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The Leader

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

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News of the Week.

POLITICALLY, this year is already regarded as if it were last year; it has been disappointing, sterile, worthless; we are tired of it, hate it, and are glad to get it out of sight. All our interests are now turned upon next year. If there is any value left in the present, it is only as the vestibule to that better period; we only prize the few remaining months as an opportunity to make preparations. Present events are regarded from the point of view of 1852.

Socially, indeed, events still happen in this England of ours. There are the average number of births, marriages, and deaths; the daily papers teem with murders, outrages, crimes, and disasters in more than usual abundance; Suffolk comes up to the standard, and supplies its murder to the general contribution; the railways have been overwhelmed with traffic, wherefore constant chaos at railway station, collisions here and there, and hosts of letters in the journals complaining of unpunctuality, disappointments, accidents unreported, bad management, departure of several trains at once, and so forth. The usual commotion has been made amongst the grouse, and the usual anticipations are made about partridges; with the periodical notifications from the Moors, and the annual commonplaces. The case of Reddish *versus* Priestnall, at Stockport, in which a forgetful linen-draper is mulcted to the extent of £20 for jilting a young lady, we take as an overt sign that affairs of the heart have not been brought to a dead stop by the stagnation of the Whig Ministry; the startling incident in High-street, Shoreditch, in which a young lady on an Exposition visit to London is awaked in the night by finding in her room three Don Juans, soldiers from the ranks, and some more shocking occurrences at the police offices, indicating how often inverted nature is impelled to break down the instincts of the parental relation in the most horrible of crimes, suggest not only eventfulness enough in life, but doubts whether our civilization is so advanced as some of us think it. We have tried to put nature in the stocks, and are rearing up a population, as an Irishman would say, half enervated machines, half hypocrites, and half desperate outlaws.

The public mind turns its thought to such things in this holiday season, for want of something more stirring to think about. That political action is perfectly dead is proved by the fact that the press has not troubled itself with any "retrospects of the session"; a custom scarcely ever omitted. That which we ventured to do as a licence open to our more free and easy habit, our veteran fellow-workmen have done almost universally. Every organized agitation has sunk into a slough of "open questions." Mr. Young's Pro-

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tectionism at Tynemouth, and Lord John's great Reform Bill for next year, are equally impotent to revive the jaded life of politics.

If there is any kind of stir at home, is is the uneasy movement of what in the temperal view we may call religious faction; but even that has waned to a sort of minor agitation. The call for a convocation of the London diocese is natural, and, we think, proper; but we do not observe that it meets with anything like general support from the popular clergy of the diocese. Archbishop Whately's constant advocacy of a metropolitan convocation of the Church stands an unanswerable, but an abstract, exercise of reasoning. Until the Church, however, has a Convocation in the most efficient form which its members can devise, it must remain without the power of showing what it can do in these arduous days; it must undergo the perilous, perhaps the fatal, trials of the warfare to which it is exposed, both within and without, and yet it must be debarred from the strength and wisdom which it might derive from organization and a council of its elders.

It can derive little defence from small triumphs of sectarian power, like that which has just suppressed the conventual bells at Clapham. The sound of these bells was "distracting," "astounding" to Protestant ears; evidently more for the doctrinal animus detected in the sound, than for the metal ring. It is in evidence that the same ears were not afflicted by Protestant bells, dinner-bells, or any other ringing but that which has legally been pronounced "a nuisance" by a Protestant jury. Technically, however, the religious question was not in issue.

If the Anti-papal rigour can triumph in England, the Irish Catholics show no disposition to give way before it. The Bishops speak as if they would stand their ground; so that the year of the New Reform Bill is likely to see the Liberal Ministers self-compelled to take up Orange ground in Ireland! And what is worse, there are signs of the potato blight, both in England and Ireland. If that should appear, Ministers will have enough to do, seeing arrayed against them bishops and potatoes!

Abroad, as at home, though for a somewhat different reason, attention is becoming wholly fixed on the preparations for next year. The events of the day are important only in reference to that future. Political geography is massed into large groups. France remains in its anomalous condition, without a national majority, without a determined policy; a republic without a Republican Government, and yet without any Anti-Republican party sufficiently confident in its own numbers and influence to declare itself as such. The tactics of the Anti-Republicans, thus far successful, are to obtain possession of office in the capital and about the country; all the Anti-Republican parties have combined more or less closely for that specific purpose. The real Republicans are a ma-

jority as compared with any one of the several parties which can never unite, though they do conspire for a time; the Republicans are a minority only while the factions stand together in conspiracy. But the trial of Gent, and his fellow-prisoners at Lyons, for a plot said to have been discovered last year, and brought before a court martial this year, is important mainly in betraying the fear of the established anarchists. They are driven to mock their own Republican professions by copying the very trick of Absolutism, in trying political offences of the past before a military tribunal. The Fusionists talk of setting up the Prince de Joinville as candidate for the Presidency—no doubt because he is a thorough *Frenchman* in every aspect and feeling, and in every public act of his life, and calculated, therefore, to enlist national feeling in his favour. The one thing clear, however, is that the combined minorities do not know what they themselves intend to do, and that they view the coming struggle with an increasing dread, as they are learning more distinctly the power of the true republicans.

The manifesto of the Mountain, published this week—a species of "compte-rendu" of the session—looks backward to condemn, and forward to hope. It is a terrible indictment of the Government—shame abroad, injustice and illegality at home, a capricious and tyrannical majority bound together by the selfishness of its heterogenous sections, a Minister convicted of transmitting falsehood by the telegraph, a president coquetting with Imperialism, everywhere republican national guards disarmed, the state of siege in five departments, and a state trial at Lyons, carried on under the bayonets of the soldiery preceded by long weary imprisonment of the "suspects." Finally the attempt to revise the constitution in a monarchical sense—the suffrage remaining restricted! These accusations must bear fruit—these evil acts call down retribution in the course of things.

But it is the moral attitude of the Republicans to which we would direct most attention. Everybody says, everybody feels, that 1852 will be a year of crisis. Why a crisis, ask the Republicans? An Assembly which has violated the constitution, the warrant for its own existence, by disfranchising three millions of voters, and a President, who has aped the Emperor, will cease almost together. The constitution provides for that contingency. Then why a crisis? Unless you, the party of Order, act illegally, manifestly—unless you have recourse to open, avowed, armed counter-revolution, there will be no need of a crisis. The blow is well aimed, and tellingly delivered. If the law take its course, why a crisis?

It is of importance, also, to note how distinctly the manifesto asserts, first, that "the people will not elect Louis Napoleon Bonaparte;" and secondly, that "the law of the 31st of May will be repealed." While the majority keep within the limits of the constitution, there will be no appeal

to force; no resistance but moral resistance—a war conducted in “union,” carried on with “perseverance,” and animated by “devotedness.” But if the enemies of the constitution pass its limits, then “they solemnly declare, with deliberate firmness, that, enveloped in the flag of the constitution, they will not fail in any of the duties which the salvation of the Republic may impose.” And this is a policy in which, from Cavaignac and Lamoricière to Jules Favre and Auguste Miot, all shades of the Left will heartily join. The moral attitude is perfect. It is also a deadly reproach to those who intrigue for a De Joinville or for a Bonaparte, both illegal candidatures.

In Western Europe, both South and North of France, there is no overt sign of change; but the fact that popular intelligence has made great progress in Spain, is attested by the extension of Associative principles in that country. On this subject, our contemporary, *La République*, distinguished even among French journals for uniting the philosophy of politics with practical information, has a most instructive article, of which we shall place the substance before our English readers next week.

Taking a sweep round by the East of Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, we discern in every part the symptoms of alarm on the Absolutist side;—an alarm getting too strong for concealment. The intelligence of an Absolutist movement from all quarters, might be summed up in two words—arrests and diplomatic activity. Police and diplomatists are busy in every state. There are arrests in Germany, arrests in Hungary, arrests in Austrian Italy; the Berlin police system is extended to the Rhine; the police report a conspiracy discovered at Venice, to break out at Brescia; the *Ordre* reports that the eruption is to take place at the foot of *Ætna*. Here again the only thing certain is, that the police know nothing of these rumoured conspiracies; their masters, indeed, decry a great power rising up against them, throughout the whole range of Absolutist Europe; they feel what they call the “volcanic soil” rising under their feet; they discern the power of the “Invisible Government” in the demeanour of the People; they are perplexed, terrified; they presume an explosion to take place, they would rather see the danger than live in the midst of it unseen, and they order the police to find it out: accordingly the police reports that it *has* found it out. There is the whole story of these pretended discoveries.

Meanwhile, Absolutism has other tribulations—s in the last new discovery, for the twentieth time, that Austrian finance is insolvent; other woes—as in the last new turn to the expectations about Frederick William, that he is going to turn Roman Catholic—as if it mattered what he turned! The weathercock will probably turn southwards to-morrow: what then?

The colonial world is not in a state of perfect repose. Cuba is announced to be in revolt against Spain; and although some doubt is cast upon the report, at present it must be received with due allowance for all rumours coming across the Atlantic. The disturbances at Quebec appear to have been exaggerated in the first accounts; but Canada is far from being in a healthy condition. And at the Cape of Good Hope Governor Smith makes little way with his little Kafir war.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The most prominent topics in the news from France are the manifesto, or *Compte-rendu* of the Mountain to the people, and the huge trials for political conspiracy on an immense scale now proceeding at Lyons.

The manifesto is a remarkable document, full of hope in the future; full of satisfaction with the position of the democracy, all things considered; and signed by 111 Montagnards. They advocate “union, perseverance, and devotedness” as the means of conquering their opponents. They point out how the Republic exists by being stronger than its divided foes; how the reelection of Louis Napoleon is impossible, because unconstitutional; and they rejoice in the fact that the Republican party were united in the debate on revision. The constitution is readily admitted to be not perfect; but it is a “barrier to monarchical factions.” They blame in strong terms the military support which the Government gives to the “immoral, stupid, and cruel Government of Rome,” which, “under the eye of the French army, concerts with the King of Naples, the executioner of his subjects, an escape from French protection, which it fears and disavows.” They also complain that the French army in Italy “listens to the proclamations of Radetzki, another executioner, whose impious outcries strike a generous population to the heart.” Referring to domestic matters, the representatives of

the Mountain complain of the accused in the conspiracy of Lyons having been kept for months in gaol before being brought to trial; of the maintenance of the state of siege in five departments; of the establishment of the police system at Lyons; of the dissolution of national guards and municipal councils for having made republican demonstrations; of the law on the national guard, “which deprives the ‘vile multitude’ of the musket, as the electoral law deprived them of the right of voting;” of the prorogation of the elections of officers of the national guards, and of elections of councils-general; also of the severities to which the political prisoners of Belle-Isle are subjected.

After treating of several matters connected with acts of the last session of the Assembly, they say:—

“Citizens,—The future, an early future, will settle all the social questions of which in the first days of the revolution of February the importance was so well understood. That future is ours. What are, in fact, the coming eventualities? A second demand for a constitutional revision, and the double election of 1852. In presence of the law of May 31, which contains within itself civil war, we have, according to our right, and after weighing circumstances, refused revision; we shall refuse it again; it will not take place; the fact is as certain in the future as in the past. The double election remains—the crisis of 1852, as the enemies of the Republic say. Why should there be a crisis? In 1852, according to the formal terms of the Constitution, the sovereign people in their universality will elect a new National Assembly and a new President of the Republic, an executive and subaltern agent of the legislative will. Such is our fundamental law, confided to the vigilance, the patriotism, and the protection of all the citizens. How can this law, which has already been fully carried out several times with peace and dignity—how can it, in being again exercised in all its plenitude, occasion a crisis?”

“The enemies of the Republic,” they say, “ask us what we shall do if the president be reelected?”

“We reply, the people will not elect Louis Napoleon Bonaparte; the people know that the constitution forbids his reelection, and they wish that the constitution should be respected. * * * The people have seen that between a prince and the Republic there is a deep abyss. All that we know, the people know. Tell us, they say to Louis N. Bonaparte, ‘President of the Republic, what have you done for the Republic? Socialist writer, what are become of your doctrines? Author of the manifesto, where are your promises?’”

The manifesto terminates in a reference to the law of the 31st of May. Here are the closing words:—

“The law of the 31st of May will be repealed by the assembly, because it will understand the impossibility of maintaining it in opposition to the constitution; the reelection of Bonaparte is impossible, because it would violate the constitution; the prorogation of existing powers is impossible, because it would violate the constitution; the constitution dominating all citizens and all institutions—such is 1852, without disorder, without crisis. It would not be a crisis, but a revolution, which would arise from the violation of our fundamental compact—a revolution legitimate as right, holy as justice, sacred as liberty. In that case we declare here, with deliberate firmness, that, under the flag of the constitution, we would not fail in any of the duties which the salvation of the Republic might impose on us.”

In connection with this subject we observe, that M. de Joinville is to be put forward for the presidency. Dr. Véron, editor of the *Constitutionnel*, has considered the rumour sufficiently important to bear the weight of a long leader; fighting the candidature of the Bourbon with as much asperity as the republicans attack that of Louis Napoleon. The *Times* also has had a lengthy leader on the same subject, and on the same side.

The other event in France is the great trial of forty-nine men at Lyons for a conspiracy, alleged to have been planned last year. The leader of the conspiracy is Alphonse Gent, who was a member of the Constituent; and the treasonable organization is said to have extended over fifteen departments. The bill of indictment is of immense length. Michel de Bourges and Madier de Montjan are the principal defenders of the prisoners. The conspiracy is said to have been discovered by a seizure of the letters of Gent, made at Lyons last year.

German news is interesting. The Berlin *Lithographie Correspondenz* of the 1st instant, contradicts certain rumours which have been current in the German papers of a proposed meeting between the Sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. No such meeting has been proposed; but it is possible that the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia will accidentally meet at Ischl on the occasion of the King of Prussia's journey to Italy!

The same Ministerial paper states that the Austrian Cabinet has despatched a note to the Government of France respecting the French protest on the Austrian annexation question. Austria declares that she persists in her plan of incorporation, and that she is prepared to take all measures, no matter what they may be, to promote that object.

Policemen are to be placed in the towns of the Rhine Provinces, according to the system carried out in Berlin.

The *Voss Gazette* of Berlin publishes a letter from Vienna of the 7th, which states that an extensive conspiracy has been discovered in Italy, and that it was on that account that the rigours of the state of

siege in the Austrian provinces have been increased. It is added that on the 4th of July a gentleman at Venice died suddenly of apoplexy, and that on placing seals on his papers the scheme of a conspiracy, signed by more than 400 persons, was discovered. The object of it was, it is said, to kill the Emperor, in the event of his going to Italy, and to kill all the Austrian officers on the same night. Only one conspirator resided at Venice, 37 were at Brescia, and the rest at Bologna. All have, it is said, been arrested. Several arrests were effected at Vienna on the 6th, of persons accused of political offences. The fact is that the whole of Germany, Italy, and Hungary, is in permanent conspiracy against the brutal despotism of their rulers. The particular acts charged against particular individuals may be and most likely are false; but that the people of these countries hate and abominate the Governments to which they are compelled to submit by armed force, is perfectly true.

The *Ordre* of Paris, a quasi-Conservative paper, however, publishes a rather different account to that in the *Voss Gazette*:—“Letters from Italy of the 8th instant contain news of some importance. The journals have spoken of the discovery at Venice and Verona of a vast conspiracy to assassinate the Emperor, and to massacre all the Austrian officers. This is not quite correct. A plot indeed does exist, and one not confined to Milan, but extending throughout Italy. Some papers seized on the person of a ‘Veturino,’ who journeyed habitually between Rovigo and Bologna, afforded the first indication of the designs of the conspirators, and searches since made at Milan and Venice have led to the complete discovery of their projects. It appears, according to their general plan, that the first Democratic rising in Italy, if a rising there is to be, will originate in Sicily; this explains the great preparations now making for the defence of the island, which is armed and fortified in a formidable manner. One of our correspondents, usually well-informed, has no doubt that, on the least symptom of an insurrection, the Austrian garrison of Ancona will cross the frontiers of the Roman states, and march to the Abruzzi. At Milan the authorities are fully prepared. The garrison have received their orders, and the state of siege is rigorously enforced. A man on whom some certificates of Mazzini's loan were found, was immediately shot.

Austrian finance is again in a chaotic state. The extreme discouragement, says a correspondent of the *Times*, which has succeeded to the sanguine expectations but a few days since entertained by the Governmental party, induces me to believe that the Finance Minister's plans have been thwarted; indeed, those persons who so lately positively asserted that the loan had been contracted are now fain to confess that “at the eleventh hour unforeseen difficulties had presented themselves.” The moneyed world affirms that the terms proposed by Baron Krauss are so little encouraging that there is reason to believe he would willingly give up all idea of the loan at present were he not urged on to action by the “Reichsrath.” In this there may be some truth, for persons who are supposed to be intimately acquainted with the opinions of the Minister, assure me that he is so firmly persuaded no deficit will be found in the balance-sheet for 1851, that he is extremely disinclined to make any sacrifices to the cupidity of the financiers. No doubt the Austrian empire has been sacrificed to the “cupidity of the financiers!”

The Vienna correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, who appears to be on good terms with Mr. McCurdy, the American Ambassador, makes the following announcement in his letter of the 10th:—

“I am enabled to state, on the best authority, that the Porte has given notice to Austria and the other Powers that it will not be answerable for the detention of Kossuth and the remaining six refugees beyond the 1st of September. The Mississippi, an American frigate, is now on the spot, destined to receive them. It is the wish of Kossuth to proceed to America, and as yet no conditions of residence have been imposed upon him, as Austria will not hear of his liberation, and is straining every nerve to defeat the humane intentions of the Porte; one of the objections to his release being his not having delivered up the Hungarian crown.”

ARREST OF AN AMERICAN IN HUNGARY.

An American traveller, named Brace, entered the city of Grosswaradin, in Hungary, on the 23rd of May. His object in journeying through the country was to study its institutions; but being an American and a republican, he was, it appeared, a suspect. A few hours after his arrival in the town he sat down in an hotel to dine, and two gentlemen at table made an impression upon him for which he could not account. In the course of conversation a friend who was with him inquired after the Hungarian colony in Iowa, and Mr. Brace spoke of it as doing well, mentioning the name of Ujhazy, and observing that he was much respected. Afterwards he paid certain visits, and was told by one of the authorities that he was an object of suspicion, as he had not handed in his pass to be *viséd*. This made him anxious, but the commandant of the place told him that all was right, and he took no more trouble in the matter. How

great then was his surprise, when, sitting at dinner the next day, the chief of the police "stalked in" with officers and a warrant for his arrest, on suspicion of being a revolutionary political agent, and having "Proclamations" in his possession.

Having presented the warrant, the chief policeman sat him down and deliberately dined with his victim, proceeding afterwards to his lodgings. Here everything was searched, Mr. Brace's portfolio and papers impounded, and himself carried off to the castle a little way from the town, "for a temporary arrest," as it was alleged. The order for his arrest had been made out "within six hours after his arrival." At the castle he was searched by the soldiery, everything taken from him, and carefully noted down. Here he was confined in a dirty room dimly lighted by a grated window boarded nearly to the top, with two companions, whom the officer called "gentlemen," both imprisoned for political offences.

The two "gentlemen," writes Mr. Brace to the *New York Tribune*, in a letter from which we condense his story—

"Were, the one a common Honved, convicted of carrying a false pass, and the other a tailor, sentenced to five months' imprisonment for having a concealed weapon."

"I had not been there long before a friendly voice from the other room called me to the keyhole, and told me 'not to be blue, for it was always hard at first.'"

"And, friend, what is the news from our people in Europe?"

"I replied, 'I did not know at all, for I was only a traveller.' Whereupon the voice wished me a good sleep in French, and struck up for my consolation, the 'Marseillaise,' with great spirit.

In the bed allotted to him he slept as well as he could for "the fleas"; and the next day, Sunday, May 25, he was taken before a court-martial, composed of four officers. They asked him what were his objects in Hungary? And he frankly replied that he came to study the old political institutions of Hungary as there were no good reports in America. They told him bluntly that they did not believe him, that he sympathized with the "revolutionists," and that it was impossible he could have left the great routes of travel for such a "vague purpose." Controversy upon the point was useless. A searching investigation as to who were his Hungarian acquaintances followed. The only man of importance he knew was General Czeoz, who had given him a simple card of introduction to a friend at Pesth, expressed in very few words. This was taken to mean, by the Austrian military *Inquisitor*, something terrible—a conspiracy hidden under a few words. There was a plot there! The name of Ujhazy mentioned at the hotel in the presence of the "two gentlemen," excited the attention of the Examiner, and caused most pertinacious inquiries. Mr. Brace had seen but did not know Ujhazy:—

"Where had I spoken with him?" "I had never spoken with him." "What is your connection with him?" "I have none." "Speak out, sir, open and frankly. Do not hold back so much! What is your agreement with Ujhazy, and where are your letters from him?"

"I repeat it, and it will not be necessary to say it again, that I do not know Ujhazy, and have never spoken with him. If you have proofs you must bring them forward. I cannot understand how such a suspicion of my being in a complot can have arisen! Even if I had known Ujhazy and the whole Hungarian Emigration, it would be no evidence of any conspiracy with them."

He had visited persons engaged in the revolution of 1848. He admitted that, but urged that he had visited men of all parties. "We understand it, sir. That is your screen," was the reply. In his pack he had an old revolutionary pamphlet—that proved his revolutionary aims. He urged that, as an investigator, he read papers on all sides.

"I then ventured to ask, 'What would not be suspicious in an American in the view of the Austrian authorities? It was "suspicious" to visit men of the Hungarian party, and only a "sham" to visit those of the other. It was "revolutionary" if one read books on one side, and proved nothing good if one read them on the other.' "I am not here to argue," was the reply."

"Every slightest thing which the auditor could find to make out a case against me was eagerly grasped."

"I had been visiting a gentleman in the neighbourhood, who was intimately connected with one of the leaders of the Hungarian party in 1848. As I was going away, he gave me his own card, which I could present as a card of introduction to his relative, now residing in England. Being in a hurry, I merely wrote down on the card the address in London, and dropped it in my pocket. This was all eagerly caught at by the prosecuting officer."

"It was not a common card—for then, there would be no pencil marks upon it. It was not a card of invitation, for there is nothing said of introduction on it. It is the secret cover of a plot. Confess, sir, what there is under this! Beside, why have you visited this family?"

"I replied, that I had had a letter of introduction to the gentleman, and I wished especially to see something of country life and of a farm, on a Puszta. And, as for the card of invitation, it could not be thought a crime, as the gentleman himself had been allowed by Government to go to England to visit his relative."

"At the close of the examination, some six hours in length, came the charge against me, in the following words:—'You are a member of the Democratic Verein (Union), and employed by the committee, and an agent of Ujhazy and Czeoz here in Hungary, for the purpose of spreading revolutionary movements!'"

After this and other similar examinations, he was thrown into prison, treated as a felon, shut up with the worst criminals in cells infested with vermin, and kept him there for thirty days upon suspicion. By some means he contrived to send information of his condition to Mr. McCurdy, the American Minister at Vienna, who spiritedly applied for his release, which, after the above long delay, was granted.

The case of Mr. Brace, who has very temperately told his story, is one of great injustice. But it affords another illustration of the mode of administering justice (O mockery of the word!) practised by the Austrians. It is valuable as showing the animus of the Party of Order; as proving that Ferdinand of Naples is not alone, but ably emulated by his brother Francis of Austria.

We find an American citizen, travelling with a properly authenticated pass, arrested, insultingly examined, and imprisoned for thirty days, upon proofs of treason such as these:—1. A note of introduction from a prominent Hungarian emigrant. 2. A card of introduction to another Hungarian emigrant in England. 3. The fact that certain persons had been called upon who were compromised in the revolution of 1848. 4. The possession of a pamphlet and history advocating the Hungarian side. 5. Words implying an acquaintance with Ujhazy!

CHURCH MATTERS.

The committee of the Metropolitan Church Union, "whose main object is to procure the revival of the synodal functions of the Church," feeling it their duty to ascertain how far it may be possible to obtain from the Lord Bishop of London the assembling of a diocesan synod, have addressed a circular to the clergy, dated "Essex-street, Strand," respectfully soliciting the expression of an opinion on the subject: the letter to be authenticated with the signature of the writer. Further, it is stated:—

"In the event of a sufficient portion of the clergy of the diocese being favourable to such a measure, there will, it is conceived, be no difficulty in making their sentiments known to the diocesan, through the regular ecclesiastical channels; and we are particularly requested by the committee to state, that while it appears to them that the initiative of such a movement may properly proceed from an association like the Metropolitan Church Union, rather than from individuals, they are most anxious that the movement should not be that of a particular society, and, above all, that it should not assume the character of a party movement."

This document is signed by the honorary secretaries—the Reverend G. E. Biber, the Reverend C. Roberts, and Mr. G. J. Ottoway.

To this document the Reverend Richard Burgess has sent in a reply, disclaiming all "knowledge of what the Metropolitan Church Union may be—who presides over its councils—under what sanction or authority, ecclesiastical or civil, it acts, and what may be its functions." And he adds, that it is solely in deference to the names appended to the circular that he is led to offer this reply:—

"If my diocesan should think fit to require my attendance at any meeting he may deem it expedient to hold for the advancement of God's glory and the good of His Church, I shall, as I have hitherto done on many occasions, attend his summons, and receive his counsel with a glad mind. But I cannot think it any part of my duty to seek to obtain from my diocesan by a canvass of his clergy, unknown to him, that which of his own will and judgment he deems it not necessary to propose; and least of all should I be disposed to make one of 'a sufficient portion of the clergy of the diocese' which must necessarily 'assume the character of a party movement,' and throw another portion on the contrary side. Under these circumstances, and with these views of my duty towards my bishop, you will not think me unreasonable in refusing to send you my signature to the paper you have done me the honour to forward."

In addition to the above, it is right to mention that in his "Charge," delivered to the clergy on St. Patrick's day, Dr. Whately devoted a considerable portion to the convocation and synodal question. Chiefly he gave an account of the bearing and character of the debate on Lord Redesdale's motion, with which he was manifestly delighted. He advanced besides two main propositions. First, that it was an anomaly for a Christian Church to be governed altogether as the Church of England now is, by a body which does not consist exclusively of the members of that Church; and secondly, he repudiates any government of the Church by the clergy exclusively of the laity.

THE WOLVERHAMPTON LABOUR TRIALS.

Mr. Edward Perry has written a letter correcting an error in the *Times* article of the 7th. After introducing the matter by lauding the *Times*, he says:—

"The error to which I refer consists in the following passage:—'The masters whose labourers had been threatened or enticed away, indicted those who had thus culpably endeavoured to influence the conduct of their workmen, and the workmen who aided them; and the result was a condemnation both of the victims and their seducers.'"

"It is perfectly true that several local workmen were indicted with the itinerating agitators terming themselves

members of the 'Central Committee' of that most mischievous body, the self-styled 'National Association of United Trades;' but it is an error to suppose that the former were workmen in the employ of the prosecutors, and that they were in this light 'victims' of the parties whom your article so justly characterizes.

"Neither my father and brother's firm, nor myself, have indicted any of our workmen who were induced to take part in the conspiracy. We considered that the fact of our having been reluctantly compelled to subject a number of them to imprisonment under summary jurisdiction for breach of contract and neglect of work, and the further fact of the additional punishment entailed on the deserters and their unfortunate families by the severe privations many of them underwent during their absence, as idlers and fugitives, forbade us to punish them more severely."

"The five workmen convicted with the secretary and delegates of the association abovenamed are persons in the employ of two other manufacturers, who formed the sole exceptions to the conduct of the older and larger number of employers of this town in our branch of trade, by succumbing to the dictates of the agitators, and whose men were consequently not out on the 'strike.' These five men, therefore, had obviously no pretext for interference or dissatisfaction in their own instance; and, so far from being 'victims,' it was proved, in the principal trial, that they were paid agents of the conspiracy, one of them being the salaried secretary of a local association in connection with that in London, and the whole, or at least three of the others, having been formally awarded (from the heavy levies imposed on the real dupes and victims) 4s. 6d. per diem, and 6d. ale money, as members of a "secret committee," appointed to conduct the attempted coercion of myself and the other resisting masters. Moreover, it is notorious here, that during the many months throughout which the recent struggle continued, these men were suffered to, and actually did wholly, or almost wholly, neglect their legitimate occupations in their respective manufactories in furtherance of these offices; and the evidence of a police-officer engaged in apprehending some of the offenders, proved that one of them had exhibited his hands, and boasted that they had not touched a hammer for six months."

CUBAN INSURRECTION.

We have conflicting accounts by the *Asia*, which arrived on the 10th, respecting an insurrection in Cuba.

From Havannah the advices are to the 23rd ultimo. The *New York Tribune* gives the following important intelligence:—

"Our advices furnish us with full and important details in regard to the recent outbreak at Puerto Principe. The pronunciamiento was made on the 4th of July, signed by the leaders of the revolt, Aguero, Estrada and Pina, as provisional representatives, enumerating the principal grievances which the island has suffered from Spanish rule. This instrument declares that Cuba is, and by the laws of nature ought to be, independent of Spain. The first battle took place after the issuing of the pronunciamiento. A party of Government troops which had been sent out to make prisoners of the Revolutionists fell in with a rebel force under Aguero, on the 4th of July, at the foot of the Cascorro mountains. On the previous day a skirmish occurred in which the leader Sanchez was taken prisoner, and a few arms captured by the Spanish troops. In the engagement on the 4th, the Cubans numbered 200 men, and the Spaniards 300 men consisting of 100 lancers and 200 infantry. After a contest the Spanish troops retreated, having lost 21 killed, including the captain, and 18 wounded. The loss on the Cuban side was slight. Twelve of the Spanish soldiers deserted their colours and joined the patriots. The effect of this battle was to inspire the people with fresh confidence, and increased the number of insurrectionists to over 1000. They were divided into five guerilla parties of 200 men each, which were stationed in the strongholds about Cascorro and Puerto Principe. They were drilled in military exercises, and received accessions to their numbers. After the engagement the Spanish troops fell back on Principe, some 17 leagues from Cascorro. The announcement of their defeat produced great excitement among the people of Principe. The General did not send out a force in pursuit of the Cubans for fear of a popular rising, and despatched messengers to Havannah for a reinforcement of 2000 men."

On the other hand letters from Havannah, and persons who have lately left that town, report that the insurrection is grossly exaggerated; that the skirmishes with the rebel forces have resulted in the victory of the government troops; and that on the 17th of July tranquillity prevailed. But various circumstances lead one to an opposite belief: especially as it was known at New Orleans before the outbreak that it would take place; as the commander at Puerto Principe had enough to do to restrain the inhabitants; as the soldiery were deserting; and as reinforcements were being sent to Puerto Principe. General Lopez was at New Orleans. It was expected he would cross over and head the insurrectionary army. But as a great uncertainty prevails, we must await the next mail for a fuller knowledge.

CAPE WAR.

The *Propontis*, screw-steamer, Captain Glover, has arrived from the Cape of Good Hope, bringing papers up to the 4th of July inclusive. Although we have now

more than a month's later intelligence than that received by the Bosphorus, the war on the frontier seems to have undergone but little change. The most important fact communicated by this arrival is the insurrection of the Hottentots at Theopolis, who rose en masse on the 30th of May, and assisted by a party of Kat River rebels, murdered all the Fingoes. Major-General Somerset was fortunately in Graham's Town, and brought down upon the enemy a strong force, when many of the rebels were slain, and the others sought shelter in the bush, leaving a quantity of grain behind them, and 630 head of cattle. Sir Harry Smith remained at King William's Town, from which he had despatched several patrolling parties into the enemy's country, the result of which was that a few Kafirs were killed, some of their huts destroyed, and a number of cattle captured. This was all that the troops could effect with the scanty means the Governor had at command. The force of Sir Harry Smith was just sufficient to keep the Kafirs in check, but totally unable to reduce them to subjection. The inefficient state of the army was not unknown to the enemy, who in consequence grew more bold in their operations, while they also increased in numbers. This aspect of the state of hostilities was most disheartening to the colonists, who could see no probability of their termination unless the Governor should receive such strong reinforcements as would enable him to march into the field and commence active operations. The skirmishing that had taken place was admitted to have been more or less favourable to the colonial arms; but it was felt that while such a system of warfare was not only vexatious, but harassing, it could lead to no decisive results—at the same time Sir Harry was gradually losing some of his bravest officers, instance Field Cornet Gray, Field Cornet Bouwer, and Field Cornet Albertse, who were all struck down within a month.

It was said that Sir Harry Smith was about to march through the Amatola Mountains—the stronghold of the Kafirs.

THE STRANGER IN "THE STATES."

New Orleans, Louisiana, June, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,—The heat of this southern climate is now upon us; and as this is my first year in latitude 30 degrees, I feel very languid and dull. What with the endeavour to keep myself cool during the day, with the thermometer at 93 degrees or 94 degrees in the shade, and the effort to rid myself of the horrid musquitos during the night time, I am kept so busy that I can scarcely get a chance to write to you. Even now these destructive blood-sucking insects are "cozen," "cozen," "cozening," around me in thousands, and in another half hour my flesh will be covered with "bumps" from their attacks.

New Orleans has again become almost lifeless. Its busy population who crowd the city in winter have flown to more salubrious climes; silence now reigns where the hum of business prevailed but a short time since, and the tout ensemble is "dull, stale, and unprofitable" enough. The groaning of the high-pressure steam-boats seems to sound sadly upon the dreary waste; the houses of amusement are nearly all closed; and the inhabitants have much difficulty in getting over the dull time that hangs upon their hands.

In returning from a short trip through Louisiana and Mississippi, I find that the crops are by no means in a flourishing condition. The cotton was driven rather late before it could be planted, and then some sharp frosts blighted it a good deal. The terrible effects of the overflow of the Mississippi are still felt in many places: a good deal of the sugarcane was completely spoiled. The weather is now dry, and the ground is baked almost as hard as a brick, so that the crops can make but little headway. Corn, however, upon the whole, in Louisiana and Mississippi, will yield an average production for this part of the country. At present, fears are entertained of another overflow, as the up-river papers state that the rivers are all full, and part of the country in Illinois and Missouri is inundated. Under these circumstances, planters are in anything but high glee. Last year the planters did not reap more than the fourth of a crop, in consequence of the high water; and, for the two preceding years, they were badly enough off from the same cause. In the swamp, the last year's water-mark I saw to be eight or ten feet high on the trees, miles from any river; and this year the mails were frequently carried in canoes on the water upon the roads. It is fearful to contemplate this annual overflow; and without science can invent some preventive, the swamp-lands will be worth next to nothing. The Mississippi, during the months of March and April, is a perfect sea, and you can form no idea of the grandeur of the scene, attended with most disastrous consequences. Powerful levées are broken down, crevasses are formed, and the liquid element rushes with terrific violence towards the Gulf. Of late the "Father of Waters" has become a perfect terror to the inhabitants, and it is somewhat interesting to see men daily watching the rise or fall with the utmost anxiety. The stopping up of several natural outlets for surplus water in the various parts of the valley, has caused the Mississippi to swell more than formerly, and rendered its waters at present uncontrollable. As you stand upon one of the high bluffs, and view the silent gush of the water, the mind is filled with various contemplations. There you will see some tremendous logs carried down the

bed of the stream, and there also numbers of rafts borne by the current for southern markets, with up-country produce, as the men on board, with their rough and devil-may-care appearance, bask in their little shanty, and appear to enjoy le dolce far niente. There too you see the castle-like steam-boats driving along, whilst their "smoke stacks" give forth the black volumes from the "fire-knots." Then perhaps you will see two of these monsters get abreast for a race—immediately all steam is put on; pine-wood or "knots" does not give heat enough—bacon, lard, pitch, and every combustible matter is put into the furnace, whilst those on board may hear one of the well-known captains exclaim in his nasal twang:—

"Rosin up thar; engineer, down wi' the safety-valves. Give her goss. Gents who haven't stepp'd to Captain's office to settle had better go aft to ladies' cabin, jist till we beat this har boat or bu'st. Fire up, boys! Let her rip! Let her rip!"

And off they go, struggling against the current, like spirited horses with heavy loads. Oh! it is exciting. "But the danger—the danger!" exclaim the English. The American thinks of no such thing, but philosophises with "darn the difference;" and so he goes through life.

The principal question under discussion in Louisiana is the creation of new railroads. Several meetings have been held in New Orleans and the lower Mississippi towns, but the people only appear to "resolve and re-resolve and die the same." Plans without end have been suggested, adopted, and condemned. The Tehuantepec affair has turned out but a bubble now fairly burst, and no railway will be conducted in that part of the world at present. The speculation has been bolstered up for some time to suit party purposes. The last proposition is to erect a line to Opelousas, 160 miles west. The scheme has no sooner received sanction than opposition is raised, as the Orlenians are fearful that another town will spring up in opposition to them on the west side of the river, where it is proposed to make the terminus depot. The advocates of the scheme meanwhile are pleasing themselves with the most absurd speculations; for they calculate that this 160 miles will, in a little time, be extended across the fertile prairies of Texas, to California and the Pacific; and that they shall have direct communication from New Orleans to India and China! This is the way the people are for ever dreaming in the south; their minds are capable of conceiving anything, but their energy and perseverance is not worth a "Brummagem sixpence." Years have elapsed since the introduction of railways into this country, and for years the Orlenians have been talking of constructing lines; yet, you will be surprised to hear, that in this (one of the busiest cities in the world for six months out of the twelve) there is but one line of railway, six miles long! not for business or any useful purpose, but just to accommodate pleasure-seekers to the Lake Pontchartrain! The mercantile greatness of New Orleans has been created by its favourable position on the Mississippi, and it is only since the yielding up of Louisiana by the French to the Americans, that the Yankees have established mercantile houses in the city. They have already nearly effectually rooted out the ancient population; and as they have branches in the North, where their homes are, they are now but too anxious to divert traffic to more convenient places in the North. Already they are successful, for New Orleans is declining in its commerce in the face of a vastly increasing population in the valley. There are scarcely any permanent residences in New Orleans. The merchants, therefore, live in the large hotels, in a semi-domestic way, for six months in the winter time, and hence the reason for the tremendous hotels you have heard of. The North, too, are busy in carrying out all sorts of improvements. Railways directly with the South are made; and ere long I feel pretty confident that New Orleans will be spoken of as a place that was wonderful for its commerce, its vices, its crimes, and its pleasures. But, altogether, the South is in no way self-dependent; it looks even now more like a province than a portion of the United States. The food has to be brought from the North, although on every plantation it could be produced almost spontaneously. Manufacturing is never dreamt of. All sorts of clothes, and pork, beef, flour, butter, eggs, &c. &c., all have to come from the North to a greater or less degree; yet with this dependence they are eternally boasting of their "chivalric bearing," their independence, their honour, and their patriotism; and I assure you the leading men do "strut and fret their hour upon the stage" and no mistake: in illustration, a "tournament" was got up in the olden style in South Carolina, about a fortnight since.

With regard to the Cuban affairs what do the English think? I suppose they scarcely know what to think. This is simply how matters stand. Cuba would be to the South what California is to the North, an invaluable acquisition. A strong position for defence, a lovely and fertile country, and an extension of slavery, are objects not to be despised by the Southerners. Do not think that an idea of ultimate conquest is given up. Arms are ready, and winked at by the Southerners; money is ready, and men are in abundance—an opportunity is all that is de-

sired. President Fillmore deserves praise for the energy he bestowed in preventing a disgraceful descent upon the island a short time since. The Southern papers are inflaming the public mind by publication of specimens, as they call them, of Spanish tyranny over the Cubans; and on the island there is a secret patriot printing-press kept for the purposes of the invaders.

In the political world, things to a stranger's eye look ominous enough, and party spirit is running high. The cry of Whig and Democrat in the South has given place to Union and Disunion; and although the former is a strong party, yet the latter is by no means a mean one. South Carolina has declared for secession—the cause is advocated with a good deal of success in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. In what all this may result God only knows; for whilst ultraism is rising in the South for slavery, ultraism is gaining ground in the North against it. It is impossible for this state of things to continue for many years. The hot blood of the Southerners is beginning to be aroused; already they see themselves out-generalled in the loss of California, Utah, and New Mexico (virtually), and the abolition of the slave trade in the district of Columbia. The compromise which effected this change gave to the South the Fugitive Slave Bill, which of course is worth nothing; for even if the slaves could be returned, it costs more to reclaim them than they are worth. Beyond its present limits slavery cannot be extended one foot, it is fastened and perfectly hemmed in. Abolition is marching with giant-like strides. Virginia is half abolition, Maryland has expressed herself careless, Kentucky is exceedingly liberal, and Tennessee is fast falling from her prejudices. The only outlet, therefore, is Texas.

It is astonishing to see men here pass day after day, and week after week, nay, month after month, in public speaking, in one place after another. A five or six hours' speech is a trifle—they boast lengthened orations, and I heard the qualities of a man discussed the other day by his being able to speak ten hours in succession! The rivals insult each other, and injured honour can only be satisfied by a duel. A newspaper printed a few miles up the river (Vicksburg) has had three editors shot in succession in duelling. The other day an affair of honour came off in Mississippi. Two persons, named Gen. Smith and Gen. Freeman, both candidates, insulted each other, and met with due ceremony. They were unfortunate shots (or, perhaps, I should say fortunate), for they fired five times, and then both escaped without damage—but Southern honour was appeased, and they went to canvassing again like good fellows.

Yours,

LINDSEY.

P.S. I have just got a file of St. Louis papers. The up-river is at a stand, and the water is expected to subside in a few days. This will be a great relief to many, and things will begin to look better. We have had a few cases of cholera; but the West may be said to be healthy. Those who suffered have been imprudent in eating loads of vegetables, drinking, &c.

NEWSPAPER STAMPS.

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the present state and operation of the law relative to newspaper stamps, also into the law and regulations relative to the transmission of newspapers and other publications by post, and to report their opinion thereupon to the House, and who were also empowered to report the minutes of evidence taken before them to the House, have considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following report:—

"In conformity with the object for which your committee was appointed, they have examined witnesses competent to give information upon the state of the law affecting newspaper stamps, and the operation of that law upon the newspaper press and the public welfare.

"Your committee have further taken evidence respecting the transmission of newspapers and other printed matter by the Post office.

"Upon the interpretation which the Board of Inland Revenue put upon the law, and the practice which has been pursued by that department, your committee have examined the solicitor and the assistant-secretary of the board. Among the witnesses practically cognizant of the details involved in the publication of newspapers your committee have examined the manager of the *Times*, one of the editors of the *Daily News*, and other gentlemen connected with the metropolitan and the provincial press; and upon the policy of imposing a direct tax on the diffusion of a knowledge of current events through newspapers they have examined several gentlemen who have given attention to the subject.

"The duty on newspapers is imposed by the act 6 and 7 William IV., c. 76, and is as follows:—

"For every sheet or other piece of paper whereon any newspaper shall be printed, 1d.

"A further additional duty of 4d. and 1d. is imposed in case the paper exceeds certain sizes specified in the act.

"These additional duties are practically not incurred.

"On supplements not exceeding a certain size, 4d.

"These duties are declared to be payable on—

"1. Any paper containing public news, intelligence, or occurrences printed in any part of the United Kingdom, to be dispersed and made public.

"2. Also, any paper printed weekly or oftener, or at intervals not exceeding twenty-six days, containing only or principally advertisements.

"3. Also, any paper containing any public news, intelligence, or occurrences, or any remarks or observations thereon, printed for sale, and published periodically, or in parts or numbers, not exceeding twenty-six days between the publication of any two such papers, parts or numbers, when any of the said papers, parts or numbers, respectively, shall not exceed two sheets of the dimensions specified, or shall be published for sale for a less price than 6d., exclusive of the duty by the act imposed.

"The net produce of these duties, in the year 1850, was £350,418; and, on an average of the years 1848, 1849, and 1850, amounted to £350,545 per annum.

"It appears from the evidence of Mr. Keogh and Mr. Timms that, in the opinion of the Board of Inland Revenue, there are three classes of publications legally liable to the newspaper stamp:—1. Any paper containing public news, without reference to price, size, interval of publication, or to its being published more than once. 2. Any paper printed at less intervals than twenty-six days, containing only or principally advertisements. 3. Any paper containing remarks on public news printed at less intervals than twenty-six days, where the price is less than 6d., or the size less than two sheets.

"With regard to publications of the first class, your committee would remark upon the difficulty which must necessarily exist in determining what the taxable article 'news' is, and whether any or how much of it may be contained in an unstamped publication; and, therefore, they were not surprised to find that the officers of the Board of Inland Revenue were unable to define the character of the intelligence which may legally be published on unstamped paper, or that the practice of the board had not been uniform as to the kind of publications upon which they had felt themselves bound from time to time to enforce the stamp. In proof of the difficulty of defining the meaning of the term 'news,' your committee would point to the evidence of the solicitor of the Board of Inland Revenue, who states, that the Queen's speech is 'news,' and he thinks that any one who printed the Queen's speech on a piece of unstamped paper would be liable to a penalty of £20, but he doubts whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech is news; and in the case of the Queen's speech being printed on unstamped paper, he says, 'that it is done almost immediately after every speech is delivered, but when we have notice of that we write and tell the parties they have infringed the law; if we had a copy of it, so that we could bring the offence home to the party, we should prosecute him.' Further, the Board of Inland Revenue, as it appears from the evidence of their secretary, recognise a difference hard to be understood between public and private news, and draw a distinction unknown to the law between public and class news. Respecting private news, the secretary states that a paper containing nothing but records of proceedings in private families, and calumnious insinuations as to the conduct of individuals, is not liable to the stamp; and as to class news, it is understood that a paper addressed to one particular subject—for instance, architecture or law, &c., and giving news bearing on that particular subject only, or on persons connected with it—is not considered a newspaper; thus the *Legal Observer* publishes without a stamp an account of a meeting of lawyers upon any subject, as class news; but, if it had published an account of a meeting of clergymen, then the secretary 'would not have had the slightest doubt' as to its liability to the stamp duty, as it would then be a report of a meeting of persons not connected with the class subjects.

"It appears that the Board of Inland Revenue have not usually interfered with class publications confined to particular objects in consequence of the insertion therein of some trifling paragraphs of public news; yet there are exceptions to this rule, for in the case of an unstamped class monthly publication, called the *Norwich Reformer*, where only one-sixteenth of the contents came under the description of news, the solicitor to the board thought it necessary to intimate to the publishers that they were infringing the law.

"On the second class of publications your committee have not much information before them. It appears, however, that the circulation of these papers must be restricted by the stamp, and the facilities to the public of advertising thereby considerably lessened. This is especially true in regard to the cases of advertising sheets which are given away, where the point at which expenditure and receipts balance each other, and beyond which no circulation can take place without absolute loss, is sooner arrived at where each copy is compelled to bear the stamp than if it were free from that tax.

"As to the third class of publications which are held by the board to be liable to the stamp, your committee would observe that, if it is difficult to make clear the meaning of the term 'news,' the difficulty is greatly increased in attempting to define remarks upon news, and in drawing the distinction between remarks upon news and news itself, a distinction necessary to be made, because the former may, under certain conditions, be published without a stamp, while the latter is always liable to the duty. The object for which the third class of publications was rendered liable to the provisions of the Newspaper Act appears to have been to subject to restrictions small and cheap publications issued at frequent intervals, not considered as newspapers, but merely containing essays on political subjects; the solicitor to the Board of Inland Revenue states that there has been 'very little practice at all' in reference to this class of publications, because the publications that have come under the notice of the board have generally contained public news, and, therefore, they have come under the first definition of newspapers. Parties have attempted to excuse themselves by stating that their paper is not a newspaper within the third definition; but our reply to that is, 'It is a newspaper within

the first definition, because it contains public news, intelligence, and occurrences.'

"It appears to your committee that, with respect to comments on news in cheap publications, the law has been allowed to some extent to sleep. One witness, extensively engaged in publishing periodicals of various kinds, pointed out the difficulty of keeping within the law about commenting upon events; and it is notorious that a great number of publications, issued at intervals of less than twenty-six days, and at prices less than 6d., by philanthropic, religious, political, and other societies, are published without a stamp, and contain comments and observations upon public events.

"It appears to your committee that, if the law imposing a stamp on public intelligence and on observations thereon were carried out, nearly all periodical printed matter, and a large portion of occasional printed matter, would be subjected to the stamp duty; while, if it be understood that the law is not to be fully observed, much unequal competition must continue to arise between different publishers, and the Board of Inland Revenue will continue to be placed in the undesirable position of having to decide upon what periodicals the law is to be enforced, and in what cases its provisions may be dispensed with.

"A want of uniformity in the practice of the board, even as to the sort of publications on which they appear to intend to enforce the law, is shown by the evidence. As an instance that might be cited, the committee would point to the case of the *Wakefield Examiner*, a provincial paper, where a prosecution was instituted against, and a penalty of £10, being rather more than the duty incurred, inflicted upon the publisher for reprinting separately, on unstamped paper, the report of a trial which had previously appeared in his own stamped newspaper, while it appears that in the metropolis and elsewhere speeches in Parliament and accounts of public meetings are issued without stamps in a similar manner.

"With regard to the operation of the stamp on the established newspapers, it is of course obvious that by increasing their cost it limits the field of their circulation; and moreover it has been shown that the penny stamp on each copy of a newspaper generally raises the price to the public beyond the mere addition of that sum. The effect of the Newspaper Act in restricting the superficial extent of letterpress in newspapers, and affixing an additional stamp on supplements to newspapers, is to make it necessary for the proprietors of the *Times*, as stated by its manager, in order to avoid loss, not only to reject advertisements, but to prevent the circulation of that paper from exceeding certain limits. The manager of the *Times* also states that, 'if there were no considerations but that of supplying the public demand for that paper, it would probably double its circulation within two years.'

"Some opinions are expressed that the proprietors of existing newspapers have an interest in the maintenance of the stamp, and would be injured by its abolition. Were these views correct they could not be considered to furnish a good ground for retaining the stamp if the public interests required its repeal; but your committee find little evidence in support of those opinions, and they point to the testimony of the manager of the *Times*, who states 'his conviction that, if the stamp duty be taken off, the commercial advantages of the *Times* would be enormous.'

"It is stated to your committee by the editor of the *Scotsman*, that the penny stamp is 'a favourable arrangement for newspapers on the whole;' that he does not 'consider it a tax,' but 'a payment made to the Post-office for services which he does not think could be so efficiently performed in any other way for much more cost.' Other witnesses do not participate in this opinion, nor is it supported by the Post-office authorities. It appears to your committee that newspapers do not practically enjoy such favourable terms for transmission by post as other printed matter; for while newspapers are compelled to stamp every copy of their impression, whether sent by post or not, other publications, up to the weight of two oz., obtain, by virtue of a Treasury minute, the same freedom from postage as newspapers, by registering as newspapers, and by stamping only so many copies as are actually required to be sent by post. If the newspaper stamp were allowed to be affixed only to such copies of newspapers as go through the post it might then assume the character of a mere equivalent for postal services, but in those cases, especially in that of provincial papers where the post is little used, the compulsory stamp upon every copy can be viewed in no other light than that of a tax. In reality, however, the freedom from postage charge is not always accorded to newspapers in return for the newspaper stamp. As an instance of this, your committee think it right to advert to an anomaly that exists with regard to the transmission of newspapers by postage, viz., that in the London district, a circle of three miles round the General Post-office, and where the post might be of much use for the distribution of newspapers, a stamped newspaper is charged a penny if posted in one part of that district to be transmitted to another. Your committee do not see any good reason for this regulation, and would, therefore, recommend that it be abolished.

"Your committee find that considerable evasions of the postage charge take place under cover or pretence of stamped newspapers; that letters and unstamped publications and parcels are sent concealed within rolls of stamped newspapers; and that unstamped and foreign newspapers are occasionally passed without being subjected to charge. This is partly admitted by the Post-office authorities, who attribute much of the evasion to the papers which pass through the Post-office by virtue of the Treasury minute of 1838. It is clear that in a department transmitting daily from 120,000 to 260,000 papers, and which are despatched within two or three hours after the greater portion of them are received, nothing but an extravagantly large force of examiners could prevent evasion.

"If a revenue is to be derived from the postage of

newspapers, it is worthy of consideration whether it would not be simpler and more economical that the collection of such revenue should be managed, as in the case of letters, directly by the Post-office rather than indirectly by another department. Were this suggestion adopted, and the present newspaper stamp abolished, your committee see no reason to doubt that the Post-office authorities would devise means of regulating the transmission and distribution by post of newspapers, if not of all printed matter, at a small charge, not exceeding a penny for each packet up to a weight equal to that of the largest existing newspaper, without exposing the revenue to the frauds to which the present system unavoidably renders it subject. In passing, it may be right to mention the peculiar use which is sometimes made of the existing privilege of sending papers within the United Kingdom, free from postage charge for ever, in virtue of the original Somerset-house stamp. Mr. Parkhurst, senior clerk in the office of the secretary of the Post-office (Evidence 1, 677), says, 'We know that newspapers are sent as waste paper very often through the post; there have been cases of very old bundles of papers being sent in that way.'

"There is, however, a consideration connected with the additional cost supposed to be caused by the imposition of the stamp on newspapers which requires a particular notice—viz., the right of gratuitous transmission of newspapers through post. Mr. Smith, the head of a London newspaper agency firm, which has been established for the last sixty years, and which transmits about one-seventh of all the London daily papers, states distinctly that there transmission of newspapers is carried on to a most enormous extent, so as greatly to reduce the cost of their newspaper to those least able to pay for it. He gives instances in which the cost of the *Times* is thus reduced to 2d., and even to 1d., and yet read by the last person in the series on the second morning after publication; and he adds, that the number of persons thus receiving the best newspapers at a very cheap rate is exceedingly numerous, and that the proposed charge of a penny for each retransmission would, in fact, prevent them, probably, from taking any paper at all, unless it was a weekly paper.

"On the whole, considering, on the one hand, the various modes now in use by railways and private agency of distributing newspapers through the country; and, on the other, the frauds upon the Post-office from unstamped publications being now unavoidably carried post free; seeing, in short, that in many cases the stamp is paid where no postal advantages are received, and in other cases the stamp is not paid where postal advantages are obtained, your committee are of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to place the regulations affecting the transmission of newspapers and other printed matter by post on a more satisfactory footing.

"In examining witnesses as to the operation of the law on the newspaper press, it is found that an opinion prevails to some small extent that the maintenance of the stamp has the effect of rendering newspapers more respectable than they would be if free from that restriction. After weighing the reasons for such opinion, your committee conclude that it does not rest on any good foundation. No deterioration of the newspaper press, but, on the contrary, an improvement, followed the reduction of the stamp which took place in 1836; and doubtless the character of newspapers would continue to improve in proportion to the advance in public taste and morals, although the stamp should be entirely abolished. It is stated by one of the witnesses, as an objection to the removal of the stamp, that a new class of journals would spring up, if the stamp were repealed, in the smaller towns and country districts, and that it would be (Evidence, 1555) 'a misfortune that there should be local papers of a more petty character than at present exist.' The general bearing of nearly all the other evidence is of a contrary tendency; and the unanimous opinion of those gentlemen who, being persons who had devoted attention to the education and social improvement of the working classes, were specially examined on this branch of the subject, was to the effect that moral advantages might be expected to follow the establishment of cheap local newspapers.

"Your committee concur with the proprietor of the *Liverpool Journal* in thinking that the cheapening the cost of existing provincial papers would extend their circulation and improve their quality; while they also believe that, should a new class of small and cheap local papers arise, they would occupy a field hitherto not reached by existing newspapers, and be the vehicles of knowledge to large classes of persons who otherwise would get no newspaper at all.

"The present extensive sale of penny publications, as shown by the evidence (Evidence, 2494 and 2509), abundantly proves the desire among the humbler classes for some kind of reading and mental improvement; but the stamp prevents the penny paper from containing a record of the current events of life, thus depriving the readers of small periodicals, who are for the most part persons living by labour or of limited means, of that most useful knowledge, the news of the day; for which, as is stated by Mr. Abel Heywood, a gentleman extensively engaged in supplying cheap literature, 'as the result of his experience' among the class of readers alluded to, there is a greater desire than for any other kind of information. It may be said, with truth, that the newspaper stamp prohibits the existence of such newspapers as from their price and character would be suitable to the means and wants of the labouring classes.

"The question of pirating articles of intelligence by one newspaper from another has been brought under the notice of your committee by witnesses conversant with the newspaper press, and favourable to the abolition of the duty. The established newspapers—particularly the London daily press—collect the valuable information which they report to the public at a very great expense, and publish it at a very costly celerity. It has been stated that if the newspaper duty were abolished there would be great temptation to the numerous halfpenny

and penny publications which would then spring up to pirate the public intelligence collected at so much cost and exertion. It has been proposed that some short privilege of copyright should therefore be conferred.

"Your committee consider it their duty to direct attention to the objections and abuses incident to the present system of newspaper stamps, arising from the difficulty of defining and determining the meaning of the term 'news;' to the inequalities which exist in the application of the Newspaper Stamp Act, and the anomalies and evasions that it occasions in postal arrangements; to the unfair competition to which stamped newspapers are exposed with unstamped publications; to the limitation imposed by the stamp upon the circulation of the best newspapers; and to the impediments which it throws in the way of the diffusion of useful knowledge regarding current and recent events among the poorer classes, which species of knowledge, relating to subjects which most obviously interest them, call out the intelligence by awakening the curiosity of those classes.

"How far it may be expedient that this tax should be maintained as a source of revenue, either in its present or in any modified form, your committee do not feel themselves called upon to state; other considerations not within their province would enter into that question. But, apart from fiscal considerations, they do not consider that news is of itself a desirable subject of taxation.

"July 18, 1851."

PROGRESS OF BLOOMERISM.

Decidedly "Bloomerism" is progressing in the United States. The long-clothes emancipation of woman proceeds at a good pace. Ladies dressed in the new costume "show" in the principal thoroughfares of some of the principal towns. The journals open their columns to its advocates, and the lecture-halls echo with their eloquence.

In the *Home Journal* of New York we find the following "descriptive report upon the new fashion, from a lady of distinguished name and superior mind," writes the editor. The "report," very elaborate, is as follows:—

"The prettiest style of the new costume is a combination of the Turkish trousers and skirt, with the French spencer and chemisette. The Oriental jacket is entirely too theatrical to be in good taste; but the spencer, which is perfectly congruous, is an excellent substitute. For summer wear, the trousers are made of Irish linen (not quite so voluminous as the Oriental) drawn round the ankles, and held up by the waistband only. The same kind of a band holds the skirt to its place. This garment is made of salmon-coloured lawn or cashmere, with a black worsted edging; it is moderately full, comes down a little below the knees, and has a slash in front, which is closed by a row of small pearl buttons, concealed by the welting-piece. The spencer is made sans basquine, having a small point behind and before; the latter, however, separating en V, from the lower button, in the manner of a vest. The sleeves are in coat style, and the whole spencer fits snugly to the figure. It has a narrow turned-down collar, and closes in front with a single row of buttons, extending from the waist to the neck. Though the spencer may be closed entirely to the neck, it is preferable to wear it habitually with the upper half unbuttoned, to exhibit the chemisette, which ought to be richly embroidered, and terminate at the neck with a ruffled collar, encircled with a neat little silk cravat. The most suitable colour for the spencer is a light buff, as near the hue of brimstone as possible, and the material is cassimere or chasmere vesting, or silk velvet. The buttons, of course, are gilt, having a plain flat surface, and numbering from twelve to fifteen in the row. A gipsy strawhat, lined with pink, and trimmed simply with a black ribbon, together with leather boots, complete the attire. The hair is dressed in the style now known as "the Jenny Lind." A saque of dark silk, or velvet, worn with this dress adds greatly to its beauty. By wearing the saque open in front, the spencer underneath assumes the appearance of a splendid vest. In cold weather the skirt and trousers must necessarily be of darker goods; but the buff spencer has the advantage of being appropriate to all seasons."

A lady-lecturer, Mrs. Nichols, has the following energetic passages, as reported in the *New York Tribune*:—

"Why has every second woman some female weakness or spinal disease? The curse, causeless does not come. They earn their disease, honestly, legitimately, what they don't inherit. The weight of quilts and skirts as worn by woman, dependent on the lumbar region of the spine would wear out the strongest man, and give him spinal disease. Then the fetter that we carry always around the ankles wearies and wearies for ever. No one is conscious of the extent of the evil, till they have thrown it off. And when we hold up these long skirts out of mud and rain, we run constant risk of indelicate exposure. In our present dress, the form is hidden as effectually as if we were bagged for the Bosphorus. Even a pretty foot is not allowed a peep of day, and ankles are only made to be encased in filth swept up from the side-walks." * * * "We claim freedom to wear long or short clothes, as we deem them best suited to our taste or comfort. The long robe seems suitable for the aged, the dignified, the feeble, and sick at seasons when motion is not required. For the drawing-room, where a reposeful converse is the only exercise wished for, these robes will doubtless be retained. For a do-nothing aristocracy, as in England and other countries, and for those among us who wish to be distinguished as the drones of society, and who have æsthetic objections against being confounded with the working bees, the long robes are especially suitable. People who are called men tell us that we must not wear a dress consistent with health,

the dress of innocent childhood, the dress devised by wise working women of true modesty and stainless purity, because our outcast sisters wear it. These poor fallen ones wear clothing. Is that a reason for its disuse? They have trailed the costliest silks through our streets, but no word of warning came to us then. We might follow them in an evil fashion, and it was very proper. But our nice moralists have suddenly grown sensitive."

She concludes with a sentence which commands the assent of all:—

"The fashion of our clothes should be in harmony with the laws of health, consistent with ennobling and sustaining industry, and as graceful and beautiful as the taste and genius of the wearer can devise."

PERSONAL NEWS AND GOSSIP.

The Queen left London on Saturday week, after an early visit to the Exposition, for Osborne; and the Royal Family have remained there all the week. Most of the London notabilities of the world of fashion have taken flight, and Ministers are to be found anywhere but in Downing-street. No special subject of gossip has turned up this week.

The ex-Duchess of Orleans and her son, the Comte de Paris, visited the Dockyard at Plymouth on the 9th: the English aristocracy present doing the honours.

His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin was on Monday sworn in one of the Lord Justices, at a meeting of the privy council held for the purpose.

Lord Dungannon has been reproved by the Orangemen of the "Lisburn district," for having written a pamphlet expressing approval of crosses in churches. Crosses in churches are declared to be many things, but especially incompatible with Orangism.

There was a garrison field day on the 12th in the Phoenix-park, Dublin, the evolutions being under the command of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. Lord Gough was present on the occasion.

A school of design is about to be formed at Limerick, under the patronage and support of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Mr. Monsell, M.P., and Mr. Wyndham Gould, M.P.

Count Guicciardini is in Edinburgh.

The *Corriere Mercantile* says that the grand criminal court of Naples has condemned Gaetano Reale, for the crime of printing the *Martyrs of Cosenza*, to seven years' banishment, the prohibition to exercise the trade of a printer for one year, and to the costs of his trial. The grand court of Aquila has sentenced Joseph Ferriol and F. Porchiazzi to seven months' imprisonment, a fine of six ducats, and the costs of trial, for having sold a book printed abroad called *Satan and the Jesuits*.

Madame Anna Zerr is reported, at Vienna, to have taken part in a concert in London for the relief of Hungarian refugees; consequently, upon suspicion, she is deprived of her former title of singer to the Imperial Court of Austria.

The wife of Major Dembinski, who accompanied him to America after the failure of the Hungarian insurrection, in which he took an active part, was arrested a week ago, on her return to Pesth. She had a forged French passport.

A letter from Milan, dated August 4, states that Pestalozzi was about to resign the functions of Podesta. He was to be succeeded by Count Ambroise Nava. The Liberals intended to observe the anniversary of the unfortunate capitulation of 1848, on the 5th, by wearing mourning.

The ex-Queen of the French, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess de Nemours, the Prince de Joinville, and several members of her suite, arrived at Inverness on Tuesday week by the Edinburgh Castle steamer from Oban. The vessel was gaily decorated, in honour of the ex-regal party. As they walked through the streets to the Caledonian Hotel, people thronged about them, and great wonder is made of the fact that they were respectfully greeted. On the succeeding days they visited the beautiful scenery of Kilmorack falls, Cawdor Castle, and Oban. It is said that they contemplate taking a lease of Dochfour-house, a beautiful mansion situated on the confines of Loch Ness.

Pierre Bonaparte met with a severe accident on Monday last. One of his servants who lives at Auteuil, was taken seriously ill, and it became necessary to administer a dose of laudanum. M. Bonaparte, thinking that the druggist would, on account of his station, make no hesitation in giving it to him without a medical prescription, jumped on to a horse, without saddle, and with only a snaffle bridle, and rode rapidly off. On his return with the medicine, the horse, just as he was turning into the court-yard, lost his footing, and threw the rider heavily to the ground. In his fall he broke the two bones of the right leg, and received a severe contusion on the right side of the head. He did not, however, lose his consciousness, and was able to direct some workmen, who hastened to his assistance, how to convey him into the house. One of the persons hastened off to the Elysée with the melancholy intelligence, and the President of the Republic immediately went on horseback, to visit his cousin. Medical assistance having been procured, the leg was set, and as M. P. Bonaparte is of good constitution, it is believed that the recovery will not be difficult.

The funeral of Marshal Sébastiani took place at mid-day, on Tuesday, with due pomp and solemnity, at the Invalides. The interior of this magnificent edifice was dressed with black. The high altar, too, was arrayed in mourning, and an infinite number of candles were placed on it. From one of these a spark reached part of the drapery, which in its turn communicated the fire to the old flags, the proud trophies of Napoleon's wars, which are suspended along the nave in tattered and glorious

array. The fire was speedily extinguished; but the smoke completely filled the building, and put the spectators of the funeral to flight. No great positive damage was done; but at least one-fourth of the battle stained, bullet-torn, dearly loved trophies, won by the daring sons of France in many a hard-fought field, are burnt—utterly destroyed are the cherished tatters which told of the mighty valour of the old race, and inspired *la jeune France* with emulation. "Les drapeaux sont brûlés" is the cry through Paris, and every one says it with as much grief as if he were telling of some great loss which he personally had just sustained. The fire being extinguished, the funeral was proceeded with. Outside the building the coffin was opened, and the body discovered lying in state; before it, the troops present defiled for the last time. The coffin was then conveyed into the church, and the religious ceremony having been performed, the mortal remains of Marshal Sébastiani were confided to their last home amidst the firing of cannon.

THE BELLS AT CLAPHAM.

At Clapham there is a Roman Catholic Society called the Redemptorist Fathers. They bought a house and established themselves there in 1848. As a matter of course a "bell" was put up and duly rung; this was borne patiently; but in the course of last year a regular belfry of six bells was added, and the neighbours, especially those who lived next door could stand it no longer. Accordingly an action was brought by Mr. Soltaw, against Father de Held, and the bells indicted for a nuisance. The trial came off on Wednesday. The bells, it seems, were always ringing. One witness said that the bells caused "such confusion and noise in the house, they did not know what they were about." The largest bell made a "dreadful sound." A young gentleman said, "They caused the house to shake, and when they were sitting at table after dinner the noise prevented them from hearing one another speak, and it was impossible to read or do anything that required thought or mental exertion." Mr. Field, solicitor, said the effect was "most distressing," and the "noise quite astounding." Mr. Thomas Hunter, a hair-dresser, declared that the sound "rushed into his shop, and prevented him from hearing what anybody said." A surgeon thought it advisable to send his daughter away, as the row damaged her health. The defence set up was that the ringing was necessary for religious purposes. Chief Justice Jervis laid it down that if the ringing of bells really injured anybody, they were a nuisance. Verdict for Mr. Soltaw, damages forty shillings.

CRIMES AND OFFENCES.

An old man at Ipswich, lodging with his sister, killed himself on Tuesday, after having murderously assaulted a young woman named Martha Moyse, who was living with him as his wife. He was very deliberate about the matter. First he drank brandy; then he sent his sister for Martha; afterwards he requested his sister to go out, and immediately attacked the girl, who ran out into the street bleeding. A crowd collected by the cries of "murder" stood round the door, but none dared to enter. A butcher, named Trentor, went to the door, and the old man shut him out. Suddenly he cut his throat, and running into the street fell down and died soon after.

A young woman named Harrison, daughter of a farmer in Norfolk, on a visit at the house of Mr. Syers, High-street, Shoreditch, woke up on Tuesday night, and found a man in her bed with his arm round her neck. She immediately rose, shrieking murder, and saw two other men in the room, one in dark trousers, and another in his shirt. They were soldiers staying in the house. The scoundrel in the bed got up and ran into a closet; the one in the trousers was found in the room by Mr. and Mrs. Syers, who rushed in on hearing the screams. Syers ran for the police. When he returned, Mrs. Syers was plucking Brown from the closet. The three fell upon Syers and his wife, seizing him by the throat, rolling on the bed in mortal strife, and threatening to kill him. Meanwhile, Miss Harrison had rushed out, and hidden herself under the bed of a lodger named Collins, into whose room the struggling combatants had fought their way. Here, fortunately, the police intervened, and arrested the soldiers. Brought before Mr. D'Eyncourt, at Worship-street, they expressed contrition, and begged hard for mercy. Mr. D'Eyncourt at first proposed to commit them for trial; but both Mr. Syers and Miss Harrison pleaded that they would not like to go through a second public examination, and Mr. D'Eyncourt inflicted the highest penalties in his power, amounting to four months' imprisonment for Brown, and two months for the others respectively.

On the 7th of August three drunken soldiers—Edward Dann, corporal of the Sixty-fourth Regiment; Michael Rourke and John Dougherty, privates of the Eighteenth—went to the Strood station, near Rochester, about eight o'clock, and demanded tickets for Gravesend. The station master refused them. They returned more intoxicated than before, and tickets were again refused. Thereupon they became very violent, Dann placing himself in a position to prevent the people from getting their tickets. He then called out, "Unsheath bayonets; if we can't go by tickets, we will go at the point of the bayonet," at the same time drawing his bayonet. Rourke followed his example, and with his bayonet made several lunges at Ireland, one of the company's constables, who armed himself with a loaded pistol, which he presented at the soldiers, telling them to keep back and give up their arms. Instead of which they became still more violent, and Rourke again approached Ireland with his drawn bayonet, which in each instance he fortunately parried. Tomlin, the head porter at the station, came up with a constable's staff and knocked one of them down; and after further resistance they were overpowered, handcuffed, and taken to the station-house at Rochester.

The case was heard on Tuesday, before the Mayor

at Guildhall, Rochester. Dougherty was dismissed, with a light fine, on account of his good character; but Rourke and Dann, who made no defence, were committed for trial.

A dreadful murder was perpetrated on the 8th in the neighbourhood of Stranorlar, Donegal, the unhappy victim being a person named David Moore, who held a confidential situation in the employment of the under agent of the estates of Colonel Pratt, of Cabra Castle. At the early hour of six o'clock in the morning Moore was met at the gate of Manor Pratt, the lodge of Colonel Pratt, by two men, who fell upon him and beat and mutilated him so unmercifully as to deprive him of all sense. The assassins then fled, and the body of Moore was brought into one of the offices of the lodge, and a doctor was immediately sent for: on his arrival, however, he at once pronounced the case to be hopeless. The skull was laid open, both legs fearfully mangled, and one hand nearly cut off. He lingered, however, till ten o'clock on Friday night, when death put an end to his tortures. The causes which led to this dreadful affair have not clearly transpired. It is stated by a writer in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, "that a short time since Colonel Pratt voluntarily ordered a revaluation of his extensive estates, and consented to a reduction of rent, varying in amount from 30 to 50 per cent., and that more recently, on learning that even this abatement did not satisfy some of his tenantry in Donegal, he signified his intention to cause a second valuation to be made, with a view of meeting the wishes of the discontented tenants. But even this concession was of no avail, and it was pretty plainly intimated that the malcontents had come to a resolution to hold their lands free of all rent." The murdered man was a Protestant, and bore an irreproachable character. He has left a mother, 98 years of age, and a sister to deplore their bereavement.

Last October a quarrel fell out between the Brighton commissioners and the Brighton fly-proprietors, about some regulations then issued. As a retort to the regulations, the fly-proprietors withdrew their vehicles. One alone came out, and stood before the Old Ship. Three of the fly-drivers "on strike" desecrated the solitary fly, and instantly went to engage it to take them for an hour's ride. The driver refused at first, and there was a row, but at length he agreed to drive them out. Instead of going up to East Cliff, a policeman ordered the driver to take them to the Town-hall; and on arriving there Mr. Slight, the clerk to the commissioners, ordered them to be locked up. They were confined for two hours and upwards, and then taken before the magistrates; and ultimately, after a remand, set at liberty. An action was brought against Mr. Slight for damages, and tried last week. Mr. Baron Alderson made light of the whole affair, joking several times during the trial. He summed up with a bad and old joke about the "flies," and the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiffs—Damages, One Farthing.

ACCIDENTS.

Bedminster is acquiring a fatal reputation in tragic accidents. Indeed, in the colliery districts, life seems pretty generally to be held in small account, especially by the colliers themselves. They are rash and reckless to an extent which passes the limits of daring and courage, and becomes simply culpable disregard of life. An accident occurred at the Malaga Vale Pit, in Bedminster, on Saturday, certainly not owing to the too prevalent recklessness of the workmen, but to a flaw in the machinery, for which other parties must be responsible. As a "turn of men" were being lowered in the bucket the rope broke, and they dropped to the bottom of the shaft. The depth was 210 fathoms, they had descended the greater part; but the fall was still so great as to cause the death of the four men and a boy who were in the bucket. In a short time the mouth of the pit was surrounded by anxious friends; and great fears were experienced for the safety of the men who were working in the bottom vein. Preparations were made for a descent. The pumps were kept going. A flat rope of 150 fathoms was borrowed, but being too short by nearly 100 fathoms it had to be spliced, a very difficult task. The required length of round twisted rope was added after a long time, and the bucket let down with lights by way of experiment. Then two men, John Reynolds and Henry Lovell, descended; returning after some time, they reported that with the round rope they could not safely descend to the vein, but that they had seen and conversed with the men in the vein, and that all who went down in the bucket were dead. A flat rope was then borrowed; and after great exertions the first two bodies, those of Philip Pring and Joseph Moffatt, were brought up. They were dreadfully crushed by the falling of the iron bonnet of the cart. Moffatt had his throat cut, caused by his neck being driven against the edge of the iron cart. In about another hour the three remaining bodies were recovered; but they were only slightly bruised, and had evidently lost their lives by drowning in the water at the bottom of the shaft. We have been informed that the rope had been spliced only four days previously, in the very place where it parted; and it is alleged to have always been a defective one. The coroner, J. B. Grindon, Esq., in the afternoon, held an inquest upon the body of the old man who fell down dead, when a verdict of "Died from excessive grief and fear" was returned. He also commenced an inquest upon the body of the five sufferers, which was, however, adjourned until Thursday next, in order to afford time for the arrival of the Government inspector. In the mean time the rope has been impounded by the police. Robert Moffatt has left a widow and seven children; Thomas Pike, a widow and two children; Philip Pring, a widow and one child; William Smith was unmarried; and William Webster was a boy of fourteen years of age. We must state that the engineer says he observed a defect in the rope; but that before he could stop the engine, it had broken. The inquest begun on the same day was continued on Wednesday. No Government inspector had arrived.

The point of interest in the inquiry is the state of the rope. The collier spoke very decidedly as to its bad condition, and asserted that they were afraid to speak of it. Henry Watts said it was an old rope, but he "did not like to complain, because men don't like to speak their minds." Walter Smith said:—"There is scarcely a man that has worked under the ground, but has complained of it to Mr. Pillinger [the foreman], and on the Saturday morning two of those who were killed got into the cart when we went down, but we would not let them. We said we would not go down more than four or five, because the rope was so bad. So late as last Saturday morning, in Mr. Pillinger's presence, we complained. He might have heard it, but I can't say. We ordered off two who got on the cart when five persons were in it, or we would not have gone down. The Coroner here asked why, if they thought the rope bad, they had not complained to their masters? They must not suppose that because they wore better coats they had not honest hearts beneath them. Smith: Poor men are tied down too tight now. A Collier: We are not allowed to speak. Smith: For the evidence I have given to-day I shall be out of work. I should wish much to see the splice [it was produced]. Is that the splice which they say has broken? The Coroner: Yes, they say so. Smith: It is a wilful lie. I have looked at the two pieces of rope. I do not believe that either of them belong to the part of the rope which was broken last Friday night. The inquest was again adjourned.

Railway casualties in Liverpool have lately been numerous. On the 13th, a keeper, named Hesketh, who exhibited a light, to signal a train to proceed more slowly, on account of some repairs, was knocked down by the train before he was aware it was so close, and ere he could get out of the way the buffer of the engine struck him, several of the carriages passed over him, and he was picked up a revolting spectacle of mutilation.

Not more than four hours afterwards, on the same line, about half-past twelve at night, a goods' train, in charge of an engine-driver and fireman, was approaching Liverpool at the usual speed, when, owing to exceedingly culpable negligence, the engine with several of the wagons was precipitated down a fissure caused by the removal of part of a bridge, near the Church viaduct, and literally dashed to fragments. The driver is seriously injured; the fireman escaped.

On Sunday morning there was a dreadful accident on the Great Western Railway, imputed to the fog, but really arising from official negligence. An excursion train, starting from the Paddington station, on Saturday night, was found to be too long, and therefore was divided into two trains. The first started about half-past six, and reached Bristol in safety. The second, which did not start until eight, proceeded as far as Bath, the engine terribly exhausted, and the speed very slow. Suddenly the engine stopped. Meanwhile an engine and tender had left Bath, and was approaching the excursion train. Passengers looking out saw it coming. There was a fog at the time; it was dark also; but still the passengers saw the coming engine. One moment, and there was a shock, followed by shrieks, and a smashing of carriages. Twenty persons were injured very considerably, some severely. The excursion train had the red lights behind. The engine and tender were proceeding slowly; the engineer shut off the steam and reversed the engine, the moment he saw the tail of the motionless train. But it was useless. The crash was tremendous. The wreck of the train and the wounded did not reach Bristol until between four and five in the morning.

On Monday the engineer and fireman of the engine and tender were charged, before the magistrates of Somerset with having negligently omitted to stop an engine, thereby endangering the life and limbs of several people. The two men pleaded guilty to the charge; but urged in mitigation of punishment that they did not see any signal till too late to pull up; that, although the night was foggy, no fog or detonating signals were placed on the line by the policeman, as ought to have been done; and that, although they had passed a red light, not seeing it, the next, just before they ran into the excursion train, was a white one, signifying "go on." After some deliberation Major James said that both prisoners had pleaded guilty to this charge, and in the minds of the magistrates very properly so; there was no doubt there had been a great amount of carelessness shown by them. They should fine Thomas Colman, the engine-driver, £5, or in default one month's imprisonment with hard labour; and John Wright, who seemed not to have had such command as the other, £3, or twenty-one days, with hard labour. Whether it would be prudent for the company to employ them again they had nothing to do with.

As a very heavy train was proceeding up the incline of the branch line from Folkestone Harbour the coupling of the engine broke, and the train ran backwards down the incline. The line abutted on the sea cliffs. The train ran down at momentarily increasing speed, under and past the shed, over some planks thrown down to check it, until it stopped on reaching the cliffs, over which the hindmost carriage fell on to the beach. The injuries of the passengers were very slight. The train was again started at a quarter to five, but did not get in till eight o'clock, three hours and a half after time, when great confusion took place in the delivery of the vast pile of luggage, which was not cleared for three quarters of an hour, although cabs were summoned from all neighbouring points.

POLICE.

The Ranelagh case has grown to enormous proportions. Two columns in Monday's papers, and two and a half columns in Thursday's. On Saturday Mr. Secker heard the charge brought by Sergeant Price, the railway constable, against Lord Ranelagh and Mr. Rowan. We stated the particulars last week. Three new points arose

in the evidence. First, Sergeant Price, and Widdows, the porter, charged Lord Ranelagh with having used an expression which we cannot publish; a charge not brought before, and which is emphatically denied. Secondly, the "cane," which Widdows swore was "broken about his head," turns out to have been a gutta percha cane, and was produced in court unbroken. And, thirdly, it is alleged that Lord Ranelagh said Price had done his duty, but that Carpenter was in fault, and he would ruin him. The whole of the evidence for the constables is just where it was: the affirmations of the accusing party are as distinct as before. On the other hand, Colonel M'Dowall stated most positively that Lord Ranelagh did not "use any violence whatever," that he "particularly watched," that there was not room for his lordship to go to the wall and square, and that he did not use any bad expressions whatever. Mr. Secker summed up as follows:—

"The charge is, that these two gentlemen did unlawfully and wilfully obstruct Price, he being an officer of the South-Eastern Railway Company, and in the due execution of his duty as such. The state of the circumstances appears to me to divide the transactions into two distinct periods, on each of which I shall deliver my opinion as well as I can, after having heard the voluminous and contradictory evidence that has been given. The first part of the transaction is the conflict arising between some passengers on a railway station, and the officers who are there placed to execute certain duties. The second part is with respect to certain acts of violence that occurred at a subsequent period of the transactions, and which by themselves appear to be the foundation of a different charge.

"With respect to the first, I am called upon to convict two passengers, what their condition in life may be it matters not, for assaulting and obstructing officers of the railway while in the execution of their duty. In order to convict them of any such offence, it seems to me that I must first believe that those officers were in the execution of their duty, and that, being so, they were obstructed by the defendants. Now, in my opinion, the officers were not in the execution of their duty; and it is for this reason that I have had it put in evidence that these parties who presented themselves at the railway, and who are accused of attacking the officers, are entitled by the payment of a certain sum to be carried by the railway company. By that payment the railway company contracted an obligation to admit them to the platform, so that they might avail themselves of the licence to travel by their train, which they by such payment had obtained; consequently these passengers were entitled to have free ingress to the station and egress from it, in order to make use of the train in the fulfilment of that contract. These passengers, then, having been permitted to pass the outer barrier, had a right to expect that the coast would be clear, and that they would not find any one interfering with them. If, then, these passengers, having thus acquired this right to pass, were improperly interfered with, can it be said that those officers who were guilty of such interference were in the execution of their duty? I think not. Therefore, with respect to this charge, in which I am asked to convict Lord Ranelagh and Mr. Michael Rowan, for that they did unlawfully and wilfully obstruct William Price and Thomas Widdows, being officers of the South-Eastern Railway Company, they being in the due execution of their duty, I am of opinion that those men were not in the execution of their duty, and, therefore, the information must be dismissed, and I dismiss the complaint accordingly. With respect to the assault which might be considered to have been committed at the station by these officers, that is another question, which must be gone into on the second inquiry."

The hearing of the Ranelagh charges against Widdows, the porter, and Price, the policeman, took place on Wednesday. New evidence was put in by Lord Ranelagh,—Mr. Septimus Edmundus Carlisle, who lives in the same house as his lordship; but his evidence amounted to nothing. The result of the examination was, that Price and Widdows were bound over to appear at the Central Criminal Court. Carpenter, the policeman, was also placed at the bar; but Mr. Secker, after hearing the evidence over again, dismissed the case, absolving Carpenter from the charge of having exceeded his duty. Nevertheless, Lord Ranelagh declared his intention of including the name of Carpenter in the indictment.

Two of the missing witnesses in the St. Alban's case have come home at last. About eleven o'clock on Wednesday the Albion steamer, from Boulogne, arrived at London-bridge Wharf. On board of her were two men as passengers, Thomas Birchmore, aged seventy-two, and James Skegg, aged sixty-eight. There was also in the same boat a Mr. Unsworth, of Fish-street-hill, who recognized the two interesting travellers as persons concerned in the St. Alban's case. Upon the arrival of the steamer at the wharf, Mr. Unsworth passed the word to the officer stationed there, and he instantly went up to the two venerable men, and whispered, "Do you know St. Alban's?" Their artless reply in the affirmative interested this zealous functionary in their favour. He requested the pleasure of their company to the Mansion-house, that he might have the gratification of presenting them to the sitting alderman. To the Mansion-house accordingly they went, and the returning heroes of St. Alban's were accommodated with a place in what is vulgarly called "the dock." Here the question arose, upon what authority were they arrested? and how could they be detained? Everybody knew that a short while back a price had been set upon the heads of the St. Alban's witnesses, but who could produce the warrant? The bill offering the reward for their apprehension, with the name of the Queen's printers subscribed, was indeed still posted up in the police-office at the Mansion-house. This document stated that the prisoners, when apprehended, were to be delivered into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and that the application for reward was to be made to the Lords

Commissioners of the Treasury. The Alderman who was trying the case, Alderman Moon, very properly hesitated to restrain the personal liberty even of a St. Alban's elector upon such insufficient warrant. Clarke, the officer who apprehended the two patriots, informed the Alderman that he had applied in succession at the Home Secretary's office, at the Speaker's office, to the Solicitor of the Treasury, and to the Inspector stationed at the House of Commons. From none of these sources could he derive any information which might at all warrant the detention of the prisoners, and they were discharged.

MISCELLANEOUS.

At Wellow, Notts, the opposition to the game-laws has assumed a new form. A "Rural Sporting Club" has been established, the secretary of which is a tenant-farmer. The funds are designed to support the families of its members who (from distress) may be induced to resort to poaching and be fined. The residue is to be applied to obtain game certificates.

The Committee of the Polish-Hungarian Refugees held a special meeting on August 6, for the purpose of considering the best means to obtain the release of Kossuth. After a lengthy discussion, the following resolutions were agreed to:—1. That a requisition be presented to the chief constable of the borough of Rochdale, requesting him to call a public meeting to memorialize Lord Palmerston, for the release of Kossuth, late Governor of Hungary. 2. That we, the Rochdale Committee, do recommend to the country to get up public meetings in all parts, so as to cause a simultaneous movement throughout the country; as we feel convinced that, if something is not done, Kossuth will still be held in bondage."

The Patrons of Native Industry at North Shields honoured themselves or Mr. George Frederick Young, M.P.,—we will not attempt to determine the knotty point,—by giving a dinner to that gentleman on Friday week. The proceedings were of the usual colour and character. Mr. G. F. Young did not declare himself a convert to Free-trade; and Mr. Bell, M.P., warmly congratulated the meeting on the union at present existing in the camp of Protection. Mr. Young, moreover, exclaimed, in his stock speech,—no doubt he was excited by the "loud cheering,"—"Let Humanity have its swing, and let cheapness go to the dogs!" Mr. Alderman Bartleman said, in proposing "The health of the Duke of Northumberland," that it was not necessary to "go back to feudal times to bring before them the high claims and acknowledged merits of the Percies." The Honourable Mr. Liddell, in proposing "The memory of Lord George Bentinck," fitly elaborated the story of the "inconsistency" of Peel. There was no novelty in the dinner. Mr. Young, it is well known, never makes but one speech, and that is too dull for anybody but a Protectionist to listen to.

Mrs. Swisshelm, an American Editress has the following piquant sentences on marriage:—"Many are of opinion, that if it were not for the stringency of the civil law, nearly all families would be broken up, and society go into chaos. We have no such notion. If a proclamation were made to day, declaring every marriage in the Union null and void, and leaving it once more to the choice of the parties whether the relation be renewed, business would be suspended, newspapers would stop, stores, factories and workshops would close. The editors would be all at home getting married; merchants, operatives and mechanics would each be waiting their turn to have the nuptial knot retied. Cross, fretful, sickly wives, that had been almost felt a burden before, would grow very dear at the thought of separation. Domineering, harsh husbands would be forgiven; and in all places where a spark of conjugal love remained, it would be blown to a flame; where nothing but dead embers and the ashes remained, they could be taken up and made into soap, and society cleansed therewith."

The *Presse* has the following account of an alleged new experiment of what is called "télégraphie escargotique"—that is, communication at a distance by means of snails:—"On Sunday, August 3, we went to 86, Rue d'Asnières, at the Batignolles, to the house of M. Droux, ex-mayor of the commune, where it was announced an experiment was to be made. A small number of persons were invited, and among them were M. Victor Hugo and M. Emile Girardin. The master of the house led us to a sort of barn, where we found at each end two structures in wood placed in open stands. In the front of each was a large wooden wheel, moving on its centre; this wheel, about two yards in diameter, presented the most singular appearance; 300 or 400 snails were kept immovable, by means of a sort of paste, in a reservoir in zinc; the open part of the shell was towards the spectator, and some of them protruded their heads. On the wheels were lines of metal, on one of which were the snails, and on the other letters of the alphabet. The reservoirs in zinc, in which the snails were placed, were lined with cloth and copper, like the voltaic pile, and all the reservoirs were connected by conducting wires, which were collected on the axis of the wheel. One apparatus was to serve to send a despatch, the other to receive it; we will, to make the demonstrations clearer, call one 'Paris,' and the other 'London.' In turning the wheel the letter required was brought to an opening, and designated by a needle. Each time that Paris sent up a letter to the opening, and designated it by the needle, M. Benoist, in the structure called London, wrote it with a pencil on paper, after having discovered it on his own wheel, by, as he said, moving a snail in its reservoir on the letters, which snail made a movement on passing by the letter indicated. This is the mystery, and we know no more of it than you do. We wrote in the box respecting Paris the word *enfer*, and it was perfectly reproduced at London. Another person wished to send the word *tellus*; but either from want of practice, or irregularity of the machine, M. Benoist received the letters CTZZLJ. We

ourselves recommenced, with M. Victor Hugo by the side of us, in the inclosure Paris, and we sent BENOIST, which was perfectly reproduced in London. Then we sent the word Deus, with the mark X between the U and S, and it was perfectly received and reproduced. Such is what we saw; an apparatus of wood, copper, zinc, and snails, sent to a similar apparatus, at a distance of 15 yards, three words. But was it really the snails which acted? Was it simply the pile formed by the juxtaposition of the copper and zinc? Could the same effect be produced in the same manner, at long distances? These and other questions can only be solved by experience."

The yard of one of the largest ship-builders in France, M. Perrey of Havre, was in flames on the 12th for several hours. A magnificent steamer and a fine schooner yacht were burnt on the stocks; and property altogether worth £400,000 consumed. M. Perrey was only partially insured.

Two boys nutting in Hornsey-wood on Sunday, found a man about thirty years of age, hanging to a tree, dressed in black coat, light vest, and Tweed trousers. His shirt was fastened with silver studs, marked R. L. A., and some documents were found on him, inscribed John H. Nelson.

Joseph Jilkes and Joseph Lovegrove, labourers, in the employ of the Commissioners of Sewers, Hatton-garden, were ordered, on Monday, to remove some boards, in order to turn the water into another direction, in a man hole, situate in Maiden-lane, Battle-bridge. As they were about to enter with their safety lamps, the gas is supposed to have escaped from the pipes passing through the sewer, and a dreadful explosion took place, by which the unfortunate men were seriously injured. Lovegrove is doing well, but Jilkes lies in a very precarious state.

A woman named Mary Neill, died, to all appearance, in the workhouse, at Tipperary, and after a lapse of about 20 hours was buried in a churchyard, about 4 miles from the town. On the following day a man passing near the grave heard the cries of a female as coming out of the earth, and instantly gave an alarm, he himself being very much frightened. A crowd was soon collected, and the grave having been opened, the unhappy creature was found in her coffin lying turned on her side, the shroud torn in pieces, the cap she wore removed from her head, and her face and body lacerated by the coffin nails from her exertions, but she was then quite dead. Her previous apparent death was quite sudden, and it is supposed she must have sunk into a trance, although it lasted so many hours.

The Royal Irish Agricultural Society's show began on Wednesday. It is reported as being surprisingly good.

The accounts of the potato crop in Ireland are less cheering, but on the whole they scarcely justify the very gloomy anticipations regarding the crop which are entertained by many persons. Mr. Kincaid, the extensive land agent, describes the stalks, and in some instances the tubers, diseased. He says, however, that in a great many cases, where the stalks have been quite gone, the tubers are in a healthy state.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 6th of August, the Duchess of Buccleugh, of a daughter.

On the 8th, at the Mall, Kensington-gravel-pits, Mrs. William Hutchins Calcott, of a son.

On the 11th, at Framfield-place, Sussex, the wife of Alexander Donovan, Esq., of a daughter, prematurely born.

On the 12th, at Horsham-park, Mrs. H. F. Broadwood, of a daughter.

On the 12th, at One Ash, Rochdale, the wife of John Bright, M.P., of a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 5th of August, at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Austin, fifth son of Mr. George Holyoake, of Birmingham, to Lucy, eldest daughter of Mr. Robert Pettigrew, of Leicester-square, London.

On the 6th, at St. George's Church, Dublin, James Acheson, only son of Acheson Lyle, Esq., Master in Chancery, of the Oaks, Londonderry, to Ida Elizabeth, second daughter of the Reverend Francis Rutledge, of Bloomfield, county Mayo.

On the 7th, at Troston Church, Suffolk, Frederick Robert Bevan, Esq., second son of Robert Bevan, of Bury St. Edmund's, Esq., banker, to Eliza, younger daughter of the late Robert Emlyn Loft, of Troston-hall, Esq.

On the 7th, at St. Andrew's, Plymouth, Mortimer John Collier, Esq., third son of the late John Collier, Esq., to Mary Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir William Snow Harris, Knight, F.R.S.

On the 10th, at the parish church of St. Marylebone, Lieutenant G. P. Mends, of her Majesty's ship Trafalgar, son of Rear-Admiral W. B. Mends, to Louise, second daughter of J. Wilcocks, Esq., and granddaughter of J. M. Wilcocks, Esq., of Exeter.

On the 12th, at West Peckham, Kent, Charles Watson Townley, Esq., eldest son of R. Greaves Townley, Esq., M.P., of Fulbourne, Cambridgeshire, to Georgiana, fourth daughter of M. D. D. Dalison, Esq., of Hamptons, Kent.

On the 13th, at St. James's Church, the Honourable William Bagot, M.P., to the Honourable Lucia Agar Ellis, eldest daughter of the Lady Dover.

DEATHS.

On the 30th of June, at Kingston, Jamaica, the Reverend James Dawson, rector of St. John's, in that island.

On the 6th of July, at Leguan, British Guiana, the Reverend William Hamilton, M.A., the rector of St. Peter's, Leguan, aged thirty-four.

On the 6th of August, at his residence, 7, Grove-road, St. John's-wood, Captain Edward Hutchinson, of the Royal Navy, in the thirtieth year of his age.

On the 7th, at Vermont-cottage, Rochester-square, Mr. Vincent Francis Kuczyński, of her Majesty's State Paper-office, aged forty-three.

On the 7th, at Henrietta-street, Brunswick-square, after a long and painful illness, Thomas Squires, aged seventy-one years. He was a kind husband, an affectionate parent, and a benevolent friend. He leaves a widow with a large family to mourn his loss.

On the 8th, at Bury St. Edmund's, Frances, relict of the late Robert Rushbrooke, Esq., of Rushbrooke-hall, Suffolk, and M.P. for the Western Division of that county.

On the 8th, after a few days' illness, John Yates, Esq., of Shelton, Staffordshire, brother-in-law of Mr. Alderman Copeland, M.P.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

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

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

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

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

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

[The following appeared in our Second Edition of last week.]

Postscript.

SATURDAY, August 9.

Yesterday the session was wound up with the customary formality and splendour of a state prorogation. The Queen's Speech will be found elsewhere. There was nothing to distinguish this ceremony from its hundred predecessors, except the appearance of the Commons "four deep, on the flats." For the rest it was splendid and dignified.

The business done at the Lords amounted only to what was obviously formal, except that Lord SHAFTESBURY, in the absence of the Earl of Harrowby, moved an address to the Crown, praying that our Ministers and Consuls abroad be instructed to report on Protestant chapel and burial accommodation, and the state of the law with respect to the exercise of the Protestant religion in the countries where they are located. The motion was agreed to.

In the Commons, various matters were gone through with. Mr. WAKLEY renewed the attempt to obtain an order to print the evidence taken before the Income-tax Committee, and made a motion to that effect, which was rejected on a division by 62 to 52.

After this, the drawing of the names for precedence in attending the House of Peers was proceeded with, much laughter being excited by cries of "Dead" when Captain Scobell's name was drawn, that gentleman having previously complained that his name was placed in the obituary of the *Navy List*. The first name drawn was that of Lord Dudley Stuart, then Sir A. Brooke, and Captain Scobell. At the suggestion of Mr. Wakley the House permitted Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston to take precedence by courtesy.

Sir ROBERT INGLIS inquired whether, if a Protestant Church was erected in Rome, it would receive consular protection; also, whether an application for Protestant burial ground at Madrid had been complied with, under certain objectionable conditions, and whether the correspondence respecting Captain Pakenham and Mr. Healey, Protestants exiled from Florence and Rome respectively, would be laid on the table.

Lord PALMERSTON replied, that the correspondence was now in progress, and therefore could not be produced; that with respect to erecting a church at Rome, the British residents had had a chapel there for some time; "and if they applied to be allowed to place themselves under the provisions of the Consular Act, he was not aware of any reason why their application should be refused." As to the Protestant burial-ground at Madrid, that had been undoubtedly granted, accompanied by conditions which her Majesty's Government had learned with pain and regret. He laid on the table the correspondence on the last subject.

"Black Rod" shortly afterwards made his appearance; the Speaker started off for the Lords at the head of the column in "ranks of four;" Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston leading. They returned in about a quarter of an hour, and the Speaker having shaken hands with the members, the House broke up for the holidays.

Parliament stands prorogued until the 4th of September.

The *Daily News* of this morning has an amusing paragraph respecting the usual anticipatory announcement of the Queen's Speech by the morning journals.

"A good deal of amusement was caused in the City yesterday by the Ministerial selection of a channel for the customary anticipation of the royal speech. The *Herald*, which is Protectionist and Protestant,—the *Chronicle*, which is Conservative and Papist,—the *Daily News*, which is Liberal and progressive,—above all, the *Times*, which is all of these by turns,—were examined with eager curiosity by the amateurs of political gossip, and the speculators in the funds and in shares. In vain: all these oracles were dumb as those of Greece at the

The Leader.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 1851.

Public Affairs.

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

ENGLAND IN EUROPE.

NOBLENES of purpose is the one safe principle for national, even more than for personal conduct. Principles are in themselves enduring, but the understanding of them depends upon the cultivation of a people; still more the application of them. And if we admit that peoples are not wise at once, if we admit that their knowledge, like that of individuals, grows with experience and investigation, we admit that institutions ought not to be immortal. But through all the fluctuations of ignorance, and of knowledge, which is the correlative and complement of ignorance, the one thing which will give the fullest development to the faculties of a people, to its sound interest, to its greatness, to its safety among the nations, is nobleness of purpose. With it a small nation may earn safety; without it a great nation can never be secure. The want of it has brought down great states in the midst of their magnificence and power.

Now, nobleness of purpose is one thing wanting to England in the council of nations, and we declare that, for want of it, her position is not safe.

We do not mean to deny that there are sections and cliques in the country, each with its "mission" or "movement;" but we affirm that England at present, as a nation, has no purpose; or, if it has one, latent and half-unconscious, it is not upheld effectively. Even the negative intention that might most probably be ascribed to the nation, to keep aloof from active aid of Absolutism, is systematically violated by the chosen Minister of England. We do not believe that the English nation has the slightest intention or desire to subvert the projects of Absolutism on the Continent; and yet England, in her indifference, in her lack of positive purpose, not only chooses a Minister whose successes through a long career have been conducive to the power and progress of Absolutism, obstructive to the cause of freedom, but now suffers him to continue in that career without molestation or hindrance. Or, if occasionally a doubt is expressed through a popular Member of Parliament, Lord Palmerston is quit for a few words of explanation which tell nothing, or a few sentences of those stereotyped professions which are so surprising for their uniform antagonism to the practical results of his own activity and skill, and for commanding the ready belief of the English public. He does not respect that public enough to disguise his cajolery; and yet the public goes on believing! It not only trusts him, but trusts him to work in the dark.

What is the position of England in any nation of the Continent, where popular principles are in active contest? Not an Englishman can say. We can only guess. In Germany all is mystification. Except a few unmeaning words, it does not appear that "England" did the slightest thing in favour of the people struggling to emulate her past efforts for popular freedom; there is nothing to prove that the Minister whom England suffers to represent her, did not keep up the heart of Despotism by a covert understanding, which secured to it the passive alliance of England, and contributed to bring about the restoration of Absolutism. On the contrary, the signs of that covert understanding are almost too strong for doubt. A great step has been made in expunging the nationality of the totally distinct nations comprised within the Austrian empire; the noble people of Hesse-Cassel has been crushed and punished by the great tyrants who mustered to support the common cause of tyranny in the person of the miserable Elector; the Prussians have been befooled, and the constitutional Frederick William has given himself up, heart and soul, to the Austro-Russian conspiracy. Hungary, who has had a history like that of England, has political and commercial sympathies with England, and would have maintained, on the opposite side of Europe, a great outpost of

constitutional freedom—that Hungary has been given over by the crowned conspiracy to Austria, as England might have been to Hanover. Such are the results of the diplomatic movements in which Lord Palmerston played his covert part; and we now find him "thick" with the Nesselrode and Brunnow, the Schwarzenberg and Buol-Schauenstein; giving them conferences in London, receiving their policemen, rendering himself a party to their matchmaking. What is the Foreign Secretary now doing with the influence of England in Germany, Austria, and Hungary?

We will not here complicate the question with secondary states—with Schleswig-Holstein, handed over to alien Denmark, with Greece, kept down in submission to an imbecile cadet of the Bavarian family, and deprived of the Ionian Islands; with Turkey, just now a natural ally of anti-despotism in Europe.

We ask not what the Foreign Secretary is doing in Spain, upon which he seems completely to have turned his back. "The back," as Alexandre Dumas says, "has, with some people, the privilege of being the most advantageous part of their individuality;" and it is to be hoped that Lord Palmerston will not turn upon Spain the light of his countenance—that political Will-o'-the-wisp which, dancing before the nations, lures them to their doom.

But we ask, not what the Foreign Secretary has done, but what he is doing in Italy?—where he encouraged the revolutionists, and then, just at the nick of time, left them in the lurch, to be overrun by the Absolutist armies; where Austria, the Pope, and the Bourbon, have been re-established with his privity and help. Mr. Gladstone has told us how it fares with the Neapolitans, and we know what Gladstone has told, though we could not have told it with his peculiar authority amidst Englishmen. *La Presse* and the *Times* confirm us in the knowledge of the like enormities at Rome; Radetzky proclaims what is going on in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom: all the three Governments of Rome, Naples, and Austria, proclaim that, without desperate and cruel measures they cannot make head against the indigenous influence which is growing up against them—the Invisible Government; which must, therefore, be a powerful, widespread, well-established Italian power: and what is our Minister doing between those contending sides of Alien Absolutism and National Freedom? what to retrieve the disastrous consequences of his cajolery? what to vindicate the good faith of England, her generosity, and the principles essential to her greatness?

Among the contending factions of France, what distinct, frank, high position has "England" taken? We know, indeed, that the worst faction which France contains has come over to London, as if to sit under the auspices of our Foreign-office, as the veiled, semi-official, irresponsible councils of the agents of Legitimacy; that faction is called *Thiers*. But what position does the Minister of England maintain? Not a soul of us knows.

Now, we repeat, this supine ignorance on the part of the English nation is not safe—not safe, even on the low ground taken up by the "practical" politicians of the day. We cannot command the moving world to bate all its action down to trading standards, as we are doing; larger interests and passions will go on. The great conflict between Absolutism and Freedom, between Family-Royalism and Nationality, did not end in 1848; neither of those great powers has defined its limits; and it is probable that in 1852, with its impending struggle, one or other influence will make a large extension of its boundaries. In the result England has great interests at stake. She would not like to see Absolutism extend its boundaries to the British Channel. Even our supine mere-traders, who are proud to be the Jackass in the fable, indifferent to the contests of arms, would turn pale at that approach. Yet things more unforeseen and improbable have happened. Many a nation would be glad to act as our outpost in the war; only, with such a Minister as we have, we, the English people, are debarred from all understanding with those nations.

"Tranquil" as England may be for the moment, the empire is not in that perfectly settled state which should make us over secure. The Cape of Good Hope is not the only colony on the verge of rebellion; and, philosophically as the Manchester School men may talk about the profitlessness of colonies, a run of declarations of independence would be a very awkward thing to any Government for the time being. Even if the Cuba news should prove to be apocryphal, Mexico and Brazil, with the

demise of Pan. At last the Ministerial revelation was accidentally discovered where nobody dreamed of seeking for it, in the columns of that organ of genteel and faded Toryism, the *Morning Post*, flanked by notices of balls, dinner parties, and projected fashionable marriages, the staple of the print dear to the servants' hall. After the first explosion of irresistible laughter, the wags of the Stock Exchange began to speculate and wager about what this might mean. One thing appeared certain, that the Government, which at the outset, with ostentatious impartiality, communicated the anticipation to all the morning newspapers, had at last selected a special organ from among them. The only difficulty was to conjecture whether the terms upon which this alliance had been formed were the conversion of Ministers to the doctrines of the *Post*, or the *Post* to the doctrines of Ministers—whether the *Post* was to be employed, in its official capacity, to announce and defend a new parliamentary reform bill, or to announce and defend a Whig bill to reenact the corn and navigation laws. Bets of oysters and champagne, without any odds, were freely offered and taken by the holders of either opinion. Sixty to one was offered that the selection of the *Post* as Government organ in the press foreshadowed an attempt to form a cabinet with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the head of it. But the pre-eminence given in the anticipatory notice to foreign affairs, and the remembrance of a curious consular appointment made some time ago to a great northern capital, seemed to render this view so probable that no one was found to take the bet even at these odds."

The fact is, that Ministers, before 1841, supplied their own party organs alone with important papers and anticipatory announcements. When Sir Robert Peel came into office, he adopted the plan of supplying impartially all the morning, and some of the weekly journals, when papers, like the revenue tables, were issued at the end of the week. Thus the Whigs found matters when, in 1846, they happened to come into office; and they have since rather broken the impartial rule of conduct adopted by Peel. It was, however, reserved as one of the "great facts" of the year 1851 for London to look in vain for the anticipated speech in the *Times*, and find it in the *Post*. This gives colour to the suspicions that the *Post* is a quasi-ministerial organ; and it shows that the Foreign Office is more faithful to its allies than the other departments.

As to the Speech itself, it is unusually, and indeed intolerably barren and dull. Great licence is permitted, but the Whigs have gone beyond all licence, and outstripped themselves.

Mr. Thomas Ramsay delivered a lecture last night in the Blagrove Concert-room, Mortimer-street, on the subject of central coöperative agency among the working-classes in relation to the duties of the Church. The chair was taken by Mr. E. Vansittart Neale. The lecturer commenced by defining the precise meaning of the word "socialism." He then adverted to the principle upon which society is founded, and which is generally designated by the term "social contract." This contract he endeavoured to show was not duly observed in modern society; and in proof of his view, he referred to the evils resulting from competition and the unequal distribution of property. The origin of these evils he stated to be the neglect of the Christian motive of love, and the adoption in its place of the principle of self-interest. The object of coöperative societies was to relieve the working-classes from the thralldom of the competitive principle, by organizing a system which should secure to all the full reward for their labours, and a fair interchange of commodities. The principle of union was that which prevailed amongst the members of the early Christian Church, and at a late period gave rise to "guilds," or associations for mutual protection and assistance. It was the great principle which was insisted upon in the Christian Scriptures, and was, therefore, necessarily in harmony with the doctrines of the Christian Church. In conclusion he avowed his belief that the principle of union was that alone to which we could look as the means of regenerating our social system. Mr. Lloyd Jones gave a few details connected with the socialist movement throughout the country. He stated that the working-men were joining together, and opening stores to supply themselves with food and clothing, in order to protect themselves from the numerous frauds of dealers. This, however, was but one step towards the full adoption of the coöperative system, but it was a step which was being taken with eminent success by the industrious working-classes in almost every district of the kingdom. The chairman having made a few observations, the proceedings of the evening were wound up by a plentiful service of tea, coffee, and other refreshments.

Mr. S. C. Hardinge, son of Lord Hardinge, was to be nominated yesterday for Downpatrick; and as there was no opposition, he is no doubt returned.

The Sultan, it is said, has given a solemn promise for the liberation of Kossuth upon a fixed day, now not many weeks off. The Sultan's own feelings of honour and humanity chiefly weighed in the case. He had consented to retain this man for a time, but could not consent to be his gaoler indefinitely, in order to please Austrian susceptibilities, with European eyes fixed on him moreover, and inclined to judge of his independence by his treatment of Kossuth.

French and Yankee intrigues in those quarters, suggest unpleasant probabilities for any quietist old gentlemen in Downing-street. Nor at home are we perfectly confident in each other. Protectionist anger may not be formidable in Young or Disraeli, but angry farmers and angry labourers will be unpleasant allies in backing a Government against distressed stockingers at Nottingham, distressed weavers at Carlisle, and factory hands growing exasperated under declining wages. Adversity is no more than a foe, to be conquered by those who are strong in faith and noble purpose; but it is a terror to those whose reliance is ignoble.

COMPETITION AND THE DEBT.

WHAT is to be done with the National Debt? The *Times* says it must be paid off as speedily as possible, or else we shall never be able to compete with foreigners. How can we hope to run a race against America or France with such a terrible weight on our shoulders? People talk of the desperate competition which prevails at present among every class of workers and tradesmen in this country, but the *Times* warns us that all we have ever witnessed is nothing to what we are threatened with. "The great race of nations," we are told, "has scarcely yet begun, for no competition we have yet experienced is equal to that which is to come." This is rather a gloomy look out for the three or four millions of our population who depend on a foreign market for the sale of their manufactures; nor is the prospect much improved by the scheme which the *Times* proposes for relieving the pressure of taxation. Having ascertained that Sir Charles Wood was enabled to pay off £3,004,705 of the National Debt last year, "the leading journal" infers that the same process might be repeated every year, in which case it calculates that the whole of the debt would be paid off in about a century. What a consoling reflection to the struggling tradesman, the half-starved labourer, or the unemployed artisan! If the income of the country can be kept from falling below its present amount, and if no great war should take place during the next hundred years, and if the expenditure can be kept down sufficiently, and if we can continue to pay £3,000,000 a year to a sinking fund, then our great-great-grandchildren may hope to enjoy the unspeakable felicity of paying only half the amount of taxes which we are obliged to pay at present. Perhaps the reduction will be still greater, if we take into account the increase of population which ought to take place during the next hundred years. At present, some 28,000,000 of people are called upon to pay nearly £60,000,000 a year, which is rather more than 40s. a head from every man, woman, and child in the kingdom—a pretty round sum for a man with a large family. Suppose the debt abolished, or paid off, the expenditure would be reduced nearly one-half, and if this were accompanied by a doubling of the population, the average amount of taxes per head would only be about 10s. per annum.

But how long will the people of this generation be content to pay 40s. per head of annual taxation in order that their great-great-grandchildren may be able to compete with foreigners in A. D. 1951? The *Times* is far too shrewd to believe that the hard-working classes will ever be so simple as to do anything of the kind. It sees very clearly that they have already found out a door of escape from their grinding slavery, that this outlet is every year becoming wider and wider, and that unless prompt and energetic measures are taken to lessen the pressure of taxation, the best class of the population will very soon throw off their portion of the intolerable burden by leaving a country which treats them so unjustly. On this point the *Times* of Monday speaks out boldly and earnestly.

"A crowd of circumstances are conspiring at this moment to show the tremendous nature of the risk that we run in bequeathing to our posterity an inheritance of debt. It is true that the commerce and wealth of the country continue to increase; it is true, also, that the population of our cities, our great ports, and our manufacturing districts shows, in most instances, an undiminished ratio of increase; but it is also true that for the last ten years we have added but a trifle to the aggregate population of these isles. We have sent to the ends of the earth, to a new world, and to our greatest manufacturing rival, sixteen hundred thousand members of that class which, after all, is the staple of a nation, and the sinew and bone of its prosperity. There is no appearance whatever of flagging in that great human tide which flows in so dense a stream across the Atlantic, and diffuses itself over so large a surface on the opposite shores. Who can say when and

where this secession of the people will cease, what numbers or what classes will stay behind, what portion will go with the crowd, what portion will cleave to the soil? There certainly is a point beyond which it would be ruinous for the present deportation to continue. What is land, what is wealth, what are cities, and the vast material apparatus of this empire, without the human labourer? With a greatly diminished population—a result now brought within the bounds of moral possibility—there will be less production, and less expenditure, while the national burdens will press with greater, because less divided weight. There are, of course, many whose personal stake in the country is so great, that nothing would induce them to sacrifice it. But that is not the case with the vast majority of the people. They are thrown on the world, and it matters little on which side of the Atlantic they have to follow their star. We say it, then, with confidence and earnestness, that the only way to set this house in order is to reduce taxation and diminish the public debt—doing both if possible, but by no means omitting the latter."

Yes, diminish the public debt by all means. But how, and at what rate? By paltry instalments of £3,000,000 a year, as the *Times* proposes? Can any man in his senses believe that such a homoeopathic dose of relief would have the slightest effect in arresting "that great human tide which flows in so dense a stream across the Atlantic?" Dribblets of relief are never felt by a nation. To produce any sensible impression among the suffering classes, there must be a series of great measures, all tending to raise the condition of the working men of Great Britain. One of the first of these measures ought to be a large reduction of taxation, which can only be effected by the liquidation of the National Debt. How that may be effected we shall endeavour to show in our next publication.

HOW "DIVINE RIGHT" GOVERNS.

HER Majesty's Government entertains the most friendly relations with all Foreign Powers. Among the chief Powers comprised in this gratifying assurance, is the paternal Government under whose benign sway, subsidized and sustained by the huge Autocracy of all the Russias, Hungary lies waste and desolate, Italy groans in sacerdotal bondage.

We earnestly invite attention to the terms of the following agreeable document. It is a very fair specimen of the kind of watchfulness exercised by these righteous and paternal Powers, "consecrated by God," says the authorized catechism of the Neapolitan youth, "for the welfare of society." It is the literal translation of a circular of the military and civil lieutenant of the Venetian provinces of Austria to the military commanders under him:—

"To the military commanders in the office of public order. When you are requested to furnish information respecting any person with the qualification of special, you must exactly supply concerning that person all the following indications:—

- "1. His nation, place of birth, parentage, age, &c.
- "2. His personal description.
- "3. His intellectual culture and talents.
- "4. His character and humour.
- "5. His sentiments in politics, religion, and other matters.
- "6. His social position and education.
- "7. The estimation in which he is publicly held, and the extent of his influence.
- "8. His manner of living—as, what he habitually does or omits to do; whether he is much or little at home; and, if he goes out, where he usually goes, with special indication of the names of the public places, private houses, and families he visits; and whether he goes to them in the day or in the night, frequently, seldom, or periodically; also, with what company he ordinarily spends his time.
- "9. What are his usual topics of discourse in public places.
- "10. With whom he keeps up a correspondence, and whether frequently, seldom, or periodically.
- "11. Whether he is in the habit of travelling, where, and on what pretext; and whether he does so frequently, or periodically, or seldom, alone or in company, and by what means of conveyance.
- "12. His means of subsistence; whether there is a due proportion between his income and his expenditure; whether he is lavish, economical, or parsimonious; and whether he lives from day to day.
- "13. In what special relations he stands to his parents, his family, his friends, and his mistress.
- "14. What part he took in the revolution, and whether by actions or only in thought. Was he an enthusiast or a cool-headed calculator? Did he in public or in secret aid the revolution under the mask of neutrality—when, where, and in what spot specially?
- "15. If he took no concern in the revolution, did he refrain on principle and from devotion to his lawful sovereign, or from fear, prudence, apathy, inertness, or calculation?
- "16. In the changes of party-fortune did he remain always the same, or did he turn as the wind was blowing?

and by what facts might his change of sentiment be proved?

"17. In fine, a biographic sketch describing all the antecedents of his history.

"Venice, June 7, 1851.

"The Military and Civil Lieutenant of the Venetian Provinces.
GORCZKORSKY."

No wonder Tacitus is a forbidden book. Do we not recognize Tiberius under the Austrian mask? Mark well this circular—trace out its working! Your every thought, word, act, imagined, distorted, surprised; every minutest circumstance of your daily life, walk, and conversation; every most delicate, domestic, intimate incident of your most tender and most trustful personal relations; every gentlest confidence of the heart, eyes, lips, gesture, look, tone, motion, spied upon, treasured up, perverted by unseen enemies, and striking you like daggers in the dark by the hand of perjured accusations. In your sleeping and waking hours, in rising and resting, in activity and repose, in your silence and in your most trivial expressions, in what you have done or abstained from doing, in your unacknowledged hopes, in your submission to injustice, in your faith in lawless thrones, or in your disgust for political intrigues—there is matter enough and to spare for suspicion, for accusation, and for quasi-judicial murder. If a link be wanting in the fatal chain, cannot private hate, suborned, complete the work of ignominy?

Mark, too, that many of the "indications" required can only be supplied by your most intimate friends; nay, by your nearest and dearest relatives, and then say whether this system of Government upheld by anointed Sovereigns, who call themselves the "*Delegates of God for the happiness of their subjects*," and encouraged by the "*Party of Order*," be not in truth the most savage of anarchies, the disruption of all social ties—in short, the very negation of a God. And is not insurrection in such a case, we do not say the chief right, but rather the first of duties? If there be a spark of manhood in the People who are suffering this oppression, the hour is coming when they will rise once more like one man to purge and for ever their country from a pestilence, the very distant breath of which infects and horror-strikes all civilized Europe! If they did not—and this is the question we would urge upon Englishmen—if they did not, should we not despise them?

PROGRESS OF ASSURANCE.

COMPETITION has been stretched to its extreme. We are entering upon a sounder and more enlightened system. On all sides there are evidences of conversion to the principles of Association. Men have ceased to live to themselves alone. They have begun to consider that their duties extend to the well-being of their fellow-creatures, nay, even that their interests are involved in it. The practical recognition is at present only partial among commercial men and capitalists; but it is something for them to allow that there are other interests besides their own to be recognized, and that a superstructure built upon the ruin of others is neither desirable nor free from danger.

We have before shown how purely associative is the principle of Life Assurance. Conducted, however, by persons who had but feebly recognized the power of combination, there was, for a long period, no extension of its benefits to any but those who regarded the simple monetary part of the question. Accordingly, we find the older offices clinging to a system enriching them to such a degree as to make their funds positively burdensome. In later days, still in a simply mercantile spirit, they pare down the premium as a lure to assurers. It is in this particular era, when the advantages arising from the well-being of every individual are becoming recognized, that the latent principles of Assurance are developed, and their numerous benefits popularized and made available to the community.

There should be a thorough coöperation between all those offices which have introduced the popular principle of concert; for in this, as in all other cases where the principle is fully recognized, the interest of one is the interest of all. There is ample room. There are but 200,000 lives assured of all our millions of population. An office that commences business on substantial principles, and has a connection, may safely calculate on success. Nor will that success interfere with any but those offices where the extension of business is neglected, and where the affairs are carelessly administered. Each association has its separate interest. Every officer, from the directors to the youngest clerk, has a circle of influence which would not have been exerted for another society;

and thus the new office at once receives a number of lives which would otherwise not have been assured at all. It ought really to be remembered, and the consideration would disarm much animosity, that a new office is not a competitor to steal away business, but a propagator of a great and beneficial principle, carrying blessings home to a circle which another has failed to reach, and really aiding its elder brethren by the force of example. An assured life is valuable in a neighbourhood, for no one can so gracefully urge the adoption of life assurance as he who has assured his own life. It is the knowledge that class interests would work well when appealed to, with the peculiar advantages especially applicable, which led to the formation of assurance offices for the several professions. "The Law Life," which is the pet of the legal profession, has enormous funds at its disposal; and finds an agent in every lawyer in the kingdom. "The Church of England" addresses itself to the clergy, for whom it particularly sets aside a portion of its profits. The medical profession has also an office devoted to its interests. The author, the painter, the sculptor, the musician, men who give nuts to the world and scarcely have the shells for their trouble, have hitherto had no association, with tables adapted to their peculiar professions. And yet to no men is the adoption of assurance more important, nor would any more gladly avail themselves of its benefits were the system rendered possible to them.

Men engaged in literary, scientific, and artistic pursuits are frequently chargeable with improvidence by those who reap both benefit and pleasure from their exertions. But people occupied in the ordinary or mercantile affairs of life can form no estimate of the question. They know nothing of the abstract world in which the author moves, nor the incompatibility of what would be called "business habits," with the feverish state of his imagination.

The uncertainty of income, even with successful writers, makes "provident habits," as people term them, a thing of difficulty. The tradesman, or salaried person, or man of ascertained income, may regulate his expenditure, and pass through his hum-drum existence in the favour of commercial minds. But let him try to think of an income oscillating between £600 and £100 per annum. Let him try to imagine a man disenthralled from the close and studious labour of months into actual, successful, and triumphant print, and he will have some idea of his own absurdity when he talks of "improvident habits," and "ill-regulated expenditure." His merit lies in his account books, an author's in the emanations of his genius. Many a writer would leave his study and conduct an office with more acumen than he that was "to the manner born," but the casting up of ledgers and imaginative pursuits are seldom compatible.

THE ATHENÆUM LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, while it commends it itself to the public generally, has been established especially on principles "adapted to the feelings, views, and wants of literary men, artists, and musicians." It proposes to institute a Provident Fund to be raised by the mutual contributions of the members. The first five hundred assurers who desire to participate in this benefit, will agree to leave a tenth portion of the sums for which they are assured for the purposes of this fund, which will be thus applied:—

I. To keeping up the policies of members who having paid five annual premiums shall be unable to continue them. This aid, which will be continued for five years, is not eleemosynary, but to be regarded as a loan, to be repaid to the Society at the convenience of the assured, or to be deducted from the policy when it becomes due.

II. To grant small loans, on deposit of the policy, to those members who may require temporary assistance.

III. To qualified members who really need it, the directors will have the discretionary power of granting such an amount as will purchase in the Society an annuity not exceeding £100 during the lives of such members and their widows.

IV. To divide among the surviving members at the end of twenty years from the date of the list being closed, the whole of the remaining and unapplied portion of the fund.

A similar fund is also proposed to be raised by applying a portion of the entire profits of the Society for such of the original shareholders as may become distressed.

It is proved by statistical inquiries that nearly five per cent. of the adult population of the kingdom are constantly incapacitated from following their occupations, and a great portion become permanently invalided. As a provision against this

state of things, the "Athenæum" proposes to grant policies to secure certain sums payable during sickness, or when accident or other casualty shall prevent the assured obtaining his livelihood.

A very important feature is the introduction of a system new to this country, but worthy of general adoption—the granting of policies payable to the holder. The assignment of a policy, though of frequent occurrence, is attended with expense and vexatious delays. The Athenæum policies, on the contrary, may be transferred as readily as a bank-note, and all delay and publicity in the assignment will be avoided.

The Society enters upon business with a paid-up capital of £100,000, thus giving the security of a proprietary company; while, proposing to divide 70 per cent. of the profits among those assured on the participating scale, they secure all the advantages of a mutual association without incurring any liability.

Such are some of the advantages held forth by the "Athenæum," and we earnestly recommend them to the consideration of the professions to which they are particularly offered. There is no class of men who more require perfect freedom of mind. Anxiety and fear for the future have been destructive of the finest efforts of genius. Fettered by forebodings, the brain loses its elasticity and imagination its force. We cannot avert all the evils that flesh is heir to; but we can, by combined operation, very greatly mitigate their severity. We would that all literary men and artists would at once assure their lives. The sacrifice is but momentary. The paltry premium will be readily made up by the increased capacity for labour. The ordinary requirements of our existence are but healthy stimulants to exertions; but the prospect of leaving those we hold most dear to contumely and want, or of seeing them pining around us while we are rendered incapable by sickness, has driven many a noble brain to madness and embittered many a dying hour.

THE BLOOMER REVOLT.

DRESS is the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual man, typified to the sense; whence we are to conclude that all Englishmen approximate to each other in a remarkable degree, even more than each man does himself at different times. Thus at present there is a general desire in the Englishman to signify that his intellect is a lax-wristed intellect, choked, as it were, with two huge bows that cross its moral gullet and expand over each shoulder. And every Englishwoman wishes you to understand that her genius exactly resembles that of the Honourable Mrs. Grundy. Mrs. John Bull and the Misses J. B. have precisely the same amount of the unknown quality which that fashionable lady signifies by the make of her berthe or charming arrangement of her chatelaine. The model at which all Englishmen aim, without quite reaching it, is the waiter: the clergyman ranks next to that Hamlet of modern fashion; the perfect gentleman is a waiter in all but the ease with which he bears the outward garb of absolute nullity; the undertaker cannot be reckoned on the same level with the perfect gentleman; the Puseyite is the mediæval perfect gentleman in the costume of the nineteenth century, as it might have existed in olden time—a sort of archaeological journey to the middle ages and back again.

In the United States, however, they laugh at our "Old-World" notions of licence, and are making mince-meat of fashions, which are to be retained only for the drawing-room. There Mrs. Bloomer has set Woman on being the Grand Turk, in Oriental costume. So do extremes meet! The old Grand Turk is met in the new Far West—only it is a woman—a sort of harem-scare'm version of the Mussulman. And, what is more, the journals are discussing "the dress excitement" with a heat that pertains to something serious. Is it to be petticoats or Turkisms, Greek jackets, jean "spencers," and flowing trousers just full enough to conceal "the limb," but terminating in a boot that defies mud; or shall it be the petticoat—the self-same hallowed garment, floating in drawing-room, or dragging in the mud, or—but we need not recall to the harrowed feelings of our lady readers what things are related to have happened in high winds.

Presidential election, Abolition, Nullification, Cuba invasion, Mormonism, are obscured before the fire of this last discussion. Mrs. Bloomer is accused of having borrowed the idea from one of that class whom in England we only name with the utmost stretch of licence, by excessively circuitous

allusions to Magdalen hospitals. But, right or wrong, Mussulman or Christian, the "Bloomer" costume is now quite the rage—in discussion; and is getting into real use in several parts of the Union.

It has been excessively difficult to change a costume, on critical grounds. Charles the Second failed to introduce the pleasing Hungarian type; the red-heeled experiment was a failure in England. Paul of Russia's attempt to suppress round hats was among the proximate causes of his death. Beards, or no beards, defy dictation. But our transatlantic cousins, with their trenchant notions, are proposing to make a universal change from the one costume to every costume. How absurd, says the *Home Journal*, to have any one fashion to be worn by all; why this servility, this voluntary suicide on the Procrustes' bed of Fashion? Look at Broadway, with its bob-tail coats:—

"The commonest law of beauty, for a male figure, demands broad shoulders and narrow hips—yet here is a universal fashion, which so clips the skirts that the edges stand out with the curve at the waist, and make a man's hips look as progenitively big as a woman's. There is the same uninquiring servility as to every male fashion that comes up—beards and hats, cravat-ties and waistcoats, trousers and shirt-bosoms. Lately, even (and we never knew anything droller in the whole history of fashion's caprices), there could scarcely be found a young man in New York, the edges of whose hair were not turned under from ear to ear, like the roller of a curtain, with the barber's curling-tongs!

"Against the slavery of fashion our Republican country is properly the place for the first revolt. Of all the weeds of monarchy and aristocracy, such servile imitation of the exterior of others is the most rank and unprofitable. It extends to other apings of our superiors, quite as easily. 'Every one of Alexander's followers,' says Montaigne, 'carried their heads on one side as he did; and the flatterers of Dionysius ran against each other in his presence, and stumbled at, and overturned whatever was under foot, to seem as purblind as he. Deafness has been affected for the same reason; and because the Emperor hated his wife, Plutarch records that the courtiers repudiated theirs whom they loved: and, which is yet more, uncleanness and all manner of dissoluteness has been in fashion.'

"We repeat, that we see signs which look to us as if the present excitement as to one fashion were turning into a universal inquiry as to the sense or propriety of any fashion at all."

Is not this anarchy frightful? Next we shall see Englishmen wearing garbs that best suit their aspect and avocations: shopmen democratically giving up the attempt to be mistaken for Lords and Baronets; even Lords probably, such is the depravity of human nature, giving up the attempt to look like waiters; working-men content to look like working-men, and not like seedy gentlemen employing the most inept of tailors; girls content to look lovely, and various as the tints of their hair; and the world in general content to become picturesque. No; that cannot be: to be picturesque is what no *Englishman* would ever submit to be thought—VULGAR. Beauty is for the theatre, the painter's studio, and other haunts of vice. Respectability is always ugly: if it for an instant ceases to be so, it begins to doubt itself. In the United States they are not tormented by these considerations, because they are Republicans, and Republicans are never respectable. Handsome is that handsome does: if English wives were to become handsome, away with conjugal fidelity, with our institutions, our Monarchy, &c. You cannot remove one inch of the social fabric without pulling down the whole—so firmly is it built! Englishmen, then, will continue to dress themselves like bricks—all alike.

ENGLISH FEELING ON THE GOVERNMENT ITALIAN OUTRAGES IN ITALY.

SPRIT is not extinct in England. The subjoined passages are extracted from a letter by a man whose name, if we had permission to write it, would add a European reputation to the magnanimity of the things said:—

"Gladstone's letters, I trust, will open the eyes of those who are somnolent at the side of Humanity. The same order of things exists at Rome as at Naples. Is it impossible to engage an American ship and crew, to reduce in a single hour the island fortress in which the Neapolitan patriots are imprisoned? On the first of October, I shall be ready with my twenty pounds towards this service. It may be unlawful to offer a reward for the seizure of certain men who are lawless. But abroad have I avowed my opinion, and I repeat it, that he who is above the law, is out of the law; that he who forcibly takes that station, may and ought to be forcibly ejected from it. * * * Until some dreadful example has awakened from their lethargy the nations of the Continent, and shattered the thrones their perfidious rulers

have polluted, in no form whatever can you expect good government."

These are bold expressions; but they strike home. The sentiment that tyrants ought to be called to account by the nations whom they misgovern will, we believe, find an echo among the countrymen of Hampden and Cromwell. King Ferdinand of Naples, brought before a court of law, tried openly by a Neapolitan jury, and, if found guilty, punished by the penalty for the gravest crimes, would be a spectacle of justice. He might, in a highly enlightened court, get off on the plea that the prisoner, like his family, had been weak in mind. For a Jury might be a *protection* to those tyrants who repudiate every responsibility, save that which is enforced by the arm of the assassin.

MEMORANDUM.

CONTRASTS are freely drawn just now between the conduct of the Governments in Rome and Naples, both of which refuse permission to the Protestant residents for fitting places of worship, and the tolerance shown in our own country to Roman Catholics. But the contrast is idle.

In one sense it is what logicians call an identical proposition: you are contrasting what we have always boasted to be tolerance with what we have always known to be intolerance, only changing the general names into particular names. And so much force as may be in that old contrast is diminished by so much force as there may be in the Anti-Papal Bill—whatever that may be.

To make the contrast available you should make the things compared equal in other respects. If Rome were under a popular constitution you could contrast it with England: but there was no charge of sectarian intolerance against the Republican Government of Rome.

The persons aggrieved in Rome and Naples are aliens: those whom intolerance would aggrieve here are our own fellow-countrymen.

The case reminds us how difficult of application is the *lex talionis*: how much easiest and safest the law of dealing with all according to our own honour and dignity, as kindly and generously as possible.

THE CORN-FACTORS OUTWITTED BY THEMSELVES.

A DISMAL practical joke have the corn-factors passed upon themselves. They encouraged as much as they could the admission of Continental flour, expecting to make their profit out of the "free" trade. If the millers were to suffer, was it not good for the consumers? If, indeed, the millers themselves were to be consumed, so much the better. Cornfactors have their way, and are all delight. Trade accrues; but lo! the French and Germans plant in London their *own* factors! Do not the factors now, admitting the beauties of free-trade as applied to wheat and to flour, think that there ought to be a duty on foreign factors? Worse and worse: *more* circulars, exclaim the appalled factors, are current about London market, on Wednesdays and Fridays, in French or German than in English. But worse yet—the foreign factors propose to sell by *auction*! We may expect to see several gentlemen appearing at the "legitimate" theatres this winter, in "first tragedy," "from the Theatre Royal, Mark Lane."

THE HOUSE OF BEDFORD.

THE sole surviving Whig of the London press claims as a merit of Lord John's policy, that whereas Sir Robert Peel has been vigorous, sudden, thorough, and effective in his reforms, the other has been slow, and has so contrived as to reconcile opponents to his measures. The journalist puts it excellently when he says—"If you cannot sleep, the housemaid who made your bed may be in some degree responsible. Now, Lord John Russell made a very different bed for the Conservatives from any that Sir Robert Peel offered to his victims." The Protectionists see the idol torn out of their hands, gone altogether; wherefore, they are angry, and want to get it back. But the bed of Reform was so made by John Russell—so softened with ratepaying clauses, Chandos clauses, and so forth, that the hottest old Tory could lie down upon it. J. R. is the only genuine Betty to make up beds at the Reform inn,—the Bedford Arms, house-of-call for every class of bagman political.

But the friendly critic is wrong. There were people most anxious to get into the place smoothed by Sir Robert Peel, to go to bed; and most soundly have these same people been sleeping there ever since. Nothing could disturb them but their own bad dream—the anti-papal nightmare. They were content enough to get into that bed, all of them, from Russell to Hawes, and to lie there too.

On the other hand, you can scarcely find men who like to get into it next after them. Stanley and others declined pointblank: they said that the bed was tumbled, dirty, and not at all inviting. The contemptuous burden of their song was—"See-saw, Margery Daw." "Good beds" are placarded at the Old Original Reform Inn; but the place is losing its custom; it is not so clean as it was; and people do not quite like the character of the house.

Bed-making, according to the *Globe*, is Lord John's forte; and his Reform Bill is the example cited. He has had twenty years' experience, and is now manufacturing another; so that his next Reform Bill is to excel the last in softness and repose—to be a more than feather-bed—a Reform bed.

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*.

"ARMS give place to the toga"; the battleaxe rusts against the wall, and knightly valour,—manhood, *virtus*—seeks eminence in the contests of intellect. Captain Pen has a higher office than Captain Sword. The age of military ascendancy has so completely passed away, that practical statesmen, men without enough imagination to become dreamers, are active at the Peace Congress—a scheme which, fifty years ago, would have surpassed in buffoonery the most extravagant conceptions of RABELAIS or SWIFT. Such being the march of history, it is clear that, if the aristocracy do not distinguish itself in Politics, Philosophy, and Literature, it must soon pass away. If Dukes do not lead us, wherefore should we accept of Dukes?

The young Duke of ARGYLL has evidently the serious and lofty ambition of becoming *ducal*. He has distinguished abilities to warrant that ambition. Were he JONES, he would make himself remarkable; being a Duke, all he does is remarked. This week he has issued a pamphlet on the *Twofold Protest*, in the shape of a letter to the Bishop of OXFORD, the effect of which we are certain will be very considerable, since it not only shatters the preposterous Anglican claims set up by SAMUEL of Oxford; but it dives deep into the heart of this vexed question, and exposes the parent source of all the much-lamented secessions from "Oxford to Rome." That exaltation of the Priesthood as a Divine Commission representing the Apostles by "direct unbroken succession," which is the animating principle of Puseyism, and is in open defiance of Protestantism, the Duke of ARGYLL has no difficulty in proving to be the bridge over which men pass to Rome:—

"Ask some of those to whom I allude," he says, "how they have overcome all those objections to the Romish worship and teaching which you have often heard them express so strongly? Ask them how they could acquiesce in practices which they used to call, as you now call them, 'idolatrious'? You will always get one answer—the authority of the Church." And when you come to analyse this idea, so powerful to bend the strong and to prostrate weaker minds, you find that in reality it is not one principle but a compound of two; one respecting the nature of 'the Church' as regards its government, and another respecting its *authority*. The first is that 'the Church' is governed by an Order of Priesthood, perpetuated as such by a spiritual hereditary descent overspreading the whole Christian world, and representing by 'direct unbroken succession' the Holy Apostles. The second is that the authority of the Priesthood is exclusive of every other, and so extensive that the widest differences of doctrinal belief cannot justify separation from it, or the intrusion of any other Christian ministry."

And these principles are held by the High Anglican Church. To them the Duke, as a true Protestant, would oppose the "good old Protestant weapons—appeal to the authority of Scripture against the authority of the priesthood." But as he is an advocate for *thoroughness*, and demands that premises be pushed to their conclusions with unswerving rigour, we would call his attention to the principle underlying Protestantism, deeper and wider than that of a mere appeal to Scripture against Priesthood, viz., the absolute right of private judgment—in other words, of free thought. The contest is not simply between Anglican and Calvinist, it is the contest between Dogma and Conviction—between the *objective* and the *subjective* Churches. The right which LUTHER claimed to interpret the Scripture in *his* way, we also claim to interpret it in ours, i. e. to reject it; and our right is equally valid with his own. From the moment you abolish the distinction between Priest and Layman—LUTHER did so when he insisted that CHRIST was present in every faithful soul, as a temper of the mind, an *inward* fact, not in the Church as an *outward* fact—you break down all authority except that of Conscience; and upon the broad ground of Conscience,

although we may oppose the claims of the Anglicans, we equally oppose the claims of the Calvinists.

There is one sentence in the Duke's pamphlet which we read with pain. The opinion it expresses is common enough, but we looked for higher views, and sterner adherence to Truth from one so earnest and so bold. This it is:—

"And here allow me say that it is only by pushing such principles to their last logical results that their truth and safety can be tested. They are not like political maxims which may be consistently modified—in part allowed to guide and in part left to sleep. In respect to principles of religious truth, there can be no such dealing."

Here Compromise and half truth are openly avowed as admissible in Politics, though in Religion they justly seem dangerous! It is, as we said, a common error, a deplorable error. Theologians, indeed, are in the habit of calling religious truth "sacred truth," until they learn to think it more sacred than *other* truth. But the Duke of ARGYLL will, we are persuaded, admit on reflection, that in no case is evasion of principles to be justified before Truth, and that whatever is "abstractedly" false, can never become "concretely" true. If "expediency" be admissible in Political affairs, wherefore is it inadmissible in Ecclesiastical affairs which are but the politics of the Church?

POPE, recalling the fate of the social favourite GAY, says or sings:—

"Gay dies unpension'd, with a hundred friends!"

GAY would be luckier now; in the caprices of the Pension List, favouritism has ample sway; otherwise, we might ask with astonishment, upon what principle the favoured objects are often selected? This week we learn, that Mr. J. SILK BUCKINGHAM and Colonel TORRENS have each been awarded £200 per annum, in consideration of their services to literature. Far be it from us to grudge them this reward; but we cannot help calling attention to the anomalous nature of the Pension List. While the most paltry sums are set apart for the reward of Literature, Science, and Art (the nation is magnificent to Captains, Generals, Field Marshals, and all the heroes fighting under Captain Sword), it is not proper that these sums should be withheld from the most deserving and the most needing. Whatever may be the claims of Mr. BUCKINGHAM for literary services, it is clear that he stood in no pressing *need* of the pension, since he had just been pensioned by the East India Company; and Colonel TORRENS, as a Colonel, cannot, we suppose, be in want. Of course no man, at least no literary man, is so rich as not to be glad of an extra £200 a year; and were funds plentiful, we should make no comment on the present cases; but when we think of the men in absolute *need*, men in failing health and waning years, men to whom the pension would not be an *extra*, but a necessity, we cannot forbear pointing out the impropriety of giving pensions to those who need them less.

Mr. RUSKIN has put forth his *Præ-Raphaelitism*; but he writes "about and about" the subject, instead of giving an elaborate statement of the aims and claims of the New School. The Pamphlet is well worth reading for the sake of several pages in it apropos to Art in general, and to TURNER in particular; but it will disappoint those who seek for criticism or defence of the P. R. B.'s. Before RAPHAEL had dazzled the world, Painters went direct to Nature; since the splendid achievements of RAPHAEL they have been servile to certain technical "rules," and have forgotten Nature in copying Art. That is the gist of what Mr. RUSKIN says with great eloquence, and great arrogance, as usual; and his manifesto turns out to be, on the whole, a world-old truism, dressed up with excellent advice. We shall return to the Pamphlet next week.

The "Monks of old" have much unconscious villainy to answer for! They piously imagined they were doing good service by effacing the glories of Greek and Roman Literature from parch-

ments, to substitute their homilies, legends, and poems! What was a Decade of LIVY to them? What cared they for ARISTOTLE's great work on Political Constitutions? They wanted parchment, not literature. They covered with their own rubbish the fair lineaments of ancient Art—buried it as Herculaneum was buried, one day to reappear from under the dust to astonish and delight mankind. But as many vases and ornaments are manufactured for the credulous, who purchase them for veritable antiques; so also manuscripts are manufactured from time to time for the bewilderment of scholars. The glorious discoveries of Professor MAI stimulated the hopes of scholarly CHATTERTONS; and LEOPARDI forged a Hymn to Neptune and two Odes of ANACREON, which for a long while duped the learned.

In spite of these and similar hoaxes, the *Risorgimento* of Turin lately excited the curiosity of scholars by announcing that M. SIMONIDES had discovered several precious manuscripts at Athens. On examination these turned out to be forgeries so clumsy, that the verses of HOMER are actually reproduced from the text of the Tauchnitz edition!

The Great Exhibition would be as sore a point in every Frenchman's mind as Waterloo is, if it were not for the splendid assurance with which they clang the cymbals of their own glory! Every Frenchman, grave or gay, has chaunted the one unvarying hymn, "France originated the idea, and—France surpasses every other nation in every department." The feuilletonist, the philosopher, the *badaud*, one and all, see nothing but the immense superiority of France in all this Congress of Nations. They are annoyed at England having the honour of executing a scheme which would have been so much better executed in France; but, at any rate, they console themselves with having "originated the idea." So they did; as a popgun originated the cannon! But if England has some credit for the enterprise itself, *La France y tient la première place*—France is the glory of the Exposition! At first this incessant throbbing of the national drum simply amused us. It has become fatiguing. It sounds childish to be always crying out, "See, what a good boy am I! So clever, so much cleverer than other boys!" They intoxicate themselves with the fumes of national vanity. MICHEL CHEVALIER presents a glaring example in the *Débats* this week. He has a leading article drawing a comparison between England and France at the Exhibition. It is irresistibly amusing. With perfect gravity he proves that the French beat us in weaving, beat us in machinery, and beat us in cutlery! Who can doubt that they beat us in everything; did they not beat us at Waterloo?

MIRABEAU.

Correspondence entre le Comte de Mirabeau et le Comte de la Marck, pendant les années 1789, 1790, et 1791; recueillie, mise en ordre, et publiée, par M. Ad. de Bacourt. 3 vols. W. Jeffs.

IN contemplating the history and biographies of recent or present times and men, we cannot avoid being startled by the discovery that the very abundance of the materials tends to place both history and biography in as doubtful a state of authenticity and accuracy as is the case with those ancient men and eras who are only known through the mists of tradition and fable. Ancient history is unsatisfactory through meagreness of reliable documents: modern history seems to be in almost as bad a plight through the very opposite evil, the excessive number and the conflicting nature of the materials from which a history or a biography has to be collected.

Mirabeau has suffered from this mass of evidence more than almost any other man. It is not going too far to say, that before 1836 the world knew little or nothing concerning him, except the broad facts of his being a dissolute character, and the master spirit of the early years of the Revolution. Penchet, Vitry, Chaussaud, and one or two more were our sole guides, and they were about as correct in spirit and in fact as to the true occurrences of Mirabeau's life, as Sir Walter Scott is in his novels to those historic celebrities with whom he had no sympathy. As if by magic, in all places at once. Fighting duels at Aix at the very time he was in

prison in Vincennes; doing literary hodwork in Berlin, when he was in the south of France abducting ladies from the seclusion of a convent life; tête-à-tête with the King and Queen, when he was speaking in the Assembly; plunged in the most infamous orgies of Orleans and Lacos, when he was walking with his nieces through the gardens of his sister. Dying of poison and of disease; being murdered by the King, by Robespierre, by the emigrants; and, though killed by one or all of these, only dying of a natural disorder through his own rashness and the bungling of his doctor. Such, in literal truth, is the result of a study of the biographies of Mirabeau, before his adopted son published the eight thick volumes, which had the merit of truth, but no other claim upon the patience of the public.

Perhaps this uncertainty, exaggeration, and invention had a great share in building up the fame of Mirabeau. People always wonder most at the impalpable, the vague, the vast. They may hate it and dread it, but they wonder still, and wonder is very near akin to worship. The Himalaya mountains do not strike us as gigantic when we see their height in statute feet; but when we read wild tales of their frozen pinnacles, gleaming white in the heavens over a hundred miles of country, we feel how great they are, and cannot speak or think "disrespectfully of the *Himalayas*." Children are not terrified by dogs and cats, whose nature and dimensions they accurately know, but by some large, indefinable bogey, that inhabits nowhere, and never is, and yet may pounce upon them at any minute. And though they shudder at the thought of him, depend upon it, at the bottom of their hearts, children have a considerable respect and even admiration, for that same bogey. And when we were ignorant of the details of Mirabeau's career, when all our knowledge was from a sort of vague tradition that had floated from his age to ours in the minds and mouths of men, Mirabeau was half supernatural, and loomed largely from the distance, towering above his contemporaries as Saul towered above the men of Israel. He appeared a giant, with something of mystery about his every action; a giant man, a giant debauchee, a giant orator, a giant intriguer, and a giant villain. This was the notion of Mirabeau. And although people denounced him, and hated him, and tabooed his memory, they still felt themselves dwarfed by him, and lost themselves wonderingly in the shadow cast from his colossal fame.

And this is the destiny of every great man. A large and unreasonable fame, perhaps, in his life time, and while his personal influence endures through the oral tales of eye-witnesses and hearers, then to have his minutest action and speech accurately recorded, to be estimated by them, and to take his stand upon them in the Walhalla of the world. Mirabeau suffers by this process, and yet gains. The immensity of his character dwindles; but if the immense genius diminishes, the immense debauchery and corruptibility diminish also. The intellectual man is certainly lessened, but the moral man is proportionately improved. He ceases to be a monster and becomes a man. We wonder no more: we understand him. "It has been complained of our brilliant English historian of the French Revolution, that when he has told all his facts about Mirabeau, they do not justify his estimate of his genius." So writes Emerson, and gives it as his opinion that, though less accurate, the original vague rumour is truer in essence than the final veridical detail. It is not our business to examine into that matter, but rather to give our readers an idea of the nature of the work under notice, and its claims upon our attention.

The adopted son furnished us with all the particulars of Mirabeau's life prior to the meeting of the States' General in 1789, from the mass of family papers in his possession. He left nothing to be desired as regarded completeness and authenticity, though he certainly proved how a man may make an unreadable book from the richest materials more thoroughly than any predecessor or successor in the art of editing family papers. He produced the *ne plus ultra* of bungling dulness, which was a triumph in its way. From 1789 to Mirabeau's death in 1791, he also had the advantage of being permitted to consult the correspondence in the possession of M. de la Marck, and gave frequent and, occasionally, lengthy quotations from the originals of the letters now before us in type. This he did in his own peculiarly unfelicitous and roundabout manner, giving the facts truly, but so mixing them up with extraneous and antagonistic statements, and arranging them so

clumsily, as to necessitate a third perusal before a glimmer of their bearing dawned upon the wearied reader; and making it imperative on any one who would understand them, to give up his nights and his days for a considerable period, employing no small share of patience and acuteness. The facts as stated by him remain unaltered by the present work. Its chief attraction is in the preliminary narrative of *De la Marck* himself. Though there is a great advantage in possessing the original correspondence in its totality, as it insures us from garbled extracts, which it is so easy to make to suit a purpose, and as it is infinitely pleasanter to read Mirabeau's letters and judge for yourself, than to wade through the interminable prosings of the adopted son for the sake of the extracts interspersed among them, like the brilliant sayings of a master mind scattered through the inanities of a tedious reviewer. All the ideas of Mirabeau obtained from the adopted son receive in these volumes a distinct and final confirmation. Many minor additions of information, many details are also supplied; but the work does not in any way alter what was known about the more important points in Mirabeau's career at the time when Carlyle wrote his famous History and Essay. In this respect these volumes do not fulfil the expectations of the world of letters, and our own among them. Now, however, that the materials of Mirabeau's life are complete—now that the last intimation regarding the mystery of his connection with the Court has appeared, and the final seal been placed upon all the details of his life, it may not be labour in vain to give a short sketch of his public career during the period embraced by these letters, not without, however, specifying in what particulars the book under notice has first placed it in our power to do so.

Auguste Marie Raymond, Prince of Arenberg, Count de la Marck, was the descendant of an ancient and wealthy family in Belgium, devoted to the House of Austria. When Marie Antoinette married the Dauphin, De la Marck was, by Maria Theresa's request, placed in the French army, and introduced at Court. From that time he became the firm and constant friend of the ill-fated Queen, her ally and adviser in a private capacity, of course. A rigid monarchist and a precise gentleman, De la Marck's testimony regarding Mirabeau is the most valuable we could possibly have, as he could not be prejudiced in his favour. And this testimony we have in these volumes in a very pleasant memoir of their friendship from its commencement to its end with the death of Mirabeau. In the year 1788, when the heavens were black with the coming storm, and when Mirabeau, scenting agitation from afar, had sailed down upon Paris to take his share in stirring up and in controlling the rising spirit of France, De la Marck, having heard again and again of the sinister fame of Mirabeau, of his intrigues, his flight with Sophie, his imprisonments, his sharp political invectives, and his magnificent pleadings at Aix, which were just then noised through France, accepted the offers of a friend to introduce this monster to him. Apparently he went to stare at Mirabeau, as people go to stare at the hippopotamus, not with any idea of becoming the friend of so disreputable a being. He gives us a sketch of his appearance, which was as little likely to prepossess De la Marck in his favour, as it was to diminish the preconceived notion of his reckless, unprincipled force. Tall, thick, heavy looking, with an immense head, and features of an ugliness carried to such an extreme as almost to go through again into a certain Satanic beauty! Pitted and seamed with the smallpox, clad in capacious garments of exaggerated fashion chiefly remarkable by the size of the bows and buckles, wearing a rough tremendous *chevelure*, and moving with uncouth actions; impetuously voluble compliments and salutations, repulsive from their clumsiness and fulsomness and their antagonism to all the then received forms of polite parlance. Such was Mirabeau in 1788, when first introduced to the prim, gentlemanly De la Marck. But no sooner are they seated at table than this strange apparition commences to pour out his store of natural and acquired wealth. He speaks of Germany, of Prussia, and the Great Frederick; of France and her deepening crisis, and attacks Necker with disdainful invectives, greatly to the terror of his host, who has a friend and devotee of Necker at his table, fortunately dotting and deaf; of England and her constitution, showing that he was one of those who were called Anglomaniacs in that day, not from his imitation of our mode of riding, but from a sincere admiration of our limited

constitution; which, radically defective as it was and is, was still a *beau idéal* of Government, compared with the tyranny of Bastilles and *lettres de cachet*. And when Mirabeau rises to depart he has done what he always does with friends and enemies, with precise gentlemen and fluttering women, fascinated them, conquered their hearts and their reasons, and made them firmly his own. De la Marck, with all his views and all his prejudices in direct hostility to Mirabeau's political and moral life, hating his revolutionary tendency as much as he hated his outrages upon conversational morality, is yet overwhelmed by his force, by his grasp of mind, by his clear insight, compelled to yield to his arguments, and, stranger still, to take the rough pock-pitted monster to his heart and to love him. For Mirabeau was one of those extraordinary men from whose person exhales a magnetic influence, an aroma of spiritual warmth and fascination. They part with mutual vows of friendship and vague engagements for infinite dinners. But they do not meet again till they are members of the States General: De la Marck as a representative of the *Noblesse*, Mirabeau as a deputy of the *Tiers Etat*. They do not renew their acquaintance till the preliminary squabbles regarding the constitution of the States, are ended by the subjugation of the clergy and noblesse, during which Mirabeau has asserted his leadership, has got recognized throughout revolutionary France as the master spirit in the great tribune of the people. The Court hate him, yet tremble at his power. Wild rumours are afloat regarding his sanguinary nature, his hatred of the monarchy, his desire for anarchy. De la Marck remembers Mirabeau's former professions of faith in a limited monarchy and constitutional government. He thinks he cannot be the foe to just order that people about Court say he is. He introduces himself, when they recommence their friendship and cement it with daily dinners and suppers. Mirabeau explains his views. He came to the States with an idea—the same idea he had expressed before the States were summoned. He expected Necker would have had a plan to propose to the States, that he would have endeavoured to construct a Ministerial party, and he came prepared to join that party, provided its views coincided with his own. He had even offered his services to Necker, it appeared, and been repulsed with contempt. Nothing then remained for him but to take up an independent position, and to speak out, in his own bold energetic manner, whatsoever his insight dictated to him in the various emergencies that arose from the bungling no-policy of Necker and the Court. Stung by pride, determined to make them feel his power, he had even exaggerated his revolutionary views. My influence is my power, said he. With it I am—Mirabeau: without it, I am nothing. But he is quite ready at the eleventh hour to do what they refused him opportunity to do at the first. De la Marck is delighted; endeavours to bring him into connection with the Court; but owing to the prejudice of the Queen against the factious tribune and audacious debauchee, he fails. At length, after the taking of the Bastille, when Mirabeau has grown more disgusted with the spread of anarchy, and the Court more terrified at the overflowing blood, Mirabeau prepares his first *mémoire* for the King's brother. It is a vivid, masterly picture of the position and danger of the Court and Crown. The King must accept the revolution honestly; he must immediately take up an advanced and liberal policy, and consolidate the nation upon it. If he do not, he writes, "the populace of Paris will batten their carcasses in the mud." The King and Queen are delighted with this, but as yet they cannot overcome their prejudices. Is not Mirabeau an immoral monster? they ask. Mirabeau is horror-stricken. I was, he answers; but I am no longer. "Are then the errors of my bad youth to be the ruin of my country?" De la Marck is called away to Brussels, and the negotiations are suspended. In the mean time everything grows worse and worse; Necker bungles and blunders deeper and deeper; the populace grow more and more excited and anarchic; the King's throne totters. In 1790, De la Marck returns, and reopens the negotiations between the Court and Mirabeau. At the request of the former, the latter addresses, on the 10th of May, his beautiful and touching letter to the King. The Queen yields. Overtures are made to Mirabeau; he is retained as private counsellor to the Court at a salary of 6000 livres per month, and one million of livres when the King should be saved. The latter was never paid; the former hardly at all. And it is only fair to Mi-

rabreau to state that he inherited a fortune of 50,000 francs from his father's death, which he allowed to go to waste in his labours for the public weal. In reality, he lived on a monthly loan from De la Marck, and died insolvent. On June 1, 1790, when these arrangements were complete, Mirabeau addressed his first *mémoire* to the King. He continued to address him till his death. They are forty-eight in all, exclusive of two lengthy and elaborate papers. These two contained the whole of Mirabeau's policy for the Court. They advise the King to withdraw to Rouen; call the States around him; and there, free from the factious influences of Paris, to throw himself heart and soul into the settlement of the nation on principles of enlarged and liberal constitutional government on the English model. The other forty-eight are minute hints on the minor emergencies of the day. In all these he advises the King to do and say precisely what appears to us alone could possibly have saved him. The King, however, could not make up his mind; hesitated, longed, yet feared; consulted nincompoops about the Court; followed them rather than Mirabeau; and finally did nothing, until Mirabeau was taken from him, when he performed a sort of burlesque of Mirabeau's advice in his flight to Varennes (not perceiving that Mirabeau himself was necessary to the success of his own plan); and he lost his head in consequence. All these letters were returned through De la Marck to the writer, and when Mirabeau lay upon his death-bed, he requested De la Marck to take away all his papers. This was complied with, and De la Marck spent the last years of his life in putting them in order, and bequeathed them to M. de Bacourt, to publish after his decease. M. de Bacourt has performed his trust by the appearance of the three handsome volumes before us now. The originals have been deposited in the archives of the house of Aremberg, at Brussels.

It may be as well to add, that De la Marck paints Mirabeau as an upright politician, as a man of the most prodigious genius and activity, as a loveable and steadfast friend. He also denies the reports of Mirabeau's excessive immorality; and, in the vexed question of his death, gives his opinion against the poisoning. But as he produces no evidence, and as every physician who saw the post-mortem examination entertained a contrary opinion, we are not inclined to receive De la Marck's dictum. In our opinion, the question never can be settled exclusively; but we decidedly think, that the business of disproving that he was poisoned lies with those who deny it.

The materials for the life of Mirabeau are now complete. We have his whole career before us in totality and in detail, and can pronounce an opinion. If, as we imagine, the greatness of a man consists of the union of a firm faith in a large principle, a vivid insight that sees into the core of things, and an energetic decision that acts at once with power upon the dictates of that insight, then Mirabeau was a great man, than whom history records few greater. The defect in the argument for his greatness lies in his morality. But let us not measure giants by the inch. An enlightened philosophy will consider temperament and physical organization in its relation to morality. It will not gauge David, Mahomet, Mirabeau by the same standard as it gauges Diogenes, Hume, or Pitt. It will disapprove absolutely, as it dare not condemn relatively. It will leave much to a larger eye and to a wiser judge, and will pronounce with charity:—

"He does well, who does his best:
Is he weary? Let him rest!"

A LOST POET.

To Anche! Poems, chiefly lyrical. By Thomas Smibert.
Groombridge and Sons.

THERE is a current superstition that our Poetical Literature is poor, owing to the dearth of Poets—the requisite genius not appearing, Poems do not appear. Thomas Smibert hints at a deeper and more universal cause. Not because genius is rare, but because Periodical Literature is exacting—that he seriously believes to be the explanation! Wordsworth finely and profoundly says:—

"Oh! many are the poets that are sown
By nature; men endow'd with highest gifts,
The vision and the faculty divine,
Yet wanting the accomplishment of verse."

These go to the grave unthought of, because, although *born* poets they are not *made* poets. But, according to Thomas Smibert, they may have the accomplishment of verse as well as the faculty divine; yet in the face of phenomena, such as

Chambers's Journal, *Hogg's Weekly Instructor*, and all the cheap periodicals, they cannot produce poems. They have to change their golden guineas into sixpences and coppers; the money is the same, but distributed.

It may be so; but it would require very substantial evidence to make us think so. Genius, if we understand its processes aright, waits upon no "supply or demand," is independent of cheap literature, independent of everything save its own inward irresistible impulse to create. It sings as the bird sings, not because you are listening or are in "want of copy," but because it is made a singing-bird. The orbit of genius is eccentric. It has a law and a reason of its own. Periodicals neither make nor mar it. To suppose that a poet can write "to order" is to mistake the very nature of his talent; and is the mistake of a man of business, not of a critic. When Goethe startled Germany by his *Goetz von Berlichingen*, an "enterprising" bookseller waited on him and desired to give an order for a dozen more chivalry pieces. It was a purely bibliopolic notion!

But we are wrong to argue this point with Mr. Smibert. The notion of Periodicalism, as destructive of fine poems, was evidently suggested to him by his own experience. It escapes somewhat thus:—I might have been a great poet.

Instead of writing great poems, I have squandered my talent on trifles for periodicals.

Ergo, periodicalism prevents great poems.

The strength of this syllogism, like the strength of an iron beam, is to be tested by its weakest part, and we have little difficulty in laying our finger on that part. It is the major premiss, "I might have been a great poet." Mr. Smibert has had the ambition of a poet—the intense yearning to leave a name to aftertime. But the programme of his qualifications ends there. He has learned to write verse, but he is guiltless of poetry. Indeed, so little claim has he to any consideration on the score of poetical faculty, that we almost resented the sympathy his preface awakened. In it he bewails, and somewhat touchingly, the mournful condition of one who, having started on his career winged with heavenly hopes, now looks back in sadness, and sees no lasting trophy of his labours:—

"He has used the pen almost incessantly during a literary life of some considerable duration; and when he asks himself if this work be indeed all, or the best, which he can now offer to the world, to bear evidence to the labours of the past, or justify a claim to respect in the future, sentiments of regret are awakened in his mind in real earnest. Undoubtedly, a vast deal more than appears here has been written, and, in one or another place, published; but the great mass, being produced for temporary purposes, neither deserves not could bear re-issue. On all those portions which do advance any feasible claims to be so honoured, the author has sat in personal and uncontrolled judgment, and finds himself constrained to admit, that almost every effort in verse—the species of composition here concerned—which is of value even in his own partial eyes, is compressible, and comprised, within the limits of this small publication. Such sweeping exclusions as have been deemed necessary, however, could not be made without exciting some melancholy reflections—not on account of the value, but of the want of value, of the matter rejected. There is a period of life, when the prospective cry of Cowley, "What shall I do to be for ever known?" assumes the retrospective form of "What have I done to be for ever known?" At that period, even those who have done much, are prone to think that they have done but little; while those who have really done but little, are apt to imagine that little less. Nor must it be conceived, that such feelings can only assail parties impressed with a high opinion of their own powers and endowments. He who is conscious, that at best he could not have effected much, has all the more reason for regret, when he feels, perhaps too late, that even that limited amount has not been accomplished."

We confess that the diction of the whole preface somewhat congealed our sympathies; a poet so prosaic we had not before encountered; and a poet using the vulgarism "parties" might well "give pause." But after all may not that too be owing to Periodicalism? So we read the Poems... No, that expression is too strong—we "looked over the volume"—and the result of our inspection was, that instead of bewailing his lot in having produced no more ambitious work, he ought to be extremely grateful to Periodicalism for having thwarted his ambition by its incessant demands.

To give the reader a justification of our sentence, we will dip into his volume, simply and truly at random. We have done so. Our first opening was

upon a poem too long to quote. This was the result of the second venture:—

"HUMAN LIFE.

"Great God! how strange a thing is human life!
Though borne by us, and felt, enjoy'd, and seen,
Inexplicable ever hath it been,
To calm self-study, or the curious knife.
Minds rich with genius, and with knowledge rife,
Have doubted even if being truly be;
And if the firm-set earth we seem to see—
The scene of all our joy, grief, love, and strife—
Be more than fancy—an idea. Strange,
Oh! very strange, indeed, the life of man!
Beyond the walls of time and space to range,
And all the now invisible to scan,
It were not much to die, if by the change
We might appreciate the wondrous plan!"

Here is the third:—

"TEARS.

"Tears are the ink with which deep feeling writes
Its most endearing bonds of tenderness.
What tongue and lips fail fitly to express,
Silence, with pen in eye-dew dipp'd, indites
Upon the cheek. Grief draweth solace thence;
And Anguish, with the corrugated brow,
Feels its sore pains to easeful weeping bow;
And hard remorse so melts to Penitence.
But Hope, and Joy, and Gratitude, and Love,
Emotions are, not less in unison
With the effusions of the surcharged eyes.
And hath not Nature shown like sympathies?
Over the waters came the Blessed Dove,
And through celestial drops the Rainbow shone."

After these can even the most sympathetic reader sympathize with this utterance of sadness?—

"SONNET.

"How many of my years have pass'd away,
And yet how little has been done for fame?
Oh! shall this burning wish to leave a name,
That may reëcho to a distant day,
Know nor in life fulfilment nor decay,
But still consume my bosom—now a flame
Fuel'd with noble hopes, and now a tame,
Dull gloss, that wastes, not lights, this frame of clay?
Is it, then, fruitlessly that thus I yearn?
May Heaven have planted in the human soul
This deathless thirst for an immortal urn,
And yet made unattainable the goal!
From thought to thought, from view to view, I turn,
And meanwhile pauselessly the seasons roll."

QUAKERISM.

Quakerism; or, the Story of My Life. By a Lady, who for forty years was a Member of the Society of Friends.
S. B. Oldham, Dublin.

We have been greatly disappointed with this book. Written with spiteful animus, it has not the sharpened cleverness of malice; recording early experiences, it does not rise above the smallest gossip; pretending to lay bare the follies, weaknesses, and assumptions of Quakerism, it has no more claim to be accepted as a fair picture of that sect, than the village talk respecting the conduct of "the Squire" has to be accepted as a judgment on the M.P. The authoress, with all her means of judging, has wanted judgment; her experience has been of details, not of wholes; she has been arrested by the incidental trifles which have obtruded themselves so prominently as to have obscured her perception of the actual thing.

Not that we are disposed to take up cudgels in favour of Quakerism. Our entire ignorance insists upon entire silence. The merely outward characteristics are absurd enough; but are not all symbols absurd to those who feel not what they symbolize? And although it is more than probable that drab coats and broad brims are now mere "conventions," having no real significance, are we guilty of no analogous formalism? He that is without a broad brim may laugh! Indeed, on reading these querulous pages we were much struck with their equal applicability to one and all of our sects: the colour of the coat and the width of the brim may vary, but the underlying spirit is the same. Oh! with what ineffable pity—for scorn is too human and unwise a feeling—would some superior creature look down upon the fierce antagonism of our sects, so arbitrary in their symbols, so slavishly bowing to their self-created idols, so rancorously hating their brethren for a slight difference in colour! It was a keen perception of this microscopic bitterness which gave Voltaire the feather to many of his shafts; and when Thackeray's friend pointed out to him two compartments of oysters in a fish-monger's window, bearing the several labels "8d. a dozen, 9d. a dozen," the great satirist profoundly observed, "How they must hate each other!"

It is not Quakerism the authoress exposes: it is trivial-mindedness, as exhibited by Quakers, but

not as confined to them. The book is superficial and worthless; but it contains some amusing passages. Here is one:—

HOW QUAKERS PAY TITHES.

"Soon after becoming a housekeeper, I was called on by the tithe collector. Friends annually sum up the amount of all they have lost by this suffering, as they call it; and I was then under the idea, that 'our noble testimony against an hireling ministry' was an essential part of all true Christianity, and that our refusal to pay the unholy tax was an acceptable martyrdom, in a small way. I had heard much preaching on the subject, and very much self-laudation on the faithfulness of the Society generally, indeed universally, to this our testimony, which so widely separated us from the hirelings of all other creeds. The two men who called on me for the purpose of collecting the disputed impost, were exceedingly gentle and polite. They saw at a glance that I was an ignoramus, and kindly volunteered to inform me how other Quakers managed; for I had told them, that my profession would not allow me to pay tithes; and that if they insisted on forcibly taking away my property, though I would not resist, still I would look on it as actual robbery.

"Did you ever pay tithes, ma'am?" said one of the men.

"Never," I replied.

"Well, then," said, 'you are a stranger here, I see, and I'll just tell you how the Bristol Quakers manage; for I am going about among them for twenty years past, and I am always glad to accommodate them and meet their scruples. The sum you must pay is one guinea; so I will call here to-morrow, at eleven o'clock in the morning, and you just leave on the sideboard there some articles of plate—your tea-pot will do very well, or spoons, or whatever you like—then I come and take it away. You don't give it, and so your conscience is clear. You will then return to your meeting-people, that your tea-pot, worth ten guineas, was distrained for tithe; and as soon after as you like you can go to Mr. Jones, the silversmith, and tell him how you lost your tea-pot, and are obliged to buy a new one. He will condole with you; and after showing you a variety of new ones to select from, he will hand you your own identical article, and say, he can sell you that cheap—say one guinea. You pay your guinea, and get your own safe back again, cleaner and brighter than ever; and if you like, you can purchase some other little trifling article; for Mr. Jones is a very accommodating man.'

"I was really shocked at the cool proposal of so nefarious and unprincipled a transaction, and indignantly rejected it; declaring, at the same time, my firm belief, that no Quaker would be guilty of so undignified and false an act. The man smiled, and said, 'Ay, that is the way they all go on at first; but, ma'am, it is a great deal the easiest and best plan in the end; and then he gave me the names of very many, my own acquaintances, who regularly once a year, as he jocularly said, 'allowed Mr. Jones to clean their plate.' 'There is old Mr. R.," said he, 'has a fine massive silver tea-pot. It is always laid out ready for me; I always give notice before I go; and now, twenty times I have carried it off, and got it brightened for him. He values it at twenty pounds, and his tithe is only one pound ten. And there is young Mr. R. He likes me to get his spoons done for him. He gives so many dinners, he likes to have them bright and new-looking.' Seeing me still very incredulous, he said, 'Well, ma'am, I won't call on you for a week, to give you time to think about the matter.' During that week I went to old Mr. R.'s, and told his daughter that tithes had been demanded of me, but that I had not paid them, and was expecting another visit from the collector.

"Oh! yes," said she, 'this is just the time they go about. They seized a valuable silver tea-pot from us last week. My father values it at twenty guineas, and the demand in money is only about thirty shillings; but it is a noble testimony we are called on to bear; and I trust our faithfulness will yet be the means of opening the eyes of professing Christians to the nature of a pure, free, Gospel ministry. I trust, my young Friend, thou wilt be faithful.'

"She spoke so seriously, that I hesitated to say what I intended about Jones's shop, lest the idea that I for a moment could think her or her father capable of such a deed, might offend.

"I then called on young Mrs. R., and mentioned the same thing to her. 'They did indeed,' said she, 'take our spoons; but my William has some way or other to get them back. I can't tell how he manages; but I suppose they are ashamed of taking so much over their demand, and so return them. At any rate, they are sent back beautifully polished; and not only that, but a handsome sugar-spoon, with our crest engraved on it, was also amongst them. I suppose they were sorry, and put in the spoon by way of atonement.' I suspected that my Friend William might know more than his wife on the subject, but said nothing.

"I then went to Jones's shop, and boldly asked, if they would return me articles of plate which might be distrained for tithe, on paying the exact amount of tithe demanded, and was politely informed, that

they would be most happy to do so—to enter into the same arrangement with me as with other Quakers. 'But,' said I, 'what recompense will you require, for affording me so great an accommodation?'

"None whatever,' replied the shopkeeper; 'the Friends are very good customers of ours; we are always glad to see them entering our doors.'

"And what must I pay the collectors?'

"They make no charge either; you can give them an odd shilling now and then if you like, for they are very honest civil fellows.'

"Faithful to their appointment, at the end of the week, the men came to me, walked straight into the parlour, and over to the sideboard, and looked disappointed not to find the plate ready laid out for them. I told them I had to apologise for doubting their veracity. I had inquired, and found that their statement was true; but as I could not see any sense in such a roundabout way of paying, I thought it simpler, and it came to the same thing in the end, to pay the money at once, which I did. They thanked me, and broadly grinning, said, 'I was the only Quaker in Bristol who did the thing in a straightforward manner, as most of the Society had a crank in their consciences about it.' This first drew my attention to the doctrine of our Friends as relates to tithes. I studied the rules of the Meeting, Barclay's Apology, and various tracts, &c. on the subject; and finding that, in the first place, they assume, that all who receive any pecuniary aid, are hirelings, and preach for the sake of filthy lucre; and in the next place, that the one only Scripture text on which they profess to be called on to bear this testimony, is this—'Freely ye have received, freely give,' I imagined, that the first was an uncharitable, as well as a most unwarrantable assumption; and the second seemed to me an actual command to give. Surely it is a curious perversion to construe 'freely give,' into 'do not give.'

There is less about Quaker customs than might be desired; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say there is little that is graphically portrayed. The following is a curious account of

A QUAKER WEDDING.

"Soon after my visit to London, I was married. Oh! what an ordeal I had to go through! My intended husband lived in England, and I in Ireland; so that we had to undergo all the formalities which the Society boasts of having instituted under the 'influence of best wisdom,' for the performance of the ceremony. First of all I had, in the presence of two men witnesses, to sign a document, stating that the gentleman was authorized by me to stand up in his own Meeting, and to inform his assembled brethren that he had an intention of marrying me, telling them all who I was, and where I lived. His Meeting then made inquiry into his former conduct; and a month after, they gave him a written permission to marry me, as they had satisfied themselves that he was 'clear of all other marriage engagements.' The second step was then, that he and I, with a large company of our respective relatives, had to walk in together, arm-in-arm, into the women's Monthly Meeting that I belonged to; and there, before the assembled throng, all seated and gazing at us, we had each to make the appointed speech standing, then to sit down, while the clerk of the Meeting asked the relatives who accompanied us, did they consent to the 'presentation of marriage' which had just been made? They answered 'Yes;' and then the written permission from the English Meeting was read. We then 'paused a bit,' and retired from the women's room, in the same solemn procession we had entered it; and, having walked into the men's meeting room, there went through the very same formalities.

"It is esteemed very desirable that, as soon as the ceremony is over, the presentation party should, one and all of them, return to their respective meeting-rooms, and 'sit out the sitting' with the Friends. We evaded this custom, and returned home. We had a large dinner party that day, and I received many compliments on the elegance of my dress, the beauty of my companion, the satisfactory manner in which we had performed, and admonition on the necessity of speaking louder at the next and final ceremony.

"Five weeks after this, another monthly meeting was held, and then the two men and the two women Friends who had been appointed to make inquiry, reported, that there did not appear to be any reason for refusing to allow of our marriage; and therefore they gave us formal permission to go on with it. There was then a delay of two weeks more, before the wedding day came. At last it arrived, and then, accompanied by sixteen couple, we were marshalled into the elders' and overseers' gallery, which is two steps lower than the ministers', and like it, fronts the whole assembly. As usual on such occasions, a vast number of the town's-people flocked to see the show. A Quaker bride is not allowed to wear a veil; and there, for two long weary hours, we had to sit and be stared at. About the middle of the Meeting, an appointed man Friend came over to where we sat, and placed before us the words that we were to stand up and repeat aloud. Then we signed each the long certificate, which was a very elaborate and elegant specimen of penmanship, on vellum, and the man Friend read the whole out very loud. After this was done, three

women Friends preached. I was told afterwards that it was to me they preached, and that they had admonished me, and hoped good for me and my consistent walk through life, most beautifully. I did not hear a word of it. I knew somebody was speaking, but the words conveyed to my mind no more meaning than the sound of the waves as they ripple on the shore. One of the speakers was my own new sister-in-law. Ever her voice, which was very peculiar, did not rouse me out of that dreamy state which the lengthened restraint I was compelled to keep myself in, while the public exhibition lasted, had sent me into.

"Our dinner party was very large. All our respective fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts, brothers and sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, nephews and nieces, and first cousins, had been invited for a month beforehand; and from far and near they came. We assembled over eighty altogether, and the feasting and merry-making continued for nearly a week. Some of my near relatives were not Quakers. They drew me aside from the crowd, and prayed for me, and blessed me; so did my own dear father and mother, but no one else. That such a service is desirable, I believe rarely enters into the head of a true Quaker.

"My father had spared no pains or cost to provide an entertainment worthy of the occasion. Even one of his own pet beautiful peacocks, was sacrificed to do us honour. Venison and pine-apples, &c. &c., were sent him by his noble acquaintances; and the lord bishop of the diocese actually sent his own French cook to dress the dinner. Quakers boast of being 'a self-denying people.' It would be curious to analyse in what the self-denial consists. The ministers, elders, and overseers, who rule over each Meeting, are certainly very strict in denying the young people those indulgences, and that liberty of thought and action, which is the inherent birth-right of us all. To maintain their order, to uphold their system, is necessary to them. It is a pleasure, not a cross to them, to wear the garb, and use the language, and live isolated from even Christian communion with their fellows; and it is a pleasure, not a cross, to tyrannize, as they do, over the mass, by enforcing on them those burdens which few, comparatively, have sufficient energy of mind to reject. The great body of the Society tamely submits to the arbitrary dictum of the few; but that cannot be called self-denial. I have asked different individuals, both in England and in Ireland, dozens of times, 'Why does thee wear the bonnet or the hat?'—and the general answer was, 'I wear it to please my father and mother. I hate it, and can see no earthly good in it; but the overseers would torment us if I left it off.' This was not self-denial; and I am sure, that in the matter of appetite, some Friends are the most self-indulgent in the world."

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Preacher in the House; or, Family Sabbath Readings Edited by the Reverend D. T. K. Drummond.

Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

A volume of sermons by celebrated preachers; adapted for family reading.

The Steam-Engine; a Popular Account of its Construction, Action, and History. By Hugo Reid. Illustrated by Forty Wood-Engravings. Third edition, revised and improved.

Groombridge and Sons.

There have been many books on the steam-engine; among the very best is that of Hugo Reid, the third edition of which lies open before us. It is comprehensive in design, and familiar in treatment. A succinct statement of the general laws of Heat and Pneumatics, on which the action of the steam-engine depends, forms the introduction to the history and description of the great power of modern times. In the appendix there are some analytical remarks on Arago's *Eloge de Watt*, combating some of its statements and rectifying its mistakes.

How to See the Exhibition. In Four Parts. By W. Blanchard Jerrold.

Bradbury and Evans.

We have already, in noticing the first part of this little work, expressed our opinion on its utility as a supplemental catalogue, or portable guide-book, which visitors to the Exhibition will find save them incalculable time and trouble. The three last parts justify what we said of the first.

THE STATUE OF THE AMAZON.—The power of the Amazon, the strength of expression, the agony of the horse—a grand and terrible mixture of dismay and desperation—are triumphant proofs of the artist's genius; and it is, therefore, all the more to be regretted, that so noble a work should be marred by one or two very obvious blemishes. Observe the attitude of the Amazon. She has lost her seat, and is thrown back in an impossible position on the haunches of the horse. Turn to the back of the statue, and look at the horse's tail. It is cast up lashing the air, as if the creature were in state of high exultation, instead of being drawn in between its legs by the effort of terror, which would inevitably make it coil up all its muscles. These faults are deductions from the merits of the work as a perfect study; but enough remains behind to justify the highest encomiums. *Fraser's Magazine.*

Portfolio.

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

SPONTINI.

BY HECTOR BERLIOZ.

(Translated and abridged expressly for the *Leader*.)

On the 14th of November, 1779, there came into the world at Jesi, in the March of Ancona, a child whose name was Gasparo Spontini. I am not going to say of him, what most biographers are never weary of recording when writing the lives of celebrated artists—"He early manifested extraordinary dispositions for his art. He was hardly six years old when he already produced remarkable works," &c. My admiration for his genius is too great and too well founded to allow of my using the commonplace of vulgar praise when speaking of him. Besides, every one knows what the value of the chefs d'œuvre of wonderful children really are, and how much more in the interest of the fame of those children when grown into men, it would be to destroy those foolish memorials of their much-vaunted infancy. All that I know of Spontini's early years is what I have myself heard him tell, and is limited to a few facts which I will merely record without attaching to them more importance than they deserve.

He was twelve or thirteen when he entered the Conservatore della Pietà at Naples. Was it in accordance with the child's desire that his parents gave him the advantages of that famous school of music? or did his father, who was doubtless not rich, think that in placing him there he was furnishing him with the means of pursuing an easy and humble career, never dreaming of his becoming more than the maître de chapelle to some convent or second-rate church? I do not know. I should incline to the latter hypothesis, considering the tendencies to a religious life manifested by all the other members of Spontini's family. One of his brothers was curé of a Roman village; the other (Anselmo Spontini) died a monk in a Venetian monastery, a few years back; and his sister likewise ended her days in a convent, where she had taken the veil.

However this might be, his studies alla Pietà soon bore sufficient fruit to enable him to write, with no great show of originality, one of those unmeaning trifles, which in Italy, as elsewhere, are pompously termed operas, and was called *I Puntigli delle Donne*. I do not know if this first essay was ever performed. It inspired its author, nevertheless, with sufficient ambition and confidence in his own powers to induce him to run away from the Conservatore and go to Rome, where he hoped to be more easily able to obtain a hearing at the theatre than in Naples. The runaway was soon overtaken; and, under penalty of being brought back to Naples as a vagabond, compelled to justify his escapade, and the pretensions which had led to it, by composing an opera for the Carnival. A libretto was given him, called *Gli Amanti incognito*, which he at once set to music, and it was almost directly performed with success. The public treated the young maestro to the transports usual with the Romans on such occasions. His age, moreover, and the episode of his flight had predisposed the dilettanti in his favour. Spontini was therefore applauded, called for, carried in triumph, and—forgotten at the end of a fortnight. This short-lived success brought him his liberty (he was permitted to leave the Conservatore), and a tolerably advantageous engagement to go and (as it is called in Italy) *write* at Venice.

He was thus emancipated and left to himself after a stay of no great length in the Neapolitan Conservatore. This is the proper place for solving the question which naturally presents itself: Who was his master? Some have said the Padre Martini, who died long before Spontini entered the Conservatore, and, I believe, even before he was born; others, a person of the name of Baroni, whom it was possible he might have become acquainted with at Rome; others again have given the credit of his musical education to Sala, Traetta, and even to Cimarosa.

I never had the curiosity to question Spontini on the subject, and he never mentioned it to me. But I collected this confession from his conversations, that the real masters of the author of *La Vestale*, *Cortez*, and *Olympia* were the great works of Gluck,

which he first became acquainted with on his arrival in Paris in 1803, and instantly began to study passionately. I believe that not only Gluck, but Méhul, who had already written his admirable *Euphrosine*, and Chérubini, by his first French operas, must have developed the latent germ of his dramatic faculties, and hastened their magnificent development.

On the contrary, I find no trace in his works of the influence which the German masters, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, might have been supposed to exercise over him in a purely musical point of view. The latter was hardly known by name in France when Spontini arrived there, and *La Vestale* and *Cortez* had long shone on the boards of the opera at Paris when their author visited Germany for the first time.

To take up the thread of my biography once more, I must confess my ignorance of the doings of young Spontini after the appearance of his third opera in Italy. I do not know with any certainty on what theatres those that followed were performed. They brought him doubtless as little profit as renown, since he determined to try his fortune in France, without having been summoned there either by the public voice or a powerful patron.

The names of the thirteen or fourteen Italian operas written by Spontini during the seven years which succeeded his first ephemeral triumph are as follows:—*L'Amor segreto*, *L'Isola disabitata*, *L'Eroismo ridicolo*, *Teseo riconosciuto*, *La Finta filosofa*, *La Fuga in maschera*, *I Quadri Parlanti*, *Il Finto Pittore*, *Gli Elisi delusi*, *Il Geloso e l'Audace*, *Le Metamorfosi di Pasquale*, *Chi Più guarda non vede*, *La Principessa d'Amalfi*, *Berenice*.

He preserved in his library the manuscripts and even the printed libretti of these washy compositions; and pointed them out occasionally to his friends, with a smile of disdain, as the toys of his musical infancy.

Spontini, I believe, suffered much on his arrival in Paris. He contrived to exist by giving lessons, and got his *Finta filosofa* performed at the Italian Opera, where it was favourably received. It appears certain, although most of his biographers differ on this point, that the opera of *Milton*, with words by M. Jouy, was Spontini's first attempt with French words, and preceded the slight and insignificant work called *Julie*, or *Le Pot de Fleurs*.

The printed copies of these operas tell us that *Milton* was performed at the Opéra Comique on the 27th of November, 1804; *Julie* on the 12th of March, 1805. *Milton* was tolerably well received; *Julie*, on the contrary, sank under the indifference of the public, like thousands of similar productions which daily appear and disappear unnoticed. One of its melodies alone has survived. The famous actor Elleviou having taken a liking to Spontini, and being anxious to obtain for him another hearing, procured a libretto for a comic opera in three acts, which the imprudent musician had the weakness to accept. *La Petite Maison* fell so completely that no trace has remained of it. It was not even completely performed. Elleviou filled an important part in it; indignant at a few hisses, he forgot himself so far as to betray his contempt for the audience. The most frightful tumult ensued, the pit in its fury rushed into the orchestra, drove out the musicians, and destroyed everything that came in its way.

After this double disaster, it seemed probable that the young composer would be shunned, every door necessarily be closed against him. But the patronage of the Empress Josephine remained to him; she did not forsake him, and it is certainly to her alone that the genius of Spontini, which ran the risk of being extinguished before it had fairly dawned, owed its ascension two years later into the highest region of art. M. Jouy had long treasured in his desk a libretto for a grand opera, *La Vestale*, which both Méhul and Chérubini had rejected. Spontini begged for it so earnestly, that the author at last determined to intrust him with it.

Poor, decried, and hated by the ignoble musicians of Paris, Spontini forgot all to fall eagle-like on his noble prey. He shut himself up in a miserable garret; neglected his pupils; and careless of the first necessities of life, he laboured at his work with that feverish eagerness and tremulous passion which are the certain indications of the first eruption of his musical volcano.

When the opera was completed, the Empress instantly gave it to be studied at the Opéra; and then, for Josephine's protégé began the torture of rehearsals; a fearful torture for an innovator without acquired authority, and to whom the entire body of performers was naturally and systematically hostile; perpetual struggles against ill-natured intentions, heart-rending efforts to move obstacles, to warm eunuchs, of imagination to idiots, of art to labourers, of sincerity to liars, of enthusiasm to the envious, of courage to cowards. Every one rebelled against the

pretended difficulties of the new work, against the unusual forms of that grand style, and the impetuous movements of that burning passion, born of the pure rays of an Italian sun. Every one wanted to retrench, to cut, prune, smooth away that proud exacting music, which wearied its interpreters by demanding ceaseless attention, tenderness, vigour, and scrupulous fidelity. Madame Branchu herself, that inspired woman, who "created" so admirably the part of Julia, confessed to me with sincere regret at her culpable want of courage, that she one day declared to Spontini, that she never should be able to learn his "unsingable recitatives." The alterations in the instrumentation, the suppressions, restorations, and transpositions, had already cost the Opéra administration enormous copying expenses. Without Josephine's indefatigable kindness and the "will" of Napoleon, who insisted that the impossible should be done, there is no doubt that *La Vestale*, discarded as absurd and impossible to execute, would never have seen the light. But whilst the poor, great artist was writhing under the torture inflicted on him at the Opéra with such cruel pertinacity, the *Conservatoire* was melting the lead which, on the day of performance, it intended pouring into the victim's smarting wounds; the whole raff of young contra-puntists swearing, upon the word of their masters, that Spontini did not know the first elements of harmony, that his vocal scoring was, in comparison to the accompaniments, like a "handful of hairs upon a plate of soup" (I have heard that noble comparison applied to the works of Spontini in the ranks of the *Conservatoire* for the space of ten years); all these young stringers of notes, as capable of understanding and feeling what was great in music, as Messieurs, the "portiers," their fathers, were of judging literature and philosophy, plotted together to damn *La Vestale*. Hisses were not allowed. The plan of yawnings and laughter was adopted, and each of the young myrmidons was to put on a nightcap at the end of the second act, and pretend to fall asleep. But they dared not do it, and during the crescendo of this overwhelming chef d'œuvre, Spontini's orchestra contrived to keep the sleepers awake in spite of themselves. The spirit of the *Conservatoire* has changed since then. A hundred performances could not satisfy the enthusiasm of the Parisians; *La Vestale* was played, ill or well, in all the provincial theatres; was performed in Germany; and even filled a season at *San Carlos*, at Naples, where Madame Colbran, afterwards Madame Rossini, played the part of Julia; a triumph of which the author was not informed till long after, and which caused him deep delight.

Master of a position so fiercely disputed, and conscious at last of his power, Spontini was about to undertake another composition in the epic style—*Electra*, when the Emperor sent him word that he should like him to take as the subject of his next opera, the conquest of Mexico by Fernand Cortez; an order which the composer hastened to obey. Nevertheless, the tragedy of *Electra* had struck him deeply; the setting of it to music was one of his dearest plans, and only two years ago I heard him express regret at having abandoned it.

I think, however, that the emperor's choice was fortunate for the author of *La Vestale*, by preventing his second attempt at the antique, and compelling him to bestow on scenes no less pathetic, but more varied and less solemn, that new and charming colouring, that dignified and tender expression, and those happy audacities which make the opera of Cortez the worthy rival of its elder sister. The success of the new opera was triumphant. From that day forth, Spontini, master of our first lyrical theatre, might exclaim like his own hero—"Cette terre est à moi, je ne la quitte plus!" It was a year after the appearance of *Fernand Cortez* that Spontini was named director of the Italian opera. He collected an excellent troop, and it was owing to him that the Don Giovanni of Mozart was heard for the first time at Paris.

Nevertheless, in spite of Spontini's eminent services to art in his direction of the Italian opera, an intrigue, of which money was the mainspring, obliged him to relinquish it; moreover, Paër, who at that time directed the little opera house belonging to the court, and was but little pleased at the success of his rival on the vast scene of the opera, affected to talk slightly of him; spoke of him as a renegade; called him Monsieur Spontin, thus frenchifying his name; and, on many occasions, drew him into those snares which the Signor Astucio was such an adept in laying.

Once more free, Spontini wrote an opera, called *Pélage*, or *Le Roi et la Péri*, now forgotten; then *Les Dieux rivaux*, a ballet opera, in company with Persuis, Berton, and Kreutzer. When the *Danaïdes* was revived, Salieri, too old to leave Vienna, entrusted him with the supervision of the rehearsals of his work, authorizing him to make any changes and additions he might think necessary. Spontini only altered the end of Hyperborea's air, "*Par les larmes dont votre fille*," by adding a coda full of dramatic spirit. But he composed for her several exqui-

site pieces of dance music, and a bacchanalian song, which will live as a model of delirious transport and of the perfect expression of wild and gloomy joy.

To these varied labours succeeded the composition of *Olympia*, a grand opera in three acts. Neither at its first production, nor at its revival in 1827, was it able to obtain the success which, in my opinion, it deserved. Various fortuitous causes contributed to stop its career. The state of political feeling interfered with it. The Abbé Grégoire at that time occupied the public mind, and a premeditated allusion to that famous regicide was supposed to exist in that scene in *Olympia* in which Statira exclaims:—

"Je dénonce à la terre,
Et voue à sa colère
L'assassin de son roi."

Thenceforth the liberal party became hostile to the new opera. The murder of the Duke de Berri having caused the theatre in the Rue Richelieu to be closed soon after, the performances suddenly ceased, and thus the last blow was levelled at a success which could hardly be looked upon as definitive, by abruptly turning away public attention from questions of art. When, after a lapse of eight years, *Olympia* was revived, Spontini, who had in the interval been appointed musical director to the King of Prussia, found a great change in the tastes and ideas of the Parisians when he returned from Berlin. Rossini had just arrived from Italy, and was powerfully patronized by M. de la Rochefoucault and all the men of influence. The dilettanti raved at the very name of Rossini, and tore all other composers to pieces. The music of *Olympia* was sneered at as plain chaunt, and M. de la Rochefoucault refused to prolong, by a few weeks, the engagement of Madame Branchu, who alone could play the part of Statira. She performed it once on the occasion of her final benefit, and all was over. Spontini, wounded by many other acts of hostility too long to enumerate here, returned to Berlin, where his position was in every respect worthy of himself, and of the Sovereign who knew how to appreciate him.

On his return to Prussia he wrote for the festivals of the Court a ballet opera, called *Nourmahal*, the subject of which is borrowed from Moore's poem of *Lalla Rookh*. In this graceful opera he introduced his famous bacchanalian song from the *Danaïdes*, developing it, and adding to it a chorus. He afterwards rewrote the finale of the last act of *Cortez*. This new finale, which the Opéra of Paris did not condescend to adopt when *Cortez* was revived there six or seven years ago, and which I have seen in Berlin, is magnificent—far superior to that known in France. In 1825, Spontini produced at Berlin the fairy opera of *Aleidor*, much ridiculed by the enemies of the author, on account of the noisy instrumentation which they accused him of introducing into it, and of an orchestra of anvils, used as an accompaniment to a chorus of blacksmiths. This work is quite unknown to me. As some compensation, however, I have been able to look through the opera of *Agnès de Hohenstaufen*, which succeeded *Aleidor*, after a lapse of twelve years. This subject, of the kind called *romantic*, demanded an entirely different style from all those hitherto used by Spontini. He introduced into the concerted pieces some very curious combinations.

Spontini had been induced to desire academic repose and leisure; at first by the persecutions and enmities which were rising up against him in Berlin; afterwards, by a strange disease in the organs of hearing, painful symptoms of which he had long felt at intervals. During the periodical disturbances of an organ which he had so much used, Spontini scarcely heard, and any isolated sound which reached his ear seemed like an accumulation of discords. Thence total impossibility to listen to music, and the necessity of renouncing it until the morbid period had passed away.

His reception by the Institute was done nobly, and, we must say it, in a manner most honourable to French musicians. All who might have entered the lists, felt that they ought to make way for so glorious a name, and contented themselves by retiring from competition, and thus joining their votes to those of the entire Academy of the Fine Arts. In 1811, Spontini married the sister of our famous pianoforte maker, Erard. The attentions which she lavished upon him contributed not a little to soothe the irritation, and lessen the anxieties, to which his nervous nature, and troubles only too real, rendered him a prey during the latter years of his life. In 1842, he made a loving pilgrimage to his native land, where he founded several philanthropic institutions with the fruits of his own labours.

At last, to escape from the melancholy fancies that oppressed him, he decided on undertaking a second journey to Majolati. He reached it, entered the deserted house where, seventy-two years before, he first saw the light; rested there several weeks, meditating on the vicissitudes of his brilliant but stormy career, and suddenly breathed his last, covered with glory, and loaded with the blessings of his countrymen. The circle was closed; his task was ended.

The Arts.

SAPPHO.

The announcement of M. Gounod's new opera sent me to those poetic fragments which have been saved from the wreck of Sappho's genius, by grammarians and critics. O the caprices of Fame! A poetess whose impassioned genius astonished and delighted all Greece, owes her rescue from oblivion to some plodding grammarian who cites passages of her poems because they are *asynarteti* verses! The pedant! Does it not serve him right that a German commentator should indignantly prove them *not* to be *asynarteti* after all? And yet we ought to be thankful for the blunder which saved us a fragment of Lesbian verse.

To these fragments I turned. La Harpe, in his lively off-hand way, says there are only a dozen of her verses extant. As he had never seen them, he might as well have abstained from specifying the number. In Bergk's collection (*Poeta Lyrici*), they form some five-and-twenty pages; or, deducting half for the notes, say some dozen pages. A part, however, is so insignificant as not to count; being mere phrases, hemistichs, or single lines. In the longer fragments enough remains to justify, in some sort, her gigantic fame. Love! love! is the melodious wailing that runs through them; love the most passionate and the most unhappy, but not, I grieve to say, always the most "proper"! Indeed "Lesbian love," as the classical reader knows, is a thing to make every proper wig emulous of "the fretful porcupine;" and Sappho, though a great genius, was a Lesbian in all the force of the term; and some of her poems have an equivocal similarity to that in Shakspeare's sonnets. It is difficult to convey an idea of what the more accomplished Lesbian women were, since our word "courtesan" conveys a positively false impression; and although Sappho was certainly not a courtesan, she was assuredly a young lady impossible to be "received" in society. Her position belongs to Greek manners. The virtuous wife was so purely a household fixture, and was so rigidly confined to domestic life, that any woman who shared in public life, whose intellect moved freely amidst the questions that occupied men, who possessed the accomplishments of Art, must have belonged to another class, and must have put up with the disadvantages as well as the advantages of her position.

Lesbos was equally celebrated for its women and its wine. There the women were educated for public life (excuse my softening the phrase), as they are educated for musical life in the *Conservatoire* of Paris. Idolaters of beauty as the Greeks were, they were still greater idolaters of intellect; the Lesbian, therefore, placed culture even before beauty. The education of the Lesbian was twofold—gymnastics and music; and by *gymnastics* the Greek meant all that concerns the body; by *music* all that concerns the mind. (See Plato's Republic.) So comprehensive an education—embracing art, philosophy, poetry, and dancing—necessitated a sort of college for these women. From it they were trained for a life of gallantry. From it they issued to become the mistresses, sometimes the wives, of the wealthy and great. The mention of Aspasia—who wrote speeches for Pericles, and whose conversation was eagerly sought by Socrates—is enough to show the field of energetic action and influence open to the Lesbian; although, of course, many of those who came from the college remained nothing more than courtesans.

I touch on these points, I cannot dwell on them. Enough has been said to indicate Sappho's position. Of her life little is known. There were several Sapphos, and biographical partizans have insisted upon throwing on the shoulders of her namesakes every little detail of scandal which might lessen the poetess's fair fame. I have no objection; provided you grant that she was a Lesbian; that is all I stickle for. Tradition runs that she was loved by Alceus, whom she slighted and was herself slighted by the beautiful Phaon whom she loved; and that, broken-hearted by his scorn, she threw herself from the Leucadian rock into the foaming sea. Were I a German sceptic, I should point out some improbabilities in this tradition. Leucadia is a long voyage from Lesbos, and if Sappho had had suicidal thoughts, she would scarcely have travelled a long journey to realize them—unless she had read George Sand, and wished to imitate *Indiana*! Not being a

German, and scorning to spoil a good story, I accept the "Lover's Leap" as veridical. It is true she had a horror of death, and ingeniously said—"Death must be an evil, otherwise the gods would die."

Αποθναίσκην κακόν· οἱ θεοὶ γὰρ
οὐτὼ κερrikaίσιν . . .

but when she said that, Phaon had not slighted her!

To conclude these details, Sappho is also said to have been implicated with Alcæus in a conspiracy against Pittacus; and of her personal appearance we learn that she was a dark brunette, and very small.

I don't know why, but Sappho has been more frequently chosen as the subject for an opera than any other historical or mythical person—and with uniform success. M. Augier has given a new turn to the story, but he has not given it a new charm. He has departed from tradition, but gained nothing by his boldness. Judge:—

The scene opens with the the Olympic games at Lesbos (where, by the way, Olympic games were never held, "but that's not much"). Alcæus and Sappho are about to dispute the prize of Song. Phaon, who has hitherto been captive to the charms of Glycera, a courtesan—Oh! but a courtesan in the frank corruption of the term, not a semi-modest æsthetically cultivated Lesbian—now feels his heart inclining towards Sappho, and when she conquers in the poetic struggle—when she gains the choral homage of the crowd, he falls incontinently in love with her as many a youth does with Giulia Grisi:—

Ciaseun t'ammira, ed io t'amo!

I forgot to add that Alcæus is plotting against the tyrant Pittacus (what a profound misconception here of the meaning of the Greek word "tyrant"!), and instead of chaunting about love, he sings in praise of *liberty*! Altogether this scene would have made a Greek smile, and would drive a German commentator mad. As if to make the anachronism more complete, M. Gounod has borrowed phrases from the *Marseillaise* to make up his hymn to liberty!

Let us forget we are in Greece, and remember only that Alcæus is plotting against a despot, and has brought Phaon into the plot. In the second act we find Sappho as the mistress of Phaon. It opens with an orgie—a stage orgie, with "supers" recumbent on couches, slaves pouring nothing into huge gilt pasteboard goblets, together with an air of solemn enjoyment on the part of the chorus casting anxious looks at M. Costa's baton. *Gloria a Bacco!* they sing, and with the amount of vinous inspiration to be expected from men at thirty shillings a week intoxicated by "property" wine. Having chaunted Bacchus, they throw dice for the honour of slaying the tyrant. Phaon is the favoured one. He signs the manifesto, and gives it to Pythias to "get copied." More "Glory to Bacchus," and—*exceunt* conspirators! leaving Pythias to Glycera, who now enters, full of jealous wrath at Phaon's abandonment. Glycera, as I intimated, is a frank courtesan: a person of historical reputation, a Grecian Sophie Arnould, whose *bon mots* were circulated at every Symposium. One of these I remember (it has found a place in the collection of the celebrated Joseph Miller):—A gallant youth presented her with a jar of rare wine, informing her it was eighteen years old. "Hm!" she replied; "'t is very little of its age!" [N.B. I should not like to have put Glycera *dans ses meubles!*]

To the plot, however. Glycera coaxes the manifesto from Pythias—sells herself for it, in fact. Once possessed of this instrument of torture, she proceeds to avenge herself. Threatening to betray Phaon unless Sappho bids him fly, and swears not to accompany him, Glycera makes it appear to Phaon that Sappho no longer loves him; but that she, Glycera, remains true as ever. Phaon thus—inverting tradition—becomes the rejected one, and departs with the witty unscrupulous Glycera. In the third act we find them on the sea shore. Sappho, from behind a rock, hears him curse her ere he quits the shore, and sinks down senseless from despair. Here there is a touch of real poetry; what Schleiermacher would call tragic irony. While Sappho is in her swoon, a shepherd descends from the rock, carolling this pastoral, which has the accent of Theocritus in it:—

Feed, feed, my gentle flock,
Feed on the fragrant thyme;
The sweet Aglaë this morning
Has pressed her lips to mine,

I await the rising Venus,
To meet her on the way:
Come forth, O star of love,
From heaven dispel the day.

There he stands, pipe in hand, piping and singing on the ledge of rock, singing of Aglaë and love, while at his feet lies the broken-hearted Sappho! He disappears and she awakes, seizes her lyre, bids adieu to life, and flings herself from the rock.

There: I have taken unusual pains to tell you the whole story of this opera, because the work is that of an accredited poet, and ought not to be disregarded. There is no need to disguise my opinion of its triviality and want of dramatic tact. With regard to the music I feel somewhat more diffident. A first hearing is never sufficient. With a work of so much originality and elaboration one may reasonably suppose that familiarity will greatly enhance enjoyment. In all that I am about to say, therefore, be pleased to read only first impressions, which may possibly be modified hereafter; though in *essentials* I do not think any modification probable. I cannot be mistaken, for example, in denying the work beauty of melody. M. Gounod has melodic ideas, but he never develops them; he does not treat his theme in a broad sequential manner, but splits it up into fragments, so that the ear is always on the stretch. This objection is fundamental. No familiarity with the music can affect it, although it may discover phrases of ravishing grace, which passed unperceived at first. Moreover, I miss the essential qualities of *dramatic* music—viz., life, impulse, daring; and this is shown to a remarkable extent in the concerted pieces, and in all those places (not choral) where dramatic expression is most exacting.

But it is impossible, I think, to be insensible to the very great merits of *Saffo* as a musicianlike work. A first opera is rarely a *chef-d'œuvre*; but M. Gounod may still write one. The public will at least recognize his originality, his contempt for commonplaces, and for the facile *ad captandum* effects of modern writers. The orchestration was in many parts very captivating; rich, without being noisy, and ingenious, though inclining to excess in modulation. The opening chorus prepared me for a very great work: its structure is noble and imposing, and its rhythm energetic without violence. The air which follows—deliciously sung by Tamberlik—is pretty, though too much in the style of Mlle. Puget's romances; and the chorus of priests, "O Giove onnipossente," is very striking; especially the accompaniment of harps, muffled cymbals, and drums, which pulsate mysteriously, at regular intervals, beneath the mass of instrumentation. The hymn to Liberty, sung by Alcæus, is poor; that of Sappho to Love is not much better. The finale was greatly applauded. It is written upon the well-worn device of giving the theme to orchestra and chorus; if not the most *enduring* of effects it is always certain to rouse an audience. In the second act there is a decided falling off. Except the chorus of conspirators, *Noi giuriam morte*—which recalls Meyerbeer in its structure, and a lively duet between Pythias and Glycera, the accompaniment to which is delicious—the whole act seemed to me dull and undramatic. The third act is but a scene, and that indifferent: the one redeeming thing being the shepherd's song, which was deservedly encored; it is a fresh, naïve, pastoral, and sweetly monotonous air, with a monotonous accompaniment perfectly in keeping.

On the whole, the opera had a *succès d'estime*. It is one of those works which make you compliment the author—and stay away. It does not amuse you, but you feel that it is very clever, and that you must not poohpooch it. As to the enthusiasm and plaudits which his friends anticipated, there was nothing of the kind: the house was respectful and cold. Instead of welcoming a great genius, they seemed to say—"We wish this opera were a trifle less *artistic*, and somewhat more melodious and amusing." Not that audiences are judges! Not that Gounod's claim to genius is to be estimated by their applause! He may still justify the grand hopes of his friends. I do not think that *Saffo* will do so.

The opera was well mounted. The orchestra admirable, as usual; the chorus wanted some extra rehearsals to subdue their rebellious bawling; the singers did their best. Tamberlik, as Phaon, sang ungrateful music with that expression and beauty which he throws into all parts however poor. Tamburini was comic in the wanton old Pythias. Castellan looked extremely pretty as Glycera—in a dress similar to that worn by Rachel in *Lycisca*

but oh! the difference in grace, languor, voluptuousness, and corrupt intelligence! Her acting was not more inane than usual; her singing as good as the vexatious music would allow. Viardot I never saw to less advantage. She was monotonous and ineffective. Very different indeed is the Sappho of my imagination; and I felt somewhat balked by seeing such a representation. Even Aristotle says she was beautiful; and although a philosopher's judgment in that respect may not perhaps be the most authoritative, still you know Aristotle was a Greek, and as such a connoisseur! But apart from physique, I was wearied by the monotony of Viardot's acting; and I must take the first opportunity of seeing her in *L'Elisiro d'Amore*, or the *Prophète*, to get rid of the impression.

THEATRES.

Want of space must prevent my doing more than simply recording in a line the success of Balfe's *Quatri Fratelli* at her Majesty's, the lively music bearing very well Italian transformation;—the success of *Angelo* at the Olympic (an adaptation of Victor Hugo's play) with Mrs. Stirling as *La Tisbe*;—the success of Mr. Edward Fitzwilliam's opera, *The Queen of a Day*, at the Haymarket;—and the conclusion of Bouffé's engagement which is also the conclusion of the delightful season of *French Plays*. For criticism you must wait till next week.

VIVIAN.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

PATRIOTISM A "CHARITY."

Organization has no sinew among us. Its bond of union is composed of tow. Patriotism is a sort of charity. Reformation is not a business but a philanthropy; and of course patriotism and reform are as accidental as good nature, and as precarious as spontaneous benevolence. An illustration of this has recently occurred, which is worth particularization—not because there is anything particular in the nature of it, for the instance is common, but because there happens to be an explicitness about it which makes it obvious to those who do not usually notice such matters. *The Friend of the People*, which has been for some time conducted by Mr. G. J. Harney, has at length ceased. The spirit in which it has been discontinued is highly creditable to the editor. The sale did not supply the costs of production; and, determined not to incur liabilities beyond his private power of meeting them, the editor has resolved to stop it. The number in which this announcement appears contains a notice of the mode in which Mr. Harney proposes to occupy himself, which for the present will be by a "lecturing tour in the North." It is not the mode in which he proposes to work which excites curiosity, but the mode in which he proposes to support himself in the discharge of his public duties. In answer to some questions about terms, his answer is, "I leave all pecuniary arrangements to the honour and ability of my friends." Now, as the people Mr. Harney chiefly addresses, and prefers to address, are poor men, it follows that they have no pecuniary ability. But whatever their ability may be, it is their honour which will determine the liberality with which they will use their ability. Mr. Harney's appeal, therefore, is to their honour. Yes, it must be to their honour, because after all it is honour that makes ability—for poor men with honour often do more than rich men without it. But the point in discussion is this, that this gentleman proposes to depend for remuneration upon the honour of that unknown assemblage of persons who commonly make up a Chartist meeting. He is a very lucky man to be able to do this. His system of business is worthy of the period of the Arabian Nights. Has Mr. Harney made an arrangement with his baker, butcher, and tailor to trust to his honour? Will his landlord, with respect to all "pecuniary arrangements" of rent, leave that to his honour? No doubt the Railway Companies, one and all, as soon as he presents himself at their Booking-offices, immediately hand over to him his ticket, leaving the trifling "arrangement" of payment to his honour. Mr. Harney could not live a day nor travel a mile on this system; and the spirit of integrity in which he has resigned his *Friend of the People* is proof that he is not a man likely to attempt it. Then why should he put the more important office of public speaking and public instruction, on a footing on which no man will make a coat or bake a loaf? The reason of this is, that some persons in Parliament, and certain Reformers out, have at various times made it an offence to be a "hired orator." If by that is intended a man who speaks because he is hired, and who speaks for hire without reference to conscience, then the accusation is one to be avoided; and in order to avoid it many

are driven into the opposite extreme of speaking for nothing. By this mistake or artifice of the enemy, every organization is paralyzed, reformation reduced to a charity, and every man able and willing to instruct the poor in political or social knowledge, is starved with his own approbation, and amid the applause of the public. Mr. Ernest Jones has published a letter, in which he owns with manly candour that he "is poor—very poor, for when was a soldier of Democracy otherwise?" but he declines some "assistance proffered him, feeling convinced that nothing is more injurious to the People's cause, in the eyes of the world, than that its advocates should be pensioned on its charity." The whole of this language proceeds from a false pride, can only tend to strengthen a pernicious delusion, and perpetuate Chartist impotence. I deny that when a man works till he is both poor and ill, that assistance proffered him by those for whom he has worked, is either a "pension," or a "charity." It is only rightful support, yielded by tardy justice. I might multiply the instances of persons who hold this language, and take this course; a course which has no dignity, and no utility. Surely there can be a line of demarcation drawn between avarice or venality, and moderate subsistence for actual work performed. On the present system of giving public instruction for nothing, none but the very rich or knaves can take the side of the People; and, as the rich are too indolent, and the knaves unscrupulous, nothing is done, and nothing can be done. Social and political advocacy is, in these days, an onerous and disagreeable thing. The Government suspect you, the wealthy mistrust you, the poor, for whom you speak, starve you, and you may think yourself very lucky if they do not denounce you. With apathy everywhere, and confidence nowhere, it requires both courage and obstinacy to go among people uninformed and uninterested, and awaken them to some sense of public duty on these questions. I say, that such an advocacy ought to be well paid; let it at least be elevated to the dignity of a humble trade, which keeps "body and soul together." Canting, puffing, and shopkeeping are paying professions; and why should not public instruction be one? It should not be made a means of riches, it should have no tincture of venality about it, for that would endanger its influence and its integrity; but it should have an honest price for its hearty work. If this plan were pursued there would not be half so much public speaking as there now is—but this would be no harm, I am sure; but the said speaking would be much better and much more to the purpose than it now is—and this would be a great benefit, I am sure. If working-people were trained to pay for the discourses made to them, they would come to expect something for their money. Now they hardly expect anything of the kind; and I am sorry to add they are seldom disappointed. Whatever the honour of the poor may be, and it is very great, it cannot at present direct them how to remunerate those who are the teachers, because they have always been taught that teaching should be gratuitous, or else it cannot be patriotic. A man to speak to any purpose should have time to think before he speaks, and if he hasn't any instruction he will be all the better if he get it first; but a man who has no private means must first look after his wants and those of his family, and then his speaking and teaching have to take care of themselves; and he rushes to the platform and delivers himself on anything that comes first, without trouble and without thought, naturally thinking anything good enough for people who begin themselves by thinking it good for nothing, since they do not intend to give anything for it. The charity system has this disadvantage—it entitles every man to infest a platform and occupy public attention who happens to have the accidental faculty of being able to speak gratuitously. Patriotism has the vice of slopselling about it. Reformers think so much about the cheapness of the article that they forget to attend to its quality. Chartist speakers will never be improved, nor Chartist assemblages elevated, nor Chartist organizations rendered vital, nor Chartist executives a power, till this system is reformed altogether.

ION.

NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—At the usual meeting of the Executive, a report was read from Mr. Ernest Jones, giving a satisfactory account of his progress in the West. He has been to Torquay, Plymouth, Devonport, and Bristol, meeting with capital audiences, and finding "a genuine Democratic spirit at work." Mr. Reynolds will write the next tract for the monthly circular. After concluding the business of the Association, a meeting of Metropolitan agents was held. These agents made verbal reports from their localities. Mr. Shepherd found ignorance the worst foe of Chartism in Linchouse. Mr. Nichols gave some cheering accounts of the Hoxton locality, where the members have established a tract propaganda, with fitting sections of "distributors." Mr. Osborne found Chartism in a "low position" in Finsbury; but the members have a hall, and he was authorized to state that the free use thereof would be given to the Executive every Tuesday evening; and to suggest that a monthly conference of the

whole of the metropolitan members be held, and that the Metropolitan Delegate Council be reorganized. Mr. Newsome added that they were printing addresses and tracts for distribution. Mr. Cooper found "great prejudice against Chartism at Greenwich;" but they were about to commence a distribution of tracts, and they had a regular meeting place. Messrs. Delaforce, Farrah, Pilteret, Smith, and Highley, briefly reported from their localities, to the effect that, although they could not boast of what they were doing at the present time, still they hoped that ere long their localities would be in a more flourishing position. The majority were in favour of tracts as the best means of spreading Democracy. The Executive will next meet at the Crown and Anchor, Bermondsey, on the 20th of August.

THE REDEMPTION SOCIETY.

A public discussion took place on Wednesday evening, July 30, in the Music-hall, Leeds, on the merits of the Redemption Society. Dr. F. R. Lees appeared on behalf of the society, his opponent being Mr. Joah Mallinson, Wesleyan Association preacher.

The discussion originated in some remarks which Mr. Mallinson made at a camp meeting on Holbeck-moor on the previous Sunday, in which he repeatedly denounced the society as the "redemption bubble," and stated his willingness to meet any member of the society, at any time, and in any place, and there prove that the society was a delusion.

Mr. Councillor Carter was called to the chair, and introduced Mr. Mallinson to open the debate.

Mr. Mallinson read a portion of the bill calling the meeting, and complained that his convenience as to time, &c., had not been consulted. He stated that he had called the Redemption Society the "redemption bubble," and he was there to prove it by figures. The bill stated "that the experiment of the society presented grave probabilities of success." Now, probability meant likely to take place; but he was prepared to show that the objects of the society could not be accomplished. He stated that his main objection to the society was "The inefficiency of the means to accomplish the end proposed." He then proceeded to show that it would take 370 members five years to raise £450, each paying 1d. per week, and receiving compound interest; and that the expenses of paper, pens, ink, postage, placards, &c., would swallow up nearly all that sum, leaving little or nothing to purchase land for allotments to the members. He also showed that eight collectors would in that time spend, in collecting this sum, time worth £104. He knew that the collectors did not charge anything for their time thus spent, which was very generous on their part. He proceeded to explain to the meeting that no member could touch an acre of land as his own allotment until he had paid for it; and in case of death there was no provision made in the rules for his widow or children; they might be turned off the land which the husband and father had paid for. This was the pith of his argument, that by subscribing one penny per week, the working classes could not raise capital enough to buy land, build houses, workshops, &c., which were the declared objects of the society. He stated that if they would place the scheme on the footing of charity, and honestly tell the working-men when they paid their pennies not to expect any thing in return, he would have no objection to it; but if any gave their pence to the society in expectation of getting something in return, they would be disappointed. He then went on to show that the members would only be labourers on, and not proprietors of the land purchased by the society; that the expectation of being proprietors was a delusion. That if they expected any provision to be made for them in sickness or age, or any provision for the education of their children, it was also a delusion. He stated that the directors declined giving information on these points from prudential motives, to act upon the gullibility of John Bull; he also stated that the tract issued by the society a few years ago, called the *Redemption Tract*, was calculated to beguile the unwary; and concluded his address by stating that its principle of collecting pence for such purposes on the Sabbath was a principle of rank infidelity, and that he was justified in asserting that the Redemption bubble was inefficient in its means, unjust in its principles, and infidel in its tendency.

Dr. F. R. Lees complained of Mr. Mallinson imputing evil motives to the promoters of the society, by charging them with refusing to give certain necessary information in order "to act upon the gullibility of John Bull," and also by charging them with issuing a tract to "beguile the unwary." He said it ill became a preacher of that Gospel which advocates a charity which thinketh no evil to impute evil motives to men, who, according to Mr. Mallinson's own showing, were devoting both their time and their money to the promotion of what they believed a good cause; for it must be remembered that those collectors and directors were prohibited by law from receiving a single penny for the services which they rendered to the society. He asked if his opponent could try the hearts of men; or if men sacrificing their time and money week after week for six years, as some had done, could be a proof of guile. He proceeded to reply to the charges of infidelity and Sabbath-breaking. He was no friend to working on Sundays. He supported the claims of this society, because he believed that by carrying out the principle of concert in the production and distribution of wealth, the labourer would be enabled to have two sabbaths in the week instead of one. He showed that if it was lawful to relieve an ass on Sunday, it was surely lawful to do good to men. Again, he contended that Mr. Mallinson and the whole fraternity of preachers were guilty of the very charge which he brought against the society, viz., collecting money on the Lord's day:

they collected money on that day to send missionaries to uttermost parts of the earth, to improve the condition of the heathen, and he (Dr. Lees) had nothing to say against it; but if it was right to collect pence on Sunday for foreign charity, where was the harm in collecting pence for works of benevolence at home? The Christ himself was charged with Sabbath-breaking by the Pharisees of his day, and with apparently more reason than we are charged with it by the Pharisees of ours. We collect pence on Sundays, because that is the only day on which we can find the labourer at home; and the only day on which the collectors have time to do it. He then showed that Mr. Mallinson had confounded two things which were entirely different, namely, the main objects of the society—which were the establishment of communities, of which concert in labour and community of property should be the basis; and the allotment fund which was merely a side path for persons who wished to walk alone, and not the great highway of the society, on which the fraternal band progressed to happiness. That all the figures of his opponent proved nothing, because the penny per week was not paid for allotments of land, but the gift of the members' to carry on the experiment of organized labour and common property, which was now being made in Wales. That the only privilege which the subscribers had for their pence was, that by these payments they were eligible to be elected to go to the Welsh community. That the allotment fund was a different affair, as he would show by the rules of the society. He then read the 8th rule, which is as follows:—"Any member of this society who has paid up all his contributions, &c., to the common stock or fund of this society, and being desirous to have a small allotment of land for his own uses and purposes, shall have the privilege of purchasing of the trustees such an allotment of land as shall consist of one or more shares, of half an acre each share, for which he shall pay the same price in proportion as the society gave for the whole, subject to the following conditions:—The society shall have the first choice of the land purchased. No member shall be allowed to have more than ten shares. Each member shall pay the whole of his purchase-money before he shall be entitled to select and take possession of his allotment. And in case of the death of any member, the whole of the money shall be paid to his widow, or to whom he may direct by will, without any payment whatever," &c. Now, this shows that my opponent's great objection is groundless, for there is nothing to prevent us giving a man his allotment when he has paid the full price of it. Again, Mr. Mallinson had no great objection to the scheme if it was one of charity, now it is in the first instance a work of benevolence. We see what an amount of poverty and crime has resulted from competition, and we will not blaspheme and say that poverty, the great tempter to vice, is inevitable; we say it can be done away; and as the competitive system of society has created it, and cannot destroy it, and as there is only another system of society possible, namely, concert or co-operation, we are now conducting an experiment to prove that poverty and all its pestiferous consequences can be destroyed by our system. Some of the members are already located, and free from poverty and the murdering cares of competitive strife. A gentleman now on this platform has just returned from our estates in Wales; and when I asked him the other day what he thought of the place and the people, his answer was:—

"I have been there, and still would go;
'T is like a little heaven below."

If we are well supported we may soon place a great number of our members in the same position. It is not true that the located members are merely labourers; they are the joint proprietors of the place, they have the use of it, which is all the property that men should have in the soil: they cannot will it to their children, that is another matter. If a member of the community dies, his widow and children are provided with food, education, and all things necessary to comfort, the same as if the husband was alive. Contrast this with the provision made by that system supported by my opponent. In ours there is the same food for the widow and orphan as we eat ourselves; the same clothing; house accommodation, &c.; the same education for the orphan as we give to our own children. In his the Bastille or Union workhouse.

Mr. Mallinson only occupied a few minutes in his second speech. He stated that he could not understand the speech of Dr. Lees; spoke of the failure of the land plan of Mr. F. O'Connor, &c., and advised emigration as a remedy for our social evils. This was received by a shout of disapprobation from the meeting. After the Chairman had order,

Dr. Lees replied at considerable length, showing that it was possible that Mr. Mallinson did not understand his speech, on account of his inability to explain the objects of the society; but it was also possible that it was on account of Mr. Mallinson's want of comprehension. The plan of Mr. F. O'Connor was as different from that of the Redemption Society as possible. He gave a lengthy description of ancient and modern communities—the Essenes—the early Christians—the Monks—the Jesuits, and the modern communities of America, to show that pure community had never failed. He concluded by showing the inefficiency of emigration, pointing to Ireland as his proof, and advised the audience to stick to the old ship and improve it.

VISIT TO A NORTH AMERICAN PHALANSTERY.

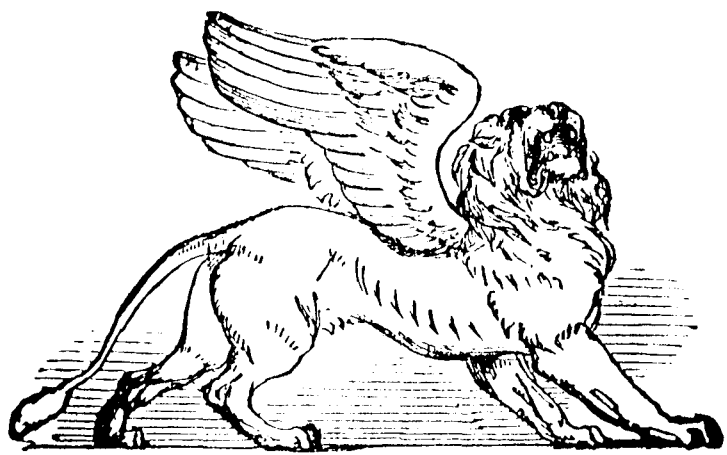
Clontarf, August 10, 1851.

SIR,—The following extract from a letter of an English lady just returned from a twelvemonths' tour in the United States, and where she has visited several coöperative communities, will, I think, be interesting to many of your readers,

Yours respectfully WILLIAM PARR,

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—The camp meeting on Woodhouse Moor, Leeds, was well attended, and was addressed by Messrs. Arandall and Henderson. At the close a person rose to oppose the Society; but as he charged the promoters of the Society with seeking their own personal interest only, and concluded by stating that there was not a man or woman there present who possessed a respectable moral character, of course including himself, his opposition did good to the cause. Whoever speaks in favour of coöperation in this district is sure of opposition. This is much better than the listless apathy which has so long prevailed. The plan of the store is not decided yet. We wish to proceed in the best manner, and have written to friends in London, Rochdale, and Galashiels for the benefit of their experience. Weekly meetings are regularly held, and well attended, to arrange the plan of proceeding. Moneys received for the week: Leeds, £2 2s. 2d.; Manchester, per W. Bloomer, 6s. 3d. Building fund: Leeds £17s. 6d. John Sturzaker, Northowram, £1. Propagandist fund, 1s. 1d.—JAMES HENDERSON, Sec., 162, Briggate, Leeds.

ASSOCIATION IN FRANCE.—CLERMONT, July 17.—The following particulars, communicated to a friend by M. Feugueray, of the spread of association in a third-rate French town, afford perhaps a stronger evidence than anything we have yet seen, of the vitality of the principle in France, and of its universal working. The information was supplied originally by the manager of the oldest association:—"As in many English towns, association began in Clermont with the tailors. Next came the cabinet-makers, the pianoforte-makers, the shoemakers, the arm-chairmakers, and lastly the hatters, whose association was formed but recently. Before long, it is announced, the four building trades (masons, carpenters, joiners, and locksmiths) will also form associations; besides the coach-joiners (menuisiers en voitures) who are very flourishing, and have the best prospects for the future, this branch of trade having been long and profitably carried on in the neighbourhood. Generally, the existing bodies are succeeding. One only seems to have no chance of success, that of the arm-chair-makers, who are suffering from the hostility of the master-upholsterers, who have combined against them to prevent their finding work. It would have been necessary to create also an upholsterers' association, which should have helped that of the arm-chairmakers; but hitherto this has proved impossible. (This instance shows, says Mr. Feugueray, how important it is to existing associations that the principle should extend throughout all connected trades. At Paris the success of many associations, particularly at the first, has been owing to the help which they have lent one another, and which the older ones in particular have never refused to the younger. Without formal engagement, but by a natural consequence of their common organization, working associations understand and help one another, as being engaged in the same battle, and labouring in the same work.) The associations of Clermont have been founded solely by the devoted energy of the working-men, who have been able to collect but small funds, who have as yet but little credit, and therefore have to bear many privations and miseries, but who nevertheless do not despair, and have already overcome the first and greatest obstacles. All now (except the one above-named) begin to have their regular customers, and to feel assured of their position."—*Christian Socialist*.



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.

CASE OF THE CORN MILLERS.

July 30, 1851.

SIR,—Observing that you have been so good as to notice the motion brought forward by Lord Naas, on the 15th inst., I beg to send you No. 7 of the *Millers' Circular*, in which you will find a statistical report (so far as information has been collected) of the present state of the corn milling interest.

You look on the motion as a labourer's question; and with great justice when, as you will perceive, that in 318 mills in Ireland, where 5775 men were employed when the mills were in full work, there are only 2787 at present employed. You will also see that in 321 mills in Ireland, only 39 work full time, 81 half time, 48 one-third time, 18 one-quarter time, and 45 are idle. Also that in these mills only 650 pairs stones are at work grinding corn, and 888½ pairs idle. In

England, Wales, and Scotland, from returns of 340 mills, you will perceive that where 5572 men would be employed if the mills were in full work, there are only 3101 employed at present. It is probable you may be told that the people have found new sources of employment, I therefore send you extracts from statistical circulars sent by Irish millers (you can see the originals at No. 4, Cannon-row, Westminster).

"Kilkenny, No. 59.—A mill with 7 pairs stones, now idle. French flour is selling so low, and Irish wheat not grown. From 1837 to 1845 these mills (3 with 17 pairs stones) cost for carriers' wages and men's labour £3500 per annum, they now cost only £500 yearly, the labourers all in the poor-house or gone to America, that were then employed.

"Tipperary, No. 9.—Ten pair-mill, £5000, about one-third worked: our export trade being totally annihilated by the immense importations of foreign grain; 100 men once employed, now 40.

"Cork, No. 28.—The water-power mills at Shannon Vale are and have been idle these three years (worked 10 pairs' stones per water). We expended over £8000 in additional buildings and machinery within 16 years, after which the mill part was burnt down. We since put up the mills and machinery on the newest principles, at an expense of £3000; but finding free-trade interfered so much with millers, we never since worked them, and they are idle these three years. We were glad to give a surrender of these mills after all our expenditure. Forty men were employed—most of the men and families are now in the poor-house.

"Cork, No. 36.—The importation of foreign flour interferes so much with the trade, and it is so dull in consequence, that scarcely first cost can be made of the wheat, and not allowing anything to pay the expenses of clerks, millers, carters, labourers, and interest of capital. If something is not done to afford some protection to the trade, these concerns will be stopped (9 pair mill, value £7000), which will add considerably to the distress of an already very poor district, heavily taxed with poor rates, &c.

"Waterford, No. 50.—A mill, 5 pairs stones, cost £5000, all idle, and remains as a monument of the baneful effects of free trade, every man discharged."

But the number of men returned as thrown out of employ is very far from the actual quantity. Attached to every large mill in Ireland were formerly a number of carriers, carters, or boatmen, and these are also deprived of work; see a return which states—

"Cavan, No. 18. 6 pairs stones.—Including carters there are forty men thrown out of work, at the two mills of Messrs. Rathbone; but in returns the millers only losing work are estimated at fourteen."

I believe the fact is, that for every 40 written who are deprived of work, there are in the whole 100 men of one class or another.

I now refer you to a circular from Cork, dated July 19, from Messrs. A. A. Boardman and Co., it states—

"Flour a slow consumptive sale. We see the French flour is still coming, to the utter ruin of the Irish and English miller, who are actually robbed by this most iniquitous law, which would not be tolerated a moment in any other country. We have frequently alluded to this subject, but there seems no possibility of rousing the millers to a sense of their duty. We now tell them if this free trade in flour be not checked, the imports of wheat will gradually fall off, and, ere long, it will all come in manufactured. Of this there cannot be the least doubt. We have said before, and now repeat it, that a duty of 5s. per sack on French, and 3s. per barrel on American, flour would at once relieve the workhouses of 100,000 hands. There is a cargo in our river now from Nantes waiting orders."

If the middling class, or any other class benefited by this wholesale importation of flour instead of wheat, it would be some palliation of the evil; but from all parts of Ireland it is stated that bran and coarse flour are 35 to 40 per cent. dearer than before the alteration of the Corn Laws; this arises from the fine flour only being imported, and the stoppage of the mills in Ireland deprives the poor of coarse flour, and the farmer and cattle-feeder of bran and offal for his pigs, &c.

In consequence of the millers having no market for their flour, they are unable to buy of the farmers, and in consequence a large extent of wheat land is thrown out of cultivation in Ireland.

Such is the present state of things in that distressed country, and the Government have refused to grant an inquiry to ascertain whether the alleged complaints are truly founded.

The milling interest in England, though not so bad as in Ireland, is becoming worse and worse every day.

I am, Sir, yours, &c., A COUNTRY MILLER.

CORRESPONDENCE ON THE HARMONY-HALL PETITION.

Dublin, July 31, 1851.

SIR,—I forward you copies of two letters which have passed, in reference to the petition under the above head in your last number, which I will thank you to insert in your next, and oblige, Sir, yours, respectfully, WILLIAM PARE.

Clontarf, July 28, 1851.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have read in the *Leader* of Saturday last a petition to the House of Commons,

from some persons whose names are not given (unfairly, as I think, since they make so free with the names of others). The petition relates to the affairs of the Harmony Estate; and it is therein averred that, at a meeting of creditors, &c., held at Rosehill, on the 29th of June, 1846, I attended 'and moved certain resolutions as and for the said John Finch.' Now, this is not the fact. The resolutions were framed by myself, and moved independently of you or any other person; and were so framed and moved in consequence of what I then deemed, and still deem, sound legal information which I had obtained as to the relative position of parties (especially the lessees and so-called assignees), and having reference also to the most equitable mode of winding up the affairs of the society; and in which resolutions, after mutual explanations, all parties present acquiesced.

"I regret exceedingly the animus which runs through this petition, and the unworthy though futile attempt which is made to damage the reputation of yourself, who have devoted so much time and money to the society's affairs, and have incurred heavy responsibilities, from which others have shrunk.

"As one of the largest creditors of the estate, and as the representative of a deceased creditor to the extent of nearly one-third of the entire liabilities of the society, I have every confidence that at the proper time you will make such a statement of the thankless duties which you have undertaken and performed at the request of the parties interested—and which have occupied so large a portion of your time and attention,—as shall satisfy all reasonable and business men. And, if I am not much mistaken as to the authors of the petition, it will be found that the extraordinary course pursued by them and their friends, has very much retarded, and still retards the winding-up of the society's affairs; and (under advice) has imposed upon you a silence most disagreeable to your feelings.—I am, my dear Sir, yours, very truly, (Signed) WILLIAM PARE.

"John Finch, Esq., Liverpool."

Liverpool, July 30, 1851.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I received your kind letter on the 28th, and rejoice that I have one sincere friend, at least, left, in the trying circumstances in which my family are now unfortunately placed. When I read the petition, I thought how easy it is for a living ass to kick a dead lion. I have nothing but character and reputation left, and it shall be no fault of mine if these be not preserved.

"I have not, and cannot have, any objection to the affairs of Queenwood being thoroughly investigated by the House of Commons; perhaps this will be the most satisfactory way of adjusting them. Many statements in the petition, however, are a distortion of the facts, calculated grossly to mislead, and others are positive falsehoods, which are not worth my notice. I will now only state a few facts, the truth of which you and many others can attest, viz., that the lessees not only made themselves responsible for the rent of these farms on a ninety-nine years' lease, when they were not worth much more than half the rent that was given for them, spent much more than £1000 of their own money on the experiment, and gave years of their own time and labour in endeavours to make it succeed, without receiving one farthing remuneration; but even after the party who, as they believe, are the authors of this petition, had taken possession of the property, and greatly deteriorated it, by, among other things, destroying the excellent schools which, with great labour had been formed there, brought the whole plan to a stand still, having on the premises a man with his wife and large family living in idleness upon the property of the creditors upon pretence of being what he never was legally, an 'assignee,' and who, when expostulated with about this waste, replied, that he did not care if the property were all spent, for then there would be nothing left to quarrel about, and that he was determined to remain on the farm as long as there was a blade of grass left; the expulsion of whom, after earnest remonstrances many times repeated during a considerable space of time, is stigmatized in this famous petition as an act of great cruelty; I say, after all this, the lessees by much exertion found a party to come forward, able and willing to advance several thousand pounds for the purchase of the farm, stock, and furniture, and for finishing the buildings, and to take a sub-lease of the property for twenty-one years, thus enabling the lessees to pay nearly £2000 arrears of rent, besides many other payments that were necessary to secure the safe possession of the large building, which cost nearly £20,000, and other property.

"Since the farms and buildings have been in the possession of [“one”] Mr. Edmondson (the farms being still cultured by their former manager), the large hall has been finished, papered, and painted, and many other buildings have been erected, and permanent improvements made; and I believe it is admitted that the farms are better cultivated, and produce better crops than can be grown upon land of similar quality anywhere in the South of England. All this and much more has been effected by the exertions of these shocking bad lessees.

"The accounts of the lessors are duly kept, and whenever the parties who have a right to call for them are prepared to compensate the present occupier of the estate for the money and labour he has expended, and to release the lessees from all responsibility, they will most cheerfully give up all the property into their hands.

"It must be left to our friends and the public generally, to judge whether this petition is a suitable return for all the trouble, anxiety of mind, time, labour, and money, which the lessees have suffered and expended in this profitless undertaking.—I am, dear friend, yours, truly, (Signed) JOHN FINCH.

"William Pare, Esq., Dublin."

Aberdeen	10	Australasian	—
Bristol and Exeter ..	80½	British North American ..	—
Caledonian	10½	Colonial	—
Eastern Counties	6½	Commercial of London ..	—
Edinburgh and Glasgow	28½	London and Westminster ..	—
Great Northern	16½	London Joint Stock	—
Great S. & W. (Ireland)	—	National of Ireland	—
Great Western	81½	National Provincial	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire	48½	Provincial of Ireland	—
Leicester and Carlisle ..	—	Union of Australia	35
London, Brighton, & S. Coast	92	Union of London	—
London and Blackwall ..	6½	MINS.	—
London and N.-Western ..	122	Bolton	—
Midland	40	Brazilian Imperial	—
North British	6½	Butto, St. John del Rey ..	—
South-Eastern and Dover	22	Cobre Copper	—
South-Western	83½	MISCELLANEOUS.	—
York, Newcastle, & Berwick	18½	Australian Agricultural ..	—
York and North Midland ..	18	Canada	—
Docks.	—	General Steam	—
East and West India ..	—	Penins. & Oriental Steam ..	9
London	—	Royal Mail Steam	—
St. Katharine	—	South Australian	—

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	85½	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	29½
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct.	—	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	—	Peruvian 4½ p. Cents.	—
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	—	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	32½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	—	— 4 per Cts.	—
Danish 5 per Cents.	105	— Annuities.	—
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	—	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	101½
— 4 per Cents.	93½	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	21
Ecuador Bonds	3½	— Passive	5½
French 5 p.C.An.atParis	—	— Deferred	—
— 3 p.Cts., July 11,	—		

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, August 15.—With short supplies the trade in all grain remains as on Monday. On Oats alone a slight improvement in prices is obtained.

Arrivals from August 8 to August 15.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	1930	—	4,020
Barley	40	—	2,110
Oats	620	—	3,870
Flour: English, 1,610.			Foreign, 1,010 sacks, 9,260 barrels.

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Aug. 8.

Wheat, R. New 40s. to 41s.	Maple	29s. to 30s.
Fine	White	24 — 25
Old	Boilers	26 — 28
White	Beans, Ticks ..	25 — 27
Fine	Old	28 — 29
Superior New 44 — 47	Indian Corn ..	28 — 31
Rye	Oats, Feed ..	16 — 17
Barley	Fine	17 — 18
Malting	Poland	20 — 21
Malt, Ord.	Fine	21 — 22
Fine	Potato	19 — 20
Peas, Hog	Fine	20 — 21

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.

WEEK ENDING Aug. 9.

Imperial General Weekly Average.

Wheat	28s. 3d.	Rye	28s. 5d.
Barley	25 11	Beans	31 4
Oats	21 7	Peas	28 1
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.			
Wheat	42s. 9d.	Rye	28s. 3d.
Barley	25 6	Beans	31 10
Oats	22 2	Peas	28 8

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 29th day of June, 1851, is 26s. 4d. per cwt

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, August 8.

BANKRUPTS.—S. CHURCHILL and T. CLADEN, Church-row, Limehouse, builders, to surrender August 20, September 10; solicitor, Mr. Cullen, High-street, Poplar; official assignee, Mr. Graham—J. CUNDALL, Old Bond-street, publisher, August 20, September 20; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Plews, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Stansfeld—J. BEAUMONT, Leman-street, Whitechapel, engineer, August 20, September 20; solicitors, Messrs. Lindsay and Mason, Gresham-street; official assignee, Mr. Stansfeld—H. HAYES, Regent-street, and Stafford-row, draper, August 18, September 11; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—I. ISAACS, Swan-street, Minorities, jeweller, August 11, September 11; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birchin-lane, Cornhill—W. E. FOLLIOT, Chancery-place, Somers-town, carver and gilder, August 15, September 12; solicitor, Mr. Lewis, Wilmington-square; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birchin-lane, Cornhill—J. FRANKLIS, Portsea and Landport, woldendrapery, August 11, September 12; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—J. PARKINS, Cheapside, clothier, August 20, September 20; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—H. LEWIS and J. HERVEY, Halifax, Yorkshire, spirit-merchants, August 18, September 19; solicitors, Messrs. Venning, Naylor, and Robins, Tokenhouse-yard; Messrs. Craven and Rankin, Halifax; and Messrs. Courtenay and Compton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds—W. SPEAK, Halifax, Yorkshire, snuff manufacturer, August 22, September 19; solicitors, Mr. Wavell, Halifax; and Messrs. Courtenay and Compton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Freeman, Leeds—J. NEWTON, sen., Watlingborough, Lincolnshire, boat owner, August 20, September 17; solicitors, Messrs. Scott and Tahourdin, Lincoln's-inn-fields, Mr. Tynbee, Lincoln, and Mr. Stamp, Hull; official assignee, Mr. Carrick—W. CLOUGHTON, Kingston-upon-Hull, auctioneer, August 20, September 17; solicitors, Messrs. Richardson and Lee, Hull; official assignee, Mr. Carrick—C. P. HENSHALL, Chidcock, Dorsetshire, miller, August 20, September 17; solicitors, Messrs. Mantfield and Andrews, Dorchester, and Mr. Stogdon, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Hirtzel, Exeter—J. PRICIVAL, Market Deeping, Lincolnshire, innkeeper, August 29, September 12; solicitors, Mr. Brown, Market Deeping, and Mr. Bowley, Nottingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham.

Tuesday, August 11.

BANKRUPTS.—R. SKYMOOR, Downham, Cambridgeshire, grocer, to surrender August 23, September 20; solicitors, Messrs. Trinder and Eyre, John-street, Bedford-row; and Mr. Archer, Ely, Cambridgeshire; official assignee, Mr. Graham—J. VEVENS, Ironmonger-lane, woollen warehouseman, August 18, September 18; solicitor, Mr. Lloyd, Milk-street, Cheapside; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street—T. F. PIERCE, Laurence-lane and elsewhere, wholesale staymaker, August 18, September 18; solicitor, Mr. Cox, Finner's-hall; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings, Moorgate-street—J. B. PHILIP, J. R. CLAYTON, E. A. WYNNE, and J. LUMSDEN, East-street, Manchester-square, builders, August 20, September 20; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Stansfeld—P. MILLAR, St. John's-wood, and Sheppard-street, May-fair, livery-stablekeeper, August 21, September 25; solicitor, Mr. Holmes, Fenchurch-street; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birchin-lane, Cornhill—E. CLAY, Eastry, Kent, linendraper, August 21, September 25; solicitor, Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore—W. POWELL, Jellery's-street, Camden-town, builder, August 18, September 18; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Plews, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; and Mr. Dale, Warrford-court; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birchin-lane, Cornhill—R. MORT, Gracechurch-street, tailor, August 18, September 25; solicitors, Messrs. Vincent and Gabriel, Inner Temple-lane; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birchin-lane, Cornhill—J. NEWTON, sen.,

Washingborough, Lincolnshire, boat owner, August 20, September 17; solicitors, Messrs. Scott and Tahourdin, Lincoln's-inn-fields; Mr. Tynbee, Lincoln; and Mr. Stamp, Hull; official assignee, Mr. Carrick—R. JACKSON, Liverpool, and Bolton-le-Moors, organ builder, August 27, September 16; solicitor, Mr. Dodge, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool—T. RICHARDSON, Liverpool, cutter, August 21, September 18; solicitor, Mr. Hine, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Turner, Liverpool—S. CHERRY, Liverpool, broker, August 25, September 16; solicitor, Mr. Norris, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Morgan, Liverpool.

THE BEST WELLINGTON BOOTS made

to order, 21s. per pair.
HENRY LATIMER, 29, Bishopsgate-street Without, respectfully requests the attention of the Public to the above very important announcement.

His Wellington Boots made to order at 21s. cannot be surpassed either in shape, make, or quality.

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

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

SCOTTISH and IRISH LINEN WAREHOUSE, 261, Oxford-street, near North Audley-street; Manufactory, Dunfermline.

DAVID BIRRELL begs respectfully to draw the attention of the Nobility, Gentry, and Public generally, to his new make of DAMASK TABLE LINENS, specimens of which are now on view at the Great Exhibition, near the west end of the building, under the head of "Flax," Class XIV., No. 60, and in the North Gallery, Class VII.

The QUEEN'S PATTERN has been engraved in the *Art Journal* for the present month, and is thus alluded to in the editorial remarks:—"Among the fine diaper and damask linens, received from Dunfermline, are some singularly rich and beautiful table-cloths, manufactured by Mr. Birrell, from designs furnished by Mr. Paton, an artist who has upwards of a quarter of a century aided the manufacturers of that famous and venerable town. We have engraved one of them on this page—bold and elaborate in design, and in all respects worthy of covering a regal table. In the corners of the border we discern the St. George, and in the centres of the same part the badges of the order of 'The Thistle' and 'St. Patrick.' In the centre of the cloth is a medallion bust of her gracious Majesty. The table-cloth is made from the finest Flemish flax."

The "CAGE PATTERN," in the style of Louis XIV., and the "WASHINGTON MEDALLION BUST," surmounted with national and other emblematic figures, are also on view. Napkins, in silk and linen, to match the above.

ROYAL EXHIBITION LINENS.

DAVID BIRRELL has ready for inspection a choice parcel of the celebrated 7-8 and 4-4 Crown Linens, all manufactured from English yarns, and warranted of sound bleach. These goods can be strongly recommended, and embrace every quality, up to the finest No. which can be produced.

Huckabacks, Sheetings, Table Covers, &c.
May, 1851.

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

JAMES EPPS, Homoeopathic Chemist, 112, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, and 82, Old Broad-street, City, London.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.—A valuable,

newly invented, very small, powerful WAISTCOAT POCKET GLASS, the size of a walnut, to discern minute objects at a distance of from four to five miles, which is found to be invaluable at the Exhibition, and to Sportsmen, Gentlemen, and Gamekeepers. Price 30s.; sent free.—TELESCOPES. A new and most important invention in Telescopes, possessing such extraordinary powers, that some 3½ inches, with an extra eye piece, will show distinctly Jupiter's moons, Saturn's ring, and the double stars. They supersede every other kind, and are of all sizes, for the waistcoat pocket, shooting, military purposes, &c. Opera and Race-Course Glasses, with wonderful powers; a minute object can be clearly seen from 10 to 12 miles distant. Invaluable, newly invented Preserving Spectacles; invisible and all kinds of acoustic instruments, for relief of extreme deafness.—Messrs. S. and B. SOLOMONS, Opticians and Astrucians, 39, Albemarle-street, Piccadilly, opposite the York Hotel.

SOCIETY for the DISCHARGE and RELIEF of PERSONS IMPRISONED for SMALL DEBTS throughout ENGLAND and WALES, Established 1772.

President—The Earl of ROMNEY.

Vice-President—Lord KENYON.

Treasurer—Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq., M.P., F.R.S.
Auditors—Capel Cure, Esq., and H. Harwood Penny, Esq.
At a MEETING of GOVERNORS held in Craven-street, on Wednesday, August 6, 1851, the cases of 22 petitioners were considered, of which 15 were approved, 5 rejected, and 2 inadmissible.

Since the Meeting held on July 2, FIVE DEBTORS, of whom 5 had wives and 4 children, have been discharged from the prisons of England and Wales; the expense of whose liberation including every charge connected with the Society, was £132 13s. 8d., and the following

BENEFICIARIES RECEIVED SINCE THE LAST REPORT:—
Sir William Tynill, per Messrs. Coutts and Co., £10 0 0
Benefactions are received by Benjamin Bond Cabbell, Esq., the Treasurer, No. 1, Brick-court, Temple; also by the following
Bankers:—Messrs. Cocks, Drummonds, Herries, Hoares, Verner, and by the Secretary, No. 7, Craven-street, Strand, where the books may be seen by those who are inclined to support the Society, and where the Society meet on the first Wednesday in every month.
JOSEPH LUNN, Secretary.

A CARD.

THE MISSES SMITH receive into their Family a limited number of YOUNG LADIES to Board and Educate. For terms and prospectus apply to R. D. F., LEADER Office, 10, Wellington-street, Strand.
1, Florence-terrace, Park-road, Upper Holloway.

A CARD.

C. DOBSON COLLET, late of the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, Teacher of Singing. For Terms of Musical Lectures, Private Lessons, or Class Teaching, in Town or Country, apply to C. D. C. 15, Essex-street, Strand.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY,

INSTITUTED UNDER TRUST, TO COUNTERACT THE SYSTEM OF ADULTERATION AND FRAUD NOW PREVAILING IN THE 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 Marylebone-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Particulars of the nature and object of 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 Agency. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps.

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

Particulars, Rules, List, and Catalogue will be forwarded immediately on receipt of ten postage stamps.

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

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

PROPOSED

WORKING SMITHS' ASSOCIATION.

To the Working Smiths of London and its Environs.
Fellow Workmen.—The great Author of our existence hath ordained that by toil and sorrow we shall progress from ignorance and slavery towards liberty and happiness.

The inexperience of our forefathers has caused many obstacles to our improvement, the most serious of which is that we have been pitted against each other to obtain by strife and contention those necessities and conveniences of life which might be much easier and more effectually provided if we were to combine our energies in an Association with brotherly kindness.

Many and serious are the evils which this system of Competition entails upon us: it gives to the few fortunate in the scramble extreme wealth, which nature denies them the power to enjoy, whilst the many are doomed to a life of hopeless misery and wretchedness. But God has decreed that this shall not always be the lot of man; for we find that, whilst he is totally ignorant and unable to help himself, he bears his degradation without pain and is comparatively happy; but no sooner does he obtain a little intelligence than he begins to manifest uneasiness, which increases with his knowledge, until his condition becomes unbearable, thus compelling him to take steps to improve his condition, and the ignorant attempts of Government in various countries to impede his efforts have often proved the destruction of the State.

To guard against such folly and wickedness should be the anxious care of every good and loyal citizen.

Circumstances at the present time seem eminently favourable to our progress. Capital and Labour, hitherto antagonistic, have already begun to associate on just and equitable principles. Several Associations are now at work, and are progressing favourably.

The Smiths must not lag behind. "First-born of the arts," our place is in the van. Up, then, Fellow Workmen, let us do our duty. There are some five or six different societies in London without any connecting link. This the Committee have found to be a generally admitted evil. A working Association would remedy this evil,—would form a connecting link, which would unite them all together, without impairing their usefulness or interfering with their individual arrangements. We invite you to attend a GENERAL MEETING of the TRADE, which will be held in the Board-room of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, on TUESDAY Evening, August 19, 1851. E. V. NEALE, Esq., will take the Chair at Eight o'clock precisely, when the Principles of Association will be explained, and a Plan of Organization will be submitted to the meeting.

Signed by order of the Committee,
GEORGE KIDD, Secretary.

MUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION.—

The public are admitted, without charge, to the British Museum, National Gallery, East India Company's Museum, London Missionary Society's Museum, and to the Splendid Exhibition of Art and Industry, on view from 8 in the morning till 8 at night, at Benetfink and Company's Emporium for Furnishing Ironmongery, 89 and 90, Cheapside, London. The splendid stock comprises every variety of Electro-plated Wares, Chandeliers, Lamps, Tea-urns, Tea-trays, Cutlery, Iron Bedsteads, Baths, Stoves, Fire-irons; in short, every requisite either for the Mansion or the Cottage.

At this establishment you cannot be deceived, because every article is marked in plain figures, and at such prices as can be offered only by a house whose gross sales are so enormous as to enable them to sell the best articles at 10 or 15 per cent. less than any other house in the kingdom. That we can furnish a mansion, is demonstrated by the continued patronage of the nobility and gentry; and to prove that we can also suit the necessary and judicious economy of those moving in a more humble sphere, we are enabled actually to furnish an eight-roomed house for £5, and the articles, too, of the best quality and workmanship. This may appear incredible; but as we are the largest buyers of iron goods, to say nothing of those of our own manufacture, in London, we can do it, and subjoin a list of the requisites:—

1 Hall-lamp	0 10 6
1 Umbrella-stand	0 4 6
1 Bronzed Dining-room Fender and Standards	0 5 6
1 Set of Polished Steel Fire-irons	0 3 6
1 Brass Toast-stand	0 1 6
1 Fire-guard	0 1 6
1 Bronzed and Polished Steel Scroll Fender	0 8 6
1 Set Polished Steel Fire-irons, Bright Pan	0 5 6
1 Ornamented Japanned Scuttle and Scoop	0 4 6
1 Best Bed-room Fender and Polished Steel Fire-irons	0 7 0
2 Bed-room Fenders, and 2 Sets of Fire-irons	0 7 6
Set of Four Block-tin Dish Covers	0 11 6
1 Bread-grater, 6d., 1 Tin Candlestick, 9d.	0 1 3
1 Teakettle, 2s. 6d., 1 Gridiron, 1s.	0 3 6
1 Frying-pan, 1s., 1 Meat-chopper, 1s. 6d.	0 2 6
1 Coffee-pot, 1s., 1 Colander, 1s.	0 2 0
1 Dust-pan, 6d., 1 Fish-kettle, 4s.	0 4 6
1 Fish-slice, 6d., 1 Flour-box, 8d.	0 1 2
1 Pepper-box	0 0 4
3 Tinned Iron Saucepans	0 5 0
1 Oval Boiling-pot, 3s. 8d., 1 Set of Skewers, 4d.	0 4 0
3 Spoons, 9d., Tea-pot and Tray, 3s.	0 3 9
Toasting-fork	0 0 6
	£5 0 0

NOTE.—Any one or more of the articles may be selected at the above prices. And all orders for £5 and upwards will be forwarded free to any part of the kingdom. Note, therefore, the address, BENETFINK and Co., 89 and 90, Cheapside, London; and if you are about to furnish, and want to buy economically and tastefully visit this establishment.

CURES FOR THE UNCURED!

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.—An extraordinary CURE OF SCROFULA OR KING'S EVIL. Extract of a Letter from Mr. J. H. ALLIDAY, 209, High-street, Cheltenham, dated the 22nd of January, 1850.

To Professor HOLLOWAY.

"SIR,—My eldest son, when about three years of age, was afflicted with a Glandular Swelling in the neck, which, after a short time, broke out into an Ulcer. An eminent medical man pronounced it as a very bad case of Scrofula, and prescribed for a considerable time without effect. The disease then for four years went on gradually increasing in virulence, when, besides the ulcer in the neck, another formed below the left knee, and a third under the eye, besides seven others on the left arm, with a tumour between the eyes, which was expected to break. During the whole of the time my suffering boy had received the constant advice of the most celebrated medical Gentlemen at Cheltenham, besides being for several months at the General Hospital, where one of the Surgeons said that he would amputate the left arm, but that the blood was so impure that, if that limb were taken off, it would be then even impossible to subdue the disease. In this desperate state I determined to give your Pills and Ointment a trial, and after two months' perseverance in their use, the tumour gradually began to disappear, and the discharge from all the ulcers perceptibly decreased, and at the expiration of eight months they were perfectly healed, and the boy thoroughly restored to the blessings of health, to the astonishment of a large circle of acquaintances, who could testify to the truth of this miraculous case. Three years have now elapsed without any recurrence to the malady, and the boy is now as healthy as heart can wish. Under these circumstances I consider that I should be truly ungrateful were I not to make you acquainted with this wonderful cure, effected by your medicines, after every other means had failed. J. H. ALLIDAY."

Sold by the Proprietor, 244, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by all respectable Venders of Patent Medicines throughout the Civilized World, in Pots and Boxes, at 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., 11s., 22s., and 33s. each. There is a very considerable saving in taking the larger sizes.

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

A NEW MEDICINE.

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC CAPSULE.—A form of Medicine at once safe, sure, speedy, and pleasant, especially applicable to urethral morbid secretions, and other ailments for which copaiba and cubeb are commonly administered.

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

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

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC SOLUTION OF COPAIBA.

TESTIMONIALS.

From Joseph Henry Green, Esq., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital; and Professor of Surgery in King's College, London. "I have made trial of Mr. Franks's Solution of Copaiba, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in a variety of cases, and the results warrant my stating, that it is an efficacious remedy, and one which does not produce the usual unpleasant effects of Copaiba. (Signed) JOSEPH HENRY GREEN. Lincoln's-inn Fields, April 15, 1835."

From Bransby Cooper, Esq., F.R.S., one of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to Guy's Hospital; and Lecturer on Anatomy, &c. "Mr. Bransby Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. George Franks, and has great pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficacy of his Solution of Copaiba. Mr. Cooper has prescribed the Solution in ten or twelve cases with perfect success. New-street, April 13, 1835."

"These medicines are protected against counterfeits by the Government Stamp—on which is engraven 'GEORGE FRANKS, Blackfriars-road'—being attached to each.

Just published, price 2s. 6d.,

HOWARD on the LOSS of TEETH.—A new invention connected with Dental Surgery has been introduced by Mr. Howard, consisting of an entirely new description of Artificial Teeth, fixed by SELF-ADHESION, combining capillary attraction and atmospheric pressure, without springs, wires, or ligatures. They will never change colour or decay, and will be found very superior to any teeth ever before used. This method does not require the extraction of any teeth or roots, or any painful operation. The invention is of importance to many persons, and those who are interested in it should read this treatise.

London: Simpkin and Marshall, and all Booksellers; or of the Author, Thomas Howard, Surgeon Dentist, 17 George-street, Hanover-square.

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

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

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

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

IV. ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, and HÆMORRHOIDS; their Obviation and Removal. Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row; Mann, 39, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyll-place, Regent-street: consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

GRATIS! GRATIS! GRATIS! FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD AND THE SUPPRESSION OF QUACKERY.

Just published, 86 pages.

EVERY MAN HIS OWN DOCTOR. A popular guide to Health. By a PHYSICIAN. Sent post free on receipt of four postage stamps to pre-pay it. By Mr. Booth, 14, Hand-court, Holborn, London.

"Your work has saved me many pounds in doctor's bills."—H. M., Torr. "The most popular explanation of the symptoms and treatment of diseases we have met with."—*Critic*. "Medical books were always a mystery to me. I am thankful for your excellent gift."—J. M., Boston.

A copy of the large Library Edition of "Every Man his own Doctor," is sent post free for 14 postage stamps.

Just published—Library Edition.

CLAIRVOYANCE AND MESMERISM.—A practical exposition of the principles of Clairvoyance. By a MESMERIST.

"Clairvoyance and Mesmerism are no longer mysteries; this is the most elaborate work we have ever read, and will do much towards establishing the truth of these wonderful sciences."—*Literary Gazette*.

"With all humility and purity of heart, I give the result of my inquiries to the world, with the impression that the startling revelations may contribute to human happiness and virtuous deeds."—Extract from Chapter I.

This work will be sent post free, on receipt of 14 postage stamps by Mr. Booth, 14, Hand-court, Holborn, London.

NERVOUSNESS, and all its attendant miseries and distressing symptoms, positively CURED, without the least inconvenience or danger to the most delicate constitution, by a new and infallible remedy; guaranteed to effect a perfect cure in the most inveterate case; even in cases of complete prostration of nervous energy its success is certain. Dr. ALFRED BEAUMONT, M.D., M.R.C.S., and Consulting Physician, having long used it in his private practice without a single instance of failure, begs to offer it to the Public, from benevolence rather than gain; and will send it carriage free, with full directions, upon receipt of 7s. 6d. in postage stamps, addressed to him at 6, Beaufort-street, Strand, London.

DEAFNESS—SINGING in the EARS.—

Extraordinary Cures are effected daily, in cases long since pronounced incurable by the Faculty. Even in cases of total deafness, which have existed a lifetime, a positive cure can be guaranteed without pain or operation, by a newly discovered and infallible mode of treatment, discovered and practised only by Dr. FRANCIS, Physician, Aurist, 40, Liverpool-street, King's Cross, London. Dr. F. has applied this new treatment in the presence of and on several of the most eminent medical men of the day, who have been utterly astonished at its magical effect. All martyrs to these distressing complaints should immediately consult Dr. Francis, as none need now despair, however bad their case. Hours of consultation daily from Eleven till Four, and Six till Nine. Country patients, stating their case by letter, will receive the means of cure per post, with such advice and directions as are guaranteed to render failure impossible.

CURE OF FOURTEEN YEARS WINTER COUGH by Dr. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.

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