

As the period for the opening of Parliament rapidly draws on, the Parliamentary Reform Party are stirring up the embers of agitation, which have rather smouldered than burst since the last Session. The daily papers give us reports of Meetings held for that purpose, at Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds; and connected with each of them are rather remarkable incidents, which deserve the notice of the really liberal party.

Knowing, as we do, that the movement to which we are referring is what we must call, for want of a better word, a middle class movement; and believing, as we do, that it would be far better, both for themselves and others, if its members would throw off half measures, and take their stand at once upon the broad, just, and intelligible ground of Manhood Suffrage, we are yet of opinion that what they ask for is more than we are likely to get from the Whig Cabinet, if it should be able to maintain its ground, or from a PALMERSTON Cabinet, if the late Foreign Secretary should come into power, or from any other Ministry which can be formed in the present state of Parliamentary parties. It is far better to speak plainly on these matters than to buoy ourselves up with hopes which only lead to disappointment. It will not do for men who seek to take a calm view of their real position, to let the wish be father to the thought. We must take things as they are, and not as they ought to be; and endeavour to estimate our chances of success accordingly. Looking at matters coolly, then, there appears to be a sad lack, if not an utter absence, of enthusiasm. We are only too willing to acknowledge what we believe to be the truth—that a desire, not only for Household Suffrage, but for the whole of the points of the Charter, has become, to a great extent, a sentiment of the National mind, but, it is impossible to deny that it is not evident upon the surface. Whatever may be the cause of this; whether it is to be sought in the absorption of attention by the exciting events of the Continent—events which for the time eclipse all peaceful progress, or in the conviction that the present Cabinet and Parliament are doomed, it is certain that such is the fact. The people must, indeed, but not so thickly as they might do, and pass resolutions, in which they no doubt believe; but it is easily seen that their heart is not in their work. If any one will compare the feeling which prevails now to that which convulsed the country at the time immediately preceding the Reform Bill, or even with that which was excited during the Anti-Corn Law agitation, they will have no doubt of the truth of our statement. Public opinion is a great power, but in order that it may act, it must be expressed with decision and energy; and that certainly is not now the case.

Beside all this there is a want of real practical organisation. There are little hints, which seem to tell us that the Manchester School is not quite at one with itself. The Association of which Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY is the head cannot conceal the fact, if it would, that it has not formed a party of sufficient strength or compactness to act efficiently upon the Legislature. Its leaders can only talk of what may be done, not of what has been effected; and, as for the Chartist body, the present state of its Executive is a sufficient commentary upon its powerlessness. What has passed ought to be a lesson to us for the future; once we had united millions at our back, and class-power trembled to its base; now we are scattered, dispersed,—as an organisation almost annihilated. Standing upon the only principles which are perfectly consistent with right—having alone these great truths upon our side which should make our voice potent in the Councils of the nation—possessing the only political faith that elevates humanity above property—thought above wealth—how is it we have been shipwrecked? No man who sees things as they are, can be at a loss for an answer to that question. We do not wish to say one word which has a tendency to aggravate the unfortunate estrangement which keeps us apart from each other; but the truth must be told. Wanting the best guidance, we have had the worst. We have had leaders, who, instead of fighting the common enemy, have been occupied in fighting one another; who, instead of endeavouring to elevate the mass of the people, have sought personal popularity and personal power; who, instead of consistently, temperately, and firmly, urging the rights of all, have been political firebrands, lighting up hatreds and animosities in all ranks, setting us against each other, and banding the world in hostile array against us. Unpalatable as it may be to write or read these words, they must be repeated till their full import is recognised, and the lesson they teach is learned. The principles of the Charter cannot die—they are the ultimate truths of politics, and whether under its present, or some other name, the Chartist party must rule this England of ours; but that will be brought about, not by our policy being one eternal negation—one series of opposition to every body and every thing, but by a bold intelligent affirmative course, which peacefully and dignifiedly shall absorb all those who now stand apart.

This, or even an attempt at it, is impossible, in the short space of time which intervenes between us and the commencement of the Session; and as the field is thus left in the hands of those who do not wish to go so far as we do, we should make what use of them we can. It may serve the purpose of those who find their account in casting their nets in troubled waters, to say that we would hand over the Charter to the Financial Reformers. We do not know whether such a statement is more characterised by absurdity or falsehood. We have ever been as we are, the uncompromising advocates of Manhood Suffrage; but because we cannot lead the people at once to that, we would not, like some others, whose names we forbear to mention, lead them backward. It is ridiculous to pretend to think that such a measure as Household Suffrage for example, would not give a great power to the people, and stimulate the cause of true Democracy. If it would not do all that is needed, it would let part of another element into our representative system which now cannot make itself felt at all. The great majority of those who would be admitted would be workers—men who in their hearts are Chartists now, and, we believe, would continue to be so. We have a higher hope in humanity—a firmer belief in those of our own political faith, who are now the nearest to the Franchise—to credit the alumnus that, if once admitted within the pale of the Constitution, they would turn their backs on their fellows. We think that their will would be as good as it now is, and their power far greater to throw down the walls of political exclusions; and we would earnestly warn all to scrutinise and be cautious of those who so far malign and traduce them, as to deny them that credit for sincerity which they are assuredly entitled to. Those who have so little trust in the people as to say that thousands of them would be ready to become selfish apostates, are most unfit to be the leaders of the masses.

Our course, then, must be an affirmative and not a negative one, and, if possible, it must be conciliatory, not antagonistic. If we can, without deserting our own principles—in fact, always avowing them, use any other party to bring us a step nearer to power, or urge forward any other association beyond their present avowed intentions, it would be madness not to do it. Is there any chance of moving in that direction now? We think there is, and mainly with the object of showing that, we have brought the Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham meetings thus prominently upon the carpet. Circumstances, both favourable and unfavourable, have characterised these gatherings. Mr. BAINES, at Leeds, was for fettering Household Suffrage, and dwarfing it down to the dimensions of the Municipal Franchise; but these ideas were received with evident distaste by the meeting; and a proposition for Manhood Suffrage, put forward by a working man, was so closely contested, that the Chairman had to take the show of hands twice before he could discover the sense of the meeting. In a middle class assembly, called for a middle class purpose, as we suppose that at Leeds was, that is a significant fact showing the growing disposition of the times. At the Birmingham meeting, where Sir J. WALMSLEY and his friends were the stars of the night, a letter was read from Messrs. MURPHY and SCHOLEFIELD, the representatives of the borough, declining to attend, because some gentlemen from London were there, which divested the assembly of a local character. It seems that in that class, as in others, there are leaders who will not move unless they are the sole lions—who will not consent to be pushed from their stools by men of greater power and breadth of mind. But the folly of the sitting members, in attempting to disclaim all but local action and local combination

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PRICE FIVEPENCE or Five Shillings and Sixpence per Quarter.

Free Correspondence.

THE CHARTIST DICTATOR.

To witful men,
The injuries they themselves procure,
Must be their schoolmasters.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—Evils seldom come single-handed. An atrocious murder is generally followed by others less in atrocity, and a destructive fire by those of smaller import, until it dwindles down to a chimney. Why should the French monopolise their *coups d'état*? They have their Gallie cock, and why should we not have our little human? France, however, excites public sympathy; the sayings and doings of the would-be-Chartist Dictator only excite laughter and contempt.

When Mr. O'Connor, in October, 1850, proposed a Convention to be held in January 1851, James called it dictation; he summoned—insisted—and demanded that the Convention should be held in London during the Exhibition; he destroyed the meeting in Manchester; he divided the Chartist party by his factious opposition; and, at last, he caused the Convention to be held in March, after he had caused a discussion of four or five months duration on the subject. The people were disgusted, the Executive was powerless, and, consequently, got into debt through his reckless folly.

At the election of the present Executive, he blamed some candidates for not being elected, and then he resigned the office, but after he was elected, he resigned the office. He has degraded Chartism by forcing himself into a trades' meeting specially called for trades' purposes, and from which he was ejected amidst the unanimous approbation of the assembly.

He is opposed to working men enjoying the profits of their own labour and capital by co-operation, and calls them profitmongers, and the aristocracy of labour; although he is proud of displaying as an appendage to his name—*Esq., Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple*.

He talks of undue advantage having been taken of "the worn-out warrior," when no one has done more to wear him out than he has. He has lived on O'Connor's bounty for years. Mr. O'Connor was compelled to pay the costs of this learned gentleman's defence, and the costs of the Manchester session to enforce it. Mr. O'Connor paid a large amount of money during his imprisonment, to exempt him from oakum picking, and for other purposes, and ever since his liberation, he has been his greatest slanderer and calumniator.

A fortnight ago he complimented Mr. Reynolds for publishing Chartist intelligence in his newspaper. This week, correspondent of the "Notes" terms that journal the "Newgate Calendar," and a "table of moral filth," a "table spread with garbage."

He blames you, Mr. Editor, for seeking to extend the circulation of the "Star," by making it the organ for Trades' Unions and Co-operative Movements, and yet he says, in the same begging article for a paper, that a "democratic paper ought not to neglect any other movement of the working classes."

He says, in answer to the Executive address of last week, that "Mr. Holcomb must know enough of the law to be aware that by resigning, he does not evade himself from any liability, but that for any debt for which he has been on the Executive might, or might not, render him liable for, that I am as liable now as I could be then. So much for the pitiful observation of shirking the debt." But he omits mentioning that he figures this week (and not for the first time) in the Gazette.

Why, then, I resigned because the Executive was disgraced by the momentous decision of the man of character, no one could associate with one of its members. I, O.U., am a troublesome thing, and debtors and creditors are not the most agreeable companions; but as "a man of character!" What would he give to any one to help him to a better?

This is the honourable gentleman who would supply the place of Mr. O'Connor. Chartist, behold your leader, give him a paper, and you will get the Charter on the day after Tib's Eve.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

My DEAR SIR,—In the last number of your paper, "Censor" recommends the extinction of Chartism, and asks for the establishment of a new party—the People's Party! Why?—because just now the Chartist Movement is ineffectual? Will "Censor" guarantee that the National Suffrage Association, if established, will never become ineffectual? Can he even guarantee that it will ever become one? Can he guarantee that the Charter Association has been and is so popular as to know how to use the new name, any more than the old, we could force the middle-class to join the "people," by showing them that in the majority their future welfare depends for the happiness of the producing classes is the truest possible indication of the contentment of the country generally. "Censor" is surely a sapling in the cause, else he must know that this is the very point on which Chartists have always been clinging to the ears of the bourgeoisie.

The position that "Censor" talks of taking up is quite as difficult to push and maintain as if he stood upon the whole six points instead of two. The six, he says, are objectionable to the majority, and in order to do away with this barrier, he selects the two he deems the least objectionable, viz: Manhood Suffrage and the Ballot!

Why, then, the opinion of the very pill that chokes, and the middle classes are afraid of, and which they can take it when they must take it, the other four little ones will go down with it unnoted, without further bother, which would not be the case if they were unhooked, considering how some people strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. Therefore by discarding the present movement we shall be throwing up the bird in the hand for the one in the bush.

Why, then, I believe the Chartist cause in its fullest sense has firmer root than ever. I believe its localities, lecture rooms, libraries, and reading rooms have spread much; and that just a little better behaviour, a little reformation among its active, its leading members, is required, to centralise its power, and send it spinning on brisker than ever.

So far from thinking Chartism a name that stinks in the nostrils, I think I feel that I am not alone, and that all true men who are not led away by novelty and sound, will, as reverence the name of Chartism. It is not the name, more than other, under which the *proletarian classes* have so devotedly held together for a specific object—one which now owns its exile as worthy of respect and honour as the great Hungarian himself, inasmuch as they were as devoted to the cause of freedom and justice; and God forbid we should heap ingratitude upon ourselves, and insult upon such nobles, by casting into oblivion as disagreeable "usurpations," the banner under which they battled, and under which, I may say, fell. Romeis not the Rome she was, yet her citizens, though slaves, still love to be called "Romans." Poor France—though shorn of all she bled for—still longs to put the red cap on her head and shout "Vive la République!" And I believe the honest Chartists of Britain, those who dare brave a name, and laugh at the idea of a few pounds stopping their mouths, are still willing to march under their motto—"The Charter, and No Surrender."

Yours very truly,
ARTHUR CAMPBELL,
6, Oldham-place, Bagnigge Wells-road, Clerkenwell.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—I shall feel grateful if you will allow me to offer my conscientious convictions to the Chartists in your columns.

BROTHER CHARTISTS,—I feel certain a renewed struggle for political liberty will soon take place. I know you are preparing for it, and I deem it a duty to offer my advice fearlessly and sincerely to you. Our success depends on the course pursued by ourselves and our public speakers, to all classes. We must not abuse any person. Past experience has taught us its pernicious effects. An honest conviction tells us that it excites passion and destroys our reason. I know you feel keenly the wrongs you suffer, and that they have compelled you to speak harshly; I have felt and done the same. If our opponents do so, let us not let the future degrade ourselves. Let us not use invectives, or impute bad motives, but work calmly and energetically to obtain our freedom. I am convinced Chartism has spread more than is generally supposed; but it wants good piloting. The Amalgamated Engineers have been misused; they have obtained public opinion, respect, and sympathy, by their calm, dignified, and reasonable conduct. Let us imitate them, and public opinion will soon be in our favour. The present is a valuable opportunity, let us act in concert, and the cause of right will soon be obtained.

Your faithful coadjutor,
R. MILLS,
11, Jubilee-place, Chelsea.

THE MINERS OF THE NORTH AND THEIR EMPLOYERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTHERN STAR.

Sir,—The accompanying statement is a detailed account of the quantity of tubs of coal "laid out" at West Cramlington Colliery, Northumberland, for the past year, the working prices of which are forfeited to the owners whenever mixed to a very small extent with foul coal, and which, within the last 12 months, have cost the employers the sum of £214 11s. 4d., and 10s. additional for tubs at 2s. 6d. each, making altogether £215 1s. 4d., and averaging to each workman a loss of wages earned of £1 11s. 4d.—a sum sufficient to give a suitable education to upwards of 400 children, which is more than belong to the workmen at the colliery, and find books, &c. yet the owners only allow to the schoolmaster the sum of £20 per annum, and compel the workmen to pay one penny each for the children. The coalowners, however, the owners would, at 5s. per ton, bring them 2940 tons—which, added to the £215 1s. 4d. saved by non-payment, make the astounding sum of £1,155 11s. 4d., and being an additional source of profit beyond the immense quantity of coals worked and paid for at the stated prices.

The above statement, though specified as connected with the colliery named, is not an isolated instance; but extortion of a similar character prevails more or less among the different collieries of those two counties; yet, it would be but justice to state that some of the owners have for a number of years devoted all such fines and forfeitures to the Sick Fund established amongst the workmen. The example thus honourably set by the owners of the Black Boy Colliery is, however, not followed by any other owners, that I am aware of; but I trust the time is not distant when the workmen, by one unanimous exertion, will turn to oppressive a system.

I am, yours, &c., M. JUDG.

Mr. Judg has furnished us with an elaborate table of figures in corroboration of his statements which will be unnecessary to trouble our readers.

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THE AMAZON.

Sermons were again preached on Sunday at some of the Southamptons, and on Monday in at the Amazon Foundry, and to return thanks for the merciful restoration of more of her crew and passengers. The deepest regret is felt in Southampton at the reckless opinion entertained by those who were first landed at Plymouth, that all others but themselves perished, and that it was consequently useless to send out a steamer in search. Many of those who arrived at Southampton on Saturday are firmly of opinion that the Amazon, with a considerable number of persons on board, has been picked up by some outward-bound vessel. Several poor women have joyfully thrown aside their mourning garments in consequence of their husbands having proved to be among those landed at Plymouth.

Plymouth, Monday.—On Saturday morning, about two o'clock, Captain Warburton, brother of Mr. Elliot Warburton, who was a passenger on board the Amazon, and whose wife appears yet enveloped in uncertainty, arrived here from London by a special train, having sailing despatches from the Lords of the Admiralty to the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Sir John Aescrow Omanney, upon the receipt of which the admiral issued orders for two steam-vessels, the Sprightly, Master-Commander Allen, and the Avon, Second Master-Commander Veitch, to proceed with all possible despatch to join the Hecla, in searching for the survivors of the Amazon; and to continue the search for the Amazon, and to continue the search for the Amazon.

Notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions of the Southampton Amazon Fund Committee they experience the utmost difficulty in discovering the families and relatives of those persons who were lost in the Amazon. The Royal Mail Company's establishment do not even retain a list of the crew; and even if they did it would not furnish information of where the men resided when ashore. Although the loss of the Amazon has been daily proclaimed and notated in every paper, and throughout the kingdom for the last fortnight, persons most deeply interested in the event who live in the vicinity of Southampton are even now ignorant of the calamity. It was only on Monday that the Committee learnt that there was a widow with nine orphan children who had claims on them living at Deer Leap, a few miles from Southampton, in the New Forest. Thousands of the wives and children of poor seamen cannot read and write, and thousands who can never enjoy the luxury of reading, and thousands who have been compelled to obtain information of the sufferers by the loss of the Amazon, by desiring the Southampton postmen to acquaint all those poor persons living in their districts, whom they may suspect to have had relatives on board to attend at the Mail Company's Offices, and give information, after which such information is handed over to the committee.

A poor creature who had a relative on board has received from the postman the first announcement of the calamity that has befallen her. It is believed that the committee will obtain complete information about the end of this week of the extent of the claims on their bounty. There is not the least doubt that there will be a hundred orphans to provide for. The subscriptions amount at present to about £3,000. The Mayor of Southampton received yesterday, an affecting letter from the family of Mr. Kerseboe, at Angers, in France, entreating to know whether that gentleman, who was one of the passengers, is amongst the saved or not. It is feared, from the position of this gentleman's name on board the Amazon, that he was one of the first on deck, and that he lost his life by the upsetting of the boats. Mr. Kerseboe was the gentleman concerned in the Duchess of Beery's appearance in France a few years since. The unfortunate gentleman was bound for Chagres and California. Negotiations have been entered into to obtain a performance at Drury Lane Theatre under the most illustrious patronage, for the benefit of the fund for the relief of sufferers by the loss of the Amazon.

RETURN OF HER MAJESTY'S STEAMERS SPIRITLY AND AVON.

These two steamers, which left this port on Saturday last, with the Reverend Mr. Warburton, who took passage in the Avon, returned here on Wednesday morning, having experienced rough gales, and thick weather, they were unable to reach Brest. They cruised for some time on the spot where the Amazon was lost, and then made for the French port; but such was the state of the weather that they were obliged to alter their course, and were compelled to bear up for Plymouth. They have seen nothing in connection with the ill-fated vessel. Sighted only two vessels, but at so great a distance that no communication could be held. Mr. Warburton has expressed himself to the Commander of the Avon, Mr. Veitch, as perfectly satisfied that every thing had been done by these vessels which it was possible for human exertion to perform. The Reverend Mr. Warburton, on his return to Plymouth, on Sunday last, preached at St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, in aid of the fund being raised for the relief of the families of the unfortunate fellows whose lives have been sacrificed.

RUSSIAN INSULT TO THE BRITISH CONSUL AT BELGRADE.

In a recent number of the Vienna "Lloyd" there has appeared a notice to the following effect, dated Belgrade:—Mr. Fonblanque, the English Consul-General, made—concerning to the usage of other consuls no personal visit to the Russian resident on the Emperor Nicholas's birthday, but sent up his card from the carriage, which he caused to drive to the door of the house. The Russian consul sent back the card, with the remark that on that particular day he only received personal visits. Mr. Fonblanque, highly incensed, tore the card, and sent a note demanding satisfaction. Now the visible intention of this statement—which is true as far as it goes—is to create a belief that the Russian agent attempted to put a slight on the British Consul-General, and that he was consequently acted in an ill-bred and impolitic way. But a letter received from Constantinople supplies the *suppresso veri* of "Lloyd's" Belgrade correspondent, and places the matter in a perfectly different light. It appears that the hotel taken on lease for the British Consul-General was previously occupied by several tenants, all of whom received long notices to quit at the expiration of their terms. On Sunday last, at about 10 o'clock, the Russian Consul-General, and a personal disrespect which (until acted for) made it impossible for the aggrieved functionary to hold immediate intercourse with the wretched offender, who (having only recently arrived) was not even known to him by sight. So Mr. Fonblanque took the obviously correct course of representing the matter to the Foreign-office and to the embassy at Constantinople. In order to save appearances without compromising the national honour of his own—he went, in uniform, to the Russian Consulate, and gave in his card, which was insultingly rejected in the way already described. Sir Stafford Canning is reported to be highly indignant at the affront, which is viewed by the Porte as part of an intolerable system. The British ambassador is supposed to have left the question to the decision of the Secretary of State, and there is a general impression that the Russian functionary will be disavowed by his government. If the Austro-Muscovite intrigues and cabals are suffered to continue much longer in European provinces of Turkey, there will be no use in trying to check them. The game will be up.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE IN MANCHESTER.

A Conference of the friends of "voluntary and unsectarian education" is to be held in Manchester, on Monday evening, February 2nd, in the Baptist Chapel, Grosvenor-street, and by adjournment, to a morning sitting in the Free Trade Hall, on Tuesday, February 3rd, under the auspices of the National School Association.

An aggregate meeting (under the united auspices of the National School Association, and of the Congregational Board of Education) of the friends of voluntary and unsectarian education, who are opposed to all government grants and local taxation for education, will be held in the Free Trade Hall, in the evening, when a deputation from London and other places will be present and address the meeting. Steps were being taken for procuring an interview of a highly influential deputation with Lord John Russell, in order to impress on government the importance of leaving education to the voluntary action of the people, but his lordship has declined, alleging, as a reason, that as the government do not intend to introduce any measure with reference to education in the ensuing Session of Parliament, he does not think it would forward that object.

LESS OF LIFE BY A NATHAN LAMP.—Yesterday Mr. Wakley, M.P., held an inquest upon the body of Archibald Calder, thirty-four, who lost his life on Wednesday last in consequence of injuries received by the accidental ignition and explosion of a Heliograph lamp, at his residence in Wardour-street, London, on the 16th inst. The particulars of the accident have already been given, and evidence of the same was repeated at the inquest. As at the Heliograph inquest, which originated in similar circumstances, the degree in which the accident was referable to the construction of the lamp, or the want of suitable caution in its use, was left in uncertainty, it was therefore considered better to adjourn the inquest to allow time for further evidence on these points.

FATAL ACCIDENT ON THE SOUTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.—On Friday morning, a serious accident, terminating in the almost instantaneous death of a gentleman, whose name is at present unknown, occurred at the Wandsworth station of the London and South-Western Railway. The deceased gentleman was well known by sight to the officials of the station as being a regular passenger. That morning he rushed upon the platform just as the train was emerging from the station. He was told that he was too late, but, being anxious not to lose the train, he stepped on board, and as it was passing the Heliograph lamp, he was struck by one of the handles of a carriage, and then sprang on the foot-board for the purpose of stepping into the train. His foot slipped, and after making several attempts to gain his former position he lost his hold, and falling upon the line, was so frightfully crushed that he died in the course of a few minutes.

FOREIGN.

CONTRIBUTION OF ORLEANS PROPERTY.

FRANCE.—PARIS, Friday Morning.—Deputies have just appeared in the "Moniteur," announcing that a Ministry of State is instituted, and that M. Casabianca, formerly Minister of Finance, is appointed Minister of State.

Another decree ordains that the Orleans family cannot possess any real or personal property in France. They are bound to sell the property, and the proceeds to them in the donation of Louis Philippe, made in 1830, are restored to the State, which remains charged with the payment of the debt of the Civil List.

The dowry of the Duchess of Orleans is maintained.

A Ministry of General Police is also created, and M. de Maupas, Prefect of the Police of the Seine, is appointed Minister of Police.

LATEST INTELLIGENCE.

NORTHERN STAR OFFICE,
Saturday Afternoon.
AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS.—THE STRIKE.

Last night a meeting, exclusively of labourers connected with the shops which are closed in the East London district, took place at the Phoenix Tavern, Stepney, to receive the report of a deputation appointed on the previous evening to confer with the executive Council of the Amalgamated Society; upon the position which the labourers were to occupy with regard to means of support during the continuance of the strike. Mr. Aldridge occupied the chair. Mr. Masters, one of the deputation above referred to, stated that, in company with his coadjutors, he had waited upon the executive Council that morning, to complain of what they thought a grievance, viz., the difference between the sums allowed for last week to the labourers and the non-society men. A good deal had been said upon the occasion; but he was sorry to say the deputation had not been successful. The only arrangement which was made was this:—The Council intended to meet with the society men, exclusively, the whole amount, which might be raised by the contributions of a day's wages per week by their own members, and with regard to subscriptions which might come from other organised bodies, such as the amount to the Council intended to apply to the non-society men. The labourers must depend upon the subscriptions to be derived from the general public, including those from unorganised bodies of workmen, which the Executive Council guaranteed should be theirs exclusively. At the same time, the Executive wished them to appoint a committee to distribute the money according to their own ideas of justice.

Mr. Evans (one of the deputation) said he thought they were hardly treated fairly by the Amalgamated Society. He thought they had a claim for some more secure means of support than the public subscriptions. They were in a difficult position, the Council had treated the deputation courteously, and were, perhaps, right in their arguments, and he recommended reliance upon the Council as the best course to be taken. A resolution of reliance upon the Council was, after some discussion, unanimously adopted, and a committee appointed to act in conjunction with that body. The proceedings then terminated.

MANCHESTER.—The Manchester employers have issued a circular, stating that the members of their association are at liberty to employ labourers and apprentices in cleaning, stock-taking, &c., the rule (passed at the meeting which decided upon the closing of workshops from the 10th of January) only requiring that the engine should be stopped, and that no productive labour be carried on. A deputation has also been sent to the Central Association in London to confer with that body upon the propriety of opening the workshops generally to the non-society men and unskilled labourers, giving also the option of resuming work to members of the Amalgamated Society on condition that they renounce dictation of foreign interference, leaving all questions in dispute to be decided between the workmen of each establishment and their employers. The workmen are actively engaged in raising public subscriptions for non-society and unskilled men, and the society of Fine Spinners have voted £50, and the House Joiners £25, towards their relief.

Yesterday the monthly report of the Amalgamated Society, for January, was printed for private circulation among the members of the Executive Council. Having been provided with a copy, we extract from it the following address in the subject of the strike, as likely to be interesting at this moment:—

"Yell Members.—This report contains the number of members that were out of employment at the commencement of the present month (given subsequently), and therefore those who were discharged on the 10th of January are not included in the list. According to the returns already received we conclude that the whole number of members now out of employment is short of 2,500. This certainly is a less number than anticipated, and, if the remaining in work subscribe cheerfully, a day's wages per week, our members may receive the necessary benefit without a large reduction of the society's funds. We are aware how anxiously the reduction of the funds of the society is looked for by our opponents, and our object is to disappoint them in the supposition that our funds were to be wasted in one month's struggle. The old system is exploded; strikes have taught working men a lesson, and the issue of this contest depends the future condition of our trade. If the employers are successful in their object of crushing our association, the condition of our trade must inevitably deteriorate, and its tendency will be downward to the state of the lowest paid labourer. All those who are interested in our success, then,—those who value their trade,—who depend upon it as a means of support for themselves and families,—look forward to us when portions of their own families are unemployed in their callings—whether they be men out of employment or men working—all are dependent on the successful issue of this contest, and all should come forward to support the position occupied by the Amalgamated Society. Never was a movement of working men characterised by such moderation, never was one based on greater acts of justice, and, therefore, the support of the trade must be equal to the emergency in which it is placed."

"The subscriptions already received are very good, considering the short time there has been to organise committees to receive subscriptions; and another week will considerably augment the sum already received. In order that this may be done properly, an account of all subscriptions which are received on Saturday evening must be forwarded to the general office, so as to be received on Monday morning, in order that the money may be equitably distributed to the various districts where men are unemployed. It is not necessary that the money itself should be sent so speedily, but on account of it, and by this means the workmen may be paid in each district on Tuesday morning. The number of members who are out in consequence of this dispute, and the number of non-society men and labourers, must also be sent each week. The Council beg to impress upon every secretary the necessity of attending with great punctuality to this arrangement."

"Returns have already been received from 100 branches relative to the voting of £10,000 for co-operative workshops. We are happy to inform the members generally that nine-tenths of the votes are in favour of the resolution of the Executive. Those branches not having sent in their votes are requested to do so; for, the time being fixed and the question being urgent, steps must be promptly taken to carry out the system of self-help."

"The number of members last month was 11,752; this month there are 11,911, being an increase of 159 members."

"By order of the Council,

"JOSEPH MUSTO, President.

"WILLIAM ALLAN, General Secretary."

GAROTT ROBBERY IN LONDON.—Yesterday morning, about one o'clock, Mr. Huckle, of No. 24, Grafton-street, Fitzroy-square, was returning home from the above-named square at a slow pace, having a roll of music in one hand and an umbrella in the other, when, near the corner of Charlotte-street, he was suddenly pounced upon by three men, two of whom having secured his arms and drawn his head back by means of grasping the throat, prevented his giving any alarm by glissing his mouth, or uttering a word, when the third man, who was armed with a knife, made a deep cut in Mr. Huckle's left arm, and then took, as the silver spectacles he wore; but on looking at the roll of paper, and finding it music, one of them exclaimed "Let the old buff keep that and his umbrella." They then started off. It was some time before Mr. Huckle recovered from the violence to which he had been subjected, when finding he was very near home, he made the best of his way to his residence, and called on three to have been dressed in the garb of stablemen.

LOSS OF LIFE BY A NATHAN LAMP.—Yesterday Mr. Wakley, M.P., held an inquest upon the body of Archibald Calder, thirty-four, who lost his life on Wednesday last in consequence of injuries received by the accidental ignition and explosion of a Heliograph lamp, at his residence in Wardour-street, London, on the 16th inst. The particulars of the accident have already been given, and evidence of the same was repeated at the inquest. As at the Heliograph inquest, which originated in similar circumstances, the degree in which the accident was referable to the construction of the lamp, or the want of suitable caution in its use, was left in uncertainty, it was therefore considered better to adjourn the inquest to allow time for further evidence on these points.

FATAL ACCIDENT ON THE SOUTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.—On Friday morning, a serious accident, terminating in the almost instantaneous death of a gentleman, whose name is at present unknown, occurred at the Wandsworth station of the London and South-Western Railway. The deceased gentleman was well known by sight to the officials of the station as being a regular passenger. That morning he rushed upon the platform just as the train was emerging from the station. He was told that he was too late, but, being anxious not to lose the train, he stepped on board, and as it was passing the Heliograph lamp, he was struck by one of the handles of a carriage, and then sprang on the foot-board for the purpose of stepping into the train. His foot slipped, and after making several attempts to gain his former position he lost his hold, and falling upon the line, was so frightfully crushed that he died in the course of a few minutes.

FOREIGN.

CONTRIBUTION OF ORLEANS PROPERTY.

FRANCE.—PARIS, Friday Morning.—Deputies have just appeared in the "Moniteur," announcing that a Ministry of State is instituted, and that M. Casabianca, formerly Minister of Finance, is appointed Minister of State.

Another decree ordains that the Orleans family cannot possess any real or personal property in France. They are bound to sell the property, and the proceeds to them in the donation of Louis Philippe, made in 1830, are restored to the State, which remains charged with the payment of the debt of the Civil List.

The dowry of the Duchess of Orleans is maintained.

A Ministry of General Police is also created, and M. de Maupas, Prefect of the Police of the Seine, is appointed Minister of Police.

Poetry.

BATTLE ON BRAVELY.

O! sweet is the fair face of Nature, when Spring
With living flower-rainbow, in glory hath spanned
Hill and dale, and the music of birds on the wing,
And daisies and the beautiful fairy land.
Makes earth seem a young girl's tender bride,
And dear is our first love's young spirit-cloped,
With her sweet eyes just waking in tender ecstasies,
When the sound of our voice, calls her heart's ruddy tide
Up to the sun, to melt on her lips!
But earth has no night, half so glorious to see,
As a People up-girding its might to be free.

To see men awake from the slumber of ages,
With brows grim from labour, and hands hard and tan,
Start up living heroes! the dream of by Sages,
And smite with strong arm the oppressors of man.
To see them come dauntless forth 'mid the world's
warring.

The midnight mine-workers and slaves of the sod,
Show how the Eternal within them is stirring,
And never more bend to a crowned clod.
Dear God! 'tis a sight for immortals to see,
A People up-girding its might to be free!

Battle on bravely, O Sons of humanity,
Dash down the cup from your lips, O ye toilers;
Too long hath the world bled for tyrants' insanity,
Too long our weakness been strength to our spoilers,
For freedom and right, gallant heroes wrestle ever,
And speak ye to others, the proud words that won ye,
Your rights conquer'd once shall be wrung from ye

O! battle on bravely, the world's eyes are on ye,
And earth has no sight half so glorious to see:
As a People up-girding its might to be free.

Reviews.

The Rights and Duties of Property: with a Plan for paying off the National Debt. By JOHN SANGSTER. London: Whittaker and Co.

POLITICAL economy, though an important, is by no means a popular, branch of the tree of knowledge. How much of this may be owing to the intrinsic character of the study—how much to the style in which it has been treated, we do not pretend to say, but the fact is patent. To the general reluctance to embark in the study of this subject can alone be attributed the power which was, within the last quarter of a century, attained by a comparatively small sect of economists, who paraphrased the tenets of Dr. Adam Smith in a manner to suit the interests of one or two powerful classes in society, and adopted his mode of inquiry and reasoning to the new facts which have since arisen, with a very decided partiality in favour of the holders of land and capital, and an equally decided hostility to the rights and claims of Labour as the source of all wealth.

The founders of the 'Edinburgh Review' were far-sighted men. But for their persevering exposition of the principles embodied in 'The Wealth of Nations,' it is probable that, even among the upper and leisured classes, the work itself would have been regarded as more curious than instructive, more abstract than practical. The reviewers saw that by adopting the principles of economical science, developed by the Kilmichael doctor, they could make themselves a power in the state. They did so; and, especially since 1824, a small school of thinkers have practically ruled the destinies of this country. They have trained a host of ready writers and fluent speakers, through whose instrumentality the public mind has been saturated with their doctrines, familiarised with their phraseology, and almost lulled into the belief that Political Economy, as propounded by them, is a perfect science—that nothing more remains to be learned or discovered, and that every opponent is either woefully ignorant, or lamentably depraved and anarchical. Their doctrines are alike potent in the closet of the Cabinet Minister, and the counting-house of the merchant. They stamp their imprimatur equally upon the Statute Book and the rules which regulate the commercial transactions of the empire. They are, in fact, the ruling power in the country, notwithstanding the frequent and sad contradictions which the state of society offers to their theory. The facts which are at variance with that theory are either disposed of by ingenious sophisms, or admitted, but set down as inevitable and ineradicable social evils. Of late years, however, there have not been wanting instances in which there has been a disposition to relax the iron rigidity of the so-called science of Political Economy, and to admit that the error may be in it, and not in the social phenomena, of which it has hitherto not taken cognisance, or which it has failed to analyse and classify satisfactorily. The work of J. Stuart Mills is one of the most recent evidences of this progress among the recognised and orthodox Economists; and it may be hoped that others, occupying a similar authoritative position, will follow the example of that eminent writer, and admit that the opposite, or Socialist School of Economists, are not so hopelessly and radically wrong as they have heretofore been supposed to be.

It is a curious fact, that the Political Economists proper have had scarcely any influence with the producing classes; while their doctrines have received almost universal acceptance from those who live upon rents, annuities, or profits. The reason of this may be found in the fact, that the whole of them have assumed, as a starting point, that the present system and existing classification of society are natural, just, and final. In investigating and developing the laws evolved by that social machine, therefore, they suppose that the whole question is settled, and men have nothing more to do but to submit themselves to the operations of forces which—as certainly, invariably, and eternally—act upon society as the law of gravitation in the physical world, or attraction and repulsion in astronomical science.

This is a great mistake, which the opposite or Socialist School of Economists have not fallen into. They accept every phase of society as merely successive developments of Humanity; but they look into the organisation of man himself for the light by which alone we can be guided as to the nature of the external institutions, which will most completely harmonise with that organisation, and bring into play all its varied capabilities with advantage to the individual and the community. The essential distinction between the two schools is, that one makes Property primary, and man secondary; whereas the other places the creator of Property before the creature.

Mr. Sangster belongs to the last school of economists; and yet in his lucid and admirably written work he has never shifted the ground from the premises assumed by the orthodox economists, nor carried the question beyond the limits they arbitrarily prescribe. He does not attempt to develop any new form of society, or busy himself with the construction of Social Utopias or Communist Icaras. Accepting in the main the definitions and the dogmas propounded by the admitted authorities, he shows, by a skillfully combined process of exhaustive reasoning and felicitous illustration, that our present system is subversive not merely of the principles of abstract justice, but also of the great canons of political economy itself; and by so doing, has not only done good service individually, but has also shown to others what may be effected by this new mode of advocating the true doctrines of social science. Seeing the enormous and overwhelming power which within the last thirty years has been acquired by a set of active, clever writers, taking a class view of these questions, why should there not now be a practical and a combined effort made to form a school of writers who could treat the question in a comprehensive and catholic spirit, and, at the same time, with that logical rigour and mastery of detail which should, in due time, command general assent? A Quarterly Review established for that purpose, and properly supported, would be certain to succeed in effecting this object, because, though not so well represented in the newspaper and periodical literature of the day, there is no doubt that large numbers among the educated and wealthy classes feel the inefficiency of the popular economic creed, either for present purposes, or the solution of future social problems; while the industrial masses, where they have thought at all, are thoroughly at variance with a philosophy which deems them—with a few fortunate exceptions—to a life of unremitted toil and scanty remuneration. In a few years such a school of writers, steadily pursuing a definite policy, and expounding their great theme with that variety of illustration of which it is susceptible, would undoubtedly make itself felt both in Parliament and in the press, and effect, peaceably, such a change in the current of public opinion, that the vast powers, which are now perverted and misapplied, would become a source of universal prosperity and well-being in the best sense of these two terms.

Towards this new school of literature, as we have said, Mr. Sangster has made a valuable contribution

and we cannot too strongly commend his work to those who wish to master the fundamental principles of Political Economy, and at the same time, to see these principles applied to existing institutions by a fearless and a just writer. Beginning at the beginning, he briefly defines the origin of the time, the scope and objects of the science, and its gradual growth. From this foundation he proceeds to discuss the nature of Labour, its results and claims. Having shown that Labour is now partially, but will one day be solely, the means by which man may earn his bread, that nature, though not parsimonious in her gifts is irregular in her distribution of them, and that man has received the world as his inheritance, and must perfect his title by completing the work which Nature has commenced, the author enters upon one of the most searching expositions of the 'Rights and Duties of Property' in all their phases which we remember to have met with, and which at the present moment, when these questions are attracting so much attention, cannot be too earnestly recommended to the attention of all who take an interest in these all-important questions. We have left ourselves scarcely any space for the numerous passages we have marked for extract. We must, however, find room for the following:—

PERSONAL PROPERTY CONSTITUTED BY NATURAL RIGHT.

Since nature has given the earth and its products equally to all, any natural right to personal property is destroyed; for where unlimited equality of possession exists, there can be no personal property. As it is the right of one individual, or corporate body, to enjoy certain privileges to the total exclusion of every one else that legally constitutes property; and as there can be no natural right to personal property, it necessarily follows that property must be of social creation, having its foundation on social rights, and those rights cannot be otherwise based than on conventional reciprocity. By legal appropriation, therefore, personal property does not exist but by social right only.—In order, therefore, that property may be tolerated by society, it must fulfil and discharge through the medium of its possessors, the conventional conditions implied by the social compact. If it fail to do this through any of its holders, it has broken the compact, and must return to the sovereign head of the society, that he may put his executive prerogative in force, and compel the recalcitrant party to fulfil its obligations to that society whose property it originally was, and who only parted with it on certain recognised conditions and considerations. If any of the parties, who tacitly undertook by their act of taking possession to fulfil those conditions, should refuse or wilfully neglect to perform them, then have they forfeited the right to the property which they hold; and the property equally reverts to the original granters; that is, to society in the aggregate. The very act of the possessors of property invariably appealing to society for its protection when at any time it is assailed, proves that they themselves really feel and understand from whom they receive it in trust, and for the benefit of whom they are indulged in holding possession. If they hold it not for and for the benefit of society, why appeal to society to arise and protect it for it? If it were not held by them for the benefit of society, the call to arms by the possessors of property would be tantamount to summoning society that had been expropriated and plundered of its rights to put on its buckler, and unsheath its sword in order to enslave and annihilate itself.

Property is the social share guaranteed by the laws of property to each individual proprietor, in exact proportion to his perseverance and dexterity in prosecuting the social struggle between capital and labour. Property was created by social action, and its foundation is social, and augmented by it from the surplus revenues of the labour of the industrious classes,—or, rather, it might be described as proceeding from the savings effected by society on its gross revenue by the people not living up to their income; in other words, by the producers of wealth abstaining from spending the full amount of their production, and thus denying themselves the present enjoyment of the whole of the fruits of their labour, and reserving a portion to become proprietors, and thereby recompensing themselves for their present self-denial by the interest and compound interest which property bestows on its possessors. This interest, compound interest, and rent, which property holds out to its votaries, and actually puts them in possession of, through means of its laws, exclusive of society, are the source of the evils which at present render society a turmoil and a warfare of capital against labour; for by these laws the proprietor obtains a commanding position, from which he finds it easy to subjugate the labourer; and the higher he ascends the hill of property, he is able with greater effect to hurl the weight of capital on the labourers in the valley; so that they are obliged to labour not only for their simple existence, but also to produce wealth for him, which he at his pleasure (not being responsible) may forge into future chains to bind them still faster, or to annihilate them by its weight.

The practical result of this system is well depicted in the subjoined passage:—

By the constituted rights of property, the labourer does not labour for himself; in a majority of circumstances, he is only used as a machine to produce wealth for others, as the allotted share of his productions is simply as much as will enable him to accomplish his task most advantageously for the benefit of those who profit by his labour. Every machine, besides its original cost, requires an amount of expenditure to keep it in working order; and thus, the labourer must be kept in efficiently working condition, so as to produce the most profitable amount of work. When he is able to labour, he is sustained in motion for the advantage of the wealthy, who do not at all take into consideration, in paying him his wages, that they have allowed him nothing on his original cost, which they did not pay, as they were obliged to do when they purchased their wares, and which they must repair and renew at their own expense; neither do they count on allowing him a recompense over and above what is necessary for his actual consumption, so that he may provide a fund to support himself in his old age. Such being the case, the labourer when exhausted and unfit to perform any longer the work assigned to him, is sent to the hospital to be repaired, or to the workhouse to break up by the course of nature at the public expense, thereby rendering the last asylum of the labourer one of the authors of his misery, in the victims who are being driven on towards the same altar, being obliged ultimately, (as labour only is productive) to bear the expense of keeping up workhouses, and all other charitable institutions.

Our readers can apply for themselves the principles embodied in the extract which follows, to the present state of affairs between the operative engineers and their employers.

Labour could not sufficiently protect itself without the aid of society, so neither can society exist were labour to withdraw from supporting it; both are therefore indissolubly dependent upon each other for support; so that they must to a certain degree stand or fall together. If the protection of society were to be taken from labour, man would retrograde towards a state of primitive barbarism, where society would become extinct; not quite so with labour, that, though it might be reduced to its lowest ebb of production and usefulness, would nevertheless survive its degradation, and phenix-like arise out of its very ashes, to re-establish its ancient power and to resuscitate its former concomitants, wealth and property, with all their train of dependants. Thus, the eternal round of man's happiness and misery is constantly produced through apparent discord; not politically understood, but which, when comprehended, will be ultimately turned by political economy into an universal harmony. However, before this desirable attitude shall have been half attained by society, the labourers will have long and painfully to suffer, in bearing their burdens up the hill of transformation; and heaviest of burdens will have to be laid on the altar of selfish monopoly and irresponsible property. All that can be practically done, by political philanthropists, during this disastrous march of society, will be to alleviate, as much as possible, by judicious council, the privations and sufferings of the industrious classes, that will have to pass through the heavy and well-directed cross of monopoly and misery, unitedly pointed against them in their ascent; to encourage them to persevere, as quickly as possible, a reconciliation between capital and labour, with a recognition, by property, of the claims of the labourer to a just participation in its benefits.

The relation in which labour the parent of society, and property the child of society, stand connected, is so very close, and they are so much dependent upon each other in this relationship, to effect either good or evil, that it is the duty of the state, the guardian of social rights, determined by necessity, to interpose its power, and to impose of justice between the exorbitant demands sometimes made by labour on the one hand, and that of the haughtily uncompromising pretensions, steadily urged by property on the other; to restrain labour from asking too much concession, and to constrain property to grant what may be considered to be for the general good of society. If any of the landed proprietors, or great capitalists of the country, vociferously these resources, from the beneficial use of which the industrious classes might derive a competent living, then it is the duty, as well as the privilege of the government, to afford protection to the oppressed, by demanding of the trespassers to respect social obligations. And, in case of their non-compliance, the state has the power vested in itself, to enforce that obedience which the preservation of social order requires.

In the second part of this work Mr. Sangster develops a plan for liquidating the National Debt, which, whatever may be thought of its practicability, will be admitted to be just, inasmuch as it throws the major portion of the burden on property, to protect which that debt was professedly incurred. Apart however from the interest which the details of this plan may excite, the general reader cannot fail to be instructed by the excellent and well condensed history of the debt itself, the pretences on which it was contracted, and the details which are given respecting the number and classification of the fund-holders. 'The History and Mystery of the National Debt' is not the least valuable portion of Mr. Sangster's valuable volume, to which we shall probably be indebted in future for much instructive matter on most important and pressing social and financial questions.

The Christian Socialist. Vol. 2. London: Bezer, 183, Fleet-street.

We have, on so many previous occasions, expressed our approval of the spirit in which the conductors of this periodical discharged their disinterested and self-imposed duties, that it is unnecessary to say that we commend it in its collected form. Like many other experiments of earnest and sincere reformers, we find it has not met with pecuniary success, and the present volume closes its existence as the 'Christian Socialist,' though it is perpetuated under somewhat different management under its second title, the 'Journal of Association,' from which we infer that in future it will be more a record of facts, than an exponent of principles, or a vehicle for discussion. It is in such works as these that the future historian will find registered the gradual, intermittent, but upon the whole, steady march of society onward to the discovery and application of higher principles of social action, and in this point of view they possess a permanent and increasing value. But apart from the recommendation of the volume in this respect, it contains numerous papers of permanent interest, and all of them inspired by the spirit so admirably described in the following lines, which we transcribe from the title page:

We sought to speak the truth in love to all—
Always we have not done so, which we mourn;
Not mourn we for the jeers of party scorn,
The hate of all that unto self stands thrall;
Not mourn we over ill success, but call
Of joyful to do right, and go forlorn
Of earth's praise to God's glory. Yet the earth
Shall grow, that these our rude hands do let fall;
Yet shall brave hearts, made braver by our speech,
In higher tones, yet larger lessons teach.
We men may fall, but God's word cannot lie;
Duty, Faith, Love, are yet the threefold truth;
Whereon earth's life must feed or earth must die;
But in these three words lies a fount of deathless youth.

The Literary Almanack, and Publishers', Booksellers', Authors', Editors' and General Readers' Directory for 1852. By J. PASSMORE EDWARDS. London: Horsehoe-court, Ludgate-hill.

MR. EDWARDS has struck out a new idea. We have not only an almanack, but one peculiarly adapted for the large and important class whose wants it is designed to supply. Of course it can scarcely be expected that perfect accuracy should characterise the first issue of such a work, but as far as we have looked into it, it merits the praise of fulness and correctness, and any defects will be discovered and rectified in future editions, by the co-operation of the various parties to whom such a publication must prove a decided acquisition. It gives a complete list of the books published in 1851, a classified list of the London and provincial newspapers, stating where and when they are published, when they were established, their politics, price, and circulation. This is followed by a similar list of weekly, monthly, and quarterly publications, and an alphabetical list of the principal publishers in the metropolis, the principal colleges, learned institutions, museums, schools of art, private galleries, and pictures, in London, and mechanics and literary institutions in England. The mere enumeration of these items will at once suggest the wide-spread usefulness of an almanack which ought to have been issued sooner for the pecuniary interest of the publisher. Among other contents we should not omit to notice the obituary of eminent persons for last year, which is carefully and impartially done, and an equally painstaking collection of literary and artistic memoranda, which those engaged in these pursuits will find valuable for reference.

Wealth: how to get, preserve, and enjoy it. By JOSEPH BENTLEY. London: 13, Paternoster Row.

It would be a work of supererogation to analyse or review a book which has reached a third edition, and which its author has now printed in a cheap form for that wider circulation which its contents so well deserve. Mr. Bentley has devoted himself with unflinching devotion for very many years to the cause of popular education, and few men have written better or more practically on the subject. His statistical contributions, the result of his own extensive and unwearying personal investigation and inquiry, are of great value to all who take an interest in a question which underlies all others, and which must be mastered before any general or permanent improvement of the masses can take place. We may briefly state, that the special topic of the volume before us is Industrial training for the people, and that it contains a very large collection of statistical and practical information respecting the various Insurance Offices and other means of investing Savings, and guarding against all the contingencies of life which are susceptible of being foreseen and prevented, or ameliorated by prudence, self-denial, and the present state of the science of Assurance in this country. As a sample of the way in which this question is treated, and also as containing useful information as to the principles and modes of operation of Life offices, we extract the following:—

When the first of these most valuable institutions was established in 1706, by the Bishop of Oxford of that day and other benevolent and thoughtful men, these principles were then very dimly seen; and to make up for this uncertainty, for to the uninformed nothing seems more uncertain than human life, they subscribed a large capital, to give the public confidence that all the engagements of the office were to be kept. Since that day, however, knowledge has been wonderfully increased, and on no subject more usefully than this, the statistics of human health, life, and conduct. We have indeed attained such a position, in reference to these apparently most uncertain of all earthly things, that we can pronounce with the most surprising accuracy, the exact amount of sickness, disablement from work, death, pauperism, or crime, that will befall any considerable number of men or women; if we can obtain tolerable answers to some half a dozen or half a score simple questions. We may not be able to point out each individual from the crowd, that will be disabled from work at any particular time; who will die within a certain period, or commit some breach of trust, or become bankrupt, or go to the workhouse, or be taken to prison, in any year that may be mentioned; but we can tell how many out of the whole number will, in the average of each future year of life, meet with any or all these misfortunes.

Take for example the case of life. Here, suppose we have three men before us, just twenty years of age; each, apparently, enjoying equally good health, and the same probability of living to the utmost duration of life. But we cannot easily perceive it, there may be a considerable difference, in the constitutional intensity or tenuousness of vitality, possessed by these three men. The dwellings in which they live, and the employments by which they earn their bread, may be very different, in their healthful tendencies. One may be in the things most favourably situated, as regards all the essentials of prolonged life—he may have the good fortune to inherit the health and prudence of his parents, with such knowledge and prudence as will enable him to avoid abusing it—he may always have good sense enough to live in the most healthy of houses, and follow the trade that will be most likely to preserve him from the use of those things, and enjoying all these blessings, we may estimate this man's probable expectation of future life at eighty years. Having now lived twenty, that he may not die before he is 100 years of age.

The second of these men may only possess these advantages in the ordinary degree, in which they are now enjoyed in our country. His parents may have been moderately healthy, for a year preceding and following his birth—they may have been about as well as the nation, as to the rearing and the education of their son, his parents are in the habit of doing; and, should he avoid following an unhealthy trade, and living in a house injurious to health; should his life be moderately prosperous, and should he obey the laws of health in a fair degree; then these things all being so, we may calculate this man's probable expectation of life at sixty-four years—that having now lived twenty, he may expect his life to be continued till he is about eighty-four years old. Supposing the third man at present to enjoy none of these advantages—that his parents knew not or disobeyed the laws of health—that he himself does not heed them or care about them, either as regards his persons, his home, or his employment—then, in that case, this poor unfortunate though now apparently very healthy fellow, cannot expect to live beyond his sixty-eight years. Having already passed twenty summers, we cannot estimate his future life at more than thirty-eight. The utmost duration of life in these three men would thus be, eighty, sixty-four, and forty-eight years respectively; notwithstanding their apparent equality in this respect, at present. One might live something over, and another not quite so long a period of time in these individual cases; but, taking a larger number, say five or ten thousand individuals, such is found to be the extreme decremence of life—the rate of mortality—the law of vitality among men, at the present day, in our country.

By actual experiments, in real life, it is found that, if we take this extreme duration of human life, the present unexpired portion of it, in any given instance; and divide those probably remaining-to-be-lived years by two, we obtain the actual number of years that will be lived, by any large number of men in England. This rule has been practically adopted by actuaries, for a century; and it is now set on a more scientific basis, by the laws of science, with such physical laws as those which govern the flowing and ebbing tide, and the setting of the sun or moon. Nearly two hundred millions sterling of property in our country reposes on this law, in greater safety than any

other existing wealth, and more than £5,000,000 sterling is annually paid in premiums, entirely on the faith of it.

Any society would take these three men's lives, supposing each of them wanted to secure £100 to his relatives or friends, whenever they happened to die; and, as we may say, "The utmost expectation of life in these men now is eighty, sixty-four, and forty-eight years respectively. Divided by two, their certainty of life is forty, thirty-two, and twenty-four years, and each must pay to our office such an annual premium as will be sure to amount, during these years, to the sum we engage to pay at death, with all expenses and risk; and leaving a profit on the business that will make it worth our time attending to it." Valuing each of these according to the rules laid down by his "professional craft," modified by the resolves of his Board of Directors, these three men would be told by the office the terms on which his office would become bound to pay the required sum at death, he is £100 or £2,000. Practically, this business is transacted, by the party proposing to assure his life filling up, truthfully, all the questions in the proposed paper of the office—being examined by a duly qualified medical officer—furnishing personal testimonials from some respectable party that has known him for a number of years, and from his own medical attendant if any; and if not, from a second person, as to the past and present health of the proposer and his family; and after appearing personally in person, or before the agent of the office, all these facts thus brought together, are submitted to the Directors, and they decide on the terms under which they are willing to accept the life proposed, for the sum named in the documents.

LITERARY EXTRACT.

THE DOMESTIC TRAGEDY OF THOMAS HOLCROFT THE DRAMATIST.

William Holcroft was his only son, and favourite child, and this very circumstance, perhaps, led to the catastrophe which had nearly proved fatal to his father, as well as to himself. He had been brought up, if anything, with too much care and tenderness; he was a boy of extraordinary capacity, and Mr. Holcroft thought no pains should be spared for his instruction and improvement. From the first, however, he had shown an unsettled disposition; and his propensity to ramble was such, from his childhood, that when he was only four years old, and under the care of an aunt in Nottingham, he wandered away to a place at some distance, where there was a coffee-house, into which he went, and read the newspapers to the company, by whom he was taken care of, and sent home. This propensity was so strong in him, that it became habitual, and he had run away six or seven times before the last.

On Sunday, November 8th, 1789, he brought his father a short poem. A watch, which had been promised to him as a reward, was given to him; his father conversed with him on his new acquisition, in a manner, rather, encouraged him, and told him that, notwithstanding his former errors and wanderings, he was convinced he would become a good and excellent man. But he observed, when taking him by the hand to express his kindness, that the hand of the youth, instead of returning the pressure as usual, remained cold and insensible. This, however, at the moment, was supposed to be accidental. He seemed unembarrassed, cheerful, and asked leave without any appearance of design, or hesitation to dine with his father in the city, with his mother, and several times inquired whether his father was gone to dress. As soon as he was told that he had left his room, he went up stairs again, broke open a drawer, and took out forty pounds. With this, the watch, a pocket-book, and a pair of pistols of his father's, he hastened away to join one of his acquaintances, who was going to the West Indies. He was immediately pursued to Greenwich, but ineffectually. It was not discovered till the following Wednesday that he had taken the money. After several days of the most distressing inquietude, there appeared strong presumptive proof that he, with his acquaintance, was on board the Fame, Captain Carr, then lying in the Downs. The father and a friend immediately set off, and travelled post all Sunday night to Deal. Their information proved true, for he was found to be on board the Fame, where he assumed a false name, through his true situation was known to the captain. He had spent all his money, except fifteen pounds, in paying for his passage, and purchasing what he thought he wanted. He had declared he would shoot any person who came to take him; but that if his father came he would shoot himself. His youth, for he was but sixteen, made the threat appear incredible. The pistols, pocket-book, and remaining money were looked up in safety for him by his acquaintance. But he had another pair of pistols concealed. Mr. Holcroft and his friend went on board, made inquiries, and understood he was there. He had retired into a dark part of the steerage. When he was called, and did not answer, a light was sent for; and as he heard the ship's steward, some of the sailors, and his father, approaching, conscious of what he had done, and unable to bear the presence of his father, and the open shame of detection, he suddenly put an end to his existence.

It took which Mr. Holcroft received was almost mortal. For three days he could not see his own family, and nothing but the love he bore that family could probably have prevented him from sinking under his affliction. He seldom went out of his house for a whole year afterwards; and the impression was never completely effaced from his mind.—*Miss Mitford's Recollections.*

MR. THACKERAY'S LECTURES.

This well-known and popular writer is at present delivering a series of lectures on the writers and literary men of England, in the time of Queen Anne, in the Marylebone Literary Institute; they attract large and fashionable audiences, and are distinguished for the felicitous style in which the witty literary man living treats of his predecessors. Speaking of Congreve's literary efforts, they were summed up as a feast flaming with lights, at which men and women sat round the table drinking wine and bandying wit as immortal as the table was brilliant. But wit without love was a sorry feast, mad intoxication at night, indignation and blank headache in the morning. As for love, Congreve made love in full uniform, with fiddles playing, as the young officers in 'Grammont's Memoirs' marched to the siege of Lerida in evening costume. All was hollow and artificial. One dash of Swift's lightning, one touch of Steele's feeling, one beam of Addison's sunshine, would cause his playhouse taper to disappear for ever. Willingly the lecturer, and most willingly the company along with him turned to the honours of Addison. Full justice was done to all his merits of kind, of good nature, and of character. But here, again, a long look was cast back on the luck that followed writers in Queen Anne's time, the success of 'The Campaign' was recounted to the audience. That liberal angel that enabled Addison to 'ride the whirlwind and direct the storm,' as to get into snug haven in the shape of a place worth £1,500 a year, was humorously woven to the second floor windows of modern authors. The 'do' on Lord Somers was made apparent by a recitation of the last lines of the poem of which Mosse's poem would spurn the parentage. The company heartily enjoyed the joke, perhaps not remembering that places are given for just as foolish reasons at the present moment. Addison never wrote love sonnets, because he knew little about women, and his matrimonial reminiscences were by no means calculated to stimulate complimentary effusions. He was man of the club, and the mall, and hence the charm of the 'Spectator,' to which full justice was done, and the criticisms were rightly appreciated. The lecture on Steele introduced a vivid picture of the state of society at that day.

His audience seemed as much surprised and delighted as if some wonderful truth had just arrived with a comet, plucking its way through undiscovered continents, and its people which had never before been heard of. The 'Exeter Fly,' performing its journey in the incredibly short space of eight days, surprised a generation who make excursions to Bath and back on a day ticket; and the country inn with its snug kitchen, in which the curate smoked his pipe while the soldier talked of Ramilies and Malplaquet, and the mysterious gentleman, who owned a famous grey mare, and sat in the corner coolly waiting the departure of the stage-coach, which it was his intention to rob, were described with all the fidelity of a Flemish picture. Then came a description of the 'fast' men of six score years since. The trial of Lord Mohun for the murder of Dick Mountford, and the attempted abduction of Mrs. Bracegirdle, were admirably told, with the stern justice of his peers, who could not think of hanging one of their order for merely 'pinking' a play-actor. Then there was the lower stratum of society, quite as jolly and nearly as profligate, with its captains from the Low Countries, its halliffs and its coffee-houses. All these things Dick Steele had seen and mingled with—had gone home tipsy after many a bottle, in many a tavern, and had run from many a bailiff. Steele projected first the 'Tatler,' and afterwards the 'Spectator' and 'Guardian,' and by their success completely extinguished the 'British Apollo,' and all similar rubbish. His first comedy was 'damned for its piety,' but he persevered, and both on the stage and in the serial succeeded in establishing purity of language and of sentiment. Steele wrote more than half of the papers in the 'Tatler,' 'Spectator,' and 'Guardian,' and, therefore, should have some share of the laurels which are too exclusively given to Addison. His career as 'Prince of Bloomsbury,' oppressed by his allies, of Chancery-lane (the bailiffs) made everyone laugh. Last, though not least in interest, came Steele's literary merits, which the lecturer pointed out with his usual exquisite discrimination, dwelling in forcible terms on his naturalness, his feeling, and his truth; and the justice of the criticism was completely affirmed by the different effects produced upon the audience by the extracts from Swift, Addison, and Steele, which the lecture was brought to a conclusion. Swift's savage sentiments met with no response: Addison's sublime reflections in Westminster Abbey were coldly listened to; but Steele's touching little story about the scene between his mother and himself over his father's coffin melted both the lecturer and his audience; and sent both home convinced that Dick, though he did take an extra bottle of Burgundy on occasions, was still a man that 'everybody liked,' and that everybody had justification for his liking.

Varieties.

CON.—What article of ladies' winter attire does a stupid negro resemble?—A sable muff.
This man who ate his dinner with the fork of a river has been attempting to spin a mountain top.
A COLO.—A correspondent of a "Pleasure" paper is afflicted with such a cold in his head, that he can't wash his face without freezing the water.
A QUESTION FOR CONSIDERATION.—When an extravagant friend wishes to borrow your money, consider which of the two you had rather lose.

WISDOM.—Men are instructed by reason; men of less understanding by experience; the most ignorant by necessity; and brutes by nature.

DICTIONARY (PEOPLE'S EDITION).
ABAPT.—Jewish Disabilities Bill.
ABLE.—Parliament to vote supplies.
ABANDON.—Lord John Russell's Measure of Reform.
ABRUT.—A placeman counting out the House during the discussion on a measure of reform.
ABSOLUT.—The power of Louis Napoleon.
ABSORBENT.—The English Church.

MURDERERS (THEATRICAL).—It is complained of Shakespeare that he unnecessarily murdered Hamlet. But he has been paid off for it. A great many Hamlets have murdered Shakespeare.

DELICATE WORKS.—Women are a great deal like French watches—very pretty to look at, but very difficult to regulate when they once take to going wrong.

A CAUTION.—A young man has died at Hull from putting tallow on a pimple on his face. The tallow contained arsenic, and veridigra had accumulated on the candlestick.

GOOD ADVICE.—Always do as the sun does—look at the bright side of everything; it is just as cheap, and three times as good for digestion.

SERENITY.—Having threatened his son Tom to cut him off with a shilling, received this retort:—"Where will you get it?"

A MONSTER gun has been made in America, which throws a ball three and a half miles! Its caliber is twelve inches. There is one gun in the British service that throws a solid shot two and a half miles.

OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM.—The institution in Manchester for taking charge, during the day, of the children of women employed in factories is exceedingly admirable, and the charges have been reduced from 2s. 6d. to 2s. per week. [Query. What are the workmen's wages?]

THE THREE LOSSES.—It is a Spanish maxim that "he that loseth wealth, loseth much; he who loseth a friend, loseth more; but he who loseth his spirits, loseth all." So keep up your spirits, and a fig for care!

TEMPERANCE.—Our physical well-being, our moral worth, our social happiness, our political tranquillity, all depend upon the control of our appetites and passions, which the ancients designated by the cardinal virtue of temperance.—BURKE.

A LONG NOSE WARRANTED.—A certain manufacturer having by accident received a severe cut across the nose, and having no convalescent at hand, stuck on his unfortunate organ one of his gummed trade tickets, on which was the usual intimation, "Warranted 360 yards long."

ENGLAND 1852.—There will be five Sundays in February next. A similar event will occur after twenty-eight years, viz., in 1880. Afterwards there will be no similar occurrence for forty years, viz., 1920; because the year 1900 will be a leap year, owing to the dropping of a day on the completion of each century.

EXTRACTS FROM "PUNCH."
HUSBANDY BOND.—France is enjoying its LITTLE NAP.—
A MAKE-SHIFT EXISTENCE.—"Making shirts at Sixpence."

THE HEAD AND FRONT OF A WOMAN'S "OFFENSIVE."—Appearing at the breakfast-table in curl-papers.
A MELANCHOLY REFLECTION.—A very young playman was heard to remark, "How very soon one grows GRAY in the public service!"

"CLEANLINESS IS NEXT TO GODLINESS."—This is literally true in a street near Trafalgar-Square, for the Baths and Wash-houses there are next door to a Chapel!

SAVING ADVICE.—Master Tom. "Have a Weed, Grass, or 'Grass'?" "What?" "A weed!" "Certainly not, Sir. I never smoked in my life." "Master Tom. 'Ah! then I wouldn't advise you to begin.'"

THE TREES OF LIBERTY.—The French trees of liberty are all to be cut down, and the wood given to the poor for fuel. Thus Frenchmen have liberty to—warm themselves.

AN IMPUDENT BIRD FANCIER.—Strange that Louis Napoleon should have such a predilection for the Eagle. The Eagle, by all accounts, is the bird which he has been most used to flying.

RATHER EQUITABLE.—A Morning Paper, in an article on the Paris Exchange, says—"On the Bourse, at the opening, a rumour had been artfully got up that the President had been fired at, and with such success as to have caused a fall."—"Of which? President or prices?"

THE CROWN JEWELS OF THE CITY.—To commemorate the acquisition by the Corporation of London of the privilege of levying a tax upon coats, it is proposed that the Lord Mayor's Cap of Maintenance shall be decorated with black diamonds, which would be the brightest jewels of the civic Crown.

FOOD FOR FOREIGN POWDER.—The British troops are all picked men; but since they now-a-days neither know how to ride nor fire, or, if they do, have horses that won't go and muskets that won't carry straight, the circumstance in question will not appear until they get into action and are picked off by the enemy.

INCONSISTENCY IN THE ENGLISH CHARACTER.—The character of John Bull presents strange anomalies. Appended to advertisements for servants we constantly meet with the intimation that "No Irish need apply." It is singular that we English, who are so fond of the Turf, should exhibit so very unreasonable a prejudice against a Race.

