

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

NOTES ON WAR.

BY A SOLDIER.

No. III.—THE MUSKET AND BAYONET.

In all calculations regarding muskets and rifles of long range, one point must never be forgotten, that their proper effect can only be produced in the hands of a comparatively few very expert men. The accuracy of aim in long shots depends upon natural qualifications which few soldiers possess, and upon a great degree of acquired skill; the long range (much more easily obtained than accurate fire) depends upon the correct elevation being given, which can only be done from certain knowledge of the distance. Distance and elevation can be determined on the practice-ground, but not on the battlefield. There is a vast difference between the circumstances of experimental firing, and of actual practice in war. In experimental firing, picked men are always employed, probably the picked men of a picked corps, whose skill, of course, will be far above the average of an army. And then the picked man—his attention undistracted, his composure undisturbed by anything—quietly moves from range to range, the exact number of yards in each having been previously ascertained. And this picked marksman has not marched ten or twelve miles to the practice-ground, and made several manœuvres and changes of position at a quick run; no musket balls and round shot whistle over his head, knock up the dust in his face, and kill comrades within a yard of him; no hostile or friendly cavalry (he hardly knows which until they are quite close) gallop past with ponderous clatter; and the target he aims at, representing six men, has not half a dozen muskets in its hands, and is not, with other similar targets, gradually approaching with deadly intent.

The same strictures apply, with rather additional force, to reports of artillery practice. The guns

"10. Working entirely on her own account, and for home consumption, with the demand so much exceeding the supply, that an excess of produce is impossible. Should there be such excess, it can easily be disposed of: in China for tea, in South America for coffee, and in the Brazils and the Havannah for sugar.

"11. Capital employed in different branches of productive industry under the sanction of the law which limits the liability of shareholders to the amount actually invested by each. Thus, even small amounts swell the aggregate of the capitalised labour, usefully and beneficially employed, while wild speculations are checked, and each person, knowing the extent of his liability, is free from present anxiety, or a contingency of future unascertainable loss.

"12. The capital invested in business, belonging to a multitude of people, very greatly less in amount than the capital used for like purposes in England, but infinitely more effective for trade and the public, by being distributed through many channels, while, as it is impossible to draw it together in large masses, it cannot be used to the injury of the community.

"13. Taxation less.

"14. Provisions cheaper.

"15. Raw materials cheaper and more abundant."

and howitzers must be elevated according to the distance; and, when common shells or spherical cases (Shrapnells) are used, the fuzes must be cut to an assumed range not easily ascertained in the heat of action. And from adroit sharpshooters and well-served artillery alone can there with any degree of plausibility be made out a case of "certain cutting to pieces," or "annihilation," against a force, as I propose, deliberately advancing to a close combat; for the mention of musketry fire deserves to be met with nothing but contempt and derision from any one who knows what a musketry fire really is. Let the case of one of the most decisive and bloody battles of modern times suffice as an example.

The battle of Waterloo lasted for about nine hours, and not more than 20,000 French were killed and wounded. We will suppose that only 5000 of these were disposed of by the allied cavalry and artillery, and there will remain 15,000 as the results of infantry work. We will consider that only 45,000 infantry were actually engaged on the side of the English, and that they only expended on an average seventy-five cartridges per man,—a most moderate allowance; for it is well known that the Rifles went into action with eighty rounds, and were twice supplied with ammunition during the day. The result will be that it took the exertions of three English soldiers for nine hours, and the expenditure of two hundred and twenty-five musket shots, to place one Frenchman hors de combat! Slow and tedious work this! And had not the Prussian army, according to Blücher's promise, arrived in time to surround the French, reduced in numbers and exhausted by their protracted exertions, with an overwhelming force, this would but have added one more to the long list of indecisive modern battles. "But the slaughter was tremendous." Well might it have been when seventy thousand French and seventy thousand English had been engaged in the exchange of every species of missile for nine hours! But mark a contrast. At the battle of Preston-pans 2500 undisciplined Highlanders, with broadsword and target, their advance covered by an unskilful fire of musketry, cut to pieces and dispersed in *ten minutes* a superior number of English infantry, armed and equipped exactly like the men who conquered at Blenheim and Malplaquet. The same result followed at Falkirk, and even at Culloden; with disaffection and disobedience in their ranks, which prevented the first attack being supported and followed up, the Highlanders broke through every part of the English line that they reached in their charge.

With "shield poised high," with brandished sword or levelled pike, the brave man will give the reins to courage and rush upon his foe; that is the way to do his work, and he feels it. But the musketeer, with an unlimited supply of ammunition, is disinclined, and, after an excessive expenditure of gunpowder, becomes still more unfit for a stern and close combat. And the musket and bayonet is the most clumsy, awkward tool that ever was placed in a man's hands, and every soldier knows it.

The musket, rifle, or firearm of any sort, is a weapon which must be used, to produce any effect, with the utmost coolness and composure, and is only fit for defensive positions, and for covering an advance. The main principle of war is *forward movement*; the instinct of a soldier in the ranks with a musket and pouch full of cartridges, and the instinct of the officer commanding such troops, is to stand still and fire away as fast as possible, for he can be killed moving on; but, to kill an enemy himself, he must stand still and commence firing; he feels that he is throwing away a chance every moment that he is not employed in getting as many shots at the enemy as possible. As soon as a fire commences all must join in it; and it is a striking proof of the intense absurdity of the whole system, that the *hotter* the fire is the more contemptible is its destructive effect. The smoke becomes thicker, no aim can be taken, but faster and noisier grows the fire; the very worst troops will stand fire as long as they have a cartridge left to make a noise and smoke of their own. Faster and noisier grows the fire—faster, noisier, and less destructive. When the men can no longer see to take aim from the smoke; when they are wearied, bruised, and half stunned with the constant recoil and concussion of the air close to their heads,—having already advanced or retired some distance rapidly, and halted to begin a fire,—they must become excited, the blood will circulate like lightning through the veins, there is an end to the perfect composure and steadiness which are necessary for the proper use of the

musket, and the fire becomes nothing but noise, smoke, and stench, while the soldiers become more demoralized and stultified every minute that it continues: blind, dizzy, giddy, confused, without a purpose or an idea beyond loading and firing as fast as possible, they know nothing that is passing around them, and are soon, with the exception of a very few men of extraordinary coolness and presence of mind, fit for nothing but a short dash to the front, or a disorderly rush to the rear, and the slightest circumstance may decide which direction they will take.

But the excitement of action and danger, which soon renders the destructive power of the musketeer so contemptible, does no harm at all to the fighting qualities of the swordsmen. His weapon will be plied with no less effect, but rather with more, because his blood boils within him; he can see what he is doing, he knows what he wants, and will take no denial; every step in advance brings him nearer to his vengeance and his victory.

Within 250 yards alone is musketry at all dangerous (and the sharpshooters will begin to fire faster and worse the nearer the assailants approach); that distance will be passed over at a quick march terminated by a charge in two minutes. During this time the musketeers can only get at the most three or four hurried shots; and the more overweening their confidence at the commencement of the affair, the more will their bad qualities as fighting men be exaggerated, the more terrible will be their confusion and panic when they find themselves met by men who do not allow them to expend their cartridges, but who coolly and perseveringly advance, covered by their skirmishers to a convenient distance, and then rush upon them and place the matter at the arbitrement of the sword against the musket and bayonet, the most clumsy, crooked, rickety, unwieldy, awkward weapon that ever was invented. One thrust parried or avoided, if the musketeers have the courage to await or meet the charge, all resistance is over, and the sword is plied with a rapidity and vigour that puts an end to all thoughts of priming and loading, and the slaughter, disarmament, capture, and dispersion begin.

But this work is only to be done by men determined to conquer or to die, to take no denial, to advance in spite of noise and fire, in spite of death around them and among them; men who can make up their minds, when artillery is making havoc in their ranks, that the nearer they are to a battery, the safer they are from it, and that twenty minutes of sharp work to gain a complete victory are better than six or eight hours of reciprocal slaughter and exhaustion, to end in a drawn battle or an orderly retreat.

E. V.

LUTHER ON CREED AND CONDUCT.—A Christian cannot, if he will, lose his salvation by any multitude or magnitude of sins, unless he ceases to believe. For no sins can damn him, but unbelief alone. Everything else, provided his faith returns or stands fast in the Divine promise given in baptism, is absorbed in a moment by that faith.—*Westminster Rev.*, No. 111.

COLOURS IN LADIES' DRESS.—Incongruity may be frequently observed in the adoption of colours without reference to their accordance with the complexion or stature of the wearer. We continually see a light blue bonnet and flowers surrounding a sallow countenance, or a pink opposed to one of a glowing red; a pale complexion associated with canary or lemon yellow, or one of delicate red and white rendered almost colourless by the vicinity of deep red. Now, if the lady with the sallow complexion had worn a transparent white bonnet, or if the lady with the glowing red complexion had lowered it by means of a bonnet of a deeper red colour—if the pale lady had improved the cadaverous hue of her countenance by surrounding it with pale green, which, by contrast, would have suffused it with a delicate pink hue, or had the face

"Whose red and white

Nature's own sweet and cunning hand laid on,"

been arrayed in a light blue, or light green, or in a transparent white bonnet, with blue or pink flowers on the inside, how different, and how much more agreeable, would have been the impression on the spectator! How frequently again do we see the dimensions of a tall and embonpoint figure magnified to almost Brobdignagian proportions by a white dress, or a small woman reduced to Lilliputian size by a black dress! Now, as the optical effect of white is to enlarge objects, and that of black to diminish them, if the large woman had been dressed in black, and the small woman in white, the apparent size of each would have approached the ordinary stature, and the former would not have appeared a giantess, or the latter a dwarf.—*Mrs. Merrifield, in Art-Journal.*

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.*

AMONG the novelties we ought to have noticed last week, but did not, for a reason which some will consider fastidious, viz., because we had not read it—is *Mr. Soapey Sponge's Sporting Tour*; a new serial wonderfully illustrated by JOHN LERCH, and very smartly written by the author of *Handley Cross*, &c. It is, as its name indicates, a sporting novel; but written with more finesse and observation than those works usually are.

Among the novelties that are forthcoming let us call attention to one which promises to be very important, called *Lord Palmerston—L'Angleterre et Le Continent*, by Count FICQUELMONT, formerly Austrian Ambassador at Constantinople and St. Petersburg, where he had occasion to experience something of Lord PALMERSTON'S diplomacy. It is, we are told, a vigorous attack on English policy.

Another work is *La Vérité*, a pamphlet containing the true history of the *coup d'état*, with the production of authentic documents which could not get printed in France. This *coup d'état* has set all the servile pens at work. MAYER announces a *Histoire du 2 Décembre*; CESENA, a *Histoire d'un Coup d'Etat*; and ROMIEU, the infamous trumpeter of the Cæsars—ROMIEU, who in his *Spectre Rouge* exclaimed, "I shall not regret having lived in these wretched times if I can only see a good castigation inflicted on the mob, that stupid and corrupt beast which I have always held in horror." ROMIEU has had his predictions fulfilled, and he, too, announces a History of the event.

Meanwhile, Brussels is the Coblenz of the exiled. There the Constitutional writers have founded a weekly journal, *Le Bulletin Français*, in which they can communicate with Europe; there VICTOR HUGO is revising his work in three volumes on *La Misère du Peuple*, and writing the history of his political career; there ALEXANDRE DUMAS superintends the reprinting of his *Mémoires*, which, in France, are hacked by a sensitive censor; and there, also, the great dramatist has written a play which will be produced in Brussels before it is played in Paris—an unheard of event in that city of *con-trefaçon*!

We continue to receive letters about ALEXANDER SMITH'S sonnet, and the question of "animalism" raised by W. M. One of the writers insists upon our printing his letter "unmutilated in next Saturday's paper." In the first place he must be informed that, were his letter perfectly acceptable, we could not undertake to print it, or any other letter, in the "next Number": our correspondents are numerous, and exigencies of journalism compel us continually to postpone for weeks together letters that otherwise we should gladly insert. In the second place, the writer ought by this time to have learned that the tone of his letter rendered it altogether unfitted to our columns. We court objection; but the objection must be written in more measured language with respect to others than S. L. has employed.

The real point of the dispute resolves itself into this: Are we to take the human or the ascetic view of life? In the ascetic view Love itself is a grossness and an "animalism," and Art a pander. But we repeat our conviction, that it is only the grossest minds whose sensualism is excited by Art; and not for them does the Artist work. It is quite true that nude statues and voluptuous verses may be the suggestion of "animalism"; but their natural effect upon all healthy minds we take to be analogous to the effect of that insensible, inappreciable sexual feeling which lies at the bottom of the tenderness and reverence we feel for all women, whether we love them or not. A healthy mind is no more conscious of the sensual effect of a work of Art, than he is of the effect of a pretty woman; and

certainly if the one ought to be banished because of its "animalism," the other ought to be shut from the gaze of man, as in the East.

Turning over our ARIOSTO quite casually the other day, we alighted upon a passage which contains an image similar to that which originated this discussion ("Her bosom white, That came and went beneath me like a sea"), and we quote it as a "parallel passage"—

"Il petto colmo e largo
Due pome acerbe, e pur d'avorio fatte,
Vengono e van come onda al primo margo
Quando piacevole aura il mar combatte."

The right point of view is indicated in the following letter:—

"SIR,—I have read with delight the comments in your current Number on the question raised by W. M.'s exception to the morality of Alexander Smith's sonnet, and cannot understand how any person of moderate capacity can resist the conclusion, that if the sensuous side of the passion of Love be legitimate, it must be allowed an expression and a voice in verse. People of ordinary training, however, are very slow to recognize the dignifying influence of Art, and to connect with the idea of beauty such thoughts of sanctity and purity as always environ it in minds of kindly, genial mould, placed in circumstances favourable to the harmonious development of all the faculties. A 'whole man' is a rarity; your next door neighbour is, in all probability, a spiritual deformity,—or, 'a thing of shreds and patches,'—a creature with some sympathies exuberantly active, and some beaten down into deadness and torpor; never rising into that glorious phase of moral dignity expressed in the language of an Apostle:—'All things are lawful to me, though all things may not be expedient.'

"The first of the 'Haythorne Papers' has also given me almost passionate pleasure, and has led me into a 'muse' upon that remarkable fact, that present actualities, however much of the elements of poetry they may involve in their own nature, never wear the 'rose-odour' garments which clothe things past and things to come. How is it that 'distance lends enchantment to the view,' to such a degree that, however happy I may be in my present occupation, my recollection of it this day twelvemonth shall be so much more poetical, or that my anticipations of a future hour's employment shall be so too? But the case of the future does not at the moment strike my mind with such force as that of the past; the circumstance that, though a particular day of my existence may have involved a good deal of pain as well as pleasure, memory will one day treat me to a picture of it, softening down all harsh tints, and producing a sweet, romantic landscape out of what was actually a very prosaic bit of scenery indeed! Whence the mellowed sunshine that hangs over our remembrances of past pursuits and incidents?

"I might not have written to tell you that I am indebted to your columns for many happy hours, and cheering, may I not say bettering, thoughts; but that I want to ask the writer of the 'Haythorne Papers' what he means by one sentence:—'The essential prerequisite to all beauty is contrast.' I can understand that contrast is a requisite for artistic effect in some cases; but I should like to have it made clear that 'all Beauty' demands it as a prerequisite.

"But I must not trespass on your space.

"GOLDING PENROSE."

Mr. Penrose seems not clearly to have separated the idea of contrast as a prerequisite (i. e., one of the conditions) to Beauty, from the idea of contrast as in itself beautiful. There may be, and often is, contrast without Beauty, but no Beauty without contrast, present or implied.

JOHN DRAYTON AND THE LEADER.

John Drayton. A Novel. Second Edition. Bentley. IN September last a very remarkable novel was published under the title of *John Drayton*, purporting to be the early history and struggles of a Liverpool engineer. In No. 77 we reviewed that novel. Our emphatic praise of its singular beauty and power was accompanied by a condemnation as emphatic of its intolerance and its misrepresentation. A second edition of the work is now issued; and with it a strange, almost touching, preface, in which the writer defends himself against his critics and against us in particular. That the notice in the *Leader* should have given him pleasure is an unfeigned pleasure to us; but we cannot allow it to blind us to the conclusion that his defence is not a sound one; and, as the subject reaches far beyond this individual instance, we are tempted to recur to it.

In our notice of *John Drayton*, we said:—

"Having recognized its excellence, we must arraign its author before the bar of justice to answer

for his sins. Is he not, on reflection, ashamed of the vulgar artifice by which he has enlisted the contempt of his readers for all Chartists and Infidels? Does he, in his heart of hearts, believe that Orator Wyld and the sceptic Robison are fair typical representations of Chartism and Disbelief? Does he believe that he is writing truthfully and honourably in making the one a drunkard as well as an idle vagabond, the other a thief? We waive all question of the truth or wisdom of the opinions entertained by Chartists and Infidels—we will even grant, for the sake of argument, that they are as wicked and absurd as *John Drayton* represents—but we still ask him whether he has so little experience of life as not to be aware how honestly such opinions may be held, and by what irreproachable men? It would be as fair to say that all Chartists and Freethinkers are men of high moral and intellectual character, as to say that they are all Wylds and Robisons. That many of them are ignorant, and arrogant because ignorant—that many of them are merely trading politicians—is credible enough; and their parallels may be found in all other classes, Radical, Whig, Conservative. They arrogate to themselves the monopoly of truth and virtue, just as other classes do; and, just as other classes, they have all varieties of good and evil. If the author of *John Drayton* had given any intimation of his characters being individual and not typical, we could have accepted them; but the animus which dictated that the leaders of the people should be liars, sots, thieves, and fools is unmistakable.

Let us now hear the author of *John Drayton* in reply:—

"I am in some degree pedagogic in my habits. I like to distinguish manlike and generous characteristics, and forget sometimes that men may smile at the applause, which is a very grand affair for the boy whom I commend; but I shall risk this smile for the sake of saying how much it pleased me, to see a review in the paper called the *Leader* of this book of mine. I like praise for itself tolerably well; this conveyed to me a higher pleasure, for above all I rejoice in a manful man, who sees with clear eyes of his own, and has the candour of truth in his heart whether it be in his opinions or no. I am not a Tory, nor a Churchman; and feel myself sufficiently tolerant to value the favourable opinion of all men of good purpose, even though I cannot approve of their deeds, and am far as the Antipodes apart from their opinions. Saying this, I again repeat my protest against the imputation of bigotry which it seems the present custom to throw, only upon those who hold the Divine scheme of reformation best. I cannot recollect that any one called Mr. Kingsley bigoted, because it pleased him to set up a man of straw and call it Calvinism, and pleasantly and easily knock it down again; for my own part I am very sure I did not. I only shook my head over my circulating-library copy of *Alton Locke*, and smilingly assured myself that though this poor young poet of the people might very well understand the construction of the great coat, which in this cold weather I begin to feel the need of, he knew as much of Calvinism as my landlady's Mary Helen does; and that Sandy Mackaye, with no doubt a Westminster Assembly's catechism lying in some recess of his shop, not to say of his memory, would have taught him better, had the youth been willing to learn.

"Something has been said also of my partiality in making the type of the Chartist and sceptic leader a man of bad habits and character. My answer to this is, that I have drawn no types in *John Drayton*. Wyld and Robison are not abstract embodiments of a class; they are mere portraits—softened ones—of men whom, to my sorrow, I have seen and known. That there are men of pure moral character, and considerable intellect who are conscientious sceptics, I believe; but I believe also that this state lasts only so long as the mind is in chaos, as was the mind of John Dayton, and ceases when the intellect matures and consolidates. I believe so heartily; and only grieve and deplore that it should be so usual to speak of this, unbelieving chaotic, pitiful state, almost as an evidence of superior intelligence. I have never found it so; and it seems to me that we err sadly in depreciating that child-like simplicity of confidence—that clear uplooking to the heavens—which, if it seldom falls to the lot of clever men, does beautifully blend with, and sanctify, the highest genius, and is the happiest state of faith."

"My answer to this is, that I have drawn no types in *John Drayton*." Is that an answer? Suppose a sceptic were to write a novel animated with impassioned antagonism against all revealed Religion, and were to give us pictures of Clergymen such as might in all fairness be styled "from life"—such as actually do live the miserable life of degradation occasionally opened to view in our Police Courts—would not every one feel that the selection of such realities in such a work was unfair, untrue? Would it be any answer to the indignant orthodox to reply "I have drawn no types—they are real clergymen—historical scamps"? Obviously not.

The impression left on the mind of the reader would be:—"You have slandered the Church." Precisely that kind of impression is left by *John Drayton*.

John Drayton is apropos to the present time. The quarrel between the Engineers and their Employers will perhaps stimulate curiosity, as it will certainly bring the book—its merits and demerits—more vividly home to men's "business and bosoms."

ELEMENTARY PHYSICS.

Elementary Physics, an Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy. With 217 Wood-engravings. By Robert Hunt. Reeve and Benham.

ALTHOUGH, in some respects, far from a model as an Elementary treatise, this volume is greatly superior to the volumes of popular "science," in which late years have been prolific. The defect, as a treatise, is that it bears rather the aspect of a series of popular articles on science, than the systematic exposition of the capital facts and principles of science. Its merits are liveliness of statement, clearness of exposition, and felicity of illustration. Beginning with the general properties of Ponderable Matter, Mr. Hunt passes on to the General Laws of Motion—to Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Acoustics—to the primary phenomena of Electricity—Heat—Light and Actinism. These topics are illustrated with two hundred and seventeen woodcuts; a table of specific gravities is added; and an index completes the volume.

As an Introduction to the study of Natural Philosophy, it will be more attractive than most works on the same subject. In passing this general commendation, however, criticism reserves to itself the right of censuring certain details, especially in the more ambitious passages. Here is one, the reasoning of which will hardly be approved by the Philosopher:—

"Before this portion of our subject is closed, it becomes, however, necessary to examine an hypothesis, which is sanctioned by the authority of some of the most talented philosophers of the present age. In explaining the phenomena which attend the production and transmission of sound, the development and the propagation of light and heat, the passage of electricity, and the varying modes of chemical affinity, they have stated that all those forms of force could be referred to motion, and that their development depended upon the character of the motion in action. Thus, a metal is acted upon by an acid, and during the chemical action electricity is developed, and under a suitable arrangement this is rendered evident by the exhibition of heat and light. In this example it is contended that we have one form of motion producing chemical affinity; this form of force is changed, by condition, into another, electricity; and this again into others, heat and light.

"The view entertained is, that matter, being set in vibration, gives rise, according to the order of its vibrations or undulations, to sound, light, heat, electricity, or chemical action—that they are all, indeed, modes of motion. A metal bar is struck, it vibrates with much rapidity, and a ringing sound results. Here, we know that a vibratory disturbance has been commenced in the bar, that this has been communicated to the surrounding air, and that the waves beating upon the ear occasion a corresponding vibration along the auditory nerve, and the sensation of sound is produced. Reasoning by analogy, it has been inferred that light results from the vibration of some subtle principle affecting the eye; and so of the other phenomena. It has ever appeared to me that the idea of supposing motion to produce force is opposed to all experience, and contrary to the deductions which must be drawn from the evidences of sense, by which, notwithstanding their imperfections, we must be guided. It has already been shown that force is, in all cases, necessary to produce motion, and that the latter bears an exact relation to the former. No form of matter can move without the application of a force; and as soon as the power applied is expended, the body comes to rest.

"The motions of the earth and planets, and of the solar system itself, are the results of the exertion of a force which is dimly evident to us, and which is constantly maintained. Gravitation, we have shown, tends to the production of motion, but we cannot conceive motion producing gravitation. Motion must always be regarded as the result of a power applied. Motion is an effect, and can never strictly stand in the relation of a cause; its secondary influences being still results, all of them strictly determinable from the primitive force, whatever it may have been.

"By no strictly logical deduction can we arrive at the idea of motion producing either light, heat, electricity, or chemical affinity. But each of these forces, or agencies, are, except when they are held in statical equilibrium, constantly producing motion. The error, as it appears to me, has arisen from regarding sound as a phenomenon analogous to light. In one case we can follow all the links of the chain, from the body

moved—set in vibration by a force—through the medium vibrated, up to the nerves of the ear receiving the aerial tremors or pulsations. In the other instance, even those receiving this theory are driven to suppose that there is a peculiar subtle medium, called Ether, which produces by its pulsations the manifestations of these great natural agents to which the theory is supposed to apply. But even supposing we may, by the advances of science, prove the existence of this hypothetical Ether, we have still to seek for a force superior to and beyond it, before it can be moved. When we come to consider the laws of these great physical agencies, it will be shown to what extent the evidences of experimental examination support the idea, that variations of motion will give different forms to these subtle elements. It is, however, most important again to impress the fact, that motion cannot produce a force, and that a force must be exerted to produce motion."

We waive for the present all consideration of the hypothesis combated in this passage, and confine ourselves to Mr. Hunt's argument, which strikes us as one of those confusions arising from verbal obscurities such as form the staple of metaphysical argument. Mr. Hunt reiterates the axiom (which he calls a fact) that "motion cannot produce a force, and a force must be exerted to produce motion." When he has definitely settled what a force specifically is, it will be time enough to consider whether motion can or cannot produce it; meanwhile a positive philosopher would suggest that motion can produce change, and that is sufficient for the hypothesis in question, that in fact is all we know of force—its power to produce changes.

The section on *Light and Actinism* is perhaps the best of the whole. Mr. Hunt opposes the undulatory theory, but does not advance very cogent arguments. We have reason to complain also of the very meagre account given of Goethe's *Theory of Colours*, confessedly one of the most original and striking theories. This is all said of it:—

"The theory of Goethe has not received the attention it merits, notwithstanding the translation by Eastlake of the German poet-philosopher's *Theory of Colours*. His hypothesis may be briefly stated to be, that light is pure and homogeneous; that, robbed by reflection, absorption, or refraction, of one degree of its intensity, we have yellow light; deprived of another, that we have red illumination; and that, reduced to its lowest degree of visible intensity, we have a blue, which passes into black, or the absence of light. Goethe illustrates his views in this way: place over a slit in the window-shutter of a darkened room one piece of parchment, we have yellow light transmitted; put two, and the light becomes red; place three or four thicknesses over the opening, and the light is then blue."

On the whole the book is a good book; but in a future edition we should urge Mr. Hunt to get rid of the "touch and go" style, admissible in articles but objectionable in books. He will know what we mean by a single example: he starts the obvious difficulty of our visual perception being correct, though the image painted on the retina is upside down—having started that, he was called upon either to declare it an unsolved problem or to give the solution. He does neither. He touches the question, offers an absurd explanation, and quits it. Has he made up his mind on the question? If he has, let him tell us the result; if he has not, let him say so.

MISS MITFORD WITH HER BOOKS.

Recollections of a Literary Life; or, Books, Places, and People. By Mary Russell Mitford. 3 vols. Bentley.

CERTAINLY the admirers of Miss Mitford—and who admires her not?—will be terribly disappointed unless the critics are careful to forewarn them that Autobiography is very sparsely mingled with these *Recollections*; there are glimpses indeed, pleasant and readable enough; but the title implies something more than that. We are very loth to say anything uncourteous; but the title gives an appearance of book-making, which a more truthful and modest announcement would have avoided. We do not charge her with deliberate book-making. It is perfectly clear that, having published a series of papers in an obscure journal, which were afterwards thought worthy of extended circulation in a more accessible form, she was at liberty to republish them; and under some such title (less taking, but less also of a take in) as "*Notes on Books and Places*," they would have been favourably received; for there is no denying them to be pleasant reading—free from pretension and from headache.

With this caveat, let us specify what the book really is. Apropos of certain books and places,

Miss Mitford gossips agreeably with us on the merits of the particular author from whom she quotes a favourite passage or passages, somewhat careless of whether they are well known or recondite, and with this critical gossip she every now and then mingles some personal recollection. Thus we have extracts from all sorts of authors; Bishop Percy, Dr. Johnson, Præd, Davis, Anstey, Cowley, Longfellow, Clare, Herrick, Joanna Baillie, the Brownings, Sir Philip Sidney, Marvel, Motherwell, Hawthorne, Gerald Griffin, &c. Criticism in the severe sense of the word there is none, but abundance of loving eulogy. It is a book to saunter through, not to read; a pleasant saunter in an idle mood.

The glimpses of "personal recollections" are scanty, and of a nature to make us demand more. Here is one of the spoilt child:—

"Most undoubtedly I was a spoilt child. When I recollect certain passages of my thrice happy early life, I cannot have the slightest doubt about the matter, although it contradicts all foregone conclusions, all nursery and schoolroom morality to say so. But facts are stubborn things. Spoilt I was. Everybody spoilt me, most of all the person whose power in that way was greatest, the dear papa himself. Not content with spoiling me indoors, he spoilt me out. How well I remember his carrying me round the orchard on his shoulder, holding fast my little three-year-old feet, whilst the little hands hung on to his pigtail, which I called my bridle (those were days of pigtailed), hung so fast, and tugged so heartily, that sometimes the ribbon would come off between my fingers, and send his hair floating, and the powder flying down his back. That climax of mischief was the crowning joy of all. I can hear our shouts of laughter now."

Here is the

CHILD'S VISIT TO LONDON.

"I had enjoyed the drive past all expression, chattering all the way, and falling into no other mistakes than those common to larger people than myself, of thinking that London began at Brentford, and wondering in Piccadilly when the crowd would go by; and I was so little tired when we arrived, that, to lose no time, we betook ourselves that night to the Haymarket Theatre, the only one then open. I had been at plays in the country, in a barn in Hampshire, and at a regular theatre at our new home, and I loved them dearly with that confiding and uncritical pleasure which is the wisest and the best. But the country play was nothing to the London play—a lively comedy, with the rich cast of those days—one of the comedies that George III. enjoyed so heartily. I enjoyed it as much as he, and laughed and clapt my hands, and danced on my father's knee, and almost screamed with delight, so that a party in the same box, who had begun by being half angry at my restlessness, finished by being amused with my amusement."

"The next day, my father having an appointment at the Bank, took the opportunity of showing me St. Paul's and the Tower."

"At St. Paul's, I saw all the wonders of the place: whispered in the whispering gallery, and walked up the tottering wooden stairs, not into the ball itself, but to the circular balustrade of the highest gallery beneath it. I have never been there since; but I can still recollect most vividly that wonderful panorama, the strange diminution produced by the distance, the toy-like carriages and horses, and men and women, moving noiselessly through the toylike streets; and (although not frightened then) still more vividly do I recollect the dangerous state of the decaying stairs, the swaying rope to hold by, the light showing through the crevices of the wood. My father held me carefully by the hand; and I have no recollection of having felt the slightest fear; nevertheless, the impression of danger must have been very great, since for many years of my life falling through those stairs was my bad dream, the dream that gives such sure warning of physical ill, when fever is impending, or any derangement occurs in the system. Then we proceeded to the Tower, that place so striking by force of contrast; its bright lights and strong shadows; the jewels, the armour, the armoury, glittering in stern magnificence amidst the gloom of the old fortress, and the stories of great personages imprisoned, beheaded, buried within its walls;—a dreary thing it seemed to be a Queen! But at night I went to Astley's, and I forgot the sorrows of Lady Jane Grey and Anne Boleyn in the wonders of the horsemanship, and the tricks of the clown. After all, Astley's, although very well in its way, was not the play, and we agreed that the next night, the last we were to spend in London, we would go again to the Haymarket."

"Into that last day we crowded all the sight-seeing possible, the Houses of Lords and Commons, where I sat upon the woolpack and in the Speaker's chair, about the smallest person, I suppose, that ever filled those eminent seats. Then Westminster Abbey, where, besides the glorious old building and the tombs, figured at that time certain figures in wax-work, Queen Anne and Queen Elizabeth as ugly as

life, and General Monk holding out his cap for money. I remember my father giving me a shilling to drop in as our share of the contribution, and my wondering what became of it (are those figures in existence now? and does the general still hold forth the eleemosynary cap?) Thence we proceeded to Cox's Museum in Spring-gardens, and saw and heard a little bird, who seemed made of diamonds and rubies, who clapt his wings and sang. There too (it was a place full of strange deceptions) I sat down upon a chair, and the cushion forthwith began to squeak like a cat and kittens, so like a cat and kittens that I more than half expected to be scratched. And then to the Leverian Museum, in the Blackfriars-road, a delightful abode of birds and butterflies, where I saw dead and stuffed with a reality that wanted nothing but life, nearly all the beautiful creatures that little girls see now alive at the Zoological. The promised visit to the Haymarket Theatre formed a fit conclusion to this day of enchantment. We saw another capital comedy (I think Colman's *Heir at Law*) capably acted, and laughed until we could laugh no longer. And then the next day we drove home without a moment's weariness of mind or body."

"Such was my first journey to London."

Our readers have learned to honour Elizabeth Barrett Browning as a poetess, and will thank us for this glimpse of the woman:—

"Elizabeth Barrett Browning is too dear to me as a friend to be spoken of merely as a poetess. Indeed such is the influence of her manners, her conversation, her temper, her thousand sweet and attaching qualities, that they who know her best are apt to lose sight altogether of her learning and of her genius, and to think of her only as the most charming person that they have ever met. But she is known to so few, and the peculiar characteristics of her writings, their purity, their tenderness, their piety, and their intense feeling of humanity and of womanhood have won for her the love of so many, that it will gratify them without, I trust, infringing on the sacredness of private intercourse to speak of her not wholly as a poetess, but a little as a woman. When in listening to the nightingale, we try to catch a glimpse of the shy songster, we are moved by a deeper feeling than curiosity."

"My first acquaintance with Elizabeth Barrett commenced about fifteen years ago. She was certainly one of the most interesting persons that I had ever seen. Everybody who then saw her said the same; so that it is not merely the impression of my partiality, or my enthusiasm. Of a slight, delicate figure, with a shower of dark curls falling on either side of a most expressive face, large tender eyes richly fringed by dark eyelashes, a smile like a sunbeam, and such a look of youthfulness, that I had some difficulty in persuading a friend, in whose carriage we went together to Chiswick, that the translatress of the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, the authoress of the *Essay on Mind*, was old enough to be introduced into company, in technical language was out. Through the kindness of another invaluable friend, to whom I owe many obligations, but none so great as this, I saw much of her during my stay in town. We met so constantly and so familiarly that in spite of the difference of age intimacy ripened into friendship, and after my return into the country, we corresponded freely and frequently, her letters being just what letters ought to be—her own talk put upon paper."

"The next year was a painful one to herself and to all who loved her. She broke a blood vessel upon the lungs which did not heal. If there had been consumption in the family, that disease would have intervened. There were no seeds of the fatal English malady in her constitution, and she escaped. Still, however, the vessel did not heal, and after attending her for above a twelvemonth at her father's house in Wimpole-street, Dr. Chambers, on the approach of winter, ordered her to a milder climate. Her eldest brother, a brother in heart and in talent worthy of such a sister, together with other devoted relatives accompanied her to Torquay, and there occurred the fatal event which saddened her bloom of youth, and gave a deeper hue of thought and feeling, especially of devotional feeling, to her poetry. I have so often been asked what could be the shadow that had passed over that young heart, that now that time has softened the first agony it seems to me right that the world should hear the story of an accident in which there was much sorrow, but no blame."

"Nearly a twelvemonth had passed, and the invalid, still attended by her affectionate companions, had derived much benefit from the mild sea breezes of Devonshire. One fine summer morning her favourite brother, together with two other fine young men, his friends, embarked on board a small sailing-vessel for a trip of a few hours. Excellent sailors all, and familiar with the coast, they sent back the boatmen, and undertook themselves the management of the little craft. Danger was not dreamt of by any one; after the catastrophe no one could divine the cause, but in a few minutes after their embarkation, and in sight of their very windows, just as they were crossing the bar, the boat went down, and all who were in her perished. Even the bodies were never found. I was told by a party who were travelling that year in De-

vonshire and Cornwall, that it was most affecting to see on the corner houses of every village street, on every church door, and almost on every cliff for miles and miles along the coast, handbills, offering large rewards for linen cast ashore marked with the initials of the beloved dead; for it so chanced that all the three were of the dearest and the best; one, I believe, an only son, the other the son of a widow."

"This tragedy nearly killed Elizabeth Barrett. She was utterly prostrated by the horror and the grief, and by a natural but a most unjust feeling that she had been in some sort the cause of this great misery. It was not until the following year that she could be removed in an invalid carriage, and by journeys of twenty miles a day, to her afflicted family and her London home. The house that she occupied at Torquay had been chosen as one of the most sheltered in the place. It stood at the bottom of the cliffs almost close to the sea; and she told me herself that during that whole winter the sound of the waves rang in her ears like the moans of one dying. Still she clung to literature and to Greek; in all probability she would have died without that wholesome diversion to her thoughts. Her medical attendant did not always understand this. To prevent the remonstrances of her friendly physician, Dr. Barry, she caused a small edition of Plato to be so bound as to resemble a novel. He did not know, skilful and kind though he were, that to her such books were not an arduous and painful study, but a consolation and a delight."

"Returned to London, she began the life which she continued for so many years, confined to one large and commodious but darkened chamber, admitting only her own affectionate family and a few devoted friends (I, myself, have often joyfully travelled five-and-forty miles to see her, and returned the same evening without entering another house); reading almost every book worth reading in almost every language, and giving herself heart and soul to that poetry of which she seemed born to be the priestess."

"Gradually her health improved. About four years ago she married Mr. Browning, and immediately accompanied him to Pisa. They then settled at Florence; and this summer I have had the exquisite pleasure of seeing her once more in London with a lovely boy at her knee, almost as well as ever, and telling tales of Italian rambles, of losing herself in chestnut forests, and scrambling on mule back up the sources of extinct volcanoes. May Heaven continue to her such health and such happiness!"

CLASSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. By various Writers. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. Taylor and Walton.

We call attention to this the first quarterly part of a work issued as a fitting companion to the *Dictionaries of Antiquities* and of *Greek and Roman Biography*, already edited by Dr. Smith, works the full value of which only students who have used them can at all estimate. In size and in execution it resembles them. Its place has hitherto been quite unoccupied even in Continental literature. It purposes to set before us a complete encyclopædia of Ancient Geography, including even Scriptural names, gathering up into its columns the laborious results of modern travel and modern research in correction of ancient tradition and inaccurate descriptions; and this not in the dry manner of a gazetteer, but with something of history and politics intermingled; together with the history of important buildings, &c.

We have only dipped into this part. It cannot be expected that an overtasked reviewer should *de gaieté de cœur* undertake to read a dictionary of geography. It is not a book to be read, but to be consulted. Knowing what we do of the two former works Dr. Smith has edited, we are perfectly at our ease in commending the excellence of this work even before we have used it. Under other auspices, we should have been more cautious, and our task would have been no sinecure; but inasmuch as this work has the same editor and mostly the same contributors as the *Antiquities* and *Biography*, we need not wait for the slow verdict of experience to recommend it to all students.

BOOKS FOR CHILDREN.

THE immense improvement seen in Books for Children of late years is worthy of more than a passing remark; not only are the wretched "good books" giving place to healthy fiction, not only does "useful information" admit the supremacy of Fairy Land; but in the illustrations which attract the greedy eye of childhood we have beauty, elegance, and spirit replacing the distortions of former days. It is quite true that a child likes "pictures," and is not critical as to their excellence; but it is not true that "one is as good as another," for bad pictures have a positively vitiating tendency.

A mass of attractive books lie on our table for

children of all ages—from six to sixty. We have inspected them with paternal not critical eyes, and made them pass through the ordeal of juvenile criticism, seldom very severe. *The Village Queen* (Addey and Co.) is a drawing-room book, written by Thomas Miller, the basket-maker, and illustrated with water-colour drawings by Wehnert, Absolon, Lee, and Harrison Weir. It is very handsome, and meant only for young ladies who will "take care" of it.

The Little Sister (Addey and Co.) is calculated for a much more enduring popularity, appealing as it does to the experience of children. It is the story, by Mrs. Myrtle, of the arrival in a young family of "a little stranger" whose career it follows through the nursery till the school door closes on it. There are sixteen illustrations by H. J. Schneider: admirably designed, and in respect of naturalness well executed; but—as is commonly the case with German illustrations—the children are unpleasantly ugly, sometimes looking hydrocephalous. The book, however, is very interesting. It was a happy idea.

Home and its Pleasures (Addey and Co.) is a collection of simple stories for young people, by Mrs. Harriet Myrtle, who so well understands how to reach the child's interest, and illustrated with eight coloured engravings, by Hablot Browne—an artist whose works are positively disagreeable in our eyes, but who seems to please the public well enough; and certainly the uncritical public of children will have no fault to find with him.

Our Sister Lille (Dean and Son) belongs to the "old school," both of illustration and writing. It is but a sixpenny book, and our juveniles made much of it.

Andersen's Danish Fairy Legends and Tales (Addey and Co.) is a book for all classes and all ages. Much as we dislike the foppery and sentimentality of Andersen's ambitious works, we own him as true master of Fairy Land. His stories have the true fairy music in them. It is a faculty few possess, that of writing legends and fairy tales; but Andersen possesses it in the superlative degree. This edition is a very considerable enlargement on the former, containing forty-five stories; the former edition contained only fourteen. It is, moreover, a book that boys may hug and handle without fear. No dainty gilding warns off loving fingers. That is indispensable in a book like this to be read, reread, and reread. At the same time, the publishers have not been forgetful of elegance: it is a handsome volume, not a delicate one. *New Tales from Fairy Land* (Addey and Co.), though they have not the same light, fairy touch as those of Andersen, are very pretty, and fill the child's mind with splendid pictures.

"To those about to Marry" (George Mann) is a series of illustrations, meant to be comical, setting forth how the Jones's commenced housekeeping, with some account of their mother-in-law Mrs. Smith. The fun is rather dreary, and the designs have little merit of any kind.

Child's Play (Addey and Co.) is another drawing-room book, in which grown people will take as much delight as children, if not more. It is a series of seventeen pen and ink sketches by E. V. B.—obviously an amateur, but an amateur with considerable artistic feeling. They are all sketched with spirit and vigour, the animals especially; and that one, "Oh that I were where I am not!" is a pictorial poem: figure, dog, landscape, are of very unusual power. It is got up with exquisite taste, and is an elegant volume for the drawing-room table.

Aunt Effie's Rhymes for Little Children, and Kindness and Cruelty, a tale (both published by Addey and Co.), complete the list. The former is a very amusing book of rhymes, illustrated by Hablot Browne; the latter is a story translated from the German, overstrained in its moral, and frustrating its object by the untruth. It proposes to instil feelings of kindness towards animals by showing the "dreadful end" to which one boy who was unkind to them came in the course of his wicked career.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Magnetoid Currents: their Forces and Directions: with a Description of the Magnetoscope: a Series of Experiments. By J. O. N. Rutter, F.R.S. To which is subjoined a Letter from William King, M.D. J. W. Parker.

We read this pamphlet, and the foolish letter subjoined, with no great disposition to believe in the scientific results put forward by men who could write so loosely. We tried some of the experiments and found they did not succeed. We tried them on three different evenings, at three different places. Failure confirmed what we suspected. Mr. Rutter gets Dr.

King to back him: a pretty backer, truly! as the reader will exclaim after reading the twaddling solemnity of this truly unscientific sentence:—

"To me no scientific truth is interesting unless it has, directly or indirectly, a moral bearing. It has been usual to separate science and morals, as if they had no real connection with each other; but to me it has always appeared impossible to do so."

When we add that the science of these gentlemen is about as sound as their philosophy, we have said enough of *Magnetoid Currents*.

The Log of the Water Lily (Four-oared Thames Gig) during a Rowing Excursion on the Rhine and other Streams of Germany. By an Oxford Man and a Wykehamist. J. W. Parker.

A heavy account of an excursion up the Rhine in a four-oared gig. It is difficult to understand why it was published—surely not for the amusement of readers?

Ernest Maltravers. Part II. By Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Baronet. With a Frontispiece. Chapman and Hall.

The novel usually known as *Alice; or, the Mysteries*, is, in this the cheap edition of Bulwer's works, properly called the second part of *Maltravers*. We have nothing to say on a work so well known, unless it be that Bulwer himself regards it as his finest work of art.

Absolution and the Lord Bishop of Exeter. The Identity of Absolution in the Roman and Anglican Churches; its Presumption, Impiety, and Hypocrisy. John Chapman.

We advise all readers of theological matters to get this extremely able pamphlet, remarkable for its learning, its logic, its boldness, and its temper. Want of space alone prevents us making large extracts from it.

Notes on Noses. (Bentley's Shilling Series.) Bentley.

A shilling reissue of a curious and amusing work on *Nasology* which, after reading Lady Eastlake's article on *Physiognomy* in the last *Quarterly*, will be as agreeable a railway companion as can easily be found.

German Word Book; a Comparative Vocabulary, displaying the Close Affinity between the German and English Languages, with the Alphabet Rules and Examples for a Correct Pronunciation. By Adolphus Bernays, Phil. Doc. J. W. Parker.

Professor Bernays has here given us one of the best introductions to the study of German that can be conceived. The affinities of German and English are very great; and by making the student pass, as it were, through English into German, he will master a great many phrases while another man is learning *der, die, das*.

Household Hints to Young Housewives. With Arrangements and Receipts for Forty Dinners. By Martha Careful. Dean and Son.

Martha Careful has presented us with a shilling *Cookery Book* in the form of Letters to "Persons about to marry." Among the vast stores of erudition which the *Leader* boasts, we are humbly to confess that culinary lore is deficient, and therefore cannot undertake to pronounce an opinion on the merits of the receipts here given.

The Parent's Dental Guide. Being a Succinct Treatise on the Diseases of the Teeth and Gums. By Wm. Imrie, Surgeon-Dentist. Fifth Edition. Churchill.

This is really what it professes to be, a Guide to Parents in the requisite care to be bestowed on the teeth of their children. It gives a brief yet intelligible account of the diseases the tooth "is heir to," and of the general treatment necessary, as well as specific advice when to recur to a dentist—a thing usually neglected till almost too late.

The Task of To-day. By Evans Bell. Second Edition. J. Watson.

A second edition in a few weeks! This indeed is good news for the lovers of freedom of thought—showing that the public demand for such works is large and eager. We have not forgotten our promise to review this work at length; but we wish to do it justice, and must await the fitting time.

Wealth; How to get, preserve, and enjoy it. Or, Industrial Training for the People. With Engravings. Joseph Bentley. A new edition of Mr. Bentley's educational work.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD.—There are two standards of judgment extant for the estimate of character and life: one set up in the pulpit, the other recognized in the forum and the street. The former gives the order in which we pretend, and perhaps ineffectually try, to admire men and things; the latter, that in which we do admire them. Under the influence of the one, the merchant or the country gentleman is professedly in love with the innocent improvidence of the ravens and the lilies; relapsing into the other; he sells all his cotton in expectation of a fall, or drains his farms for a rise of rent. On the Sunday he applauds it as a saintly thing to present the patient cheek to the smiter; on the Monday he listens with rapture to Kossuth's curse upon the House of Hapsburgh, and the Magyar vow of resistance to the death. He assents when the Apostle John is held up to his veneration, as the beloved disciple; but, if the truth were known, the Duke of Wellington is rather more to his mind. Supposing it all true that is said about the vanity of earthly pleasures and ostentations, he nevertheless lets his daughters send out, next day, invitations to a grand ball, and makes his house busy with dressmakers and cooks.—*Westminster Review*, No. 111.

Portfolia.

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

MAGNETIC EVENINGS AT HOME.

LETTER I.—To G. H. LEWES.

You have asked me to give you an account of some extraordinary experiments in Animal Magnetism, which I witnessed during my recent Christmas visit to Somersetshire. In complying with your wish, I intend to confine myself as strictly as possible to simple narrative—or, in other words, to be the reporter, rather than the judge, of the proceedings of which I was a spectator. Had those proceedings been publicly exhibited for hire, I should certainly not have taken the notes of them from which I am now about to write. But they were of a private nature; they were only shown from motives of hospitality and kindness; and they were directed by a gentleman whose character I knew to be above all suspicion. Under these circumstances, I thought it well worth while to write down, at the time, all that I saw; and I gladly commit my materials to press, in their present form—knowing that they have been carefully collected; and believing that they will furnish specimens of evidence, which the opponents of Animal Magnetism will find it much easier contemptuously to reject than fairly to confute.

On the first of this month, after a pleasant dinner with my Somersetshire friends, in honour of the New Year, I went to drink tea at the house of Count P—, accompanied by two gentlemen—one a clergyman, the other a barrister. The Count had been known to the family with whom I had dined, for fifteen years; his wife (an English lady) was a friend of still longer standing. I mention these particulars, in order to show at the outset what confidence might fairly be reposed in the character of my host; what guarantee was given me, on the unimpeachable testimony of my friends and his, that, let the experiments to be shown appear what they might, they were performed by a gentleman of honour and integrity, whose position placed him above the slightest imputation of acting from a motive of personal advantage—or, indeed, from any motive at all but the wish to study a science in which he felt a deep and natural interest.

We found the Count, his wife, and a young French lady who lived as companion to the Countess, seated round the tea-table when we entered. The young lady (Mademoiselle V—) had been a member of the Count's family for five years. She was first made the subject of magnetic experiments two years since, and certainly looked anything but a martyr to them. Her complexion was fresh and clear, her eyes lively and intelligent, and her whole appearance that of a person in the full vigour of youth and health. She described her sensations on being awakened from the magnetic sleep as invariably those of one who has enjoyed a good night's rest; and told us with her own lips that, before she had been selected as a subject for magnetic influences, she was pale, thin, and weakly; and that, since that period, her constitution had altered quickly and permanently for the better. These, and all other particulars which we learnt from her, she related readily and simply. On our first introduction to her, it was not easy to imagine that this young girl, so quiet and natural in her manner, so gentle and good-humoured in her expression, was soon to display before us all the mysterious phenomena of magnetic influence—soon to open to our view glimpses into the dim, dark regions of the spiritual world.

During teatime I had an opportunity of ascertaining generally what our host's ideas were on the subject of Animal Magnetism. He very frankly described himself, at the outset, as an enthusiast for the science. "How the magnetic influence acts," said he, "may be seen, but cannot easily be explained. My idea about it is briefly this. We consist of three parts—the organic matter (*i. e.*, bodily structure), the vital principle which animates it, and the soul. We feel that the soul has many of its divinest prerogatives suspended in this life, through its connection with the bodily part of us. To find out such a means of acting on the vital principle, without injuring or destroying it, as to render the organic matter perfectly passive, and thereby to weaken, if not suspend, its influence on the soul, is to give back to that soul, for the time, some portion of its inherent and higher nature—its immortal capacity to overstep all mortal boundaries of time and space. This object I think the magnetic influence achieves, in different degrees of perfection, as applied to different persons; and in

this way I explain the phenomena of what we term *clairvoyance*. As to what constitutes the essence of the influence thus communicable from one individual to another, I believe it to be simply electricity. But I must repeat that I am only a student in the science; that we are all groping in the darkness of a mystery which is still unrevealed. The relation between cause and effect is not yet traced out in Animal Magnetism. With regard to the practical purpose to which it may be directed, I think it might be used as a curative agent in more forms of disease—especially nervous diseases—than I can well reckon up. Without entering into particulars, one great boon I know it can confer on humanity—it can produce sleep; a sleep from which every one awakens refreshed. Think of the disorders fatally aggravated by want of sleep, or inefficiently relieved by the short, unhealthy sleep produced by opiates. Think of what might be effected in the earliest stages of insanity, by procuring for the patient a long sleep, that could be made to last, if necessary, for days together. This I know might be done in the vast majority of cases; and surely this alone is something! But let us get from speech to action. I will first throw V—into the magnetic sleep; and after that you can take your choice of the experiments that shall be tried. I must premise, however, that I do not promise to succeed in all. She is not the same on every occasion under the magnetic influence. An experiment which succeeded last night may not succeed to-night, and vice versa. Nevertheless, we will try anything you like."

The manner of putting V—to sleep was singular enough. While we were talking, she had been at work, joining two lace cuffs to make a collar. The Count took her thimble and magnetized it with his hands. She was to put it on her finger again, and by its influence she was to be thrown into the sleep. But, while it still remained on the table, a watch was put before me, and I was desired to fix in my own mind the time she should go to sleep in—of course, without communicating the decision to any one. The time I thus secretly determined, was five minutes. No one prompted me to this choice: it was understood, at the outset, that I was free to select any time, long or short, that I chose.

I was close by her when she took up the thimble. Exactly at the instant when she put it on her finger, I marked the position of the minute hand on the dial of the watch. I was left free to take any means I chose of trying to keep her awake—not merely by talking to her, but by clapping my hands, if I chose, before her face. We sat close together: she at one side, I at the other, of the same corner of the table. For the first three or four minutes, I kept her almost incessantly laughing and talking: she looked at me and spoke to me, as usual. But, as the fourth minute passed, a change came, which no talking could avert. First, her articulation began to grow thick and low; very different from the clear rapid utterance of a Frenchwoman. Then her eyes got strangely dim and dull when she raised them to me. She still went on with her work; but slowly, and with increasing hesitation. The next alteration was in her mouth; her lips became firmly compressed, and grew pale like the lips of a corpse. Her complexion changed to a dull, unnatural, clayey hue; her brow suddenly contracted; her hands rapidly trembled; her eyelids dropped heavily—she had fallen into the magnetic sleep.

I immediately looked at the watch. Eight minutes exactly had passed since she first put the thimble on. Not betraying to any one, either by word or gesture, that she had exceeded the time I had fixed on by three minutes, I next tested the fact of her being really asleep, by calling out close at her ear, and clapping my hands before her eyelids—neither proceeding produced the smallest effect, outwardly; I especially remarked that her eyelids did not tremble or twitch in the slightest degree, when I tried to startle her by clapping my hands within almost a hair's breadth of them. She could hear and answer a whisper from the magnetiser at the other end of the room, which was too faint to be audible to any of us. To every one else present—say what they might, as loudly as they chose—she was deaf and dumb.

She was now questioned as to the matter of time by the Count. Had she gone to sleep in the time I had fixed on?—No. In a longer or a shorter time?—A longer. How long a time was it?—Eight minutes. What time had I fixed on?—Five minutes.

When the last answer was delivered—and not till then—the Count asked me whether she was right or wrong, and reported my reply to her. I

know, as well as I know the fact of my own existence, that neither by an involuntary word, look, or sign, did I betray to any one present what time I had fixed for her to go to sleep in—or what difference there was between the period I had settled on, and the period she had actually occupied in falling asleep. Two inferences, and two alone, could be drawn from this first experiment. The perfect correctness of all four answers was either really produced by the magnetic influence, working within her by operations which can neither be understood nor reasoned on; or what we had heard was merely the result of pure guess-work. I confess, for my own part, that I have not credulity enough to believe in four random guesses following close on each other, all turning out perfectly right!

She now complained of cold, and was removed to a large, old-fashioned arm-chair, with a high back, which stood near the fire. We were then shown how to place ourselves in communication with her, so that she might hear what we said. To do this, it was only necessary to touch any part of the chair in which she sat, while speaking to her. Thus addressed, she smiled and answered immediately. Great amusement was produced while we were trying her in this way by one of my friends, whose hearty English jokes, translated literally into very English French, appeared to astonish and delight V—beyond measure. She was sometimes literally in fits of laughter when he touched the chair and spoke to her. When he did not touch it, nothing that he said produced the smallest outward effect on any feature. I watched her closely, and could be certain of this.

The next experiment failed. The Count took a piece of sugar, and desired me to write down and show him what I wished her to believe the sugar to be. I first wrote "An olive," and then "Chocolate." He magnetized the sugar in both instances; and in both instances, when he gave it to her and asked what it was, she answered at once, "Sugar." He could not account for this; perhaps we had tried the experiment too soon; perhaps she had not been magnetized enough yet; all he could say was that he had succeeded an evening or two before, where he had failed now. My friends saw, in this very failure, a guarantee of the genuineness of the proceedings; and I agreed with them. A conjuring trick would have been better rehearsed before it was exhibited to the spectator.

Three experiments were tried after this, and all with success. In performing the first, the Count placed himself behind her chair, in a position where she could not see him, unless she raised herself and turned round. At a sign from me, as I stood by his side (also out of her sight), he made her alternately sensible and insensible to the touch; each time by a single gesture with his hand, which it was physically impossible, from her position, that she could see. Sensible, she smiled when her hand was taken—insensible, you might squeeze it, pinch it, hold it up above her head, and let it drop violently in her lap, without producing the smallest effect. This done, the magnetiser, after making some preliminary passes (still standing in the same position), drew his right hand slowly upward. Inch by inch, as it moved, her right arm raised itself, until it was extended, stiff and straight, at its full stretch, above her head. There it remained, until he moved his hand sideways; and then it followed the direction thus given—just as a needle would have followed a magnet—sometimes to the left, and sometimes to the right. When he dropped his hand (quite noiselessly), her hand fell at the same instant into her lap. I was in front of her during this experiment, looking close under her eyes; and satisfied myself that her eyelids were firmly closed. The back of her head was against the back of the chair, behind which, at a distance of full three feet, the Count was standing.

The third experiment was still more curious. The magnetiser was now about to fix her, beyond the possibility of being moved, in her chair. Before he began we each took her by the shoulders and lifted her with ease; she laughed excessively as we did so. Then, after the Count had made one pass with his hand (still behind her), we tried again. I tried first. She was reclining in the chair, with both her hands on her lap. I grasped her by both shoulders, and pulled; but only succeeded in moving the chair. Then placing my knees against it, to keep it steady, and to serve me as a lever as well, I made another effort with all my strength. I might as well have endeavoured to pull the Monument towards me—I could not move her, even in the slightest degree. Both my friends tried (one of them a tall, powerful man), and with no more

success. I closely observed her face at this time. It bore a perfectly placid expression; a calm, unconscious look. Her colour did not betray even so much as an approach to heightening. She seemed to be slumbering as calmly and as sweetly as a child.

She was now in a highly magnetized state, so much so as to complain from time to time of an oppression in her head, which was relieved by passes. The Count proposed a fresh experiment, as likely to succeed in her present condition. This new evidence of the power of magnetic influence was so painful to behold, that I much doubt whether we should have been willing to see it, could we have known what symptoms were to be displayed beforehand.

W. W. C.

January, 1852.

(To be continued.)

TE DEUM.

Being the real Prayer of the President on his Prie-Dieu, at the late Installation.

By R. H. HORNE.

O God of Bayonets, all my own,
I thank thee on this day,
When Notre Dame, with priest and psalm,
My glory doth display!

I thank my generals, prefects, tools,
For deeds of skill and note;
For barricades, and massacres,
And for my people's vote.

I thank the priesthood for their aid,
And will remember them;
I thank the friends of "order"—trade—
I thank the press—(ahem!)

I thank Baroche, for his good speech—
My mission's own suggestion—
Though dishes, cooked with forced-meat balls,
Require a strong digestion.

But, most of all, I thank myself,
And my nepotic will—
Ambition, and hypocrisy,
That shall direct me still.

Wherefore, O God of Bayonets,
Grant me my Uncle's crown,
And Thou shalt soon invade a land,
And sack a wealthy town!

As for the other Power, it rests
In my gilt prie-dieu here:
The show takes well—but thou, O Lord,
Can'st neither see nor hear!

The Arts.

VIVIAN IN HIS STUDY.

On returning from the country to my own snug home, I always feel myself more intensely at home in pacing up and down my study, and looking at the silent friends gathered there upon the shelves, some in mute reproach at my neglect, others recalling the happy, happy hours spent in their companionship. What friends books are! How varied, how constant, how unfailing! Robert Southey is not a poet for whom I have a lively admiration, but he has written these verses, of which I am very fond:—

"My days among the dead are passed,
Around me I behold,
Where'er these casual eyes I cast,
The mighty minds of old.
My neverfailing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day."

The mighty minds of old are with us still, as teachers and exemplars, giving us the impulse to rival them, and offering us their wisdom as a stepping stone. And yet I seldom pace up and down my study without feeling almost oppressed by the immensity of work there is to do—shamed by my own shortcomings—the

"Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds unrealized."

So much to do, so little done, so little of the steadfast will to do it! There, as they beckon to me, those loved, neglected Friends, what thoughts they recal of frustrated ambition, of noble endeavour fallen away, of serious labour yielded to the pressing temptations of facile work and daily needs! They tell me

"To scorn delights and live laborious days"—

the spirit within me leaps up at the sound, is willing and exultant; but the morrow comes, and finds me frittering away this God-given life in details that one cannot even remember, they are so trivial! Sermons in Books? Ay, there are sermons solemn

enough—unhappily heeded no more than sermons commonly are!

Something of the mystery is revealed by the strange mingling of my books, typical of my mingled life. Plato happens to stand between Lafontaine and Lope de Vega, Comte is pressing against Leigh Hunt and Keats, Hegel squeezes Calderon into the corner, Mulder's Organic Chemistry is next to Macaulay and Theocritus, and Spinoza and Goethe are underneath Scribe and Balzac! Such a pell-mell of Philosophy, Science, Novels, Plays,—books that alarm all but steadfast students, and books that excite the scorn of the grave—"so frivolous!" I cannot help it—I have a natural turn for frivolity: the specific levity of my disposition will not be without its satisfaction. Voltaire, who had the same twofold tendency, regretted the absence of a like Catholic manysidedness in Newton. "Je voudrais que Newton eût fait des vaudevilles," he says; "je l'en estimerais d'avantage." Fancy Newton writing vaudevilles, and getting his *Principia* accepted by grave Professors!

This mention of vaudevilles brings me by an easy transition to the Theatres, where my professional duty calls me. Instead of pacing up and down my study, suffering myself to be bullied by my own conscience, I had better take my opera glass and see what is to be seen. Well, what is there to be seen? First and foremost in beauty, elegance, and general attractiveness, is the burlesque at

THE LYCEUM

which has the merit of being the most tasteful as well as the most gorgeous of spectacles. If genuine Fairy Land is anywhere, it is there. That "Pleasure Garden of Peerless Pool," with its exquisite background and groups of children and flowers, is like the realization of a dream; and as to the "Golden Pinery," which concludes the piece, it surpasses all the last scenes even of *this* Theatre. The music is pretty; the dresses are splendid; the story is interesting, and the whole enchanting. MADAME, as a *souvante*, has some neat speeches to deliver, and her still magnificent contralto is effectively brought in. Julia St. George never looked so charming as she does in the piquant little Prince, and only wants a little gaiety of manner for *Happy Land*. Frank Matthews as the Duke is wonderfully made up; but I must tell him of a fault in his acting—a fault I think which increases. I allude to a perpetual change of key which mars the effect of many passages: passing from rhythmic elevation to the colloquial level, and suddenly ascending again. Let me not omit a word of praise to the amazing Pell, who, with his Ethiopian Serenaders, makes a pleasant variety in the music. Pell's management of the bones is something truly wonderful.

DREARY LANE!

O Dreary Lane! O Dreary Lane! I cannot be seduced into your precincts, because the magniloquent, but not strictly grammatical, Mr. Bunn assures us (see Play-bills) that there is no room. Ah! those Play-bills—so veracious! "In consequence of the great success of *Macbeth*" it is—withdrawn!! What it is to be a Poet as well as Manager, and write your own bills! In one of these poetical, but not grammatical, productions, the public was informed that, "in consequence of the overflow from every part of the house," something or other would be repeated; in the next line something else was announced for repetition, "in consequence of the complete overflow." You are a Poet, Mr. Bunn, and, like Bayes in the *Rehearsal*, disdain "to creep servilely after sense," otherwise I should ask you what a complete overflow was? Empty benches? An "incomplete overflow" is, probably, one of those "hollow hearts" which "wear a mask" in the *Bohemian Girl*. But in all seriousness, I recommend the attention of the Drury Lane bills to those who regard the Drama as *Literature*.

OLYMPIC.

Mrs. Mead, a new aspirant, has appeared here in the character of Portia. I have not yet seen her, and merely record the fact. The Pantomime, which is exceedingly amusing, draws, and will draw, good audiences for some time. Talking of Pantomimes, an occasional deputy of mine reports excellently of doings in the distant regions of

MARYLEBONE,

where Tom Matthews, or "Tommy," as he is fondly known to the delighted "Gods," is nightly in the ascendant as Clown, and the Harlequin (whose name the deponent stateth not) is "all that

can be desired." The fun will "amply repay" the distance. I speak by "good" report.

The same cause obliges me to limit myself to a mention of the

MARIONNETTE THEATRE,

now flourishing at the Adelaide Gallery, and exciting considerable curiosity in the public. All who have been in Italy will remember what a "rage" there is for Marionnettes there, among all classes, and it becomes a matter of speculation whether our public can be roused to a similar enjoyment. I have not yet been there; but next week I promise to tell you "all about" these wooden actors—not by any means the only actors of that material; and, as to their being puppets, how few actors are much more!

VIVIAN.



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.

POLAND.

London, January 6, 1852.

SIR,—In your number of the 5th, page 17, I read with sorrow that your literary critic, apropos of a tale related in a pamphlet entitled *New Poland, or the Infant Hero*, repeats the old story, which our enemies have so assiduously spread by the bribery of newspapers, historians, and other authors, thus endeavouring, if not to justify, at least to palliate, their crime of robbery; viz.:—"That Poland 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 pursuing them from city to city like beasts of prey, &c.,—the barbarous cohorts of Russia would have been poured into Poland in vain." The critic is even "glad" that the authoress of the little book did not overlook that trumped-up story by the three spoliators, which he is pleased to call a fact. Now, Sir, as your valuable journal has amply convinced me that you are commonly well informed both as to historical facts and current events, and that your judgment thereupon has always been sound, and based upon truth and justice, I crave your permission of allowing me to address, through your columns, the few following words (which my love of truth and wounded national feelings dictate to me) to your literary critic.

I would first beg leave to ask him whether, at the same epoch to which he alludes, misgovernment, dissensions, oppressions, serfdom, were not prevalent throughout Europe; and that all those truly condemnable vices, especially oppression, were not far more atrocious in Germany and France than they ever were in Poland? Was not the oppression of the serfs in France carried to such an extent that in the fourteenth century it provoked the famous jacquerie, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Germany the sanguinary war of the German peasants (*Bauernkrieg*)? And now, because Poland became the prey of her rapacious neighbours, she is to be considered more guilty than the other European countries! Is Poland alone to be accused of intolerance, although her history reveals no trace of anything like a St. Bartholomew's massacre, or the horrors of the thirty years' war, the Holy Inquisition, or the atrocious persecutions, for instance, of the Protestants in England, several hundreds of whom, men, women, and children, under Mary's short reign, were burnt in Smithfield, merely because they were Protestants, not even an Alien Act, &c. &c.? Is Poland to be accused, I repeat, of oppression and intolerance, only because she was more unfortunate than the other countries, who, if they escaped her

fate, it was merely because they had not the misfortune to be like her (Poland) surrounded on all sides by three despotic spoliators? And it is a matter of doubt what would have been the fate of even England herself, if those same despots had surrounded her instead of the sea. That Poland never refused to the exiled of Jerusalem a home and a country, and that they were never "hunted from city to city like beasts of prey," is sufficiently proved by the incontestable fact that no other Christian country has ever had so many of them as Poland; their number only now, under Russian oppression, begins to considerably diminish. To thus insinuate that Poland was intolerant is point blank to repudiate both historical evidence and existing facts, which tell us that even the Socinians, or Unitarians, who were "everywhere, even in Protestant countries, oppressed and violently persecuted, found only in Poland and Transylvania, —where they were allowed to establish communes of their own creed,—admission and security." It was only when Poland did what England is now in the course of doing, that religious persecution against the Dissenters and the Greeks began, viz., when the Polish kings offered "a home and a country" to the Jesuits.

In conclusion, may I be allowed to quote a few paragraphs corroboratory of my assertions from M. Michelet's pamphlet, *Pologne et Russie; Légende de Kosciuszko*, Paris, 1852:—

"The eighteenth century, which witnessed her (Poland's) downfall, was an epoch of Poland's gentleness of manners. The foreigners who then visited that country tell us that there neither police nor gendarmes were to be seen: a traveller could cross the enormous forests, his pockets laden with gold, in the utmost security. There were scarcely any criminals. The registers of several tribunals testify that, during thirty years, no one was brought before their bar but Gipsies and Jews; not one Pole, not one nobleman, not one peasant, accused of murder or theft.

"The Poles had serfs," they say. And the Russians, had they none? And the Germans, had they no serfs? The German serfdom was very oppressive, even in our century. A friend of mine once saw, in a German state, a young female serf chained up in a dog's kennel! We Frenchmen ourselves, who delight in speaking so much of our beautiful laws, have still negroes, not to speak of the white negroes, or of the industrial slavery, which very often is worse than serfdom itself.

"The Polish serf is now taxed ten times more than he was under the Polish Republic. Add to this, that he was exempt from that most terrible tax, military service: the nobility alone was obliged to perform it. There was not then to be seen long rows of young peasants, the chain round their necks, dragged by the Cossacks to serve the enemy of Poland in the Caucasus, in Siberia, up to the frontiers of China, the half of which die on their way; the levying of others is carried on uninterruptedly, all of whom are for ever lost to their country, as they never return.

"In the sixteenth century Poland was the most tolerant country in the world, the asylum of religious liberty; all Freethinkers took refuge thither. At length the Jesuits came, and the Polish clergy, following their impulse, became persecuting."—(Pp. 21—23.)

Respectfully yours,

A POLK.

NEW DAILY PAPER.

20, Great Coram-street, January 7, 1852.

"If to do were as easy as to know what to do, chapels had been churches, and poor men's cottages princes' palaces."

SIR,—On returning to town last Friday night, my attention was drawn to two letters in your "Open Council" proposing the establishment of an unstamped daily paper, as the best means to get rid of the stamp law. Doubtless it would be so; but to establish a daily paper in earnest, and to write a letter about it in the *Leader*, are totally distinct achievements. I propose in this letter to discuss the following questions:—1st. Can a daily unstamped paper be established? 2nd. If that is impossible, what can be established in that direction?

And, first, the daily paper must sell, or it will do no good; if it does not rival the existing daily press in quantity, quality, and circulation, it will be of little use in itself, and of no use in the way of getting rid of the law. There are weekly papers now which are newspapers according to the doctrine laid down at the Stamp-office, and no doubt Baron Parke would call them newspapers, though perhaps Baron Pollock would not, because "nobody thought of prosecuting them." Among these the *Racing Times* and the *Legal Observer*, both weekly papers, are flagrant cases; but as they come in nobody's way, "nobody thinks of prosecuting them." In the same way, a daily paper, if an insignificant one, would be let alone, and nothing gained by the transaction.

Mr. Stevens's daily paper must therefore, as he proposes, be a good one; he proposes threepence as the price. The *Daily News*, at threepence, sold annually 3,500,000 copies, but at a loss; had the proprietors been able to put into their pockets the £14,000 which they paid for stamp duty, they might perhaps have made a profit.

But to carry on such a paper a very large capital is indispensable, say £20,000, though I believe £100,000 would be nearer the mark. Now, it is an unfortunate peculiarity of moneyed men that they do not like to

invest their capital when it may be destroyed at one fell swoop by the Government. M. Bonaparte himself has not more despotic power than the Stamp-office has in regard to unstamped newspapers; and, though it is not likely that it should be used to the full extent, yet it is quite possible that the projectors of a paper which the Stamp-office should choose to persecute, would be ruined. To raise £20,000 in small shares would be still more difficult, as it would be necessary to organize a machinery for propagandism and cohesion; and it would be found, as in most very popular societies, that the whole receipts would be expended in getting people to join. But Mr. Stevens will say, How was it that the unstamped defied the law in 1836? Let us not forget that the unstamped papers were weekly papers. A cheap weekly paper requires for its editorial department but two men—a man to write articles and a man to collect news; and two things—a pair of good scissors and a pot of stiff paste. In 1836 the stamp was fourpence, and no stamped newspaper was to be had under sevenpence. An unstamped twopenny paper, with its fixed capital of pastepot and scissors, and its reproductive capital of print and paper, had a great advantage over the stamped journal, and could even afford to suffer a good deal of confiscation.

There is no such disproportion now existing between a legal and an illegal paper, as would make the latter a safe speculation in the teeth of a prosecution; in fact, the stamp duty, though a gross violation of the freedom of the press, is not badly calculated for bringing in a revenue. It requires, then, to be assailed with more circumspection than of old; but it is by no means invulnerable.

The recent decision in the case of the *Household Narrative* has established the doctrine that no monthly publication is a newspaper; why not, then, publish a monthly paper every week? The suggestion was made last year by Mr. Rich, a member of the Administration, as appears from the following extract from the evidence taken by the Parliamentary Committee on the Newspaper Stamp:—

"Mr. Rich: If Mr. Dickens were now to establish his right to publish his newspaper monthly, would it not be competent for him to combine with some other persons who might also bring out what they called a monthly newspaper, and then publish them in succession on the first week, the second week, the third week, and the fourth week of every month, whereby they would, in fact, have a weekly newspaper, and avoid paying the stamp duty?"

"Mr. Timm: Certainly, that plan might be adopted; and, unless we could prove that these publications were one and the same, the newspaper stamp duty would be evaded altogether?"

In order that Mr. Timm may not be able to prove the four papers to be one and the same, the simplest plan is that they should be bona fide different properties, printed and published by different parties, and even in different towns. Thus four printers might severally publish on the four Saturdays in each month the *London Monthly News*, the *Westminster Monthly News*, the *Southwark Monthly News*, and the *Finsbury Monthly News*; while on the fifth Saturday, when there was one, the *Marylebone Monthly News* might appear. There is nothing in the law to prevent the same literary staff from being engaged on the five monthly papers, though of course any of the five proprietors might make a different arrangement whenever he pleased.

To make such a scheme available in the metropolis it would be necessary that the *Monthly News* should rival the threepenny papers: of these the *News of the World* is the most successful, selling nearly 60,000 per week. This rivalry might be effected by bringing out at twopence a paper of the size and style of the *News of the World*, which is brought out at threepence.

I have consulted a competent person as to the cost, and we agreed that the fixed cost would be £40 a week; and that, after paying that sum, we might expect a profit of £2 per thousand on the sale—or that a sale of 20,000 would just cover the expenses. It would also be necessary that another party, unconnected with the proprietors, should act on his own account, and advertise and sell the five monthly papers as one weekly paper. Of course, he would have no share in the profits of the paper, except the discount on what he bought of the publishers.

All this could be done, had we a guarantee fund of £1000 to do it with; and, if Mr. Stevens can raise it, I think I can undertake to show him how to establish a legal unstamped weekly paper, and thus to get rid of the stamp altogether.

But if Mr. Stevens cannot raise the needful, I call on your Birmingham Correspondent to take up the game in earnest. Birmingham, Warwick, Wolverhampton, and Coventry, are towns in the proximity to each other; a publisher in each town might find it advantageous to set up a local monthly paper at a penny, and by commencing the month at different times, they might play into each other's hands so as to give their customers a weekly paper.

I don't pretend to be very squeamish about breaking antiquitous laws as the newspaper laws; but it is always worth while to think twice before breaking a law, and in the present instance I think more could be effected by acting within the pale of the law

than by going beyond it. Should Mr. Stevens, or your Birmingham correspondent, or any one else be inclined to follow the advice of Mr. Rich, and to set up a monthly paper, to be published every week, I need scarcely say, that, so long as they keep within the law, they may rely upon all the support that our Association can give them.

C. DOBSON COLLET.

THE "NINE HUNDRED."

January 15, 1852.

MR. EDITOR.—Borrowing, as I am enabled to do, the words of an address just issued by the most Universal Suffrage Association extant, I may inform such of your readers as are curious on the subject, "that this body is abandoned by two gentlemen who have for some time past chiefly represented it in public estimation. As these gentlemen are presumed to be the best judges of what is possible for the society they have helped to conduct somewhat intolerantly, and as they decline to act officially for it, they must be of opinion that its official existence has come to an end; and, as they abandon it, they must be willing that this shall happen."

"Chartism," that name of fruitless alarm, the pretext of the enemy for resisting Reform, and the obstacle in the way of all Democrats who cannot pronounce its shibboleth, will soon submerge in an official form. It has long been a *personal* body, that is, a society of a few names rather than well-advised Catholic principles. It may reappear as a personal body; but as a national organization, having an unbroken official existence, having self-originated and defined laws, and keeping good faith with itself in the observance of those laws, of all this there will be an end, unless the advisers who have forsaken the present federation should adopt improved views, which is not very likely.

The accredited Executive Council, yet existing, finds itself hampered with a debt of £37. The nine hundred Electors who have appointed the aforesaid Council, are called upon to pay this immediately. Whatever may be said of this Council, they, at least, have the usual honour of working men, and propose to pay off these liabilities without delay. They may not be able to attain political influence; of any factious influence they have no desire; but they, at least, are determined to do that which is within the means of all honest men—namely, preserve their character; and they, therefore, have called upon all of their body to send subscriptions to the new secretary, James Grassby, 96, Regent-street, Lambeth. Many who otherwise do not coincide with these politicians, will hear with satisfaction of the prompt success of this appeal.

[Mr. Frank Grant sends 1s. to the Shakespearean Testimonial to Kossuth, proposed by Douglas Jerrold. Mr. Robert Mills, of Jubilee-place, Chelsea, a member of a working man's political association, begs to say to his class that, "Success depends upon the course our public speakers and we pursue to all classes. We must not abuse any person. We have felt the pernicious effects ourselves. Conviction tells us it excites our passion and destroys our reason. Will it not act the same on all persons? I know the wrongs suffered have caused you to speak harshly, I have felt and done the same. Let us not use invective or imputation, but work calmly and energetically to obtain freedom. We shall not lose self respect in such a course. The Amalgamated Engineers have been abused, they have obtained public respect and sympathy by their calm and reasonable conduct."]

THE TWO CLASSES.—Our devout people are not remarkable for either clear notions or nice feelings on moral questions; while the conscientious class are apt to be dry and cold precisians, truthful, trustworthy, and humane, but so little genial, so devoid of ideality and depth, that poet or prophet is struck dumb before their face.—*Westminster Rev.*, No. 111.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

Consols on Monday fell from 97½ to 96½; on Tuesday a variety of rumours caused fluctuations between 96½ and 96½, closing at 96½; on Wednesday similar variations, closing at 96½; on Thursday they closed at 96½. The closing price yesterday was—Consols, 96½.

The fluctuations have been:—Consols, 97½ to 96½; Bank Stock, from 216 to 217; and Exchequer Bills, 66s. to 60s. premium.

The bargains in the official list of Foreign Stocks yesterday comprised—Danish Five per Cents., 103½; Mexican, for money, 29½; for the account, 29½ and ¼; the Small, 29½; Peruvian Five per Cents., 94½; Portuguese Four per Cents., 34½ and 34; Russian Five per Cents., 113; the Four-and-Half per Cents., 100½ and ¼ ex div.; Sardinian Five per Cents., 90 and 90½; Spanish Five per Cents., 23½, ¼, and ¼; Passive, 61 and ¼; Spanish Three per Cents., 41½, ex div.; Three per Cent. New Deferred, 18½, ¼, and ¼ ex div.; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 69½ and 68½ ex div.; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 90½ and 91.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock....	216	216½	216	216	217	217
3 per Ct. Red..	97½	97½	97	97½	97½	97½
3 p. C. Con. Ans.	—	97½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. An. 1726.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. Ct. Con., Ac.	97½	97½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. Cent. An.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	96½
New 5 per Cts.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long Ans., 1860.	7½	—	7	7	7	7
Ind. St. 10½ p. Ct.	—	—	259	—	260	259½
Ditto Bonds ..	70 p	71 p	72 p	67 p	68 p	69 p
Ex. Bills, 1000l.	59 p	59 p	57 p	56 p	59 p	56 p
Ditto, 500l. ..	—	59 p	57 p	56 p	56 p	59 p
Ditto, Small	59 p	59 p	57 p	—	57 p	59 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	80	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	30
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct.	94	Small..	29½
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.	92½
Danish 5 per Cents. ..	103½	4 per Cts.	33½
Dutch 2½ per Cents. ..	59½	— Annuities	—
— 4 per Cents. ..	92	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	101
Ecuador Bonds ..	3½	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	23½
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris 104.90	—	— Passive	5½
— 3 p. Cts., July 11, 70.00	—	— Deferred	18½

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, January 16.—Supplies this week are very small, and the market quite firm for every article; and, without being able to quote prices higher, there is decidedly more disposition to purchase. There are orders for Wheat for French account; but at present limits they are too low.

Floating cargoes of Maize and Wheat are held at higher prices. Say 28s. 6d. for Galatz Maize, 40s. for Ghirka, 28s. for Egyptian Wheat. Egyptian Beans are not saleable except at lower prices than holders are willing to accept.

Arrivals from January 12 to January 16.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	820	—	—
Barley	810	—	—
Oats	—	1780	1970
Flour	7300	—	650 sks. 7200 bls.

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Jan. 16.

Wheat, R. New..	36s. to 38s.	Maple	30s. to 31s.
Fine	39 — 40	White	30 — 32
Old	38 — 40	Boilers	32 — 34
White	40 — 42	Beans, Ticks. ..	26 — 27
Fine	44 — 46	Old	29 — 30
Superior New	46 — 48	Indian Corn....	27 — 29
Rye	25 — 27	Oats, Feed	17 — 18
Barley	24 — 25	Fine	18 — 19
Malt	30 — 32	Poland	19 — 20
Malt, Ord.....	50 — 54	Fine	20 — 21
Fine	54 — 56	Potato	17 — 18
Peas, Hog.....	27 — 28	Fine	18 — 19

THE LAST "LECTURE ON THE WEEK."

To-morrow (Sunday) Evening, Mr. THORNTON HUNT will deliver in the Lecture Theatre of the Western Literary Institution, 47, Leicester-square (west side), his "Lecture on the Week," being the Farewell Address of the present Series. Admission to the Amphitheatre, threepence. Front Seats, one shilling. Reserved seats on Platform, half-a-crown. The doors will be opened at Half-past Six, and the Lecture will commence punctually at Seven.

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.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.—

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 20th of every month, and from SUEZ on or about the 8th of the month.

The next extra Steamer will be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria on the 3rd of April next, in combination with an extra Steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about March 20. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded, by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY.—The Company will book passengers throughout from Southampton to Bombay by their steamers leaving England on the 20th February, 20th March, and of alternate months thereafter, such passengers being conveyed from Aden to Bombay by their steamers appointed to leave Bombay on the 17th February, 1st of April, and 1st of alternate months thereafter, and affording, in connection with the steamers leaving Calcutta on the 8th of February, 20th of March, and of alternate months thereafter, direct conveyance for passengers, parcels, and goods from Bombay and Western India.

Passengers for Bombay can also proceed by this Company's Steamers of the 29th of the month to Malta, thence to Alexandria by her Majesty's steamers, and from Suez by the Honourable East India Company's steamers.

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA—On the 20th and 29th of every month. Constantinople—On the 29th of the month. Alexandria—On the 20th of the month. The rates of passage money on these lines have been materially reduced.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the month.

N.B. Steam-ships of the Company now ply direct between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and between Hong Kong and Shanghai.

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

ROYAL MARIONETTE THEATRE.

Triumphant Success, Unanimous Praise of the Entire Press, Crowded Houses! First Appearance of new Singers, Monday, January 19, and every evening during the week. Initiatory Address by Mr. Albany Brown—The Manager's Room—Debut of the celebrated Italian Prima Donna, Signora Barberi Alleni—Bombastes Furioso, with introduced Melodies—and the Grand Ballet of Paulini; or, "The Puppet of Nature"! Doors to open at Half-past Seven, to commence at Eight o'clock. MORNING PERFORMANCES! In consequence of numerous applications, and the near termination of the Holidays, there will be Morning Juvenile Performances on Thursday and Saturday next, the 22nd and 24th instant. The doors will be opened at Half-past Two, and commence at Three o'clock. Private Boxes, £1. 1s.; Balcony Stalls, 3s.; Lower Stalls, 2s.; Balcony, 2s.; Amphitheatre, 1s. Private Boxes, Stalls, &c., to be had of Mr. Mitchell, 33, Old Bond-street; Mr. Sams, St. James's-street; Mr. Ollivier, New Bond-street; of all the principal Libraries, and at the Box-office of the Theatre.

AN EDUCATIONAL HOME for CHILDREN

from Three to Seven Years of Age. This Establishment, at present in its commencement, is recommended to the attention of those parents who are desirous of obtaining for their children a course of early training in harmony with the true objects of moral and intellectual culture, and who are aware of the great difficulty of effacing, or of counteracting in after years, the injurious effects of ignorant and injudicious nursery discipline. It combines, with the watchfulness of parental care, arrangements calculated to promote the health, physical development, and joyous freedom of the child. The habits and dispositions are carefully trained; truthfulness and unselfishness are sedulously cultivated; and obedience is enforced—not by severity or intimidation, nor by the allurements of factitious rewards—but by a firm, consistent, and gentle mode of treatment, by appealing to the understanding and the sympathies, by directing attention to the natural consequences of conduct, and by fostering a love of excellence. The instruction, which is graduated from the simple to the more complex, is carefully adapted to the comprehension of the child; and, while the teaching of dogmatic creeds on the assumption of their unquestionable truth is scrupulously avoided as prejudicial to the due exercise and development of the intellectual faculties, the utmost endeavours are made to educate and strengthen those elements of character which are the foundation of true religious feeling. Knowledge is made attractive, and the lessons are given by means of sensible signs with familiar conversations, on the principle of cultivating the perceptive and reasoning powers by stimulating curiosity concerning the structure and qualities of objects and the phenomena of animate and inanimate nature. For reference, &c., apply to Mr. John Chapman, Publisher 142, Strand.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

INSTITUTED UNDER TRUST, TO COUNTERACT THE SYSTEM OF ADULTERATION AND FRAUD NOW PREVAILING IN TRADE, AND TO PROMOTE THE PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION. Trustees—Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. (Founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq. (one of the Contributors). Commercial Firm—Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co. Central Establishment—76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq., London. Branch Establishments—35, Great Marybone-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester. The Agency intend hereafter to execute all orders for any kind of articles or produce; their operations for the present are restricted to GROCERIES, ITALIAN ARTICLES, FRENCH WINES, and BRANDIES. A Catalogue has just been published, containing a detailed list of all articles with the retail prices affixed, with remarks on adulteration. Price 6d., or sent by post for ten stamps. Also a wholesale price list for Co-operative Stores gratis, or by post for one stamp. Particulars relating to the Central Co-operative Agency, with a Digest of the Deed of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the Central Office of the Institution, to be sent by post for three stamps. Rules have been framed and printed for enabling any number of families of all classes, in any district of London, or any part of the country, to form themselves into "Friendly Societies" for enjoying the benefit of Co-operative Stores. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps. The Agency will undertake to have certified in London the rules of any society organizing themselves on the above-mentioned form. Catalogue, Wholesale List, Particulars, and Rules, in one parcel, 1s. 6d., per post. All communications to be addressed 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, to MM. Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co.

ASTONISHING, YET TRUE.

THE Stock of BENEFINK and CO., 89 and 90, CHEAPSIDE, and 1, IRONMONGER-LANE, comprises every variety of Electro-plated wares—Chandeliers, Lamps, Tea Urns, Tea Trays, Cutlery, Iron Bedsteads, Baths, Turnery, Stoves, Fenders, Fire-irons—in fact, every requisite, either for the cottage or the mansion, at ten or fifteen per cent. less than any other house in the kingdom. At this Establishment an eight-roomed house can be furnished for Five Pounds, the articles of the best quality and workmanship.

THE PATENT ELECTRO-PLATED DEPARTMENT is especially deserving of attention, as every article made in sterling silver is now manufactured in Electro Plate. Our material is a hard white metal, all through alike, and this covered with a thick coating of Silver by the patent Electro process, renders detection from real silver impossible. The prices below for best quality:—

SPOONS AND FORKS.		KING'S THREADED, OR VICTORIA PATTERN.	
6 Teaspoons.....	6s. 0d.	6 Teaspoons.....	10s.
6 Dessert Spoons or Forks.....	10s. 0d.	6 Dessert Spoons or Forks.....	20s.
6 Table do.....	12s. 6d.	6 Table do.....	25s.
TEA AND COFFEE SERVICES IN GREAT VARIETY.		Albert and other pattern.	
Cot Pattern, richly engraved teapot.....	23s.	Teapots.....	30s.
Coffee-pot to match.....	30s.	Coffee-pot to match.....	38s.
Cream Jv'er, gilt inside.....	18s.	Cream Ewer, gilt inside.....	20s.
Sugar-basin ditto.....	25s.	Sugar-basin ditto.....	28s.
Elegant Four-glass Cruets, 18s.; Six-glass ditto, 25s.; Table Candelsticks, 18s. per pair; Chamber ditto, 10s. each, complete; Set of Three richly engraved Bohemian Glass Liquors, in elegant frame, 60s.; Set of Four Corner Dishes and Covers, 46. 15s. &c. &c.			
THE CUTLERY DEPARTMENT			
is also one to which B. and Co. attach the utmost importance, as they manufacture all their blades of the best material, the difference in price consisting solely in the more expensive handles			
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l'Eglise. La Situation Interieure—Les Règles de l'Empire et les
Frontières du Rhin. The expression of all but servile opinions
being interdicted in France, several of the most eminent
constitutional French writers have founded the weekly "Bul-
letin Français," which will be printed in Brussels.
W. Jeffs, Foreign Bookseller, 15, Burlington-arcade, Piccadilly.

THE EXHIBITION CHART.

The enormous circulation of the "WEEKLY DIS-
PATCH," on Sunday last (by far exceeding the most sanguine
expectations of the proprietors), has rendered it impossible to
comply with the announcements previously made, that every
purchaser should, on Sunday the 11th instant, receive a copy of
the illustrated Coloured Chart of the Great Exhibition, it has
in consequence been found necessary to POSTPONE THE
1852 of a sheet demanding such careful preparation, until
Sunday the 1st of February, on which day every purchaser who
was disappointed in receiving a Chart of the 4th instant, will
be entitled to a copy.

Orders may be given to all newsvendors in town or country,
or to the Office, 139, Fleet-street, London.

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of the Navy.—SATURDAY, January 17, 1852.