

London City Hall, 10 Wellington Street, Strand

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.

"THOROUGH" is the motto of M. Bonaparte. With unexampled vigour and directness, without visible scruples or emotion, yet with much unseemly finching, the army has done its appointed task of taking French society by assault. For the moment, the blow of the 2nd and the massacre of the 4th of December are entirely successful. Wares glitter in the shop windows; gay crowds throng the Boulevards; the press is as an Eastern mute; the departments are bayoneted into silent acquiescence; the remnants of the Imperial Guard banquet together, and applaud General Magnan for saving society; the Church consorts with the Elysée; and the Rentes are above par! Is not this regal success? France has become a "geographical expression"—it is not France but Bonaparte.

Meanwhile, the Victor sits in the Elysée, engaged with sage Councillors in drawing up a constitution. To-morrow the people is called upon to vote "Yes" or "No"—for or against Bonaparte. The gentlemen in the grocery line are said to be all for the "Prince"—therefore his election is certain. How can it be otherwise, when the only journal which recommended the Republicans to vote "No" in great numbers, is instantly suspended? When will the most Christian Emperor, Napoleon II., take up his abode at the Tuileries?

But the fact of facts is the open coalition of "the Church" of the Jesuits with the perjured President. The letter of M. de Montalembert reveals so much! Kingcraft and Priestcraft hand in hand as usual—the terrors of earth and the terrors of hell saving society by menace and massacre, and combining to rule it henceforth. Profound is the sensation caused by this revelation of the identity of purpose existing between military despotism and priestly domination. The Pope has nothing to fear from the Prince. Bonaparte's famous letter to Colonel Edgar Ney is emphatically a *dead* letter. This junction of the soutane and the sabre sets all doubt at rest as to the Austro-Russian conspiracy. But what does it matter? Are not Mr. Cobden and "England" at peace with all the world?

Madrid, in its humble way, imitates Paris, and has its miniature "coup d'état." Most curious of coincidences! General Narvaez leaves Paris a few days before the 2nd of December; and a few days after his arrival in Madrid the Cortes is dissolved or suspended, because the "grave events in the neighbouring Republic" are more important than public discussions. Cavalier, that. What a contemptuous mode of "cutting" the Cortes—it is simply spoken of as the National Debating Society! Well, perhaps, that is all it is kept for!

Pleasant, also, is it to read of the leniency with

[COUNTRY EDITION.]

which the amiable Pope Pius IX. regards the conduct of his fratricidal son. There is a sportive lightness of heart which is quite touching in the fact that the Pope! good man, smiled down approval on the news, while the Cardinals sniggered with delight. Somehow, the sons of the Church who give most joy to their tender parent are those who crawl through the blood of their fellows to the feet of St. Peter. Thus the conspiracy daily unfolds itself before the eyes of Englishmen, who read the quotations of the Stock Exchange and take no heed.

It is said that Schwarzenberg has demanded possession of a Piedmontese fortress for Austrian troops. The allied despots are drawing round Switzerland. Still, no one believes in the conspiracy. Some day England will be the last of the Constitutional states in Europe; and, when we are quite isolated, it is just possible even the Stock Exchange and Lombard-street may believe—but will it not be *too late*?

The gloom louring over the whole European Continent is terrible. Midnight arrests; midday judicial murders; blood flowing everywhere; the conditions of peace nowhere; neither life nor property secure. What a storm there is brewing! When and where will it burst?

From the great transatlantic Republic we have a President's Message, not conveyed to an astounded people through the medium of hot lead and cold steel, but read peacefully to a listening Congress. What a document it is! Prolix, smooth, carefully worded, an enormous but necessary platitude. Happy the people who can in these fiery days afford quiet Messages! In spite of its dead level, there is vast significance in this state paper. It marks, in sharp outline, the termination of the policy of non-intervention bequeathed by the great chiefs of the Revolution, a policy which the nation has outgrown; while the declarations of the Democratic party, now rising into power, bind them to the policy of intervention and an alliance of Peoples.

Kossuth has reached the "States," and much powder has been burnt at the Battery and elsewhere in his honour. Daniel Webster, it is said, is resolved to furnish a further proof that he and his are too deeply implicated with diplomacy to be fearlessly national. The valiant Secretary will not receive Kossuth officially. What a humiliation for the People of America: Webster aping Palmerston!

Home news is not striking, either in variety or interest. Mr. Bright has championed the Manchester Reform Resolutions at Stockport. One sentence in his speech requires explanation. Does Mr. John Bright mean to stigmatize all persons, who may not get upon the rate-book, under the operation of an Act founded on his resolutions, as bad, illiberal, and ill-intentioned? It is probable that Manchester may know what good cotton is, and be infallible in that.

But, as Political Pope, damning and saving the reputation of thousands of Englishmen alive, we certainly do not recognize her "authority." If we are to take Mr. Bright at his word, and judge these resolutions by his character of them, then are they and he condemned for offering a gratuitous insult to the mass of the people. The Reform Campaign is likely to be supremely victorious at this rate!

Protection unfolded last week the mysteries surrounding its existence. What was revealed? A great party in a state of the most promising anarchy, pretending to cling hopefully to an exploded theory and a disastrous practice; while in reality the minds of the speakers wandered to Financial Reform, Rights of Citizenship, Emigration, the Republic, and—Association. The bonds of the party snap at every writhe of its huge body. Soon the elements, once so compact, will separate. What then? They must unite again, upon the principle of Concert. They must act on principles similar to those ruling the Isle of Thanet Agricultural Association, which has actually made pauperism *pay*! But how can landowners expect to prosper, either as individuals or as a party, while they uphold the atrocious game laws? Read the accounts of frays in Notts and Norfolk. Police for the preservation of pheasants! The policeman arrests, and the parson commits, the poacher. What a singular collocation of persons!

Careful in the preservation of game, and careless of the education of the People—is not that the characteristic of the Squirearchy? Is or was? Not so in towns. Some efforts are made there to instruct and educate the People. A Chancellor of the Exchequer is found in a Mechanics' Institute at Halifax; even Viscount Lewisham, M.P., lectures at Bilston, on the happy subject of "Civility considered as Benevolence in Trifles"; and Earl Fitzwilliam inaugurates new rooms at Northampton; very laudable, but why deliver a lecture on the authenticity of Christianity, because Mr. Layard happened to be present? Sir Charles Wood's speech was Whig to the kernel, but it did not touch any of the religious questions of the day. Perhaps the real reason of Earl Fitzwilliam's wanderings is to be found in the fact, that the "800 present" were "all in full dress"!

More troops for the Cape. A rifle corps which has not been much more than twelve months in England is ordered out. The alternative presented by the letter of a field officer is encouraging—more troops or an interminable war. Will Lord Grey require help from the Duke of Wellington? Strange success is that of Sir Henry Smith. The Kafirs are beaten at all points; but they swarm everywhere. The Amatolas are swept clear of combatants; Macomo is driven from the Waterkloof; but the Kafirs haunt the very camp of the Commander-in-Chief, and assault his sentries and officers on guard with a daring that makes said officers sleep under the protection of revolvers!

THE MASKED "EMPIRE" IN FRANCE.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

PARIS, Thursday, December 11, 1851.—*In medias res*, without preface. The time is short, and the summary of events crowded into so small a space of time must be crowded into a still smaller space of paper.

On Sunday evening I went to deliver my letter of introduction, which C— had kindly given me to a friend from whom I should obtain reliable intelligence. Singularly enough I found him just in the act of finishing a letter which he had been writing to us. I found him in a state of feverish dejection and excitement, wounded in spirit, oppressed, almost heart broken. It seemed to be a real consolation to him to be able to vent his grief and indignation, and to pour his pent up feelings into a friendly and sympathizing ear. After a few moments of hurried and anxious question and reply as to the truth or probability of the various reports flying about, I begged him to read me his letter. He said how fortunately timed my visit was, as it saved him the possible risk of sending the letter. Here it is. I don't change a word, as I should be afraid to weaken its force and meaning. You know how moderate and calmly judging the writer is.

"Paris, December 10, 1851.

"SIR,—I know not whether this letter will reach you, notwithstanding the precautions I intend to employ to have it posted. You will not be surprised to find it not signed; but I think you will recognize the hand. I earnestly recommend you to make what use of it you can to enlighten public opinion; but I beg you not to reply to it nor to name me as the writer. If you publish it, I shall be much obliged to you not even to send me the journal, at least for the present; for I see no use in my being arrested, as I certainly should be if it were supposed that I am your correspondent. Although, in truth, I am by natural bent of mind disposed to write you nothing but the most exact and moderate relation of facts, yet this exact truth is so damning and terrible for the successful conspirators who, by a nocturnal assault, have just made themselves masters of Paris! I shall not repeat the numerous details you will find in all the newspapers, but I am desirous to enlighten you upon the character and the real meaning of the struggle in which the population of Paris has lately succumbed. First, as to this population, you should know how in these last four years it has been diminished in number in its most active and energetic portion, partly by the diminution of work, especially in the building employ, partly in consequence of the unhappy days of June '48 and of the deportation which followed. Besides the population is, for the most part, completely disarmed. In its moral condition, too, I will not attempt to dissemble that it is seriously weakened. In one sense by the too exclusive influence of doctrines of material interests, preached by certain of the Socialist sect; and in another, by the consciousness of defeat, now three years and a half ago, in those days of June of which I have just spoken, in which it wasted so untimely, and by a deplorable perversion, all that energy and enthusiasm, which are now wanting even for the service of a most just and holy cause. Add to this the general distrust and contempt with which the whole People regarded the majority of the National Assembly; and the deep astuteness with which Louis Bonaparte presented himself as the restorer of Universal Suffrage; and you will no longer be surprised at what I now affirm that, in the struggle of last week, the masses, the body of the people, the people properly so called, who never meddle in politics but on grand occasions, *this 'People' did not stir*. The men who fought were few; they were either Republicans of the *bourgeoisie*, or a few revolutionary workmen, the élite of the most intelligent operatives in Paris. Besides the actual combatants these two classes furnished many elements to that incessant agitation which was intended to harass the troops. Such was the condition of the one camp. Now let us pass to the other. There were at Paris last week upwards of 100,000 soldiers perfectly armed, equipped, well fed, and plied with liquor, and well commanded. I ask you if the Democracy had a chance of success! Success was only feasible, in case of defection among the troops; and it was to cause this defection that some little resistance was sustained. But no defection took place. M. Louis Bonaparte had attached to his cause the mass of the soldiers and the majority of the officers by odious means, for which, I trust, the army will hereafter blush with shame, but which, for the moment, were certainly effectual. I write it with pain, for I am obliged to state the fact, grievous as it is (and I do so with real grief), the standard of honour in the French army is lowered. This is the truth. The soldiers received one franc extra *per diem*; the non-commissioned officers one franc and a half; the artillery three francs, besides distributions of wine, brandy, and victuals. The fact is that *the whole of*

last week many of our soldiers were not sober. Money, too, was distributed among officers, even in the higher ranks. Colonels, *chefs de bataillon*, received some thousands of francs, more or less. Generals *à fortiori*. Their debts were paid. Much was given, and more was promised.

"Doubtless the majority of the officers did not partake of these shameful bribes. Doubtless many of these acted with extreme repugnance. Doubtless among the non-commissioned officers (the most Democratic element in the army) there were many who would rather have fought in the Republican, than in the Bonapartist, camp. But the severest orders had been given to shoot the first waverer: they were entangled in a machine from which there was no escaping but at the cost of their lives, and the violation of military formalism. The result is that the French army, although Democratic in its essence and in its spirit, has won the battle for despotism. A significant lesson, which it behoves the Democracy never to forget!

"I now come to the struggle and to its various incidents. Generally speaking, the population was indisposed to engage in a regular and close resistance. Their object was to wear out the troops.

"An incessant agitation, frequent barricades slightly defended, quickly abandoned and thrown up again at intervals; such was the plan instinctively adopted by the Republicans. The enemy knew this well, and all their efforts were exerted to bring about a close and decisive combat. In this they succeeded on Thursday, the 5th instant. They allowed the barricades to be raised till nearly seven o'clock in the evening, and then gave the order for their destruction. The struggle lasted till nearly midnight. I shall not trouble you with accounts you may have read elsewhere; but I content myself with giving you a few details, on the complete exactitude of which you can rely. For the most part few men were behind the barricades; very few men armed; the greater number having neither guns nor ammunition; many not even a morsel of bread. The barricades at the Porte St. Denis and the Rue Montorgueil, which were the best defended, were manned chiefly by workmen. The scattered shots at the troops in various parts of the city were principally fired by bourgeois, or by what you would call *gentlemen*. The cruelty of the soldiers was horrible. *It was by command*; and, as I have already told you, the men were drunk almost to a man. On the Boulevards, a few, very few isolated shots from windows, were replied to by a general random volley from the troops, which being quite sudden and without any warning given, wounded or killed people who happened to be passing by or standing about, or even in their houses at their windows, or on the balconies. I was on the spot, and was present at this murderous execution. Such are the tactics of war M. de St. Arnaud has imported from Kabylie into France!

"This firing lasted several minutes even on the Boulevards; the Boulevard Montmartre especially, where not a shot had been fired upon the troops. The bullets rained into the rooms. The soldiers loaded and discharged and loaded again, like skirmishing parties, firing low or high, or straight before them, or across to one side of the street or to the other, at random. In front of one house which I know, four men were killed, of whom three were passers by, and one a shopboy standing at the door. In the Passage Joffroy, ten persons, elderly men for the most part, all well dressed, some wearing the Legion of Honour riband, were killed by a volley fired down the passage. All this took place in quarters where the soldiers had not been attacked. In houses from which a single shot had been fired the disaster was far more dreadful. Cannon was employed. They penetrated into the houses and slew all the persons they found in the rooms, *even women, even children*. As for prisoners taken behind barricades, they were shot without quarter. *Such were the orders*. But it is quite certain that the chief loss is not among those who fought, or who manned the barricades, but among inoffensive people, among many even of the reactionary party, many Bonapartists; among old men, women, and children. There are few quarters of Paris, perhaps not one, where there is not mourning for the loss of one or more of the inhabitants who had gone out that morning to transact their business or to visit friends, and who *never returned home*.

"I am relating these horrors with the most complete calmness and composure. I do not exaggerate; *rather the reverse*; I am not spinning phrases.

"I leave to the future, to all France, to the army itself, when it has recovered from intoxication, to judge the acts of MM. Bonaparte and St. Arnaud. This St. Arnaud (perhaps you are not aware) is a reckless and lawless adventurer, who was formerly cashiered for most disgraceful malpractices; for degrading his commission, by swindling, forgery, notorious debauchery. It is this ruined man of lost character that M. Bonaparte has picked up in Africa to make his Constable; for it is he who has had the whole conduct of this military revolution, and who has assured its success. What can I say more? Paris has done its duty; it has done what it could. It is for the departments to act. It is for some distant

regiments to efface the stain the whole army suffers, and to purge the honour of France. Will it be so? You will know when you receive this letter; but I know not yet. I am convinced that all is not yet over. That a certain part of the population is for M. Bonaparte is not to be denied. The *petite bourgeoisie*, especially, the shopkeepers will give in their adhesion, not because they honour him; but because they are ignorant, uncultivated, destitute of generous feelings, far less intelligent than the working class; and because they are released from that ugly nightmare of 1852! But the masses are gloomy and disheartened; profoundly humiliated. All men of heart and of a little clearness of judgment are ready to renew the struggle. At the least assurance of a serious insurrection in any part of Europe, Paris will take fire again. In any case the present state of things cannot last. *This is the universal conviction*. Louis Bonaparte is not the man to put down the revolution; he has committed too heinous a crime to be allowed to enjoy its fruits in peace. May God grant us to see better days!"

Such is our friend's letter. I recommend it to your most anxious attention. It throws a broad clear light on the atrocities of last week. I need not remind you how calm, and temperate, and practical, is the mind of the writer; how humane and gentle his disposition. It was really painful to me to witness his grief.

I add a few remarks in the way of comment. I have been assured by another friend, who is in a position to arrive at facts, that the number of killed is 2700, according to the registers. Of this number two-thirds had as little to do with the insurrection as Regent-street or the Strand. They were not even people collected to the spot by a rash curiosity (as many of our countrymen, the most insatiable of sight-seers, might have been), but persons who were passing from house to house on domestic errands, unconscious of what was going on; or standing in doorways, or on balconies, or even sitting quietly in upper rooms. The soldiers (more than one eyewitness assures me) were unmistakably maddened with brandy, and instigated by bribes. The fairest parts of this fair city were given up to their brutality, like a hostile city taken by storm. They fired at citizens as if they were vermin; if a shopman was closing the front, if a visitor was entering a house, or coming out into the street, he was shot down; if a curtain stirred or a blind fluttered, a volley of musketry was discharged into the room. I have been in houses where the inhabitants were lying on the floor for hours in constant fear; or huddled into back rooms; and even then they were threatened with the irruption of these wild beasts, who spared neither sex, nor rank, nor age. So conscious are the soldiers that it is the higher classes and the bourgeoisie who have suffered most, that they call the Thursday of last week the "*Journée des Paletots*." A captain said to a friend of mine:—"We know we are *assassins*; but it was our orders, and what were we to do?"

That General St. Arnaud is even worse than he is described in the letter of our friend. I have heard particulars of his antecedents. It seems he was first in the Gardes du Corps; he was cashiered for swindling; then he became a vendor of old furniture; then a tenth rate actor at one of the Theatres on the Boulevards, under a feigned name. After the Revolution of '30 he managed to get himself into the army again; and he has since been in Algeria, always bearing the worst reputation. M. L. Bonaparte had designed him for the *coup d'état*, as a man who had no character to lose; so he was sent on the recent expedition to Kabylie, for the sake of a little *éclat*; and as you know, was recalled to France and made Minister of War only a few weeks since. He is a most fit instrument for the work he has to do; but how great the degradation of the army to submit to such a command!

Last Saturday you might have seen at the Cimetière Montmartre, long files of corpses buried up to the chest in order that friends and relatives might recognize them.

I have seen V—, to whom C— had also given me a letter, three times; twice at his own house; and he has just left my room. The first time I saw him he was terribly depressed and discouraged. We had a very long conversation, not only on these events, but on the political state of France since '48—on the faults committed by all parties—on the general condition and prospects of the Republican party—and on the immense injury that an alliance with Bonapartism and the idolatry of the Empire, encouraged by the Liberals since the Restoration and since '30, had done to the Democratic cause. This last *coup d'état* will at least have done one good service; it will have effectually and finally divorced the Republic from the Empire. No more "Imperial glories and souvenirs"!

It seems that the army itself was taken by surprise. Republican at heart, it fancied it was fighting the battle of the Republic. The very troops sent to surround the Assembly imagined they were defending it from the Royalist *coup d'état*; and it was not till a piquet of Lancers had been sent to the different posts shouting "*Vive Napoléon!*" that the truth was known.

The People were generally pleased with the *coup d'état* at first: they thought it republican, especially as universal suffrage was restored. But the system of open voting undeceived them; and had not the Elysée returned to secret voting by a second decree, it is possible the resistance might have been more obstinate. But on the whole the workmen were distrustful and bewildered; uncertain whom or what to fight for; unwilling to be drawn into a struggle at the hour M. Bonaparte had selected; disposed to wait to see what he would do for them.

The universal feeling now is of humiliation and deep disgust, and discontent; but the bourgeoisie are satisfied so long as Paris is full of foreigners, the shops open, the Boulevards gay. They were terrified, too, at the thought of a general uprising in '52. "Spoliation—pillage—massacre," &c.; as if it were nothing to be murdered wholesale, to be stormed and ransacked by a faction who proclaim themselves champions of Religion—family—property. Oh! mothers and daughters of England who read Mrs. Ellis, if I could tell you who and what and of what manner of life are the gentlemen and ladies at the Elysée who represent Religion—family—property. The Princess Demidoff!

The present Ministry may literally be called a *Sinister* Ministry: for M. Bonaparte has two half-brothers in M. de Morny and M. de Maupas: the former a son of General Flahault and Queen Hortense: the latter of Queen Hortense and I know not whom; for Hortense was prodigal of her Creole blood. The fact is, that Louis Bonaparte is not a Bonaparte at all; it is known that his putative father was *impuissant*, and that his real father was a Dutch Admiral.

Rather a good mixture: the fire and impetuosity of the Creole tempered by the phlegmatic taciturnity and stubborn reserve of the Dutch.

M. Carlier, the late Préfet of Police, had it seems been playing a double game for some time before the *coup d'état*. Ostensibly he had broken with the Elysée and become the ally of the Royalist factions. He had wormed himself into all their plans. He gave them several false alarms of a *coup d'état*. On one occasion they stopped at the Assembly all night; when the *real* night came they were all at their own houses ready to be pounced upon by the Police, in their beds.

M. Maurice Duval, who has been sent as Commissaire-General to three departments, is a man who has always been employed in violent and brutal measures. It was he who treated the Duchess of Berri so brutally at Blaye.

You see that the usurping Government are pursuing the very measures so furiously attacked in Ledru Rollin. They are "Napoleonizing" the departments.

It is becoming an honour to be arrested. Arrests are taking place every hour of every person suspected of independence. M. Goudchaux, the Banker and Minister of France in February '48, was arrested yesterday.

M. Léon Faucher has received a passport for Belgium.

The police entered the house of M. Carnot with false keys, and penetrated even to the bed of Madame Carnot with dark lanterns to see if her husband was sleeping by her side! They have also made a search in the house of Madame Viardot.

Victor Hugo is in Switzerland. All the Republican representative are arrested, or in flight, or concealed. Some general officers have been placed in retreat; notably, too, a Colonel of Engineers.

It is said that Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Changarnier, and Charras (who was *not* wounded, you are glad to hear) have been removed from Ham, put on board ship and taken to sea to cruise for the present, in regard of eventualities. But the Government dare not deport them.

I hear that *La Presse* is to appear under other editorship, and that Girardin will bring out a Republican paper in Belgium. The shareholders have brought an action against him for discontinuing the paper, as it appears it was not suspended; but he refuses to write during the existing state of things.

The two chief editors of the *National* are in Belgium.

Of E. Baresté (of the *République*) I hear nothing.

I saw the President go out and return to the Elysée the day before yesterday. *Not* a cry—*not* a hat taken off. People dare not speak what they think, but the disgust is general, and the conviction that it cannot last. But they are afraid of what will replace it.

The working men have been apathetic this time, and unprepared, but they are awaking; and the army especially (the captains and non-commissioned officers) are returning to their senses.

The question is, how long will it last? If it could last long there would be an *immense emigration* of the best heads and hearts of France—they would take France elsewhere. They are worn out by this oppression and degradation. Such an emigration as we read of in the earlier history of the Greeks.

No letters are safe at the post-office, at the present moment; if deemed in any way suspicious, they are opened, as a matter of course; if found to contain

political news in an unfavourable sense to the party in power, they are *not forwarded*. I have met persons who complain of receiving letters opened, and of letters addressed to friends in the provinces not having reached them.

The present régime is Austro-Russian, precisely such as is in force at Vienna and Naples. The secret police are everywhere at all hours, even in the most unexpected places, in the most intimate society. For one word you may be imprisoned, or (if a foreigner) sent out of the country.

You remember the account of the massacre of the 15th of May, by Bomba, at Naples, and the numberless arrests and imprisonments which followed of all the best men in the country—and the trials only now begun.

This *coup d'état* is an exact copy of those proceedings, in all their worst and most sanguinary and vexatious features. You have only to read the French papers to note into what a revolutionary state the country has been thrown.

The official decrees, declaring departments in a state of siege—sending extraordinary commissaries to "Napoleonize" the provinces and to coerce the elections, promoting creatures to official posts, replacing all functionaries whose civism is undeniable, degrading some officers and decorating others, &c., &c., quite as revolutionary, or more so than those of the Provisional Government, when a dynasty had been swept away, and the whole form of government changed.

There are three or four of the decrees deserving special attention, e.g. the one giving back the Pantheon to the Jesuits, as the church of St. Gèneviève. This church has three times changed its name.

The original church was built by Clovis at the instance of his queen and St. Gèneviève, and dedicated to Peter and Paul. A religious house was attached to it, and in time became a celebrated abbey. St. Gèneviève, at her death, was buried in the church, which was henceforth dedicated to her. The church having fallen to ruin, Louis XV. was induced by *La Pompadour* to rebuild it on a magnificent scale. The great revolution converted it into a pantheon, "Aux Grands Hommes La Patrie Reconnaissante." The restoration restored it to the church. The revolution of '30 *repantheonized* it. And now M. Bonaparte restores it to his friends and patrons: in this, too, as in all other things, following the Emperor of Austria and the King of Naples.

The Archbishop of Paris who, as you learn, is a Republican and an excellent Christian, and much beloved by the workmen, has been *gardé à vue* since these events. He has refused to allow a *Te Deum* to be sung in honour of M. Louis Bonaparte.

There is another very important decree, with respect to the expulsion from Paris of men who have suffered imprisonment, or who have been under the *surveillance of the haute police*, and their banishment to *Cayenne or Africa*.

The latter part of this decree especially is a stroke of despotism of almost indefinite severity. For who in these latter days, with so many factions succeeding one another in power, has not been under the *surveillance of the haute police*? But it is a sword that may be used with terrible effect against those who now employ it.

A decree appointing two Marshals of France: one, General *Vaillant*, who conducted the engineering operations at the siege of Rome. This is noticeable. First, as a consecration, *personally*, by Louis Napoleon, of the attack on the Roman Republic; and secondly, as a blow for Oudinot, who was (as you remember) the Commander-in-Chief, but who is now in prison at St. Valerian for having declared against the President. Oudinot is a *Legitimist*.

Is it not pitiable? So it is with every successive revolutionary Government in France; they employ their time in striking at *persons* when they should be organizing *things*; rewarding their creatures and punishing their adversaries, instead of bringing forward popular measures.

What a position this Louis Napoleon Bonaparte might have had if he had put himself at the head of the Democracy! But those who know him well, tell me that he has no idea of Government but *compression*, military despotism, bayonets, and police! Some of his friends, indeed, say, that once established in his place, he will bring forward some very bold measures in behalf of the working classes (among others a strong tax on *property*), but others say that his only ambition is to stay where he is, with increased power of enjoyment, of splendour, and luxuries. And his entourage are worse than himself.

As for the Democratic works he wrote in prison, they were written with a cool and determined hypocrisy; for it seems he really does know how to use his pen with a certain form and facility. All these recent measures have been prepared and carried out by himself. But he is always *impenetrable*, and almost always apathetic. This is his *Dutch blood*. His Creole blood shows itself in the excesses of his private debaucheries.

Did you observe the decree for the making of a railway round Paris, connecting all the main lines? This, it seems, has been some time in contemplation.

To give you an idea of how completely the workmen abstained from fighting this time, out of all the

workmen employed at the Northern Railway Station, only one was absent during the two days of last week, and he was ill in bed; whereas, in that unhappy and untoward insurrection of June '48, they were all at the barricades.

But you must not suppose the workmen are Bonapartists, they are Republican to a man; but they are hesitating, distrustful, and perhaps a little disenchanted of revolutions; and they want to see what "this man" will do for them.

Among the donations to the troops, I can certify these:—*Three thousand* francs per barricade. And I know from an *eyewitness*, that to the soldiers who were in occupation of the bureau of a suspended Journal, ten sous a day were distributed (extra) to each man; and four francs to each non-commissioned officer.

The Financial difficulties will be very heavy at the close of this year, when very heavy payments have to be made for pensions, interest on caution money of functionaries, &c. Either *fresh taxes* (unpopularity?) or *Loan* (on what conditions in the actual political state of affairs?), or emission of paper money. There is a talk of an offer of 100 millions of francs of Treasury bonds to the Bank in exchange for specie. If the Bank refuse—(will the Government dare take it by force? why not, at the point of the bayonet?)—by a *forced currency*! But in either case the effect, commercially, on public confidence of such revolutionary acts, once more is a copy of Vienna. They are "bulling" the market here as much as they can. If they do not arrest "Bears" as they do at Vienna, they employ all sorts of tricks to give a factitious rise to the quotations; and they send men and boys through the streets *crying the rise in the funds*. They want to *force confidence*.

The "official news" of atrocities committed by "the demagogue party" in the departments are of course immensely disfigured and exaggerated—even when at all true; but of course there are malefactors who take advantage of troubled times, and who assume the name of a political party as a mask for pillage and disorder. But have not M. Bonaparte's drunken soldiers set the example of violence? And who was the *first* to break the law?

The way the soldiers voted was as follows:—A regiment formed into a square. The men called out one by one. (Vote for Louis Napoleon.) Ay or no. The noes *arrested!* (Historical.) The 3000 who have had the courage to say *no* are a pretty good number under the circumstances.

Of course we shall have the *Empire*. He is marching straight for the Empire. The bourgeoisie are delighted at the thought of the gaities, balls, &c. Trade so flourishing. Paris so full of strangers, and on such good terms with Russia and Austria. Short-sighted, corrupt fools! for all depends on the life of one man; and who is to follow him? Oh! the Emperor of Russia will provide him with a *consort!*

But a man who chooses to act *Caesar* must expect to find many ready to act *Brutus*. And what then?

French society is horribly corrupt: rotten to the core. This is the cry of the Government organs, and it is perfectly true; but is Bonapartism to be the cure?

The system which the great Emperor so elaborately organized, has been and is the death of the country. I mean that huge centralized machine of functionarism: 500,000 functionaries, and nearly as many soldiers. Servility, corruption everywhere.

Some of the Legitimists are knocking under. De Falloux (the Jesuit) has adhered; and so has Berryer I hear, but cannot vouch for the fact.

It is thought by many that Russia supplies funds to the Elysée; you know the Duc de Leuchtenberg, the Emperor's son-in-law, is cousin to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

That iniquitous Lottery of the Golden Ingots is also supposed to have furnished M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte with cash, as very little of the money, which was to send men to California, has yet been accounted for.

You know that the Republican party contains almost all the intellect and genius—the best heads, and hearts, and names in France. I assure you many are so heartsick of this incessant persecution, that a general emigration is talked of—like our "pilgrim fathers" of old—to leave M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to be Emperor over masses of corruption and brutish peasants only!

But it cannot last. He may declare himself President for ten years, or Emperor for life. The *longer*—the *shorter*. And out of this evil good may come; Bonapartism, the cankerworm of the Democracy in France, will be eradicated for evermore!

General Rulhieres, some time Minister of War, has been placed on half-pay by General St. Arnaud. General Rulhieres wrote a letter to him, reminding him that in '39 he had saved the Minister's sword from being broken for some disgraceful conduct. "It is now your turn to break mine; but you are not able to tarnish my honour."

The Republicans generally are more sensitive about the degradation of the honour of the army than about their own defeat.

ADHESION OF THE JESUITS.

The following letter from Count de Montalembert appears in the *Univers* of Saturday:—

Paris, December 12, 1851.

"SIR,—I receive each day letters consulting me on the proper course to follow in present circumstances, and particularly as to the ballot which commences on the 20th instant, in order to respond to the appeal made by the President of the Republic to the French people. It is physically impossible for me to write to each of the persons who do me the honour to address me, and yet I should be grieved to reply only by silence, and an apparent indifference to the confidence manifested towards me, and which has been gained for me by twenty years' political struggles in the cause of the Church and of society. Permit me to express my opinion through the medium of your journal.

"I begin by declaring that the act of the 2nd of December has put to flight the whole of the revolutionists, the whole of the Socialists, and the whole of the bandits of France and Europe; and that alone is, in my opinion, a more than sufficient reason for all honest men to rejoice, and for those who have been most mortified to console themselves. I do not enter into the question as to whether the *coup d'état* (which had been foreseen by every one) could be executed at another moment, and in another manner; to do so I should have to go back to the causes which produced it, and to give my opinion on persons who cannot now reply to me. I do not pretend to guarantee the future any more than to judge of the past; I only look at the present—that is to say, the vote to be delivered on Sunday week.

"There are three courses open—the negative vote, neutrality, and the affirmative vote.

"To vote against Louis Napoleon would be to justify the Socialist revolution, which, for the present at least, is the only one that can take the place of the actual Government. It would be to invite the Dictatorship of the Reds in place of the Dictatorship of a Prince who has rendered for three years incomparable services to the cause of order and Catholicism. It would be (admitting the most favourable and the least probable hypothesis) to reestablish that Tower of Babel which people called the National Assembly, and which, in spite of the distinguished and honourable men it counted in such great numbers, was profoundly divided in the midst of peace and legal order, and which—there is no doubt of the fact—would be powerless in presence of the formidable crisis we are exposed to.

"To abstain from voting would be to belie all our antecedents; it would be to fail in the duty we have always recommended and fulfilled under the Monarchy of July as under the Republic; it would be to abdicate the mission of honest men at the very moment that mission is the most imperative and the most beneficial. I highly respect the scruples which may suggest to many honourable minds the idea of abstaining. But I know also that great politicians, who otherwise are unscrupulous, and who, after having brought us to the point we now are at—after having condemned us to the loss of all our liberties by the abuse they have made of them, or allowed to be made of them, now come and preach to us that we must make a vacuum round the Government. I respect scruples; I protest against tactics. I can conceive nothing more immoral or more stupid. I defy any man alive to justify such conduct to his conscience or to history. History will tell how all France, after the ignoble surprise of the 24th of February, recognized the authority of the men of the Hôtel de Ville, because they offered a chance of escape from the abyss that they themselves had opened. Let those chivalrous persons—if any such there are—who in 1848 protested against the destruction of Royalty—against the brutal expulsion of the two Chambers—against the disarming of the army—against the usurpation of every branch of the Government—against the violation of every law,—let such persons, I repeat, claim the right to protest, and to abstain from voting—I have no objection. But I refuse to recognize such a right in any one of those who sent representatives to take the places of the deputies hunted from their benches by a horde of barbarians—to any of those who themselves sat there, and who so sat to proclaim that the Provisional Government had merited well of the country, and to vote for the banishment of the House of Bourbon! The conscience that accepted such a yoke for fear of something worse, cannot surely feel any serious difficulty in confirming the Power that restored order and security in 1848, and which can alone preserve us from anarchy in 1852.

"The instinct of the masses is no more led astray now than then. Louis Napoleon will be in 1852, as in 1848, the elect of the nation. Such being the case, I believe there is nothing more imprudent, I may say nothing more insane, for men of religious feelings and men of order, in a country like ours, than to put themselves in opposition to the wishes of the nation, when those wishes mean nothing contrary to the law of God, or to the fundamental conditions of society. There are far too many amongst us—men worthy of respect—whose policy seems to be to act quite in opposition to the general opinion. When this country went mad for liberty and Parliamentary institutions, those same men appealed to the absolute rights of royalty; now that it is for the moment hungering for silence, calm, and authority, the same men would impose the sovereignty of the tribune and of discussion. If ever the country demand Monarchy, the men I allude to will be condemned by such conduct to the perpetuation of the Republic.

"For those men who boldly declare that there is but one sole right in political affairs, and that France can only be saved by one principle, I can, strictly speaking, understand the possibility of abstaining, provided these men also abstained in 1848. But for us Catholics above all, who have always preferred that religion and society coexist with all forms of government that do not exclude

reason and the Catholic faith, I am unable to find a motive that can justify or excuse our voluntary annihilation.

"I now come to the third course, viz., the affirmative vote. Now, to vote for Louis Napoleon is not to approve of all he has done; it is only to choose between him and the total ruin of France. It does not mean that his Government is the one we prefer to any other; it is simply to say that we prefer a Prince who has given proofs of resolution and of ability, to those who are at this moment giving their proofs of murder and pillage. It is not to confound the Catholic cause with that of a party or a family—it is to arm the temporal power—the only power possible at this day—with the necessary strength to vanquish the army of crime, to defend our churches, our homes, our wives, against those who respect nothing; who aim at the proprietor, and whose bullets do not spare the priest. It is not to sanction beforehand the errors or the faults that a Government—fallible as every earthly institution is—may commit; it is to intrust to the chief that the nation once chose for itself, the right of preparing a constitution, which will certainly be not more dangerous, or more absurd, than that which 900 representatives, elected in 1848, bestowed on France, and against which I had the happiness to vote. I may add that by returning to the unity of power, without excluding the checks which are the first necessity of every Government, we got over the most difficult part of the way to a real social restoration—that of ideas and of morals.

"I have just perused the lines you permitted me to insert in the *Univers*, as a rallying cry to our brothers in dismay, on the 27th of February, 1848—three days after the sudden fall of the Throne. I find there these words:—'The banner we have planted exclusive of, and above, all political opinions is intact;—the Catholic cause, such as we have ever defended it, is identified with no power, with no human cause. This sovereign independence of religious interests will aid French Catholics in comprehending and accepting the new social phase on which we enter. None have a right to abdicate!' I have nothing to add to, or take from, these words. I believe they are quite as suited to the day after that which has been the revanche of the army and of authority against the revolution of the 24th of February.

"Observe that I do not advocate absolute confidence, or unlimited devotedness. I give myself unreservedly to no one. I profess no idolatry—neither that of the force of arms, nor that of the reason of the people. I limit myself to the search of possible good, and to choose, in the midst of the shocks God visits us with, that which is least repugnant to the dignity of a Christian and the good sense of a citizen.

"If Louis Napoleon were an unknown person, I should unquestionably hesitate to confer on him such power and such responsibility. But, without entering into the question of his policy for three years, I do not forget the great religious acts which have marked his Government so long as concord existed between the two powers of the state;—the liberty of instruction guaranteed; the Pope reestablished by French arms; the Church restored to its councils, its Synod to the plenitude of its dignity; the gradual augmentation of its colleges, its communities, its works of salvation and of charity.

"Without him I seek in vain for a system, a force which can secure to us the conservation and developments of similar benefits. I only behold the wide gulf of Socialism. My choice is made. I am for authority against revolt; for preservation against destruction; for society against Socialism; for the possible freedom of good against the certain liberty of evil; and in the mighty struggle between the two forces which divide the world, I believe that in acting thus I am, as I ever have been, for Catholicism against revolution.

"Accept, Sir, the assurance of my sympathy,
"CHARLES DE MONTALEMBERT."

We have little to add to the above documents. The march of Bonaparte towards the Empire is as slow and steady as it is unscrupulous and cruel. "Thorough" seems to be the motto of his party.

Meanwhile, the *Siccle* has been twice suspended. Its only crime was that of recommending the Republicans to register and to vote. Victor Hugo is in Brussels. Emile de Girardin is on his way, from Paris at all events, whither does not seem to be accurately known. On Tuesday the Sixth Legion of the National Guard was dissolved; it was avowedly Republican.

Following up the letter of M. Montalembert, the Bishop of Chartres issued one to the parochial clergy of his diocese, calling upon them to vote for the prolongation of the powers of Louis Napoleon: conduct strikingly in contrast to that of the Archbishop of Paris. This prelate has not only not come forward in favour of Louis Napoleon, but it is asserted by persons likely to be very well informed, that he has been using his influence to keep the clergy of his diocese from voting. It is probable, however, that two-thirds of his clergy will refuse to obey his injunctions, for his proceedings in the affair of the Pantheon have made him unpopular with that body. Instead of expressing, in the interest of religion, his satisfaction at the decree by which Louis Napoleon has restored that church to religious worship, he disputed the right of the Chief of the State to adopt this measure, and declared that he would take no step towards the execution. The consequence of his refusal, if he should persist in it,—vain hope! While we write the news arrives that he, too, has flinched, and the Pantheon will become orthodox and Jesuit.

To meet the want of a press, lithographed circulars appear. One of these is a bitter burlesque of a constitution, and regularly arranged in articles after the fashion of the following specimens.

"Art. 1. The National Sovereignty is imprescriptible and inalienable."

Consequently, the French people abdicates its rights to Louis Napoleon, and delegates to him the care of making such a constitution as he pleases, and promises beforehand to obey blindly whatever conditions it may contain.

"Art. 2. No one can be arrested or detained, except according to the forms prescribed by law; the abode of every one who inhabits the French territory is inviolable."

Consequently, it is permitted to every agent of the police, furnished or not by a regular warrant, to arrest all persons whom he may please, to force his way, armed and under the cover of the night, into the house of any citizen, to violate the secrecy of epistolary correspondence, and to put a seal on the printing presses of those journals who have the audacity not to join in singing the praises of the Government. The Bastille, which by a mistake was destroyed sixty years ago, shall be replaced by the Castle of Ham, the forts of Mont Valerien and Vincennes, and by the prison of Mazas. All citizens who do not declare that they are perfectly satisfied with these arrangements, will be expelled the country.

"Art. 4. The right of instruction is free."
Consequently, M. Montalembert and his friends, the Jesuits, are alone charged with the instruction of youth.

"Art. 8. Universal suffrage is reestablished."
But it will never be called into operation, except on the 20th of December instant, and then its sovereign decision will only be respected in case it proclaims Louis Napoleon Bonaparte President of the Republic.

As far as the information allotted to the public by French rulers is worth anything, we learn that the departments are as tranquil as a churchyard. The following letter from a young officer well gives a faint picture of the horrors perpetrated in the name of order.

MY DEAR * * *,—Two days after the receipt of your letter the company to which I belong was sent to repress a disturbance at ——. O my dear * * *, what a terrible thing civil war is! and how sad the position of a soldier who, like me, is forced to fight against Frenchmen, his brothers, without knowing for what motive. Not only is this civil war bloody, it is worse, it is atrocious. We have not only men to slay, but women and children. I will give you the details of the last episode of this fratricidal war, in which I have taken a part, and from which, happier than many of my comrades, I have returned unscathed.

The 4th of this month we received the order to start for * * * where some troops had been assaulted. We set off at once, and arrived at four o'clock in the evening, worn out with fatigue. We found a barricade which prevented our entrance. The order was given for us to carry it. In spite of our fatigue, we rushed upon it. The Lieutenant who commanded the column of attack reached it the first; an insurgent rushed upon him, a pistol in each hand, one of which he presented at his breast, and was about to fire when a soldier, quitting the ranks, transfixed him with a bayonet. This death irritated the insurgents against us, as they fired, killing four and wounding five of our men. But we did not suffer ourselves to be intimidated; in five minutes afterwards we were masters of the town, and the insurgents, to the number of 250, were made prisoners. Immediately a Council of War was held, and one hour afterwards five of the principal chiefs were shot by us in the front of the church, in the presence of all the inhabitants, who were forced to be present at the execution. O my dear * * *, my hair stands on end as I think of this execution. Imagine five unhappy creatures, imploring for life with loud cries, rolling on the ground in the convulsions of agony and despair, and whom we shot in that terrible position. It was horrible, and I shall all my life have that frightful spectacle before my eyes; but the example was necessary to reestablish order, and to avenge the victims they had made. The following days were employed in making arrests and domiciliary searches, and as soon as tranquillity was reestablished we returned to our quarters.

The *Indépendance Belge* has received notice from the Austrian and Prussian Governments, that if it attack the Government of Louis Napoleon, it will be forbidden in Germany as well as France.

The Duke de Guiche, the eldest son of the Count d'Orsay, and nephew of the Count d'Orsay, has been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary at Hesse-Cassel. This appointment is considered the reverse of a manifesto published by the Duke de Grammont and his son on the day after the *coup d'état*, giving in their adhesion to the cause of Louis Napoleon. The Duke de Guiche is married to the daughter of Mr. Mackinnon, M.P.

Count Glazenepp, one of the aides-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, is in Paris. It is said that he has been sent by the Autocrat of all the Russias, to compliment the President on his recent exploit, and to present him, in the name of his master, with the grand cordon of the order of St. André, which is the first order in the Russian empire.

The annual banquet of the old officers of the Imperial Guard took place the day before yesterday, at the Frères Provencaux. Marshal Exclmans presided, and among the other officers present were Generals Petit, Schramm, Magnan, Gentil, Lafont, Montmarie, Herbillon, Chantry, Lafosse, &c. At the dessert, after the usual first toast "To the memory of the Emperor" had been drunk, Marshal Exclmans, after warmly expatiating on the eminent

character and qualities of the President of the Republic, proposed the following toast—"Glory and Gratitude to Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the Saviour of the Country and of Civilization." This toast was received with the greatest enthusiasm, amidst repeated cries of "Vive le Président de la République!" "Vive le Prince Louis Napoléon!" General Petit, the vice-president, then gave "A l'Armée," which he introduced by a short but eulogistic notice of their services. This toast was drunk amidst loud cries of "Vive l'Armée," "Vive le Général Magnan." In reply to this compliment, General Magnan replied, "No, my comrades, I have done nothing more than my duty; it is not to me that these praises are due, but to the brave soldiers who have supported so much fatigue, and who, by their devotedness to the cause of order, have deserved well of their country." The 2nd of December was fixed on for the day of meeting next year.

M. Berryer has written a strong letter to M. de Montalembert, denying that either himself, M. de Falloux, or any of the party, intend to rally to M. Bonaparte. Berryer's language is most decided. Not less so is that of other Legitimists.

General Cavaignac is at liberty. He was married to Mademoiselle Odier in Ham.

The *Emancipation* of Brussels says, in its number of the 17th:—"Yesterday, it is stated, M. de Persigny passed through Brussels. The French envoy proceeds to Germany. We are assured that he has had an interview with one of our Ministers, to whom he has communicated a despatch from his Government of grave importance."

Lamartine has written to the Government Journals to say, that his house has not been attacked, and that he has not called in the armed force for his protection; said Government Journals asserted that the *frères* (style Bonapartist) had sacked the house of M. Lamartine.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

In Madrid the news of the coup d'état was attended with singularly similar consequences—the sudden dissolution of the Cortes. The decree of the Crown alleges that, "the very grave events" which had occurred in France, and "the imperious necessity of attending to other matters of service no less important than the discussions of the Chambers, fully justify the counsel given by the Cabinet to the Crown." Mark, Narvaez left Paris just before the usurpation of the 2nd of December, ostensibly to be present at the confinement of the Queen. His presence in Madrid is followed by the coup d'état there, as well as at Paris! Odd, isn't it?

Correspondence in the *Morning Chronicle* from Rome, dated December 10, gives some idea of the reception given by the Pope to the startling, but possibly not unexpected, announcement of the coup d'état.

"The news of the late decisive steps taken by the President of the French Republic, reached here last Sunday, and in a very few hours spread through the whole city. The French general had a meeting with the Papal authorities, whom he acquainted with the facts, assuring them that the Papal Government might rely on the support of France as heretofore. Very different opinions are entertained with regard to the impression supposed to have been made at the Vatican by this important change. The Government of Pius IX., I believe, expresses itself much pleased at French prospects (?). The subjects of Pius IX., being in general more or less disaffected, are pleased at any events in the French Republic, which might in any way entail a change here. However, to judge from the general opinion, there seems to be no doubt that considerable alarm prevails at the Vatican. These bold steps, however they may be backed, have more or less risks attached to them; and chance is not pleasant, even with odds in favour. It is curious to observe the interest now taken in politics by Italians of all classes. Before the year 1848 very few persons paid attention to what might be passing in other parts of Europe, or even in other provinces of Italy. Now, the inhabitants of the Peninsula may in general be said to expect changes; and as for the Romans, they are regularly on the *qui vive* with regard to every rumour of political hue, being under the firm conviction that a continuation of the present system cannot be persisted in, and that the signal for whatever revolution is to occur, will be given by the very country whose troops support the Government under which they live. This activity is, no doubt, in great part kept alive by Mazzinian agency; but the spirit of discontent would prevail even without that aid."

The *Piedmontese Gazette* of the 13th, quotes letters from Verona, announcing the arrest of several persons of note, including the richest banker of that town. It is believed these arrests are owing to coupons of the Mazzini loan having been found in the possession of the prisoners. Prince Schwarzenberg, writes a Vienna correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette*, has desired the Sardinian Government to receive the Austrian garrison into a Piedmontese fortress. This news is corroborated by the Turin correspondence of the same paper. To this must be added the news from Bologna of the extraordinary movements in the Austrian garrisons on each side of the river Po. Two regiments of the garrison of Bologna have been ordered to advance on the road to Rome. From Trieste large detach-

ments of troops have sailed for Ancona, whence it is presumed they will also march upon Rome.

Lord Westmoreland has at length delivered his credentials. News comes, via Berlin, that the Frankfort Diet is resolved to send a diplomatic note to the British Government, emphatically requesting it to take measures against the political refugees residing in England, whose machinations threaten to disturb the general peace of the Continent. The Diet, it is said, has been instigated by Austria, whose notes, having had no success, will be strengthened by those of Russia, Prussia and the Frankfort Diet. The strength of Austria, strengthened as above, will fall idly on the solid breakwater of English law.

The new Ministry of Hanover has been defeated by overwhelming majorities.

Egyptian news has some points of interest. It is reported that the Sultan maintains the same determination as heretofore, to insist on the execution of the provisions of the Tanzimat.

Rumours were also current at Alexandria that, finding there was no hope of support from Lord Palmerston, the Pacha was likely to obtain it from Russia; and a Russian nobleman of distinction, about to visit Egypt on the plea of ill-health, is said to be charged with the negotiation of an understanding with the Egyptian Viceroy.

THE REFORM CAMPAIGN.

MEETING AT STOCKPORT.

The annual meeting of the Stockport Reform Association, held in the New County-hall on Tuesday, afforded Mr. Bright, M.P., an opportunity of explaining and insisting on the Reform resolutions agreed to at Manchester. The room was crowded by respectabilities of all shades, and numbers of the working people. The occasion of Mr. Bright's speaking, was the sentiment given by Mr. Hampson, president of the Association:—

"John Bright, Esq., M.P., and speedy success to the scheme of Parliamentary reform, so ably expounded by him at the late delegate meeting in Manchester."

Mr. Bright went over a good deal of ground, not generally interesting, but appealing especially to the people of Stockport. He went back to the Free-trade struggle; he touched on the colonial question; he expounded his own just and generous views respecting Ireland, referring her immeasurable evils not to "race," but Anglo-British misrule; and, coming again to the Free-trade topic, he said that the reason why the corn laws had been so long upheld, why colonial grievances were unredressed, why we had so large a standing army in the United Kingdom, was that all this time we had been governed by a sham representation. The points of his speech most interesting to us then followed. This representation was to be reformed by the Premier; and to influence him in the determination he might ultimately come to, Mr. Bright said the Manchester conference had been held.

"The resolutions that were passed, were passed in the belief that a law based upon them would give to the people of this country that representation to which they are justly entitled. The object was not to take care that every particular individual in the country had a vote, nor that every Member of Parliament should have precisely the same number of constituents; but they were prepared upon this view, to obtain the sanction of the good, the liberal, the well-intending portion of every class of society; and judging from the mode in which they have been received, I am happy to believe that the conference did not wholly fail of the object which it had in view. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, with regard to the franchise, the resolutions proposed that a principle which has existed time immemorial in this country should be adopted—the principle of voting within parishes, which I believe no one ever complained of as being too extended a suffrage or too contracted; that every person liable to rating, every person rated in fact, every person who has a right to have his name on the rate-book, by virtue of any occupation he might hold, should have the franchise; that, in point of fact, the rate-book should be a copy of the register of the electors."

With respect to the ballot he made the following admission. Of course he was for the ballot.

"I don't know what has been done in Stockport; but I saw a great many large factories as I came over your great bridge just now; and large factories have come to give very much the same power in their locality as large landed proprietors have in other districts. And although I believe there are in all towns many who, though possessing great influence, yet scrupulously abstain from using that influence upon any elector; yet, whenever any of these large establishments, whether of land or mills, and the large power which they confer, come into the hands of a man who is not just or conscientious, it can then be exercised, and often is exercised, against the interests of the constituency, and against the public interests. (*Hear, hear.*) I should like to find a man who could give an argument against the ballot." (*Cheers.*)

The other speaker of note was Mr. James Kershaw, M.P. for Stockport. He backs the Manchester Resolutions. In the course of his speech he said

"No doubt there were people even yet who would say—feeling that they themselves had much political capital to lose, and not willingly to relinquish it without a struggle—that to grant a large measure of reform by enfranchising the working classes would be to encourage a revolutionary principle and endanger property. (*A*

laugh.) Why, what had he (Mr. Kershaw), and thousands of others, such as those who assembled at the Manchester conference, and were at this meeting, to gain, if there was any such ground of fear? His and their property was engaged in manufacturing and commercial pursuits; and the peace of the country could not be placed in jeopardy for a moment without that property being jeopardied with it. (*Cheers.*) Tell him of a country in Europe where revolutions had occurred from granting the people too much power, and he would tell them of ten where they had occurred through withholding from the people their just share of political rights. (*Cheers.*) It might not be a polite way of putting the fact, but when honourable gentlemen talked of such dangers, it was all nonsense—and they knew it. (*Loud Cheers.*)"

We may ask how this statement of Mr. Kershaw agrees with the first extracted from Mr. Bright's speech. Is will be seen that Mr. Bright brands as neither "good, liberal, nor well-intending," all who do not come within the scope of the Manchester Resolutions.

The Marylebone Parliamentary Reform Association met on Thursday at the Literary Institution, Carlisle-street, Mr. Nicholay in the chair, and agreed to the following resolution.

"That any reform of the representation of the people which does not include the principles advocated by the National Reform Association, can neither command nor deserve the confidence and support of the people of this country."

The resolution was proposed by Mr. Michell, seconded by Mr. D'Iffanger, jun., and supported by Mr. Serle.

HALIFAX AND NORTHAMPTON MECHANICS INSTITUTIONS.

Two evening parties, otherwise soirées, were held on Tuesday night, one at Halifax, honoured by the presence of Sir Charles Wood, M.P. for the borough, and Mr. Cobden, M.P.; and the other at Northampton, at which Earl Fitzwilliam, and other lords, Mr. Layard, the explorer of Nineveh, Mr. Charles Knight, Mr. George Cruikshank, and sundry and divers provincial personages, were present.

HALIFAX.

The meeting here was the annual celebration of the institute, and it was held in the Odd Fellows'-hall. The Mayor, Mr. Waterhouse, presided. Sir Charles Wood seconded the adoption of the report, wherein it was stated that the institution has 401 members and 227 subscribers. Sir Charles Wood was not happy in his oration. It is extremely dull, the main point in it being in illustration of what is now a commonplace, that general education is for the welfare of the country. He also said that the people must be left to speak for themselves; aided in their efforts they ought to be, but they ought not to be driven on faster than they were willing to go.

Mr. Cobden completely outshone the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His speech was very ingenious. He contrasted the condition of the Huddersfield Institution with this at Halifax, and gave the palm to the former, while he described the latter as superior in Social prosperity.

"But there was another test which he might apply, not only to Halifax, but to other places more populous than Huddersfield. Halifax was a first-class Parliamentary borough, and Huddersfield was only a second class borough. Now, they all knew there was in certain quarters a sort of manipulation of Parliamentary boroughs going on at the present moment. They would not ask their right honourable representative the Chancellor of the Exchequer to tell them anything about it. (*Laughter and cheers.*) He (Mr. Cobden) had heard Lord John Russell say something to the effect that an educational test would not be a bad franchise to be admitted into this country, and he had been trembling—he hoped their right honourable member would not say anything about it at the next meeting of the Cabinet—(*laughter and cheers*); but if he was to say, 'Huddersfield has 1650 members in its Mechanics' Institution with only one member, while Halifax has two representatives and only 200 members in its institution; and while Huddersfield has built and provided accommodation suitable for her institution, Halifax, which has got plate glass windows, luxurious private houses, and superior mills, has thrust her institution into a garret (*laughter and loud cheers*)—he (Mr. Cobden) hoped nothing would be said about it out of that hall (*hear, hear*); but if it was, that it would be mentioned with the distinct understanding that the men of Halifax had resolved that, before the coming year runs out, this stigma, this great stigma on so important a parliamentary borough, should be wiped out, and that they would have a nobler—a far nobler—institution than Huddersfield. (*Cheers.*)"

After referring to the fact that the people of America are better educated than the people of England, Mr. Cobden said:—

"Their right honourable representative had alluded to the universal concurrence there was now as to the propriety of giving every possible facility to the education of the people. And he had stated that the Government could do no more than to work hand in hand with, and according as they were on a level with the intelligence and opinion of the people; that they cannot force a system of education; and that they could only follow what the public mind indicated as the path to be pursued. (*Hear, hear.*) But there were ways in which the Government might act, by removing the

obstacles in the way of general education. ('Hear,' and applause.) Now, he was not going to take any undue advantage of the presence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and say what taxes he should take off ('Hear, hear,' and laughter)—he was not going, on the part of Halifax, to claim any exclusive consideration when the Chancellor came to settle his budget (laughter); but the Chancellor did, as they all knew, once a year set the horoscope of their financial fate, and he felt it was important to have the privilege of speaking in the hearing of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, for if they could persuade him that there existed great impediments to knowledge which he might remove, who knew but that he might remove them and afford them relief? (*Much laughter and cheers.*) Now, when they went into a cotton mill, and looked at rubbish called cotton waste, they would say it was a strange idea for any Chancellor of the Exchequer to think of putting a tax on that. And if they were to see the great waggon full of rags going through the town, they would say that was a queer sort of commodity for a Chancellor to put a tax upon. ('Hear, hear,' and laughter.) And true enough he never did think of taxing this waste and these rags. These were sometimes converted into a sort of wadding, and used for firing off fowling pieces—wadding for a gun. Still the Chancellor did not think that was a proper thing to tax. But these things were sometimes converted into reams of paper, which were made into primers and grammars; and then, although the Chancellor did not tax the article with which parties might shoot a partridge or a snipe, yet when it was converted into an article to teach a young idea how to shoot, forthwith his excellent friend, their representative, placed an excise man on the paper, and before it could be used in their schoolrooms and libraries he put a tax upon it. (*Loud cries of 'Hear, hear,' and immense cheering.*) Now, he (Mr. Cobden) was sure the Chancellor was ashamed of everything he took from this source. (*Laughter and cheers.*) It was only because there was a struggle going on in the minds of statesmen whether the tax on paper or the tax on soap were the more abominable and unjustifiable—it was only because we had so many of these bad taxes, that the Chancellor was able quietly to walk those towns in which they had mechanics' institutions, after taking money in this way out of their pockets." (*Laughter.*)

In a similar spirit he pointed out how the Chancellor taxed newspapers and advertisements, and then said that he could do little for education, but must leave it mainly in the hands of the people.

NORTHAMPTON.

The people of Northampton met to take possession of a new stack of buildings set apart for the use of the Institution. Earl Fitzwilliam took the chair. All the company were in full dress, and the assembly was quite of an aristocratic character. Mr. Layard delivered a speech of some interest, the chief point of which was that he defended the people from the charge that they were not susceptible to the beautiful in art, and insisted that art ought to be more largely employed in education. Both he and Earl Fitzwilliam dwelt also at great length on the additional evidence furnished by the discoveries at Nineveh of the authenticity of the Bible.

THE NEWS FROM AMERICA.

By the Africa, which arrived on Monday at Liverpool, we have papers from the United States up to the 3rd of December. Kossuth had not arrived, but was expected on that day; and great preparations were being made to welcome him.

Congress met on the 1st of December. The Democratic party have good majorities in both Houses; and Lyner Boyd, a Democrat, has been elected Speaker of the House of Representatives. In the Senate, Mr. Foote laid some noticeable resolutions on the table: one, a joint resolution of both Houses providing for the due reception of Kossuth; a second, authorizing the opening of negotiations between the United States and England for the liberation of the Irish Exiles; and a third, proposing that the acts known as the Compromise Acts respecting slavery be considered as a final and definite settlement of the slavery question. The President's Message was read in both Houses on the 2nd of December.

THE MESSAGE.

This is not a very remarkable document, and contains only two or three points of European interest. These are, the Cuban affair, the right of search growing out of that, an incidental declaration of foreign policy, and a brief allusion to Kossuth.

President Fillmore of course condemns the Cuban expedition, and excuses the want of vigour on the part of the executive in not preventing the departure of the Pampero, on the ground that the immense sea board of the United States affords such great facilities for the sudden departure of illegal expeditions. But the threat of interference on the part of England and France is met by a strong declaration that the United States do not recognize the right of search:—

"The principle which this Government has heretofore solemnly announced it still adheres to, and will maintain under all circumstances and at all hazards. That principle is, that in every regularly documented merchant vessel, the crew who navigate it, and those on board of it, will find their protection in the flag which is over them. No American ship can be allowed to be visited or searched for the purpose of ascertaining the character of individuals on board, nor can there be allowed any watch by the vessels of any foreign nation over American vessels

on the coasts of the United States or the seas adjacent thereto. It will be seen by the last communication from the British Chargé d'Affaires to the Department of State, that he is authorized to assure the Secretary of State that every care will be taken that, in executing the preventive measures against the expeditions, which the United States' Government itself has denounced as not being entitled to the protection of any Government, no interference shall take place with the lawful commerce of any nation."

The Spanish Consul at New Orleans, whose office was attacked immediately on receipt of the news of the execution of the "fifty" at Havana, it is proposed to indemnify pecuniarily and by an apology. So much for Cuba.

The incidental allusion to the foreign policy of the United States, as understood by President Fillmore, is as follows:—

"Friendly relations with all, but entangling alliances with none, has long been a maxim with us. Our true mission is not to propagate our opinions, or impose upon other countries our form of government, by artifice or force; but to teach by example, and show by our success, moderation and justice, the blessings of self-government, and the advantages of free institutions. Let every people choose for itself, and make and alter its political institutions to suit its own condition and convenience. But, while we avow and maintain this neutral policy ourselves we are anxious to see the same forbearance on the part of other nations, whose forms of government are different from our own. The deep interest which we feel in the spread of liberal principles and the establishment of free governments, and the sympathy with which we witness every struggle against oppression, forbid that we should be indifferent to a case in which the strong arm of a foreign power is invoked to stifle public sentiment and repress the spirit of freedom in any country."

There is a diplomatic reserve about the Kossuth paragraphs which may pass for dignity with some, but which will be looked upon as evasive and reactionary by most persons.

"The Turkish Government has expressed its thanks for the kind reception given to the Sultan's agent, Amin Bey, on the occasion of his recent visit to the United States. On the 28th of February last a despatch was addressed by the Secretary of State to Mr. Marsh, the American Minister at Constantinople, instructing him to ask of the Turkish Government permission for the Hungarians, then imprisoned within the dominions of the Sublime Porte, to remove to this country. On the 3rd of March last, both Houses of Congress passed a resolution, requesting the President to authorize the employment of a public vessel to convey to this country Louis Kossuth and his associates in captivity.

"The instruction above referred to was complied with, and the Turkish Government having released Governor Kossuth and his companions from prison, on the 10th of September last, they embarked on board the United States' steam-frigate Mississippi, which was selected to carry into effect the resolution of Congress. Governor Kossuth left the Mississippi at Gibraltar, for the purpose of making a visit to England, and may shortly be expected in New York. By communications to the Department of State he has expressed his grateful acknowledgments for the interposition of this Government in behalf of himself and his associates. This country has been justly regarded as a safe asylum for those whom political events have exiled from their own homes in Europe; and it is recommended to Congress to consider in what manner Governor Kossuth and his companions, brought hither by its authority, shall be received and treated."

There are other topics of minor importance treated of. Mr. Fillmore states that it is hoped a satisfactory treaty will be come to, between the States and the French Republic, guaranteeing the independence of the Sandwich Islands, which will be so useful as refreshing stations for the merchant navies of all the world. Also, he trusts that the independence of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec will be secured, and made the highway from ocean to ocean for all the world. The finances are in a most prosperous state, and a large surplus is in the Treasury. The passages respecting the tariff are decidedly Protectionist, and the conversion of ad valorem into specific duties recommended. Altogether, perhaps, the dullest of Presidential Messages.

KOSSUTH IN AMERICA.

When the steamer left New York, on the 3rd, Kossuth was momentarily expected. On this head the *New York Tribune* writes:—

"The American people will receive him with a degree of enthusiasm unparalleled in our history, save, perhaps, by the reception of La Fayette. His journey through the land promises to be a triumphal progress. The popular masses will hail him with ovations as sincere as they are universal. Municipal authorities and legislatures will do him honour. Everywhere he will be welcomed with joy and listened to with interest. His coming among us is then an event of magnitude, and of its influence something must remain. Undoubtedly the most active impulse in Kossuth's mind is patriotism. His duty to his country he has always regarded as the first of duties. He himself is nothing and his country everything in his estimation. Not only the fact that he is one of her children, but the position in which he has been placed, holds him for ever and without relaxation to her service. But her cause Providence has willed to be the cause of Europe and of humanity, and thus the patriot, pleading in behalf of Hungary and against her oppressors, is not confined to the interests of that country; he is the advocate of universal rights, of the liberties of a continent,

of the welfare of the race. On such a mission he comes to America."

Not only New York is anxious to welcome Kossuth as the representative of the cause of European liberty. The *Cincinnati Citizen* referring to the attempt made to blacken his character says:—

"If Kossuth needed anything to insure him a hearty welcome in this country, it has been supplied by the letter of the infamous 'attaché' who endeavoured to render him obnoxious to the American people by the fabrication of a story since clearly proved to be totally false. Though we did not believe the statement that Kossuth had acted in the manner attributed to him, towards the commander and officers of the 'Mississippi,' yet we confess we thought there might have been some slight misunderstanding between them, upon other grounds than those stated—some shadow of a foundation upon which the employé of Austrian wickedness grounded his tale; but it turns out to be absolutely a miserable lie from beginning to end. Not an un courteous word passed between the noble victim of this vile slanderer and Captain Long. No misunderstanding whatever took place, or no proceeding of M. Kossuth's ever endangered the consistency of the American Government. The discomfiture of this scheme to bring the gallant Magyar into disrepute will have the effect of disarming those writers who are seeking to misrepresent him; as well those who are urged by malignant motives, as those who are impelled by a natural tendency towards monarchical institutions."

The *New York Herald* attacks the *Times* for the joint offence of depreciating Kossuth and abusing the United States; but says the *Times* is welcome to all the political capital it can make from the latter source:—

"The only effect it will have will be to make the people of the United States unite heart and soul with the free people of Europe, in sympathizing with the oppressed people of the Continent, and perhaps make our next Presidential election turn on the great question of what our new foreign policy is to be, in reference to the struggle between freedom and despotism in the Old World."

Of course, when the editor of the *Herald* penned these words, he did not know that the *Times* itself was the latest and most distinguished convert to the Anglo-American alliance.

As the American steamer Prometheus was leaving Greytown, Mosquito coast, on the 21st of November, a party of men boarded her and demanded port dues. Her captain refused to pay them, and sailed away. Whereupon an English brig of war, said to be authorized by the King of Mosquito, sailed after her, fired at her twice, and brought her back. The captain then paid, under protest. By the Atlantic, which arrived on Wednesday, we learn that instructions have been sent to the American Ambassador in London to demand an immediate explanation.

Kossuth landed at Staten Island shortly after the arrival of the Humboldt, and met with a brilliant reception. He stated that he was indisposed. As the Humboldt entered the bay Kossuth was saluted by the discharge of thirty-one guns, which was returned on the part of the steamer. On his arrival at Staten Island, a large number of the people, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, rushed down to the dock to welcome him. Dr. Doane, the Health Officer at Quarantine, addressed the noble guest, to which the latter replied in a brief and appropriate manner. His fellow countrymen, who have been for some time awaiting his arrival in this city—our citizen soldiery, and the others present, seemed perfectly frantic with joy, and made the neighbouring shores resound with their shouts of admiration and delight.

Arrangements were in progress for processions, meetings, and banquets, and the New York papers were literally crowded with matter having reference to the arrival of the hero.

Kossuth made five short speeches, on the 5th and 6th of December. He was received with inconceivable enthusiasm. His speeches had only one fault in the conception of an American audience—they were not long enough!

The address presented to him in Castle Garden named him as Governor of Hungary.

"I thank you for your words naming me Governor of Hungary," he exclaimed; "I thank you for it, because it is a nomination from the heart of the people of the United States, whom I have the honour to address, and a recognition of the rightful existence of the declaration of the independence of Hungary. (*Loud cheers.*) Now, gentlemen, I freely declare that I believe the people of the United States are bound in honour and duty to recognize this declaration of independence as a righteous, existing fact, because your existence poses on a similar declaration. (*Vociferous applause.*) The declaration of the independence of Hungary is the only existing recognition among nations. It was not the pronouncement of a party, but of the whole people lawfully assembled in Congress—as your forefathers were assembled when they put forth their glorious declaration of independence—and sanctioned by every village and municipality of the whole country. And to the declaration of the independence of Hungary there is no contrary declaration from any people; and, therefore, I have the right to say that the declaration of the independence of Hungary exists rightfully in the whole power of right and lawful existence. What is contrary to its existence? Contrary to it is the Czar of Russia, as you know a foreign Power, who had no right to intermeddle with Hungarian affairs, who had ambi-

tious views to thrust upon us his legions, and found a traitor for an ally in our ranks to trample on the liberty and the national existence of Hungary. (*Cheers.*) Now, gentlemen, from what time has violence the power to annihilate right? Violence can establish a fact contrary to law, contrary to right; but violence can never destroy the right source of this Declaration of Independence. (*Loud applause.*)"

Referring to the calumnies spread abroad by the New York Courier and Enquirer, he said:—

"I can almost tell what poor O'Connell once told—that I am the most calumniated man in the world now. (*Laughter, and cries of 'No, no.'*) Well, gentlemen, I don't care much about it. (*More laughter.*) As long as exists in the world despotism, we will find calumniators to calumniate those opposed to despotism and tyranny. (*Applause.*) And I don't care much about the thing the more because, were I the wildest creature in the world—(*laughter*)—I beg, in the name of all that is sacred and dear to you, how would this alter the cause of Hungary? Would the cause of Hungary become less just, less righteous, less worthy of sympathy, because I were a bad man? (*No, no.*) I believe no. And it is no question of any individual here; it is a question of a just cause, of a country worthy to take her place in the great family of free nations of the world; and therefore I do not care much about these calumnies."

This, the fifth speech was incomplete, as the conclusion will show, and Kossuth quite exhausted:—

"Now, gentlemen, it was not my intention to speak so much; but, having spoken so much—(*cries of 'Go on, go on.'*)—No, dear Sir, gentlemen, I can't go on (*laughter*), chiefly because I will have to speak tomorrow, and I don't know how much more times even to-day. (*Laughter.*) I am a bad sailor, and have suffered much from the sea. My bodily strength is broken up; but, notwithstanding, I give my word when the trumpet-call of resurrection of my country is heard, I will not be sick; but will take my place in the battle-field again, because the body must obey the spirit."

In the Senate on the 3rd instant, a discussion took place relative to the reception to be given to Kossuth.

The Herald says:—It grew out of Mr. Foote's resolution of the previous day. Mr. Dawson, of Georgia, was opposed to the resolution, on the ground that there was no precedent for conferring such high honour on a foreigner, except in the case of Lafayette. In the course of the debate, Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, the well-known Abolitionist, took an extremely narrowminded view of the whole matter—just such a view as might be expected from such a source. We hope the resolution will pass in spite of all small potato opposition.

By telegraphic correspondence from Washington we hear that Mr. Webster has determined not to address Kossuth officially—thus following the example of Lord Palmerston in England. If this be so, we suppose he only intends to pay him the empty compliment of receiving him as an individual.

THE QUESTION OF THE DAY—OUR FOREIGN POLICY
(From the New York Herald.)

The most prominent question of the day is the policy of the American Government and people towards Europe. This question is now before us, and it must be decided, one way or the other, within the ensuing twelve months. We cannot evade it. It is presented to us in so many forms, and in so many ways, and the crisis in Europe is so urgent, that we cannot blink it; it must be met and decided. The question is, shall we abandon the policy we have heretofore pursued, and take part directly and practically in the contest which is close at hand in the Old World, between Despotism and Republicanism?

The moment we approach this subject, the colossal power of Russia looms up before us. In the distance we see the serried ranks, the fur caps, and bristling bayonets of the Cossacks. Shall the American Republic pronounce to the world that it will unite with England and France, and join these powers in solemnly dictating to the Czar that he must abandon the process of absorption which he has pursued so long; that he shall no longer possess a charter to blot nations from the map of the world; that the people of the Old World are entitled to have such forms of government as they please, and that he shall not again interfere in the affairs of Hungary or any other country? That process has made Russia the greatest power in Europe, in extent of territory and population. Its progress may be ascertained by the following table, which is obtained from a valuable work on Russia in our possession. It shows the amazing strides which that nation has made since 1462.

	Superficies.	Population.
1462.....	1,000,000	6,000,000
1525.....	2,000,000	10,000,000
1584.....	7,500,000	12,000,000
1613.....	8,000,000	12,000,000
1645.....	14,000,000	13,000,000
1639.....	14,500,000	16,000,000
1725.....	15,000,000	20,000,000
1763.....	17,500,000	25,000,000
1796.....	18,200,000	33,000,000
1825.....	20,500,000	55,000,000
1851.....	22,000,000	65,000,000

Such has been the increase of Russia up to the present time. Such a progression is without a parallel in the history of the world, if we except ancient Rome. Situated on the confines of Europe and Asia, the influence of Russia is felt from China to the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Such is the power of the determined enemy of free government in Europe, and of the rights of man every where. It is clear that, if its career be not

stopped, France and England will in time be absorbed, and the whole European continent be overshadowed by the darkness of the middle ages. As it is, the prediction of Napoleon is nearly realized, and Europe is almost Cossack. The Czar is preparing to finish the work commenced by his predecessors. His government is a terror to his subjects—it is a despotism of a most atrocious character; and he is availing himself of the science of modern times to solidify it and to make it still more powerful. When the railroads now being constructed within his dominions are finished, the Emperor will be able to concentrate an army of a quarter of a million of men at any point, within the briefest space of time possible.

This is the power now arrayed against freedom in Europe, and which threatens, if not arrested, to swallow both France and England. It is proposed that the United States shall unite with these countries in resisting its further progress. There is no doubt but that they possess influence enough to drive the Cossack back to the wilds of Siberia. They certainly can prevent his forcible intervention in the affairs of Hungary, or any other country in Europe. This can be effected, not by an active intervention on the field of battle, but simply by joining their several fleets, and taking a decided stand in the Baltic and Black Seas. In this manner the power of Russia could be paralyzed, and the people of Europe would be at liberty to modify their governments as they pleased. Such a system of intervention as this would be the most powerful and the most practical and most agreeable to the enlightenment of the present age.

But how is this to be brought about? The existing Governments of these three countries will not combine for such a purpose. Our American Government—the administration at Washington—is utterly imbecile, and inclines to the Cossack rather than towards liberty. The present Government of France resembles our own in this respect; and the English Government, from what we have seen of the effects of the recent demonstrations, is utterly paralyzed at the enthusiasm and up-rising of their own people in favour of Kossuth and European liberty. But we are on the eve of a most memorable year. 1852 is close at hand—the Presidential elections in France and in the United States are soon to take place. On these occasions, and in these elections, the popular impulses will be developed and made manifest in both countries. The people of each appreciate the new phase in human events which appeared in 1848. The people of England, too, are opening their eyes, and fully appreciate their duty as well as their interests. They, too, know that the inroads of the Cossack must be stopped, or they will be sacrificed eventually. And we feel certain they would rejoice at an opportunity to unite with those of France and the United States in stopping the progress of Russian despotism.

This is the way in which the friends of human liberty can accomplish their purpose. It is feasible, and practicable, and ought to be adopted as soon as possible. We will answer for the people of the United States in the matter; and it is beyond doubt that the question will enter into our next Presidential election. So much the better.

KINKEL IN CINCINNATI.
(From an occasional Correspondent.)

Cincinnati, Ohio, November 22, 1851.

DEAR SIR,—While you have been in an enviable state of ebullition with Kossuth, we here have had an agreeable ferment with Kinkel. He arrived here about a fortnight ago, but I have had no time to write sooner. He proceeded hence to St. Louis, and thence intended, if the ice does not prevent him, to go back to England by the Lakes, reaching them by the Upper Mississippi. For a week we were expecting him, and our Red Artillery kept constant watch to give him a salute on arrival. At last he appeared, and the boom of the cannon told us all he had come. The carriage he rode in up the town was attended by a good many thus hastily summoned. But at night we had a torchlight procession, which was indeed an impressive scene. The Germans number about 40,000, or a third of our population. I suppose not fewer than 3000 formed this night procession. One large band, dressed all in white, marched four abreast, and each outer man carried a flaming flambeau. They had three bands of music at sufficient intervals, the bells of the Fire-engine houses were rung as the procession passed, joined by the acclamations of the crowds that lined the streets; the trees and tree boxes at each side of the footways were hung with other than their leaves, for men and boys clung around them.

On arriving opposite Dr. Reuffus's house, whose guest Kinkel was, the procession was marshalled, and the bands having joined, some enlivening music was played. Kinkel and his friends having appeared on the high steps, a shout was raised that shook the welkin. He addressed them in German and afterwards in English. I admired his graceful action, his voice, and his enthusiasm. The Americans do not cultivate graceful speaking, and their voices have none of that modulation of tone which is essential to a good orator. Kinkel showed himself master of the science. His English was choice in words, with the pronunciation of a student. A band of about fifty singers then sang several German songs from music lighted by the flambeaux. The next day a preliminary meeting was held at the mayor's office, his worship in the chair, which was adjourned to the Mechanics' Institute, where a mass meeting crowded the large hall. Other meetings were held in the German theatre.

Kinkel comes here, as you are aware, to raise a fund, by way of loan, to provide arms, &c., for prosecuting the Democratic struggle that is expected in the spring on your continent. How far he has been successful I do not know; but, if we were to judge by the enthusiasm with which he was received by so unenthusiastic a race as our German population here, I should think he has reason to be well pleased with his visit to Cincinnati.

I send you a copy of Judge Reed's speech, combatting

the doctrine of non-intervention by America with European politics. Mr. W. Corry also, the gentleman whom the Leader noticed as having sent a Colt's revolver to Switzerland, argued to the same effect, and showed that America had, in several instances, interfered with European powers, mentioning the case of Greece, and lately that of Hungary. The opposite opinion is argued by our Whig press. I think this question of intervention or non-intervention will be one of the leading ones in our coming Presidential election. And, however the names of Washington and Jefferson may influence the Whig or Conservative party, the masses will assuredly be in favour of letting American influence be felt across the sea. Precedent and authority go but a short way with this people. We are very proud at our having fetched Kossuth away in an American ship of war; and our restless spirits, which are legion, are eager for some more active strife than we are likely to have open to us in Cuba or Mexico. "In Washington's time we were but in our childhood," say they; "now we are become men, and we have put away childish things."

I must say that the Leader's two articles on "The Star Spangled Banner raised in Europe," in my opinion struck the key note of the American soul. They know they have made themselves felt in the arts of peace, on land and on sea, and they burn now to distinguish themselves on the battlefield. Should this come to pass, I think our peculiar art of war will surprise many of the veterans of Old Europe.

Your articles have circulated through the length and breadth of this broad land. J. O.

THE KAFIR WAR.

We find in the Times of Wednesday the following extract of a letter from an officer of rank at the headquarters of Sir Henry Smith:—

King William's Town, October 19, 1851.

"The Lancers and Rifles have just arrived. Both of them appear a very fine body of men, and are in high spirits, and full of ardour to attack the enemy. The Rifles are already gone out on patrol, and the former will do so as soon as they get mounted, as the horses, such as they are, arrived before them; but, notwithstanding this addition, Sir Henry Smith does not feel himself capable of taking the field with that prospect of success which is so necessary in the present warfare; indeed, the Kafirs act with the greatest boldness and effrontery, and actually come close to our sentries, and fire into our very tents. To show you an instance of this, it was only last night, when I was going my rounds, my orderly, who was only a short way behind me, was fired at by a Kafir, and both he and myself narrowly escaped afterwards, as one or two shots were again discharged close to us. I of course reported the circumstance; but, as it was nothing unusual, no notice was taken of it. The heat here now is dreadful, especially in the tents, but I luckily have had a hut lent to me by one of the officers on patrol, which is a great luxury, although it resembles the worst kind of Irish cabin. Even Sir Henry Smith's habitation, which is considered a very nice house here, is far inferior to what you would give your gamekeeper in England. I have now got three horses; though they are thought good ones in this country, they are not much larger than a good-sized pony at home; and the Lancers will find it very difficult to get horses strong enough to carry those men who are tall and of much weight. This regiment is less than 400 strong, and it is said is to go immediately to the Orange River, with two infantry regiments, a distance of 500 miles from this; but how Sir Henry Smith can think of weakening his present force here by sending off such a detachment to such a distance is beyond my comprehension, for even by his own words lately expressed, he thinks, and we all think, that we should have double the number of troops that are now in the colony before anything effectual can be done; and you in England may depend upon my word that, unless at least another cavalry regiment and five more of infantry are immediately sent out, in six or seven months the Kafirs and their allies will require some 20,000 men to subdue them. There is one thing that every one complains of, viz., that the enemy is made perfectly aware of all our movements, and consequently are enabled to take advantage of them; and this intelligence is supposed to be given by the Hottentots in our pay, especially the Cape Mounted Corps, which latter should have been disbanded at first; instead of which Sir H. Smith made them all lay down their arms, and, after making a speech to them gave them their arms back again, and told them to be good boys in future,—a new way of punishing wholesale desertion to the enemy. These Cape Mounted men occasionally behave very well; but it is only when backed by a strong force of Englishmen, when, perhaps, showing the white feather would be more dangerous than charging the enemy.

"I understand that when the Kafirs heard of the arrival of the Lancers and Rifles they quite made a joke of it, and chaffingly said, 'We will serve them as we served the Second Queen's.' We are all obliged to be on the alert even during the night, as these fellows have the impudence of the devil, and have no fear whatever; I sleep with my revolver under my head, with the six barrels loaded, in case of accidents. I must now bid adieu, but I again repeat, try to get the Government to send us out more regiments, as it is quite disgusting to see our little force 'marching up the hill and down again,' that being the full amount of our operations."

The commanding officer has received an order, dated Horse Guards, 17th instant, to prepare the First Battalion Rifle Brigade for immediate embarkation for the Cape of Good Hope. The Megara (war steamer) will convey the service companies, 600 rank and file, from Dover to the Cape. The division of the battalion into service companies and dépôt companies will immediately take place, and the compa-

nies will consist, the former of 600, and the latter of 150 rank and file. The dépôt companies will for the present remain at Dover.

MAZZINI AND KOSSUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "LEADER."

Society of the Friends of Italy, 10, Southampton-street, Strand, December 19, 1851.

SIR,—A few days before M. Kossuth's departure for the United States, an address to him, from Italians resident at Genoa, was forwarded for presentation through M. Mazzini.

The address was accompanied by a signet ring, bearing the impression of the Roman Eagle, and the motto, "Dio e il Popolo," with the inscription on the circumference—

"Gl' Italiani à Kossuth."

The following correspondence, arising from the presentation of the address of the Italian patriots at Genoa, has now been placed in my hands for communication to the press.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
DAVID MASSON, Secretary.

JOSEPH MAZZINI TO LOUIS KOSSUTH.

I am commissioned by the Democracy of Genoa to present to you the address which accompanies these lines. United to you as I am already in friendship and in community of belief and of aim, I have no occasion to express to you how gladly I undertake the office; but this I can, and ought to, assure you that, were it not for the unlimited foreign and domestic tyranny which weighs upon every other province of Italy, the Genoese address would be Italian in the number of its signatures as it is in feeling.

In every part of Italy, wherever souls thrilling with devotion to the sacred cause of country and humanity are secretly preparing for the struggle, your name is held sacred as that of a man who has incarnated in himself the thoughts, the sorrows, and the hopes of a people, as of a man who has comprehended the mission of life, to think and to act, as of a man who adds to every other power of heart and mind the highest of all gifts, constancy unbiassed by egotism, vanity, or any individual aim.

And another important office has been committed to me by my countrymen, that of explaining to you, in a few words, the nature and tendencies of our Democracy, so that you may know what men they are who extend to you and ask of you the hand, and upon what basis will be found that alliance which identity of position, of enemies, and of object has decreed between us.

Italian Democracy is not a reaction, but a faith. It is not a cry for emancipation uttered by one hostile and irritated class against another; it is a programme of association of all classes, or rather of all the various Social fractions, in one sole aim: that of constituting the great Italian family one free and powerful, for the benefit of the greater human family; the country, for the benefit of all countries.

If Italy did not feel herself called to arise in the name and for the good of all—for a principle and not for an interest, for the free development of life wherever it is violated or imperfect—if she did not deduce her rights from the duty which binds her in the alliance of nations, in the moral unity of Europe, and through that to the unity of the human race—our Democracy would be but egotism disguised, hidden under a pompous title.

Nationality is, then, for us the sign of our mission, our collective conscience. It assumes for itself and recognizes for others an inalienable right to independence. The aim is common—the choice of means, the mode of organization by which to reach it, belongs to the nation. Equality among the Peoples is the sole security for their alliance. And our alliance shall be that of free and equal Peoples, who, while independent in all that concerns their internal organization, recognize a common country, humanity, as superior to all others, and join together in the name of God to promote progress and the triumph of truth and justice.

Upon the banner of Italian Democracy shine forth two eternal words—*God and the People*, which are the beginning and the end of our faith. God the law, a law of progress and of love, the people sole interpreter of that law. We do not accept privileged interpreters. God has his throne in the conscience of every individual, from the harmony of the individual conscience with the conscience of the human race and with universal tradition, springs a continual revelation of truth, which virtuous genius develops and purifies, and which the people verifies and applies in social intercourse. The Papacy and the Empire are for us two falsehoods—phantoms of authority, which neither direct, nor fecundate, but extinguish free life. Italian Democracy will combat the one and the other until the day in which the Rome of the people and the Vienna of the people shall have signed the emancipating compact of alliance which already exists between us, and in the name of which we shall be united on the battle-field.

This compact, whatever the calumny of our adversaries may assert, is not a part of anarchy, of the overthrow or the negation of those elements which

constitute civil life, or of a new tyranny of a sect of an individual system substituted to the tyranny already existing. Italian Democracy is a nation, not a sect. We recognize two inviolable elements of life; the individual and society, liberty and association. We believe all systems which would sacrifice either of these elements to the other to be false and dangerous, and inevitably resulting in anarchy or despotism. We seek in everything to harmonize these two terms. We desire a state in which the way shall be open to every man for the development of his moral and physical faculties, in which the way shall be open to all the sources of education and of wealth proportioned to his own exertions, and to secure and continuous labour, freely chosen, and on which his right to enjoyment must depend.

In such a state we place our hopes of a peaceful, because normal, state of society, free from violence and reaction because based upon equity, free from the necessity of revolutions because relying on the continual progress and fraternal association of the millions who people our land.

From these few principles you can deduce all our belief; from the deeds of Lombardy, Venice, and Rome the courage with which our democracy will sustain them; from the actual state of our national party which is known to you, the energy and constancy of our determinations; from the words spoken to you by the Genoese democracy, the confidence reposed in you, the sympathy which binds us to your nation, and the hope that we shall together fight and conquer our common enemy, sowing the seeds of an alliance lasting and important to our countries and to the Europe of the Peoples. JOSEPH MAZZINI.

KOSSUTH TO MAZZINI.

Here is my answer to the address of your fellow-citizens. United, we shall act, I hope, a better one. United, because our cause is one, because we have a common enemy, a common camp, a common design; united, because my republic, like yours, is neither tyranny, nor anarchy, neither a violation of the liberty of the individual, nor a sacrifice of the social aim to the egotism of individuals; united, because, like you, I recognize no other master than God and my nation.

I have faith in you, as you have in me. For a short time, farewell. LOUIS KOSSUTH.

KOSSUTH'S REPLY TO THE GENOESE DEMOCRATS.

To the Italian Democrats in Genoa.

When, a fugitive from my country, I hailed with the affection inspired by our common misfortunes and hopes, the sacred soil of Italy, in the voices of brotherly enthusiasm which reached me from the multitude assembled upon the shore, I felt—heavenly consolation!—the solidarity of the new life which is now animating the desires of the nations, I felt that the hour of deliverance will never strike again for divided peoples, and that the compact of their future alliance is engraven on the hearts of the oppressed by the finger of God himself. And your address, amongst a thousand others, is a new confirmation to me of this idea. Whilst grasping the friendly hand of him deputed by you to present it to me, of the man representing the party the most powerful for action and the most promising for the future of Italy, and with whose sympathies and labours I share, I thought of the glorious fruits which will spring from the union of my country and yours in the approaching battles for independence and liberty.

For us, as for you, O Italians, the efforts and the experience of the past have borne their fruits. The time is now ripe; the series of trials exhausted; all hope of converting to the right path elements radically opposed to every development of life, vanished; it only remains for Hungary, for Italy, for the nations trampled upon by despotism, to arise in their own strength over the length and breadth of a continent overshadowed by lying forms, without other legality than that which the Eternal Mind implants in the natural order of human things, assigning to the different peoples, vocations, faculties, and a right of spontaneous progress, in harmony with their common duties.

Our cause and yours are bound together by their origin, their sufferings, and by their aim. The House of Hapsburg was death to Hungary as well as to Italy.

In conjunction with the Court of Rome it extinguished in you, by protecting the Inquisition, every spark of genius and national virtue, and retarded, by two centuries and a half, the revival inaugurated by your philosophers and martyrs of the 17th century. From us it snatched one after another our ancient franchises—the right of electing our kings, our own armies—liberty of conscience: it replied to our protests by rapine and the sword, to the Magyar generosity which had thrice saved the empire, by robbing us of our independence. In exchange for the blood and treasure we spent in its service, it repaid us with falsehood, treason, and the scaffold. By oppressing Hungary and cooperating in the dismemberment of Poland and Italy, thus taking from these generous nations their mission and individual life, Austria opened an immense gulf in the centre of civilized Europe, destroyed the defences raised against the barbarian hordes, and gave a fatal blow to modern civilization. And what reward has she reaped for her enormous crime? Her own vassalage to Russia.

The House of Hapsburg is the negation, the evil, the absurdity of political Europe. It has thrown hostility, dissolution, death, into the midst of Christian Peoples to make of them its prey. Extending on one side the hand to the Pope, on the other to the Czar, it has endeavoured, and still endeavours, to extinguish human conscience under the double weight of falsehood and brute force.

Not founded upon any interests conformable to the nature of things, without any other reason for existence than the egotism of a family and of a few venal officials, it confides its safety to an organized system of assassination, and to the disciplined barbarities of its troops. It is time that humanity should be avenged of this abomination. It is time for the Peoples who have been dragged by the arts of spiritual and material tyranny into the narrow ways of egotism, to reënter the open path of liberty and association. Nor is the undertaking too vast for those willing to attempt it. Falsehood and evil bear in themselves the laws of their own ruin—truth and goodness only are progressive. The protests of the nations against the oppressions of Austria have already penetrated deeply even into the ranks of the army. Under chiefs who know neither God nor country, thrill the hearts of myriads of brothers who will combat with us. In the very instruments of its defence will the empire find its destruction.

Italians! the fate of Hungary is fast bound up with yours. United with you in the battle, we shall be so after the victory; erecting together, amongst the hymns of redeemed Peoples, a glorious temple to our martyrs upon the ruins of the House of Hapsburg. Happy shall we deem ourselves if by the blessing of God we are the first to begin the struggle of European liberty against despotism. When the hour of redemption arrives—and arrive it will for us come what may, and let whosoever else hold back—Milan and Pesth, remembering past errors, will sound simultaneously the tocsin of revolt, like cities of the same country.

In our ancient constitutions is inscribed the right of insurrection and defence against the caprices of power. This principle, never forgotten by us, will save Hungary.—To you, Italians, it was forbidden by the two powers which are joined together for your ruin—the Papacy and the Empire—to inscribe that right in a national constitution. But they could not erase it from your hearts; and to-day, from one end of the Peninsula to the other, the life of the nation is bound up in this. For us, as for you, the necessary result of such a right, after the experience of ages, is the Republic. And in this name we shall conquer. We shall conquer, because we shall be united—because, fighting with the People and for the People, and not for the interests of castes or of Governments necessarily leagued with the Emperor, the Pope, and the Czar. We shall conquer, because, uttering a cry of true liberty, and not counting upon the miserable combinations of a diplomacy which has betrayed us hundreds of times, and no longer possesses either life or sense in presence of the Europe of the future, we shall have with us all the peoples who demand a country, all free men who have, in whatever part of the civilized world, the will and the courage of a great cause.—Lastly, We shall conquer, because our principles will not be principles of violence and negation against those sacred and inviolable elements in which society has root and life—but principles of development, and of the progressive association of the capabilities, the tendencies, and the natural activity as well of individuals as of corporations—principles of universal education—and of the harmonious coöperation of the nations in the work of their common perfectionment.

LOUIS KOSSUTH.

ITALIAN REFUGEE FUND.

The undersigned Italians residing in London, with a view to relieve the great sufferings of many of their countrymen, driven to England by political circumstances, and lately by the decree of expulsion of foreign exiles from France, have resolved to open a subscription for the relief of these political exiles. With that view they deem themselves entitled to appeal to the patriotism of their countrymen residing in England, irrespectively of all political opinions, and on the simple grounds of humanity; and also to the sympathies of strangers of all nations; but, above all, to their English friends, that they may, by their coöperation, give permanence and extension to this charitable undertaking.

Subscriptions are kindly received by Messrs. Herries, Farquhar, Davidson, Chapman, and Co., bankers; and by the members of the Committee, composed of G. Aubrey Bezzi, Chairman; S. Ferretti, A. Gallenga, Generale Lante Montefeltro, Romoli, Sinibaldi; Arrivabene, Sec.

The Committee will render accounts on the first Saturday of every month, at a public meeting which will be advertised in the *Times* of the previous Thursday, at which the benevolent contributors are earnestly requested to attend.

SUBSCRIBERS.—Dr. Achilli, 1s. *; Arrivabene, 6d. *; G. Aubrey Bezzi, £10; Barzotelli, 6d. *; Cesarini, £1; Deasara, 6d. *; Farnucchi, 1s. *; Ferretti, £2; A. Gallenga, £10; P. Gavazzi, £5; P. Gavazzi, 5s. *; Generale Lante Montefeltro, 5s. *; Mapei, 1s. *; Mazzini, 5s. *; Molinari, 6d. *; Zelinda Montecchi, £1; Ce. Pianciani, 5s. *; Romoli, £2; Tommasi, 6d. *; Un Italiano, £1.

* All those so marked are weekly subscriptions; the others are donations.

ISLE OF THANET AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION.

Lately, at a dinner given by the members of the above association, the toast, "The Chairman of the Board of Guardians, and the Members of the Board," was given, and Sir Edward Dering spoke of the ability with which Mr. Sackett presided at the board, and of the admirable results flowing from good management, one proof of which he afforded by remarking that according to the latest returns, there were but nine able-bodied paupers in the union, and some of them from having particular complaints could not be said to be able-bodied.

Mr. S. Sackett returned thanks. He had now presided at the Board of Guardians some fifteen years, during the whole of which time his motto had been to carry the poor law out with firmness, yet with humanity—with justice to the ratepayers, and with humanity to the poor recipients of the charity. (Applause.) He was happy to testify to what the chairman had remarked—of there being but few able-bodied in the union. Whenever it could be done work was procured those who could perform it, and thus the pernicious effect of idleness were prevented. To effectuate this, the guardians had taken ten acres of land to cultivate with the spade, the result of which was most successful, as they obtained from it at the end of the year a profit of £50 to the guardians. (Applause.) He gave an assurance that it would be his endeavour, while continuing in the office to do all he could to promote economy; while promoting those ends of humanity that should not cause pain to those who were driven there for shelter. (Applause.)

BOROUGH BRIBERY.

An "ex-M.P." has been writing to the *Times*, exposing the bribery system. Of course, he speaks with authority; doubtless, from experience. A few passages from his last letter will show that the open and gross form which bribery assumes at St. Alban's is not the worst which is to be found. The "Edwards" at St. Alban's gives other "Edwardses" lend.

"Mr. Edwards has advanced in loans to some hundred electors sums of money varying from £5 to £300, and in one or two cases even more than the latter sum. I think there has been £7000 or £8000 lent; these sums carry interest at five per cent. The interest of the smaller sums is seldom called for, except to keep the debts from falling under the Statute of Limitations, or to punish an offending elector. The interest on the larger sums is generally paid. All the sums have been advanced to electors for their votes and interest, though perhaps not always immediately before an election. I am sure, Sir, every one must see the difference of this system of bribery to that of St. Alban's. There, as far as has appeared in the evidence, the elector, having voted, is again a free and independent elector; at the next election he is again open to the highest bidder. Here he is under the greatest thralldom; should he presume to wish to support the other side, the loan, increased by the interest, is called in; and it is well known persons who will accept such small sums as £5 or £10, have seldom it in their power to pay. And the opposite side, although they may make a show of opposition, know the system is too well organized to make it advisable for them to advance money. Of course, to work this system, the 'Mr. Edwards' must be a shrewd, cunning man, not over scrupulous, or burdened with much conscience; and he well knows that the elector once in his hands cannot escape, should he attempt to do so, he is sure to suffer for it. This loan-lending is constantly going on, and is charged to the member's account. Then, Sir, follows the corruption on every opportunity, a municipal election, a parochial meeting. When 'Mr. Edwards' considers a dinner necessary there is one. The member sends his venison and game. 'Mr. Edwards,' to keep his party in good humour, invites the small voters—not only those whom he has caught, but those he thinks are to be had. They enjoy a good dinner, drink to excess, and are most happy and satisfied, as no payment is expected from them. Their bill is sent by the landlord (who is one of 'Mr. Edwards's' agents) to 'Mr. Edwards.' It is paid by him, and charged in the member's account."

After stating what special grievances he thinks the new Reform Bill ought to remedy, he sketches in another form the prevailing evil.

"The borough I am writing of is a small town, with a few agricultural parishes joined to it by the old Reform Act. The farmers, in the first place, will be under the command of their landlords, and if one man possesses a large estate in the parishes he will, to extend his influence and make the return of his nominee certain, commence bribery on the loan system. And, Sir, the farmers are as needy—are as much in want of money—as the townspeople. They are quite as willing to accept loans (I know, myself, at the present moment, of a case where the farmer, who has been hitherto a most determined opposer of 'Mr. Edwards,' has accepted a loan, and, from an enemy, has become himself and his connections of 'the party'); but, Sir, the money was given by a third person, not by 'Mr. Edwards'; still it is entered in the member's account; and when they once belong to 'the party' the tradesmen of the village—the blacksmith, wheelwright, harness maker—must go with them, or 'Mr. Edwards' will set up another person in their trades, and all the farmers' custom goes to the new man. The question asked by all men in the town and in the country parishes who are in trade is 'Shall I offend Mr. Edwards?' He prevails everywhere. I might name many gross cases of bullying by persons who are directed by 'Mr. Edwards,' but the above is sufficient. Then, Sir, look at the jobbery of the patronage of the borough, the Government and the local. In regard to the former, the member never listens to any request, except it comes through 'Mr. Edwards,' and he always recommends his nominee. The jobbery of the local patronage is a more serious affair to the ratepayers. The town council, four-fifths of it are, 'the party,' headed by 'Mr. Edwards.' All the paid officers of the borough belong to 'the party'; and, though illegal, these gentlemen frequently have bills, which are passed by the council; and if a good job is to be done, why, 'Mr. Edwards' takes care a tradesman shall have it, who must, in gratitude, return the kindness by supporting 'the party.'"

Is it not a strong charge against past and present

Governments that they have so long tacitly permitted the continuance of this iniquity? Depend upon it Lord John Russell's peddling next session will not touch the evil.

ASPECTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN AMERICA.

[Some time ago we published a letter addressed to "Ion," by a gentleman of the legal profession, upon a new discovery in Social Science. The following letter written from "Modern Times" is a continuation of the same interesting subject. The writer obligingly transmits two works by Stephen Pearl Andrews, the chief expounder of the new theory.]

Modern Times, September, 1851.

DEAR ION,—I left England not against my will. Amongst the reasons which caused me to feel happy, rather than distressed, at my contemplated expatriation, was the conviction that in the United States of America the Social problem would be first solved—completely solved; and that there, sooner than anywhere else, would superior Social arrangements come into being and yield satisfactory fruits.

I thought this first because here there exist, and have for some time existed, many and various communities of people practising Social moralities altogether different from those of the old world. All manner of Social experiments are going on. Many of them of years and years' standing. These experiments, I judged, must have a twofold operation, on the one hand preparing the minds of the people generally for fundamental Social reforms; and, on the other hand, furnishing the thoughtful with materials on which to reason.

I believe I may say that these experiments have succeeded already to settle definitely several points. Their number and extent are greater than is supposed in Europe. I am informed, on respectable authority, that there are fifty-two Shaker villages in the United States. These prove, at least, on thing, that starvation, or the possibility of starvation, is by no means necessary as an inducement to labour. And more, they prove that neither the pressure of want, nor the incitement of competition, is necessary to spur to production. The Shakers are universally industrious—as industrious as they can be. Their productions are proverbially excellent in the highest degree. Their religious system alone prevents the higher developments of industry—intellectual, artistic.

On the other hand, not the Shakers alone, but a great variety of other communities, seem to have almost equally well established the fact that systems involving community of property are destructive of personal liberty to such an extent as to render them unbearable, except where either strong religious feeling, or some other dominant influence, exists sufficient to render men willing subjects of despotic power. I know not how many attempts to establish communities on what were supposed to be rational principles, have failed from this cause, but the number is large. I shall obtain more exact information on this point in due time, and all I learn you shall be informed of. Every attempt, I believe I may say confidently every attempt, to establish a community on the basis of the annihilation of private, individual property has utterly failed, except where it has been an absolute despotism, and where also some powerful religious influence has been at work, and, still further, where this influence has been absolutely inimical to inquiry and all intellectual progress.

There is certainly one exception. But this example would not be taken into account at all by the English public; and you may judge of the extent of free inquiry in this country as compared with England, when I tell you that here the exception to which I refer is the subject of much attention and dispassionate consideration. It is the case of certain religious sects, and in particular of one called by themselves "The Free Church of Christ," who have adopted what they call "complex marriage." This is, in fact, what would be at once stigmatized in England as the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, although really it is not so. But one great difficulty that has helped to assail all non-religious communities is at one stroke cut entirely away. The abolition of private property, and the retention of any system by which one individual has a monopoly of the society and intercourse of any other individual, is a flagrant inconsistency. These "Free Church" men have rejected that inconsistency. The great leading principle of this singular people is, that all the actions of life ought to be undertaken with a view to the attainment of perfection—perfection in all, perfection in being, perfection in production, perfection in the individual, perfection in the race.

But I need waste no more time or space over these perfectionists. I will only say that they consider all intercourse with each other should be in every respect regulated by this perfective law; that in it they should seek their own perfection and each other's, as well as that of their offspring; that, following this idea, and bringing to bear upon the question certain alleged physiological facts, they abolish all marriage as between individuals and live together as one husband and one wife, the details of which arrangement I need not enter into. I am informed that they are a large and prosperous community; that the utmost harmony and affection prevail; that to strangers they appear like one family of brothers and sisters; and that they are enabled to conduct their affairs without the despotism which stains other communities, while free inquiry on all subjects prevails amongst them, and, consequently, a high degree of intellectual and aesthetic culture.

But I must pass to another of my reasons for believing that to the United States is reserved the honour and happiness involved in solving the great Social problem; and I will adduce the fact that here the land—the all in all—is available to the people. This letter is dated from a projected town, which is being formed for the purpose of carrying out in all their fullness the

principles slightly hinted at in my last. Here we have been able to secure 800 acres of land available for the erection of a town without the actual outlay of a dollar, except for the survey of a small part and the purchase of some half dozen acres to commence upon. The "Cost Principle" I spoke of in my last might possibly be got into operation some other way in a European country; but a whole city could not be laid out and erected on land kept at one uniform price of less than £4 per acre!

Again, the habits of this people have prepared them for rapid changes of employment. To any great and successful Social Reform this is very necessary. The problem is to redeem the labourer from the exactions of what is (wrongly) called Capital; a task next to impossible if at the very outset you find the labourer universally degraded into a mere "appendage to some trade," as Andrews says. That every man should be able successfully to follow half a dozen different occupations I do not contend; but where no man can do anything but just one thing which he has always done, perhaps make the twentieth part of a pin!—a great Social Reform on truly fundamental principles is not hopeless, but immeasurably difficult.

And then there are our political immunities. We have no such atrocious partnership laws as you can boast in England; no Joint Stock Companies' Act! no Combination Laws! no jealous Governmental interference. And if we had any legal hindrances, we should abolish them in a trice. While on the other hand, the laws are themselves continually recognizing and enforcing more and more of the social rights claimed for the people. It would fill the remainder of this sheet to detail the admirable, the glorious concessions to social advance that have of late years been inscribed on the Statute Book of New York State! This subject deserves at least one whole letter, and I reserve it accordingly.

Another reason, the people are more independent here than in Europe; let foreigners say what they will, the people are more independent both of law and of custom. You may have heard of our talked of new female costume. Now, apart from the fact that an industrial aim lies concealed in this very reform itself, what did we see last 4th of July? The factory girls of Lowell setting the fashion! With perfect decorum and order did these most veritable young ladies parade the streets of that town, arrayed in the new and beautiful Bloomer dress; and if they attracted attention, they met with no sign of disrespect.

I thought then, a year ago, that to have any chance for living myself in the midst of superior social arrangements, or even for leaving my children in such when my own life had passed away, I must come to this country; and now I think so very much more than I did then; or rather, I think that the Social Reform will come here not merely sooner than in Europe, but soon. For aught I know, it may be very near at hand. You shall be able ere long to judge for yourself.

But it is time to return to the subject briefly noticed in my last. And I would first observe, in reference to Thornton Hunt's article on Communism, in the *Leader* of July 26, that the partisans of the new Social Science maintain, that the evil to be combated does not, as has been supposed, lie in competition. Upon the Cost principle competition is changed in its nature. It ceases to be in any respect an evil, and becomes an unmixed good, by being simply changed in its direction. On the Cost principle it is directed exclusively to the point of perfection in workmanship; not at all to the point of remuneration. But this will probably not be understood with further knowledge of what the Cost principle is.

Another point occurs to me in connection with the same article. The object to be attained in the Social Reform, one object at least, is Coöperation—universal Coöperation. But we maintain there has been another error here, in supposing Coöperation to involve necessarily combination, association of interests, all which we repudiate. I say we, but merely as representing for the time Mr. Andrews's views. It is evident, however, from all the experiments which have taken place in this country, that combined interests are an obnoxious interference with individual freedom. In Europe the people have so long been accustomed, all of you, to endure despotic power, you are so thoroughly Dogberry ridden, that you do not see this point so strongly as we do here. But citizens of the United States will not submit to interference with their personal independence—they would fight rather, or starve!

And it is impossible that the impending Social Reform should involve a retrogression in this respect. The people have every where had to learn the lesson first of Liberty; the Equality and Fraternity which legitimately follow in the wake of that cannot require its destruction.

H. B.

HOW THE GAME LAWS WORK.

Game preserving involves terrible consequences—rural demoralization for certain, death perhaps. Some examples of both have lately occurred in Norfolk. For some months past, the parishes of Letton, Shipdham, Cranworth, and their neighbourhood, have been infested by gangs of poachers, whose proceedings have been of a most outrageous character; parties of ten or twelve young men going about, night after night, armed with loaded guns, in pursuit of game. They have of late almost cleared the estate of Mr. Brampton Gurdon of game, and even proceeded so far as to threaten the life of his gamekeeper, Mr. Whitear, if they were not allowed to do as they pleased. Mr. Gurdon, in consequence, considered it necessary to call in the aid of the police. Late on Saturday night, a body of at least eleven men surrounded the house of Mr. Whitear, and having examined all the outbuildings, where they imagined he might possibly be concealed, and ransacked the whole of his premises without finding him, they dared him with bitter imprecations to come forth, swearing that if he did they would shoot him; and then, before leaving, they fired off their guns at his house. Last Monday week, Superintendent Parker, with about a dozen of the rural

police, left Swaffham and proceeded to Letton-park, which is nearly three miles in circuit. By the consent of the Norwich Watch Committee, Constable Noller, being a strong, powerful man, went over to aid the county police. The police were secreted every day last week, watching at night, and while thus engaged, they often heard the poachers firing at a distance out of the park. Last Saturday night was bright moonlight, the police and keepers were in ambush on the watch, and shortly after twelve o'clock the police heard three guns fired off successively in a cover. They had three guns, one double-barrelled, belonging to the keeper, as they knew they would have to encounter ruffians armed with guns. They proceeded in a line towards the cover, and when within a hundred yards of it made a rush forward, and were within eleven yards of it when the poachers seeing them cried out "Stand off." Without giving the police time to stand off, they immediately fired three guns. The police fired two guns, but without any effect. Superintendent Parker, being the foremost of the police as they rushed to the cover, was marked out; he received the charge of one of the guns full in his face, and fell severely wounded. Constable Greenacre was shot in the shoulder and face, but not so seriously hurt. A tree intercepted the charge of the third gun. The police and two keepers, after the firing, rushed upon their murderous assailants, and a desperate affray ensued. The poachers, being armed with large clubs, made a stout resistance. They were soon knocked down; three of them were taken on the spot, the others ran off, but were closely pursued. Two of them reached their homes, and were soon after taken there out of their beds. All of them were in disguise, and had their faces blackened, so that if seen they might not be again recognized. On the same night the five prisoners were taken before the Reverend P. Gordon, and, after a short examination, remanded and sent to Norwich Castle. The others had escaped for that night, but on Tuesday two of them were apprehended, and brought before the Reverend T. Paddon, at East Dereham. They underwent an examination, and were remanded to the Castle. The names of those now in custody are Richard Lincoln, William Hunter, William Rugg, John Lake, Robert Back, William Harwood, and John Turner, all of Letton, Shipdham, or adjoining parishes. There are two others yet at large. The names of the two who effected their escape are known, and though they have absconded suitable means have been taken, and we cordially hope they will speedily be apprehended. Superintendent Parker was conveyed to his house at Swaffham, where he has been lying ever since in a very precarious state. Mr. Whitby, the surgeon who attended him, found that twenty-five shots of No. 5 size had been fired into his face and neck, and just round his eyes; but fortunately he has not lost his sight. His hat was quite riddled with shot.

In Nottinghamshire similar scenes occurred this week. On Monday night two keepers and a large mastiff were on the watch on Sir Arthur Clifton's estate, Barton. Suddenly three men appeared with poaching apparatus. The keepers set upon them; the dog was killed; a large reinforcement of poachers rushed from behind a hedge and drove off the keepers, who had, however, succeeded in laming effectually five of the poachers. Creditable state of things in the nineteenth century!

THE LATE REVOLUTION IN PARIS.

On Wednesday a public meeting was held at the National-hall, High Holborn, to consider our position in relation to the changes which are taking place amongst the peoples and powers of the Continent. Mr. G. J. Holyoake was called to the chair, and stated the general object of the meeting, and urged the advantage of considering the French President as a *policy* rather than a *person*, and of taking care that their resolutions should not afford a justification for the violence of despotism. Mr. J. Pettie, after some prefatory observations on the political state of France, moved a resolution that the meeting protested against the late political changes in France, against the arbitrary and heartless means by which they had been effected, and deemed it its duty to raise a public voice on behalf of a friendly people crushed under a military rule. Also, to call earnestly upon our Government to use practical influence on behalf of the restoration of the liberties of all peoples destroyed by the indefensible aggressions of organized despots. Mr. Hooper seconded the resolution, which was also supported by Dr. Tausenau and Mr. W. J. Birch of Oxford, Mr. Goodfellow, and Mr. Ellis. Mr. Bronterre O'Brien moved an amendment, that the meeting contemplated with abhorrence and disgust the treasonable usurpation of Louis Napoleon—a usurpation accomplished by a combination of crimes, including perfidy, perjury, violence, and organizing murder unparalleled in the previous history of Europe; that the meeting deeply sympathized with the brave and generous French people in seeing their hard-won liberties and constitutional rights so foully trampled upon by brute military force, and earnestly hoped, in common with all just men, that Europe would speedily see a termination of this usurper's reign, worthy of his crimes and of his ingratitude towards the French people. Mr. Murray seconded the amendment, which, on being put to the meeting, was carried. The mover of the amendment occupied three quarters of an hour in doing so, which prolonged the meeting until many of those who had listened to the arguments in favour of the more temperate resolution had departed. The amendment concludes with a hope which a good man, in moments of reflection, would hardly share. Before putting the propositions to the meeting, the Chairman said it was their duty not so much to give expression to passion, or even natural indignation, as to express such a measured opinion as was likely to be useful, and which might not furnish further pretexts to those who were able to injure those whom they met ostensibly to save.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The chief interest in the anticipation of the Overland Mail, which arrived on Monday, is that the Nizam had paid, upon a decisive summons, the whole of the sum remaining due. Dost Mohammed was said to be dying.

The *Dædalus*, one of the searching expedition, arrived at San Francisco from Behring's Straits, on the 22nd of October; but Captain Wellesley brought no tidings of Sir John Franklin.

Active measures are about to be taken for laying a sub-marine telegraph between England and Ireland. It will require about sixty miles of cable, or three times the length of that between Dover and Calais.

The deputation appointed at the Marylebone meeting to convey their thanks to Lord Palmerston, waited on him on Saturday, at Carlton-gardens. Lord Palmerston briefly and simply "tendered his acknowledgments" for the good opinion expressed by the people of Marylebone of his conduct with regard to the late affairs of Hungary.

On Tuesday evening, Viscount Lewisham, M.P., delivered an interesting and instructive lecture at St. Mary's schoolroom, Bilston, to the members and friends of a mutual instruction society in connection with St. Mary's Church; the subject selected by his lordship being "Civility considered as Benevolence in Trifles.—*Wolverhampton Herald*."

The half-yearly examination of the students at Hailesbury College, destined for the civil service of the East India Company, was held on Monday, in the presence of a deputation of the directors and several distinguished visitors. Mr. Shepherd was the spokesman on the occasion, and he delivered some sensible advice, particularly against debt, to the cadets.

Mr. Montague Chambers, Q.C., who calls himself a Liberal, addressed the electors of Greenwich on Tuesday, as a candidate for their suffrages. Admiral Stewart is also a Liberal, so it is possible the scenes of last spring may be acted over again. Cannot the Bar and the Quarter Deck come to a compromise?

A concert in aid of the funds of the Hungarian Committee and the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, was given on Tuesday, at the Hanover-square Rooms, by Miss Kate Hickson. The programme consisted merely of the usual class of concert airs and pieces. The performers were the Misses Pyne, Miss Poole, Mdle. Coulon, Mr. Weiss, Mr. Swift, Mr. Salaman, Mr. Wrighton, and others. Miss Kate Hickson, who has been a pupil of Garcia's, possesses a contralto of moderate power, and fair and even quality. She gave the invitation song from the *Huguenots*, and the *Segreto*, in which she was encored. Several Hungarian melodies were played by M. Orosz, and Herr Stoffregen sang with much applause a simple national song of the Magyars.

Lola Montes, accompanied by her agent, arrived in the Humboldt, and was present in the cabin when the address was delivered to Kossuth (says the *New York Herald*). She passed some smart jokes upon the whole affair, and a gentleman informed our reporter that she has declared Kossuth to be a great humbug. It is stated they had some conversations during the passage. The Countess of Lansfeldt was a prodigious favourite among the gentlemen passengers during the passage. She kept them continually in roars of laughter. She was not at first very well received by the lady passengers; but her manners at last secured her their courtesy. The gentlemen were all delighted with her, as she sang and talked to them most charmingly. She certainly is an extraordinary woman; and as she is an ambitious one also, we may expect something wonderful from her in the course of time. She is much lighter in her form, and more refined in her features, than she is represented in the paintings. She has a remarkably fine pair of eyes. No doubt she will create a *furor* of her own as well as Kossuth, whose rival she is for popularity.

The Reverend Francis Sadler, D.D., provost of Trinity College, Dublin, died on Sunday night.

Writing from Dublin on Tuesday a correspondent says:—"For some days past Dr. Cullen, Roman Catholic Primate, has been suffering from a severe attack, which has confined him to bed. He is now staying at the College of St. Vincent, Castlenock, about three miles from Dublin; but so much weakened by illness that he has been unable to attend to any active duties."

At a meeting of the Catholic defenders on Wednesday, Mr. Wilberforce, brother to the Bishop of Oxford, and one of the famous perverts, was elected secretary.

"An important meeting of landlords and agents connected with the province of Ulster," says the *Newry Examiner*, "was held in Dublin on Monday, the 15th instant, for the purpose of taking steps for the suppression of the diabolical conspiracy against life and property which, by the hand of the assassin, has already consigned so many victims to untimely graves. A trustworthy and most respected correspondent puts us in possession of the following particulars with regard to the meeting, which, we understand, was very numerously attended:—There was great good feeling evinced towards the tenantry of Ireland, as well as a disposition to remove every just cause of complaint. A firm resolution, however, was come to, that on the part of the tenantry there should be a strict compliance with the commandment of God 'Thou shalt do no murder.' Who can honestly object to such a course?"

On Saturday evening last, when the train from Waterloo-road to Twickenham arrived, at 5.15, Mr. Campbell, who was a passenger, stepped on the platform, when the train at that moment moved "a turn ahead," and the door of the carriage wheeled him round and threw him close by the buffers, his legs were caught between the foot-board and the platform, and in this manner he was dragged forward a few yards. Mr. Campbell, after great exertion, extricated himself, but not before his left thigh-bone was broken a little above the knee, and several other severe contusions sustained. Drs. Clarke and Simeon, of Twickenham, were immediately sent for and

promptly attended, who ordered Mr. Campbell's immediate removal to the Three Tuns Tavern, where he now lies in a very favourable position, under the care of Dr. Clarke.

Harriet Newman, whose story will be well remembered, was this week found guilty of perjury at the Old Bailey.

A fire broke out in Bull-court, Whitechapel, on Tuesday evening. An alarm was raised, and a fire-escape and engines were quickly on the spot. A very old man lived in the house and was heard calling piteously for help from amidst the flames. But the fire extended so rapidly, being fed by wood and shavings, that assistance came too late, and he was burned to death. The fire was quickly extinguished.

A prize fight took place near Belper on Tuesday. The combatants were Paddock and Paulson. They had fought eighty-five rounds when the magistrates arrived with one constable. Of course, the mob refused to disperse. The Riot Act was read, and the constable ordered to arrest the fighters. Whereupon tremendous onslaught upon the constable, resulting in his complete defeat, ensued. One of the magistrates, Captain Hopkins, galloped off to Derby for aid, and met the pugilists and crowd returning. Paddock the winner was captured in a cab, and Paulson pulled out of a "drag." Both the men were dreadfully punished. Paulson could not see, and Paddock had one eye closed!

All sorts of curt apophthegms and emphatic sentences are attributed to Louis Napoleon at the present moment. Among other *dicta* the most startling is the following, which, of course, must be taken for what it is worth:—"J'ai une mission divine à remplir, et je la remplirai—c'est d'anéantir le Socialisme, la tribune, et la presse."

A somewhat novel "bull" has been recently issued by the prelates of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. It prohibits the ladies of their communion from indulging in the profane amusements of waltzing and polkaing. Ludicrous as such an order may seem in England, it is a very serious affair here, and may open the eyes of the Roman Catholic laity to the tyrannical theocracy under which they live. The ladies of the upper classes of French Canadians have been hitherto accustomed to take their share in all the innocent diversions which form the passe temps of their winter evenings, and among which the waltz and polka are not the least considered and cherished. They are now forced to relinquish these amusements under pain of ecclesiastical censure and final excommunication!

The *Impartial de Smyrne*, in its correspondence from Salonica, has melancholy accounts of an earthquake at Berat. We learn that a part of the fortress had been thrown down, and 400 soldiers buried in the ruins. Some days after the catastrophe, and after great exertions, their lifeless bodies were withdrawn from the ruins, and their numbers ascertained. About 300 houses, two mosques, and a church suffered considerably, and many are no longer habitable. The Governor of Yanina sent tents and assistance to the remainder of the soldiers in garrison there. Among Christians and Mussulmans, 800 persons are missing. Near to Berat the top of a mountain was detached from its base, and thrown to a considerable distance. In the centre a crater has been formed, from which dense volumes of black smoke, stones, and lava are emitted. Fetid sulphurous exhalations escape and corrupt the air. The villages and environs of Berat have suffered great damage.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

Though the rate of mortality in London is still high, the present returns bear witness to a considerable improvement. The deaths, which, after a period of continuous increase, ultimately rose to 1316, declined under the influence of milder temperature, and in the week ending last Saturday the number was 1194. The weekly mean temperature, which during the earlier part of November fell to 40 degrees, or 12 degrees lower than it had been during the previous month, and afterwards suffered a further reduction to 35 degrees (which is about 8 degrees less than the average of the period), again rose in the week ending December 6 to 38.8 degrees, and last week to 41.8 degrees, or about 3 degrees above the average. Taking for comparison the corresponding weeks of 1841-50, with the exception of that part of the series which belongs to 1847, when influenza swelled the mortality of the week to 2416, it appears that the average number of deaths was 1031, or, with a correction for increase of population, 1134. The return of last week shows an increase of 60 on the corrected average.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On Thursday, the 6th ultimo, at Bombay, Lady Yardley: a daughter.
On the 10th ultimo, at Florence, the Lady Methuen: a son.
On the 29th ultimo, at Grand Cairo, the Honourable Mrs. Murray, the wife of her Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General for Egypt: a son and heir.
On the 11th instant, at the Vicarage, Repton, near Lincoln, the wife of the Reverend John Sutton: a daughter.
On the 12th instant, at Lowndes-square, Lady St. John Mildmay: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 11th of December, at Sutton, in the Isle of Ely, George Edward Paget, Esq., M.D., to Clara, youngest daughter of the Reverend Thomas Fardell, LL.D., vicar of Sutton.
On the 12th instant, E. Le Loup, Esq., of Brussels, to Miss Beaulerck, daughter of the late Lord Frederick Beaulerck.

DEATHS.

On the 5th of December, at the residence of her son, Coventry K. Patmore, Esq., the Grove, Kentish-town, Ebba, wife of Peter George Patmore, Esq., Southampton-street, Fitzroy-square.
On the 11th, aged sixty-two, James D. Woods, Esq., of the Middle Temple, for upwards of thirty years one of the reporters of the *Times*.
On the 13th, at his residence, Gothic-villa, Cheltenham, Colonel Nathaniel Beau, late of her Majesty's Seventeenth Regiment, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, December 13.

The state of the departments is the important point in French news. Besides the departments already under martial law before the coup d'etat, which were the Ardèche, the Cher, the Nièvre, and the Rhone, the state of siege has now been proclaimed in the departments of the Seine, Basses-Alpes, Allier, Saone-et-Loire, Herault, Gard, Var, Lot, and Lot-et-Garonne, in the city of Strasburg, and probably in many other places not as yet known to us.

The entire district situated between the rivers Yonne, Allier, and Rhone, from the town of Joigny to the neighbourhood of Lyons, and beyond the Rhone to the department of Ain, and to Poligny in the Jura, has been in a state of popular conflagration. Languedoc and Provence, the Basses Alpes, the Var, Gers, the Herault—throughout, in fact, this vast proportion of the country, not to speak of those parts from which we have no accounts, military operations are going on with the utmost vigour, and general orders have been issued by the Minister of War to the officers commanding in all the departments that all persons resisting the Government are to be shot.

The Moniteur of yesterday publishes various decrees; and among them one organizing the Consultative Commission. The commission will be called on to scrutinise the votes on the ballot which is to take place on the 20th and 21st of December, and the result will be promulgated by the executive power. The other duties of the Consultative Commission will be, first, to give its advice on the projects of decrees in legislative matters, which may be submitted to it by the President of the Republic; and, secondly, to fulfil the functions of the Council of State. The commission will be presided over by the President of the Republic, and in his absence by M. Baroche, who is appointed Vice-president.

Another decree provides that the indirect imposts and revenues will continue to be raised till the 1st of April, 1852; and that the tobacco monopoly, granted to the state by the law of the 28th of April, 1816, shall be extended to the 1st of January, 1853. The same decree provides for some financial operations, and limits the Bons du Trésor in circulation to 150 million of francs.

General Harispe and General Vaillant are made Marshals of France; and General Randon appointed to the Government of Algeria.

The vote of the Navy as far as known on Thursday stood as follows:—

Number of voters	8567
For the acceptance (of the President for ten years)	6242
For the rejection	2154
Abstained from voting	171

The Morning Chronicle ridicules the idea of a Socialist or other conspiracy.

"Why was the coup d'etat the sole alternative? Alternative in the teeth of what? A Socialist plot—a Royalist rising—a mountain—or a mouse—a Red Republic, or the drapeau blanc? The one is equally as probable as the other; and we shall believe in either when we see evidence of its existence. As it is, the alleged fears of a planned Socialist jacquerie have had their antecedents only in Rye-house and Meal-tub plots; for a conspiracy is the ordinary excuse for a dragoonade."

The funeral of Marshal Soult, Duke de Dalmatia, took place at St. Amand-la-Bastide, on the 6th. An immense concourse of people assembled on the occasion from the departments of the Herault, Tarn, and Lot. The Archbishop of Alby and the Bishop of Cahors officiated, and were assisted by a large body of the clergy, occupying the whole of the choir and part of the nave of the small church where the last service was performed. The authorities of the Tarn and of the neighbouring departments were prevented from attending, in consequence of the disturbed state of the country. They sent formal excuses to the Duchess for their absence. Everything passed over with great pomp and in perfect order.

Protection exhibited itself on a grand scale yesterday. The National Association met in the morning at the London Tavern, under the presidency of the Duke of Richmond, and adopted a "declaration," in which firm adherence to the old gospel is declared. The Duke of Richmond recommended the farmers to make no mistake as to the opinions of the candidates at the next election, and to ask them, on the hustings, and then, if God will, we have not yet got the ballot, when a man dares not show the squint of his mind, &c. He would answer for the squint of Lord Derby—he knew that high and chivalrous nobleman was not a man to back round and disguise the sentiments that he felt.

Mr. Edward Ball, of Burwell, a sentimental farmer, with strong feelings, moved the adoption of the declaration. Mr. Ball, in the course of his speech,

defended Mr. Disraeli, whom he pictured as "towering in the triumph of his argument," &c. The labourers and their case formed also a topic. One would think, to read the speeches, labourers were not badly off before Corn Law Repeal!

"If the price of food and every other commodity was to be reduced to the price on the Continent, or to what Mr. Cobden called 'the world's price,' the necessary consequence must be that labour must come down to 'the world's price' also. Mr. Jacob, who had been sent by the Government to the different nations of Europe to ascertain the rate of wages, and the price at which each country could export food to England, reported that throughout Germany the labourer received 5d. per day (Hear, hear.) So that if the price of British corn was to be reduced to the Continental level, the wages of the labourer must necessarily sink to the same level, or 5d. per day. (Hear, hear.)"

His remedy for the farmer is one which cannot find favour in high places.

"But supposing that, after struggling unitedly together, they should fail, speaking as a farmer, he then believed it would be their policy to abandon their cause, to throw up their occupations, and to emigrate at once, letting those who had failed to succour them take the responsibility. (Cheers.) He knew the sacrifice they would have to make; but he said—'Brother farmers, emigrate as quickly as you can—in your tens and hundreds of thousands, with your wives and your little ones, go and follow the pilgrim fathers,' for such once before was the consequence of bad government."

Mr. Cayley Worsley was the Peter Grievous of the evening, whose lamentations were almost sublime. He inflamed the ardour of the meeting, and urged energy and perseverance by picturing members of Parliament in different parts of the country "who were throwing cold water on the farmers, and insulting them to their teeth." He pointed out how landlords were not in earnest, and set the fate of the farmer on success or flight from the earth! The labourers were biting the dust—and out of employment, as if that was unusual at this time of year! Lord Stanhope praised the producers and denounced the great landlords, who, with "detestable selfishness," had not attended public meetings, and had been silent spectators of their country's ruin. Mr. Ball had pointed out how Financial Reform had been recruited by deserters from the National Association. Lord Stanhope went a great deal further. The following new Conservatism was loudly applauded.

"What! bow to the decision of the next or any other House of Commons, in which the great majority of the working classes were not represented? Were they to bow to a House of Commons, the great majority of whose members had been elected by the foulest bribery and corruption? Were they to bow to a House of Commons consisting of similar persons to the present, the majority of whom did not deserve or enjoy the respect and confidence of the country? Were they to bow to a House of Commons elected by ten pounders, who must outnumber all the county votes, even if they were unanimous? And what should he say of the House of Lords, which was not a fluctuating body? Should they bow to the decision of that degenerate assembly, when the noble duke in the chair had stated once, in his presence, that he had looked in vain among the majority who voted for the repeal of the Corn-laws for twelve honest men?"

He also made this peculiar statement which is not at all improbable.

"It was his firm conviction that the cause of protection would ultimately triumph, although it might not be till ruin had overspread the land, and been succeeded by a social revolution, which he foresaw was now at the very threshold of our doors. The attachment of the people to the ancient institutions of the country was shaken, and in many counties, amongst the farmers, republican doctrines were now prevalent."

Winding up proceedings, the Duke of Richmond commented on the above, and by identifying rudeness and republicanism showed clearly his enlightened estimate of the latter.

"Lord Stanhope had said that a republican feeling was gaining ground among the farmers in some parts of the country. He (the Chairman) could only say that there was not a hustings in England where he could not take the chair and be respectfully treated, and then they could judge, if they would so receive a peer, whether there could be much mischief in the republicanism which was spoken of. (Cheers.)"

The influx of provincial Protectionists was so great that the dinner to that shining light, Mr. G. F. Young, M.P., had to be split into two parts, over one of which Mr. Ellman presided, and the redoubtable Mr. Paul Foksett over the other. The speeches delivered were of the common staple.

Mr. Foksett caught a glimpse of the truth when he said that "the great principle of Protection was the only just one, and that the principle of free trade, or competition, was calculated to pull down rather than build up national greatness. (Hear, hear.)" The foundation of national strength and greatness was cooperation, a principle diametrically opposed to competition. He said that the protection demanded by the farmers was not the same as that demanded by the manufacturers.

Yesterday's proceedings betray the profound agitation in the agricultural mind on social questions; and teach us that protection in the Richmond sense is very different from the protection demanded by the manufacturers.

The Leader

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 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.

RETRIBUTION.

FRANCE is tranquil, Society is saved, nothing can be more harmonious than the "Order"; and the Temple of the Moneybags, La Bourse, presents quite a cheerful, confident aspect to Europe, with a gendarme on one side and a priest on the other—the noblest caryatides!

The energy and valour of nos braves soldats have calmed the agitations and solved all the problems which perplexed the country. France has a Patriot at her head whose first thought is for her happiness, whose sole care is for Order. The alternative he presents to her citizens is brief, stern, Cæsarian: Yes or No. Yes? Then will Louis Napoleon continue to save society. No? Then you "oppose the Government," disturb Order, and must be shot as a Socialist: Pif, paf, puf! You are disposed of, and Louis Napoleon continues to save society as before. The process is simple, you observe! It is called officially "an appeal to the Nation." The sabre of the cuirassier and the Register-book of the Commissary of Police, ascertain that it is the will of the Nation to elect the emperor of champagne and lord of sausages as permanent Saviour of Society. The means are worthy of the end!

That the happiness of France will be enormously increased by this arrangement some persons will be anarchical enough to question; nay, there can be no great hardihood in asserting that thousands of the bourgeoisie in France are extremely ungrateful for this happiness, and groan under the benefit. Many of the journalists, too, lately so devoted to the party of Order, are now in a state of impotent destitution; they have conjured up the Spectre Rouge, and the alarmed bourgeoisie has welcomed real tyranny as a protection from an imaginary peril! Here is just retribution. The party of Order has reaped what it sowed. It dealt in lies, in misrepresentation, in coercion. In return it meets with lies the most unblushing, misrepresentation the most mendacious, and coercion the most Napoleonic. For two years, instead of generously welcoming discussion, it vilified, declaimed, and stifled Socialism and Republicanism: its incessant sounding of the tocsin of alarm raised a national feeling against the bugbear of a Spectre Rouge. It spoke so constantly of pillage, that it inspired fear. It coupled the name of Socialism with every act of violence and robbery. If a murder was committed, the murderer was called a Socialist. If a robbery was detected, it was called a Socialist practice. By artifices so vulgar as these, aided by incessant declamations, the French bourgeoisie was so alarmed that even the terrible, unmistakable, actual horrors of military despotism are accepted in the sense Louis Napoleon adroitly presents them—as energetic measures of repression, as guardians against Socialism!

Had it not been for the attacks of the party of Order, their lies, their miserable tactics, and their contemptible morality, Louis Napoleon could never have existed three days after the coup d'etat. But on those who commit injustice, injustice will retributively fall!

There is another aspect to this question. The Holy Catholic Church has declared herself. To say that the declaration is an indelible disgrace, is saying little: how many indelible disgraces she bears! She has been calling loudly for the reestablishment of the Holy Inquisition. She wants to burn Socialists as well as their books; not only wants it, but says so. Many Englishmen, in their terror at heterodoxy, did not feel peculiarly offended by this demand; but what will they say now when they see the Church supporting Louis Napoleon because of his "incomparable services to the cause of Catholicism," and because of the Government of the Sabre has struck nothing contrary to the will of God, but to the fundamental condi-

tions of society"? Burglary is the will of God; massacre of unoffending, unresisting men and women is also the will of God; and the fundamental conditions of society are, "Vote for me, or—*pif, paf, puf!*" M. Montalembert decides for the President because he crushes the Socialists—and plays into the hands of the priests: two incomparable services. His letter will not make people in England entertain more amiable feelings with regard to the Church; and yet what is it but a frank avowal of the old Catholic sentiment, which is, "Glory be unto Rome; glory unto those who bring her the loaves and fishes be they bought or stolen; glory unto the Devil himself if he will only give back to the Church her plenitude of dignity"!

The Divine Right of the Sabre is now the creed of France. The Church consecrates it. With the Sword in one hand and the Word in the other, what can Despotism fear? Mr. Cobden, mellifluous peace-prophet on the tripod of a cotton bale—Mr. Cobden the wise, and "so practical" man—will answer,—Public Opinion! He will tell you, in his "practical" way, that the peace principle is invincible, and that the cotton bales are the best armaments of a nation. We have always held that Peace should be the aim of society; but we reject the notion of its being the means to attain that aim at all times and in all places. "Public Opinion," too, is a mighty influence where it exists; but on the Continent it has no existence. If one thing is plain above all others in Continental affairs at this moment, it is that the conditions of peace do not exist, and that Public Opinion is a fiction.

If the Peace doctrines be listened to, there will be Retribution fall on England ere long. The lesson of the hour is not "disarmament" and pacific reliance on the magic of public opinion; but national preparation!—War, if needful!—outflashing of the Sabre the safeguard of Public Opinion, as the guard-iron sweeps away obstacles from the path of the onrushing train! Who but "practical" men can think of Louis Napoleon banded with the Cossacks in Europe, and counsel undisciplined England to "peace and nonintervention"? The "Horrors of War" are not to be averted by our being horrified; to extirpate war, you must extirpate the causes of war. The People of England ought to be drilled, and armed, and disciplined from childhood. The People of England *must* be so drilled and disciplined. If they are supine, a Continental blockade, far more rigorous and extensive than the old one, will follow the triumph of the Cossack; and then England will have to carve outlets for her manufactures with that very Sabre which is now considered so "uncommercial"—the outlets *not* being attainable by Public Opinion!

HELP FROM THE WEST!

IDEAS spread rapidly. How brief the time since we invoked the presence of the "Star-Spangled Banner in Europe." The thing was laughed at as a chimera! A few weeks pass, and lo! it is on everybody's lips, swiftly converted into "The Anglo-American Alliance." Kossuth readily grasped it, eloquently uttered it, and made it the guest of every hearth. Consul Croskey, Attaché Lawrence, Ambassador Bulwer, Robert Walker, and, lastly, the *Times*, have successively taken it up, approved of it, and passed it on to thousands. In this short space of time the chimera had become a reality. The British mind had accepted it. We were actually looking for help from the West, when the Presidential Message loured upon us, and all was, for the moment, darkness again.

"Friendly relations with all, entangling alliances with none," is the last official expression of the American policy of non-intervention. "Millard Fillmore" signed the document containing that sentence of death to the expectation that help from the West would arrive in good time to do battle in the cause of European liberty. "Millard Fillmore," signing his last Presidential Message, signed away, as far as he could, the liberties of Europe to the despots of Europe. At the moment when the foot of Kossuth touched the free shores of the transatlantic Republic, his ear was greeted by the chilling sentence, "Friendly relations with all, entangling alliances with none." With *all*—with Nicholas? with Francis Joseph? with Ferdinand? with M. Bonaparte? Nay, why not with the Devil himself, if profit accrue? While the Message was being read in the Senate of Washington the troops of the "Prince-President" were in possession of Paris, prepared for the massacres of the 3rd and 4th of December. And when Kossuth had become the guest of the authorities of New York, Mr. Rives,

ambassador from the United States to the French Republic, had already shown that he was a true American by declining to attend the Presidential receptions at the Elysée. Fortunately for Europe, now menaced with the rule of the knout, the *dictum* of Millard Fillmore can, nay, most likely will, be modified next year; and a new President will lay down this new doctrine—friendly relations and strict alliance with Peoples alone.

There is in the United States a rising feeling in behalf of European freedom, a strong sympathy, which will one day show itself in strong deeds, for Italian, Hungarian, and German nationality. "Why should not America intervene in Europe? Why should not the Stars and Stripes float over the battle-fields of Europe, if battle-fields there must be? The men of the Union are bound to Europe by ties of blood, language, institutions, and religion. They are descendants of the great European races. They have only changed their place of abode. In the great strife for self-government, they have been victorious, and they have given a ready asylum to the vanquished who went bruised and bleeding from the lands of their ancestors." These are the sentiments of the great democratic party in the United States; and these sentiments, so honourable to its members, are strengthened by the conviction that it is their duty, as they are strong, to help, in the coming conflict, their weaker brethren here. The *New York Herald* justly calls the Foreign Policy of the Union the "Question of the Day," and the man most likely to have the suffrages of the democratic party for the Presidency, Judge Douglas, is quite prepared to base that policy on the doctrine that America has the right, as it is her duty, to intervene in Europe, and to throw her moral as well as physical weight in the scale of liberty. The triumph of the Democratic party will be the consummation of the Anglo-American alliance.

The actual cabinet of the United States is tainted by diplomacy, is disposed to favour the Northern despots, and therefore adheres to the non-intervention policy, because it is "respectable," and diplomatic. Even the *New York Herald* agrees that the present party must be ousted before the democratic party in Europe can hope for help, and admits that the next presidential election will turn on foreign policy—that is, strangely enough, whether the people of the United States will help the Cossack, or the Republican cause!

Viewed from this point the decisive sentence from the Presidential Message separates the dead from the living idea of America. The past, respectable from its origin, flickers out with Fillmore; the future, more generous and manful, flames up vividly in the front of the Democratic party, with Judge Douglas for their chief.

Then Help from the West will be possible—imminent!

"CONCERT," THE ONLY TRUE "PROTECTION."

PROTECTION is in a sad plight; all sensible people insisting that it is "dead," and refusing credence to its gallant army of living martyrs who vigorously assert that the cause they champion is still alive. Consequently, in the full belief that the thing expired in '46, nobody will discuss the question with the said martyrs, who go up and down armed at all points and find no foe. It is doubtless very provoking, but really there is nothing to fight about; the carcass of the Corn Laws is not worth a broken lance. The subalterns of the old party, so strong in 1841, may set up the mummy and bustle round about it as vainly as the priests of Baal round the altar of their god. Our weekly baker's bill tells us plainly when we are minded to inquire, that Protection, as embodied in the Corn Laws, did expire in '46; and that, in the shape of Corn Laws, it will never rise again.

But Protection is not only dead—it is decomposing; and the elements of which it was composed are taking other forms. What forms it may ultimately take we cannot precisely say; but the meeting of last week furnishes some indications. Mr. Ball, of Burwell, instead of crying victory or death, cries victory or wholesale emigration; that is, Corn Laws, or desertion of your country. Mr. Cayley Worsley, a Sussex man, obscurely hints at a revolt of tenant-farmers, who are to take their own cause into their own hands. Lord Stanhope points to something like universal suffrage, and talks of "Republicanism" as prevailing among the farmers in many counties. Mr. Alexander Campbell, a disciple of Robert Owen,

vaguely shadows forth an insurrection of Labour, demanding fair wages and certain employment in the name of Protection. Mr. Cramp, another disciple of Mr. Owen, demands the right of "citizenship." And only those Parliamentary persons who know the value of diplomacy, like the Duke of Richmond, Lord Malmesbury, and Lord Berners, adhere to the old vague illusory cry of protection to British industry, meaning protection to British corn. Never were signs of disorganization more prevalent in any party pretending to be one and indivisible with a single aim and purpose. But the crowning indication of disruption is furnished by Mr. Paul Fosskett, who denounces both free trade and competition, and lets fall the magic word *coöperation* as expressive of a principle in the development of which lies the future welfare of these islands. We have constantly called the attention of the Country Party to this principle; it was advocated by one of themselves, a gentleman present at the meeting last week, Mr. George Pelsant Dawson. In the principle of *concert*, we have again and again asserted, lies the germ, not only of success for a party, but of safety for the nation. The only "Protection" possible now, or just at any time, must be found in that principle which is the foundation of society, Concerted as opposed to isolated action, Association as opposed to *dis*-association; and, we ask, what section of Englishmen have a fairer chance of reducing this principle to practice than those who own and occupy the land?

Protection, meaning a duty on corn, is dead; but the Protectionist party, the landowners, land-tillers, and land-occupiers of England—these still exist. As a body their importance was not lessened by Corn-law Repeal; as a body they are still one of the great elements of British society; as a body they may yet shape the course of British policy. But it must be *as a body*. Not, as under Corn-law rule, the landowners monopolising nearly all its transitory benefits, the tenant-farmer enjoying very few, the agricultural labourer *none*. No: if the Protectionist party would again be a great active power in the State, it must adopt the principle of concert in employment and concert in distribution; nay more, it must recognize the labourer's right to that "citizenship" which Lord Stanhope and Mr. Cramp demand; it must raise the labourer from the sty to which he has been hitherto consigned by landowning rule, and it must make of him, not an animal in the receipt of wages or poor-rates, but a man.

THE GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS.

I.—THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

ACCORDING to the original constitution of the British monarchy, as Mr. Hallam observes, the King had his Privy Council, composed of the great officers of state and of such others as he chose to summon to it, bound by an oath of fidelity and secrecy, their duty being to discuss and determine all matters of weight relating to both internal and foreign policy. From this body, few in number originally but increased from time to time, the Sovereign selected his more confidential advisers, known as the "CABINET COUNCIL," although it was not till the time of William III. that the distinction of the Cabinet from the Privy Council, and the exclusion of the latter from the ordinary business of state, became an established thing.

1. THE CABINET.

This, strictly speaking, is neither more nor less than a section of the Privy Council, charged with the Executive Government, the members of which are called "Advisers of the Crown," or "Ministers of the Crown," and the chief of whom is called the "Premier," or the "Prime Minister." It is competent to whoever is charged with the conduct of the administration by the Sovereign, to put as many persons as he pleases into the Cabinet, himself generally filling the office of First Lord of the Treasury, with which has sometimes been held that of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and also Warden of the Cinque Ports. There have been cases in which the Minister, exercising the largest power as adviser of the Crown, has not been First Lord of the Treasury, or nominally Prime Minister, as in the case of Lord Chatham, who was never First Lord of the Treasury. He was Secretary of State at the time when the great military successes of the war which ended with the peace of 1763, were achieved; and afterwards, when he formed the Government, in 1766, he held only the office of Lord Privy Seal. But such instances are rare. Nor does it necessarily follow—although it is generally the case—that the resign-

nation of the Prime Minister would cause the dissolution of the Cabinet. The chief support of a Government has not always been the Prime Minister. Mr. Fox was not Prime Minister, but Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the years 1806 and 1807; though he must have exercised at least equal influence in the Administration with Lord Grenville, its nominal head. Although the Prime Minister is responsible for the disposal of the whole of the patronage of the Government, it is exercised, in fact, by the heads of the several departments, no appointment of great importance being made, however, without consultation and concurrence.

The members of the Cabinet, generally speaking, are the Secretaries of State, with the Lord-Chancellor and the heads of the most important of the Government departments. But, in addition to these, there have almost always been two or three holders of sinecure offices, or offices with no laborious duties attached to them, and to whom are referred the consideration of such questions as do not exclusively pertain to any separate department. Such are the Lord Privy Seal, the Master of the Mint, the Paymaster of the Forces, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and formerly the President of the Council, but who has now the superintendence of the Education department.

THE CABINET COUNCIL is at present composed of the following members; the sums placed in parentheses being the salary attached to the office:—

- First Lord of the Treasury (£5000*), Lord John Russell.
- Lord Chancellor (£8000), Lord Truro.
- Lord President of the Council (£2000), Marquis of Lansdowne.
- Lord Privy Seal (£2000), Earl of Minto.
- Home Secretary of State (£5000), Sir George Grey.
- Foreign Secretary (£5000*), Lord Palmerston.
- Colonial Secretary (£5000), Earl Grey.
- Chancellor of the Exchequer (£5000*), Sir Charles Wood.
- President of the Board of Control (£3500), Lord Broughton.
- President of the Board of Trade (£2000), D. Labouchere.
- First Lord of the Admiralty (£4500*), Sir Francis Baring.
- Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (£3500), Earl of Carlisle.
- Commissioner of Public Works (£2000), Lord Seymour.
- Secretary at War (£2480), Fox Maule.
- Paymaster of the Forces and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Trade (£2000), Earl Granville.
- Postmaster General (£2500), Marquis of Clanricarde.

This is what is meant by the "responsible Government," the members belonging to either House of Parliament, and being amenable to the inquiries and censure of Parliament—after they may have done any real or supposed mischief, or what is obnoxious to the Parliament of the day.

As an executive or administrative body *as a whole*, the Privy Council may be said to have almost ceased to exist, its functions being now discharged by the "Cabinet," excepting in two or three special cases, such as the issuing of Proclamations, and the committing for trial of offenders against the Government or the Crown, which the "Cabinet" cannot do, it being a body without any recognized legal existence. Formerly Privy Councillors held office only during the life of the king, but they now retain it for six months after his demise, and cause the successor to the throne to be proclaimed.

The members of the Privy Council are now about 180 in number, and include the most eminent statesmen, judges, diplomatists, and civilians. The office is in Downing-street, and the following constitute the official staff:—

- The Lord President, Marquis of Lansdowne; salary..... £2000
- Chief Clerk, J. B. Lennard, Esq..... 2000
- Clerk in Ordinary, C. C. F. Greville, Esq. ... 2000
- Ditto ditto, Honourable W. L. Bathurst 1200
- Chief Clerk, Council-office 900
- First and second under clerks 1250
- Appeal Clerk, H. Reeve, Esq. 500
- Receiver of Clergy Returns, Reverend W. Harness..... 500

There are besides fourteen clerks, with salaries from £110 to £450 per annum each; Assistant Appeal Clerk, Receiver of Fees, Chamber-sweeper, House-keeper, Messengers, Office-keeper, &c., with salaries amounting in the whole to..... 3380

The gross sum charged on the Estimates for 1851-2, is £11,730.

* Those marked thus have residences provided.

But besides these functionaries who constitute the staff of the council as an entire body, there are others holding office under boards and committees formed of members of the general body, and discharging certain functions, either under its direct authority, or in virtue of specific acts of the Legislature.

2. JUDICIAL COMMITTEE.

Formerly, in all cases where an appeal lay from any tribunal to the King in Council, the Privy Council was summoned to hear and determine; but when, by the 2 and 3 Will. 4, c. 92, the powers of the High Court of Delegates, both in ecclesiastical and maritime cases, were transferred to the King in Council, it was found expedient to make some alterations in the mode of transacting the judicial business. By the 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 41, the jurisdiction of the council was still further enlarged, and a "JUDICIAL COMMITTEE" was appointed, consisting of the Keeper of the Great Seal, the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and of the High Court of Admiralty, the Chief Judge of the Bankruptcy Court (now abolished), all members of the Privy Council who have been Presidents of it, or have held the office of Chancellor or any of the before-named offices. By an act of the last session of Parliament (14 and 15 Vict. c. 83) the two Judges of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, if Privy Councillors, are to be of the Judicial Committee; and no appeal or other matter is to be heard by that committee, unless three members are present, exclusive of the Lord President.

The most memorable case decided by the judicial committee since its formation was the appeal from the Court of Arches, in the case of the Bishop of Exeter *versus* Gorham, which settled, in modern times, the supremacy of the Crown in ecclesiastical matters.

3. EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

This board, or committee, consisting of five members of the Privy Council, was created by an order in Council early in the year 1839, to superintend the distribution of the grants voted by the House of Commons for public education, and having the power of prescribing the conditions on which grants shall be made to the schools applying. The first opposition offered to the creation of this board came from the High Church party, Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, and the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords, having moved an address to the Crown, praying for the rescinding of the order in Council by which it was appointed. The address was carried in the Lords by a majority of 111; but the answer of the Queen may be regarded as a mild reproof of the interference of the peers, who, her Majesty "regretted," should have thought it necessary to take such a step, and who were assured that "the funds for education placed at the disposal of the Crown, would be found strictly applied to the objects for which they were granted, with due respect to the rights of conscience, and with a faithful attention to the security of the Established Church." In 1847, however, the proceedings of the Committee rendered it equally obnoxious to the Dissenters, and a perfect storm was raised throughout the length and breadth of the land. The immediate cause of this was the publication of certain "Minutes of Council," which were also introduced and explained to Parliament by the Marquis of Lansdowne, containing the conclusions at which the Committee had arrived, to increase the number of Inspectors, with a view to bring the schools partaking of the Government grant more completely and constantly under supervision—to introduce a system of scholastic apprenticeship, with state rewards, in the shape of secular appointments, for good conduct—to pension aged teachers of both sexes, after a certain term of office—and to combine industrial with literary education. The Church, it was alleged, would obtain a considerable ascendancy in schools, especially in the rural districts, and the Dissenters suffer in proportion. Sundry modifications of the plan thus propounded have been made, from time to time; and though the High Church and the rigid Dissenters still continue to express their dislike of the system, as well as of the principle of administering the funds by a body so constituted, there is no gainsaying the fact, that the elementary education of the poorer classes has been largely promoted and extended by the labours of the Committee and its Inspectors. The Reports are annually laid before Parliament, and are generally subjected to a rigid scrutiny.

The present Board consists of—

- The First Lord of the Treasury.
- The Lord President of the Council.
- The Lord Privy Seal.
- The Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- The Home Secretary.
- The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
- The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
- The Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay.

INSPECTORS OF SCHOOLS—(England and Wales).

- Reverend H. Moseley, M.A.; Reverend F. C. Cook, M.A.; Reverend H. W. Bellairs; Reverend F. Watkins, B.D.; Reverend E. Douglas Tinling; Reverend W. H. Brookfield; Reverend Muirhead Mitchell, M.A.; Reverend J. J. Blandford; Reverend W. J. Kennedy, M.A.; Reverend H. Longueville Jones; Joseph Fletcher, Esq.; J. D. Monell, Esq.; T. W. M. Marshall, Esq.; Reverend A. Thurtell; Reverend J. U. P. Norris; E. Carleton Tufnell, Esq.; J. Ruddock, Esq.; H. G. Bowyer, Esq.; T. B. Browne, Esq.; Jelinger C. Symonds, Esq.; Reverend D. J. Stewart, M.A.; Reverend G. R. Moncrief, M.A.; Reverend W. P. Warburton, M.A. (Scotland); John Gibson, Esq.; Edward Woodford, Esq.

EXAMINER—F. R. Sandford, Esq.

COUNSEL—W. G. Lumley, Esq.

ARCHITECT—Mr. Westmacott.

SECRETARY—Kaye Shuttleworth, Esq.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY—R. R. W. Lingen, Esq.

OFFICE—Privy Council, Downing-street.

The sum voted for the Board in the Miscellaneous Estimates for the present year is £186,380, which includes—

- Salaries, &c., at Kneller-hall Training School £3,000
- Salaries and Travelling Expenses of Inspectors 21,000
- Salaries of Examiners..... 1,150
- Clerks, &c..... 480

The rest of the staff is charged on the estimate for the Privy Council-office.

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE THE GUARANTEE OF THE DAY.

MR. COBDEN, at the Festival of the Halifax Mechanics' Institution, on Tuesday night, having the Chancellor of the Exchequer by his side, alluded in his own style of trenchant vivacity to the anomalies and injustice of the taxes on knowledge. The inconsistency of promoting education in Halifax and taxing it in Downing-street may have its influence, when exposed, upon legislators who feel somewhat bound to be coherent, and not self-contradictory, at least in the same day. There are, however, other considerations than those of consistency, which are likely soon to be pressed on the attention of the public of this country. Both on the Continent and at home we have seen ignorance carry with it a fatal coherence. Some think knowledge an evil. It is certain that ignorance is an unmitigated calamity and disaster. Would the first French Revolution have degenerated into excesses and impotence, had any sound political knowledge of *methodical* liberty existed in Paris? Would the fatal insurgency of June, 1848, ever have occurred, had political philosophy been taught to the proletarians of France? Why does any man dread to enfranchise the populace of Britain—not because they are base, but because they are blind, or are so regarded. There are some who say bitterly of the modern school of Radicals among us, that they labour under the delusion that English History begins with the first French Revolution—certainly their historical knowledge and philosophy seem to date no further back. We are all concerned to render the possibility of this sarcasm scarce. English polity and English liberty are said to stand on grounds of wisdom, and to be capable of reasonable defence; and in these circumstances lie their true strength. If this be true, the populace can be made to understand it. Teach them, and they will understand it; and when they do understand it, they will maintain it, and defend it as intelligently, as truly, as earnestly, as your middle-class man or your independent gentleman. If liberty be reasonable, give knowledge, and liberty will be safe: it will be enlarged with prudence, cherished with devotion, and defended with unanimity. Whoever keeps back political knowledge, impedes its progress, or taxes its dissemination, is, consciously or unconsciously, the foe of intelligence, of truth, of peace, of security, as well as the foe of freedom. We grant that public reforms, and all agitations of them, are frequently rendered nugatory and sinister by the presence of violence, passion, and personal ambition; but let it not be forgotten that the violent advocate, the impetuous, and the vain, live upon the ignorance of the populace. Make the crowd intelligent, and the mere demagogue would die from inanition.

PROGRESS OF ASSURANCE.

INDUSTRIAL LIFE ASSURANCE THE DESTRUCTION OF PAUPERISM AND A BOON TO THE EMPLOYER.

In a former article on Assurance we referred to some of the features of the Industrial Branch of the "National Provincial Life Assurance Society," remarking how admirably they were adapted to the wants of the working classes. We therein showed how peculiarly important Life Assurance is to them at the present time. Most of the Local Associations, and Benefit Clubs, and Friendly Societies, on which they have hitherto relied, have either fallen through from very rottenness of foundation, or have been shown, on examination by competent actuaries, to be based on such falsely assumed data that they will sooner or later totter and fall. There are some instances where the probe has been courageously applied. Some societies have thought it better to learn the worst at once. Such have lost members, but they no longer work in the dark. If their members have to pay far more than they ever designed, they at least have attained additional security. But then it becomes a commercial question, how far it is prudent to continue to do that expensively on a small scale, which can be done inexpensively on a large, secure, and still more advantageous system.

In the various tables of Assurance will be found a means of meeting and providing for almost every risk and contingency of life. For the trifling sum of tenpence monthly a man may secure twenty pounds to his survivors, even though his death were to accrue a moment after his first tenpence was paid. By another table, he may become entitled to the same amount on arriving at a certain age, or it will be paid to his survivors, should he die sooner. By another, he can assure the same amount in the event of his death, or on his being rendered by any disease or accident incapable of pursuing his avocation. By another, he can secure a similar amount to his children for their education or their apprenticeship. And by a combination of these tables he may, for about three shillings weekly, educate his children, apprentice them, set them forward in life, and be the means of securing a thousand pounds to his grandchildren.

The German traveller Kohl remarks that, having visited all the civilized world, he has found one characteristic peculiar to the English: that they despise small savings—"they never save small sums." A man for one moment is in an economical vein. He would save. But what? A couple or three shillings a week! Yes, he can do this; but what will it amount to in the course of the year? Seven pounds sixteen shillings; and all the time he will have been pinching and denying himself many a comfort! Besides, what can he do with seven pounds sixteen shillings? "It is not worth the trouble." He will "enjoy himself, and let others that come after him work as he has done." But such a man talks as if he were sure of living till his children should be able to support themselves. He reckons as though he were sure of being able to work as long as he lives. Are there, then, no casualties to maim and disqualify him—no accidents which may in a moment put an end to his existence? Has he never seen, even in imagination, the arm of his fellow workman caught in the shaft, or his head pounded by the remorseless wheel? Does he not know how many sink while plying their unwholesome trade, or become valueless from overwork and exposure? Why, for this despised £7. 16s. a man may secure £400 to his survivors, even though he were to fall dead on the threshold after once paying it. And is there a man in possession of 25s. weekly who could not save this? Let it be remembered that on a guinea weekly under free trade and the new tariff a man can live as well as he could on 25s. a few years ago. What does he then do with the 4s.? It goes, as Kohl says, in adding to his creature comforts. The more he gets, the more he spends. He finds ways for all his means. Well, it is human nature. Every one will seek to enjoy the good things of life. But why not divide the matter? Let 2s. go to the body and its creature comforts, and with the remaining 2s. buy peace of mind! But if you do not assure to this extent, yet do something. Invest a shilling—even sixpence. Do not go down like a pauper to your grave while you have the power to show you have done your duty. Do not betwixt poverty and degradation to your family, and curses to your own country, the more bitter and deadly, and also to yourself, because you have the power to avert them. Sixpence a week will assure to your survivors more

than £50. Yet men will drop into dishonourable graves, and leave the first duty of their life undischarged.

But the extension of the practice of Life Assurance is not an interesting question solely to the assured. The capitalist, and the landlord, and the householder, have not only a general interest in the welfare of those by whom they are surrounded. They have a special interest in the Assurance of all these classes. Where would be the poor's rates in the next generation if Life Assurance were universally adopted in this? Pauperism is the nursery of crime. And if crime were even partially reduced, how vast a sum would be saved to the country in county rates, and police, and prisons, and transportations!

To the employer, however, it is that we would now appeal. He has an immediate and vital interest in the welfare of those in his employ. There are some merchants in the city who will give no engagement to a man unless he assures his life. It is a system no less advantageous to the assured than to his employer. Of course, a man requires and hopes to obtain his full money's worth from those whom he engages. To obtain this, he must engage one whose heart and interest lie with his own. He who in any subordinate situation simply proposes to give a quid pro quo, will seldom find the advantage on the side of his employer. What a man intends to do and what he does, would leave a great deficit of the latter on a balance sheet. He may give his physical presence at the office, or manufactory, or warehouse, with the utmost punctuality. But he may be abstracted during his work. Reflection on those he has left at home may obtrude on his labour. Distracting thoughts may arise of what will become of those dependent upon him if he were to become incapacitated, or if death were suddenly to remove him. How do these thoughts chime in with the long columns of a ledger, or the counting and invoicing of goods, or the promptness and punctuality of correspondence? May they not arrest many a one in his daily duties? Will they not set the head in mazy abstraction while the hand falls powerless? Let the capitalist estimate the loss he sustains by the anxieties of those who render a willing service, but who are, nevertheless, distracted by reflection. A free mind in those he engages is of incalculable value to the employer. He cannot secure those around him from the various ills to which flesh is heir, but he has the power, by the recommendation, if not enforcement, of Life Assurance, to secure himself from one cause of pecuniary loss and his people from one source of mental anxiety.

The Ministers of Religion in various parts of the country have shown a laudable desire to encourage saving habits among those over whom they have influence. There are no means by which they might so readily advantage their locality as by recommending the practice of Assurance. They frequently now take weekly payments in exceedingly small sums for various purposes. Why should they not become the depositories of the savings of the poor for the purposes of Assurance, and the communicators between them and the offices where no local agent may have been appointed? They might do more than this. They can reach the ears and hearts of many whose attention can be arrested by no other means. Might they not from their pulpits recommend the adoption of that which would tend to soothe the dying hour of many among their flocks, and drive want and the bitterness of poverty from their communion? They who have such frequent opportunity of seeing the results of improvidence, and witnessing the sorrow and suffering of the helpless and unprotected, cannot surely think it without their pale to recommend a system which brings provision to the destitute. They preach that "if any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." They will not exceed their duty by pointing out the means whereby such provision may most surely and successfully be made.

THE NEW "CONTINENTAL BLOCKADE" AGAINST ENGLAND.

Complicity with Cossackism is what the events and results of British diplomacy for many years seem to indicate, on the part of the British Foreign-office. There is a great conspiracy on foot against the liberties of Europe, and what it most behoves us to know is, whether or not Lord Palmerston is privy to it, a party to it, or its active agent in it? While diplomacy is secret, suspicion is not only

inevitable but necessary; and, therefore, Lord Palmerston cannot complain of being suspected while he is the champion of secret diplomacy. He can easily clear himself if he will. We only state facts, we make no charges. But until we know the actual relations of England with the Continental despots, and the Foreign-office chooses to be frank, it will be our duty to warn the public of the dangers concealed in the future. We affirm deliberately, that there is a conspiracy. What are its elements?

- I. Diplomacy: its head;
- II. Military Absolutism: its Sword;
- III. The great Roman Catholic priestly party: its Soul;
- IV. National Debts: its means of corruption.

We have shown, in a previous number of the *Leader*, of what Diplomacy is composed; how the thing called the Diplomatic Interest is a guild devoted to the maintenance of itself, and ruling more or less the powers that be; how Lord Palmerston is one of the most eminent members of that guild; and how Russian diplomacy, being the strongest, must succeed in all its projects.

The common news of the day, the last seizure of power in Paris, the Austro-Russian occupation of so large a portion of Europe, these are the facts of Military Absolutism. What can words of ours add to them?

And, as to the share which organized Roman Catholicism has in these events, two recent facts, not to speak of others, indicate the close complicity of the priestly with the despotic party. Charles de Montalembert, in the name of the Ultramontanes, adheres to the policy of M. Bonaparte, because he has rendered such immense services to the Church; that is, he has "guaranteed the liberty [enslavement] of instruction [to the Priests], reestablished the Pope by French arms, restored to the Church its councils, its synods, the plenitude of its dignity," &c. &c. And on the same day on which we read this declaration of the descendant of the Crusaders, we learn by the *Transatlantic Mail* that the Democrats of New York have at length found that the Roman Catholic Archbishop Hughes is the dire foe of liberty, and have denounced him through the popular *New York Herald* as the "Enemy of the Republic." It will be remembered that Archbishop Hughes visited Rome last summer, and that immediately on his return he denounced the institutions of the United States in the strongest language.

On these points, at present, we shall say no more.

But there is one object of the Austro-Russian conspiracy which probably will rouse the susceptibilities of the City. Napoleon said he was fighting the battles of England under the walls of Moscow; and it is not now inconceivable that Kossuth may have been fighting the battles of England on the banks of the Theiss, and Mazzini performing similar service behind the walls of Rome; because both these patriots were defending human liberty as well as Hungarian or Italian liberty. But, if so, what were their antagonists doing? Let us see. How would British Merchants like "a new Continental blockade," more stringent than that which Napoleon attempted to enforce, because voluntary on the part of the Continental governments welded together by a *federative Continental despotism*? We say advisedly that the tactics not opposed by Palmerston are leading to a similar blockade. Let English manufacturers look to it. What is the new move, unmasked of late, through the official medium of *Der Lloyd*, the Voice of Austria? Nothing less than a Continental blockade. *Der Lloyd* has openly pronounced, since the Parisian "coup d'état." The introduction of a *Continental system*—words of fatal memory—is now hotly urged upon the Continental governments. *Lloyd*, in the name of the Austrian Government, exclaiming, "All European, and particularly all German, Powers must feel it a duty to combine in taking defensive measures against the *English system of plunder*."

Will this open the eyes of the blind? See ye not that the strife involves, not only the alternative of liberty or Cossackism, but of Cossackism or Free-trade? It prepares to attack your material interests. Hence, can ye, Merchants and Manufacturers of England, longer afford to dilly dally with doubt, and act the sceptics on the edge of a precipice, out of tender consideration for the "most liberal of Ministers"? The People neither dilly nor dally, they cut sheer through all mystifications, and range themselves with those who proclaim an inviolable Nationality and a Federative Alliance of Peoples.

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*.

It is not often that the French return us the compliment we so often pay them, of borrowing their plots and characters for our novels and plays; but PAUL FEVAL has, in his *Capitaine Simon*, made free with an amusing character DOUGLAS JERROLD set before us in his comedy, *Retired from Business*. No one who remembers the martial Army Clothier, so bellicosely rendered by BUCKSTONE, can fail to recognize him under the amusing form of *Roussel* in this novel.

Apropos of French Literature the week has been unusually active in spite of society having been saved. LAMARTINE has given us the third and fourth volumes of his *Histoire de la Restauration*; BARANTE the third volume of his *Histoire de la Convention*, bringing the narrative down to 1793. THIERRY announces a new edition of his works; and ALEXANDRE DUMAS has commenced his *Mémoires in La Presse*.

The French papers still continue to be filled with Governmental lies; but JULES JANIN last Monday resumed his feuilleton in his usual style—with this exception, that whereas during the last year he has scarcely published an article that was not seasoned with political hits, with tirades in favour of Order, or diatribes against the Anarchists, he now passes beside all political allusion, and exercises his rhetoric on other topics.

Among the new works just out let us notice a Spanish translation of TICKNOR'S *History of Spanish Literature*—by DON PASCUAL DE GAY-ANGOS y DON ENRIQUE DE VEDIA (*con adiciones y notas críticas*), Mr. TICKNOR having communicated some notes and corrections to the two translators, who have added from their own store. AUERBACH'S new novel, *Neues Leben*, in three volumes, also lies on our table—tempting from the reputation he has acquired by less ambitious works.

In English Literature we have several dainty bits of gossip, but unhappily not one that we are "at liberty to mention," our informants having mercilessly added, *par parenthèse*, that secrecy was "desirable just for the present"! Meanwhile it is no secret that WILKIE COLLINS is to give us a Christmas story, or that the authoress of *Olive*, not only has thrown three welcome volumes into our lap, but is about to throw a Christmas story after them. What with the books on our table and the lists of "new announcements" promising an active season, the most rapacious devourer of novelties will find the four-and-twenty hours too brief for the despatch of all that he should read. If the most of these are mediocre, what of that? They are secure of an audience; for it is as true now as it was in BOILEAU'S day, that the foolish readers match the foolish writers—

"Ainsi qu'en sots auteurs

Notre siècle est fertile en sots admirateurs!"

Or—(to give you the same thought under the guise of another quotation)—as PERRONNIUS will tell you, the cunning writer imitates the adroit fisherman, and only baits his hook with what the little fish will bite at. If you insist upon the original, here it is carefully copied from the *Satyricon*:—"Sic Eloquentiæ magister nisi tanquam piscator eam imposuerit hamis escam quam scierit appetituros esse pisciculos, sine spe prædæ moratur in scopulo." But the remark is so old, and has been so often made, that it is to indulge in the cheapest luxury of quotation to quote passages that enforce it.

SCHÖDLER'S BOOK OF NATURE.

The Book of Nature; an Elementary Introduction to the Sciences of Physics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Botany, Physiology, and Zoology. By Friedrich Schödlér. Edited from the Fifth German Edition, by Henry Medlock, F.C.S. J. J. Griffin and Co.

The Book of Nature; what an ambitious title, and what vast acquirements, aiding profound capacity, are needed to produce such a Bible! For thou-

sands of years have the greatest intellects been occupied in striving to read the "open secret," the great hieroglyphs of Nature; and some meanings of the writing have been interpreted, but the *Book of Nature* still remains without a competent editor. Schödlér, the German Chemist, is assuredly not the man. Men of far other capacities, and of far more accurate knowledge, would have failed in such a premature attempt. But poor Schödlér gives the measure of his capacity in that profoundly erroneous assertion which meets us on the second page: "The ancients were content to use and to enjoy the gifts of Nature, but had little desire to know their causes or effects!"

The book only too plainly bears out the want of philosophic worth which that sentence implies. The very classification of the Sciences is made without principle, unless we are to accept as such the separation of Astronomy from Physics, upon the ground of the number and importance of astronomical phenomena!

While touching on this subject of classification—the immense importance of which few writers discern—let us note the capital error of those who class Geology as one of the fundamental sciences. Unless we restrict our view of Geology till we see in it nothing more than a branch of Mineralogy, it may easily be proved that Geology is not a science at all, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, and certainly cannot be allowed such a title by those (and they are the majority) who refuse it to History, which is the analogue of Geology. History is the story of the growth and development of Humanity. Geology is the story of the growth and development of this planet. They both tell of past epochs, as produced by living laws; the same physical causes which we now detect in the processes of Nature, are the causes we assign to the production of all Geological phenomena; and the same laws which we see in operation now, are the laws which the Historian must master before he can explain the past. To understand Geology it is necessary that men should first understand Physics, Chemistry, and Biology. How then, can Geology take its place any where between these sciences, when these sciences subserve it?

We do not address these observations to Schödlér, for he is totally indifferent to all questions of classification, as this work proves. Indeed nothing of the philosophy of science must be expected from him. He has compiled popular treatises on Physics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology, Botany and Zoology, and has bound them together by the *Binder's* art, without giving himself much trouble in giving them a spiritual unity. His ambitious title is altogether misleading. Had he called his work a Popular Handbook of Science, we might have applauded it for many qualities desirable in such a Handbook. It is brief, clear, illustrated with abundant diagrams, well distributed, easy of reference, and not—as popular books are apt to be—shamefully inaccurate. The Astronomy and Chemistry are the best treatises. Zoology the worst. The errors in the latter are abundant and important. One of them we shall dwell on, because it implies a very superficial acquaintance with physiological science:—

"In the investigation of the internal structure of plants, the microscope shows us that their internal organization originates in modifications of the simple cell, and that all their simple organs are referrible to this type. A similar analogy is not prevalent in the animal body; on the contrary, microscopic analysis proves that *animal tissues are composed of at least four primary forms*, which are apparent whether they be viewed individually or collectively, and between which there is no transition state perceptible, as is the case in the modifications of the cellular into the vascular tissue in plants."

We know not on what authority Schödlér and his Editor speak; but unless it be on some discovery of their own, we assure them the statement just quoted is in open contradiction, not only to the cell doctrine, but to a variety of known facts. Are they disposed to dispute the now ascertained position of the cell doctrine, viz., that every animal is primarily a cell? Are they not aware that many of the simpler Animalcules are regarded as nothing else than simple cells with ciliary appendages? Are they not aware that in embryology the morphological transformations precede the transformations of tissues? Then again, when bone is fractured what do we see take place? Nature sets to her process of reparation by developing the primitive "blastema," or cell-matter, into cartilage or fibrous tissue, and the formation of bone (osseous tissue) takes place after that. What is that but a transition state of the tissues? Any surgeon will tell

you that fibrous tissue may be developed into more highly organized structures, such as the serous or mucous. But we need not further insist on the point.

This section on Zoology is, as we said, the worst; and it illustrates the want of anything like a true conception of a *Book of Nature*, that although Zoology is treated after Botany, yet instead of commencing with those simpler forms of animal life which spring by insensible gradations from the vegetable forms—thus showing the connection of the two kingdoms—he commences with Man and descends to the sponge! Not only is such a zoological arrangement eminently unphilosophic, it is in flagrant contradiction to the very purpose of a *Book of Nature*. If in Botany he begins with the Algæ, why not in Zoology begin with the Zoophytes? Simply because writers of Botanical works begin in one way, and writers of Zoological works in another.

We have been severe in our scrutiny of this work, because popular works of Science demand from criticism that scrutiny which higher works are certain to receive from those whom they address. In summing up, we repeat this *Book of Nature*, worthless as a philosophic work, is of considerable merit as a Handbook. Apart from the errors we have alluded to, it is an excellently compiled book.

CRAIK ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Outlines of the History of the English Language, for the use of the Junior Classes in Colleges and the Higher Classes in Schools. By George L. Craik, Professor of History and of English Literature in Queen's College, Belfast.

Chapman and Hall.

THIS is the first fruits of Professor Craik's new avocation, and although a small, modest volume, it has the solidity and careful accuracy which he bestows on everything he undertakes. It consists of a series of propositions embodying the leading facts in the History of our Language, to which are added the more important of those minor and subsidiary particulars which illustrate the propositions. It seems admirably adapted for the purposes of tuition, and may be taken as a text-book.

The propositions forming the texts of this work are the following:—

"I. There are two kinds of Evidence by which the origin or composition of any product may be attested: the Internal; and the External, or Historical."

"II. The First of the facts constituting the External or Historical Evidence that we have in regard to the sources of the English language is, that the country in which it is spoken and has grown up, appears to have been occupied at an early date, in whole or in part, by a Celtic population."

"III. The Second fact is, that from about the middle of the First Century of our era till after the commencement of the Fifth, or for not much short of 400 years, South Britain was a Roman province, and extensively occupied by colonists speaking the Latin tongue."

"IV. The Third and the main fact is, that after the extinction of the Roman dominion, the country was in great part conquered, taken possession of, and occupied by certain tribes of Gothic race and language, whose descendants have ever since formed the bulk of its population."

"V. The Fourth fact is, that in the latter part of the Ninth Century, extensive settlements were effected in the North-eastern parts of England by a Scandinavian people, the Northmen or Danes."

"VI. The Fifth fact, and the one next in importance to the Third, is, that in the middle of the Eleventh Century England was conquered by the Normans, who were originally Danes, but had been settled in France for about a century and a half, and had by this time exchanged their ancestral Scandinavian tongue for the Neo-Latin tongue called French."

"VII. It would thus appear that the languages which have been imported into and established in England by the successive populations that have conquered or settled in it, and which may each, therefore, have in a greater or less degree contributed to the formation of its existing language belong to three several branches of the Indo-European Family; the Celtic, the Gothic, and the Classical."

"VIII. But the facts constituting the External or Historical Evidence that we have regarding the sources of the language leave us nearly altogether uninformed as to the proportionate amount of each of its several probable ingredients, and as to the precise results that have been produced by their intermixture. This we can only learn from the Internal Evidence, or that afforded by the language itself."

"IX. The number of words which the English language appears to have derived from the Celtic of the original Britons, or their descendants the Welsh, is considerable; but they are scattered and unconnected, and do not constitute a distinguishable department of its vocabulary. No stream of words has flowed into it from that quarter. There has been no

chemical combination of the two languages; only a mechanical intermixture to a certain extent."

"X. There are scarcely to be found any words in the English language which it can be supposed to have inherited from the Latin spoken by the Roman colonists who had preceded the Anglo-Saxons in the dominion, and, to a great extent, in the occupation of the country. Almost the only words of Latin origin that had established themselves in the language before the Norman Conquest are a few which it had received from the Roman ecclesiastics, whose visits commenced at the close of the Sixth Century, or from books."

"XI. It has not yet been shown that any considerable part either of the regular Anglo-Saxon or of the standard form of the modern English is, in its origin, Scandinavian as distinguished from Teutonic; though a Scandinavian element appears to be more or less recognizable in some of the provincial dialects."

"XII. The foreign element which is found to have mingled to by far the largest extent with the Saxon substance of the English language is that peculiar modification of the Latin which grew up in the northern part of what was once the Roman province of Gaul, and which now forms the classical French."

"XIII. In the new circumstances, political and social, in which England was placed by the Norman Conquest, the old literary language of the country perished with the peculiar civilization of which it formed a part, somewhat as did the classical Latin after the overthrow of the Roman Empire; but more rapidly, in consequence of the important additional disadvantage of having to sustain the rivalry of a new civilization, and of another tongue also beginning to be employed in literature. Ceasing to be read or patronized, it ceased to be written; and, no longer written, it soon came to be no longer understood."

"XIV. There still, however, remained in use as the common or vernacular tongue a species or form of Saxon, differing from the Saxon that was written before the Conquest chiefly by its comparative want or neglect of inflections."

"XV. In reference to the progress of the language, the space from about the middle of the Eleventh to the middle of the Thirteenth Century, or the first two centuries after the Conquest, may be designated the Period of Semi-Saxon. In the popular dialect of this period we have a work of considerable length in verse, the *Chronicle of Layamon*."

"XVI. After the middle of the Thirteenth Century, the language assumes the general shape and physiognomy of the English which we now write and speak. It may be called English rough-hewn. The space from about the middle of the Thirteenth to the middle of the Fourteenth Century may be designated the Period of Old or (better) Early English."

"XVII. Meanwhile, in the literature of the country, and also in the oral intercourse of the most influential classes of the population, the native language may be said to have been for the First Century after the Norman Conquest completely overborne by the French; for the Second, to have been in a state of revolt against that foreign tongue; during the Third, to have been rapidly making head against it and regaining its old supremacy."

"XVIII. In the course of the contest between the two languages the English had undergone a considerable alteration of its vocabulary by the reception of words from the French, many of which had probably displaced or rendered obsolete equivalent terms of Saxon origin; so that, by the time it had come to be fully established and recognized, in the latter part of the Fourteenth Century, as the proper literary language of the country, it had been transformed from a purely Gothic into a partially Neo-Latin language."

"XIX. Our modern standard English, in so far as it is of Saxon origin, as it is fundamentally and for much the greater part of its substance, appears to have grown out of a dialect formed in the Midland Counties by such an intermixture of the Northern and Southern dialects as rejected the more remarkable peculiarities of both."

"XX. The space from about the middle of the Fourteenth to the middle of the Sixteenth Century may be styled the Period of Middle English; and that designation may be understood to express not only the position of the Period, but the transition of the language, in respect both of its vocabulary and of its grammar, from its earliest and rudest form to the state in which it now exists. To the commencement of this Period belong the writings of Chaucer, the Father of our Poetry and the true Father of English Literature."

"XXI. We may call the First Century after the Norman Conquest the Infancy of the English Language (as distinct from Saxon); the Second its Childhood; the Third its Boyhood; the Fourth and Fifth its Youth, or Adolescence; and the time that has since elapsed its Manhood. Its Infancy and Childhood will thus correspond with what has before been designated the Period of Saxon and Semi-Saxon; its Boyhood with that of Early English; its Youth with that of Middle English; its Manhood with that of Modern English."

Not the least interesting portion of this volume

will be the Illustrative Specimens of the Language from the earliest period down to the present: these might have been more numerous and extensive with advantage. We shall borrow the strange, wild, eloquent passage quoted from De Quincy, for the delight of all who appreciate beauty of language:—

"THE ELDEST AND YOUNGEST OF OUR LADIES OF SORROW.

"(From De Quincy's *'Suspiria de Profundis.'*—1845.)

"The eldest of the three is named Mater Lachrymarum, Our Lady of Tears. She it is that night and day raves and moans, calling for vanished faces. She stood in Rama, when a voice was heard of lamentation—Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted. She it was that stood in Bethlehem on the night when Herod's sword swept its nurseries of Innocents, and the little feet were stiffened for ever, which, heard at times as they trotted along floors overhead, woke pulses of love in household hearts that were not unmarked in heaven.

"Her eyes are sweet and subtle, wild and sleepy by turns; oftentimes rising to the clouds; oftentimes challenging the heavens. She wears a diadem round her head. And I knew by childish memories that she could go abroad upon the winds, when she heard the sobbing of litanies or the thundering of organs, and when she beheld the mustering of summer clouds. This sister, the elder, it is that carries keys more than Papal at her girdle, which open every cottage and every palace. She, to my knowledge, sat all last summer by the bedside of the blind beggar, him that so often and so gladly I talked with, whose pious daughter, eight years old, with the sunny countenance, resisted the temptations of play and village mirth, to travel all day long on dusty roads with her afflicted father. For this did God send her a great reward. In the spring time of the year, and whilst yet her own spring was budding, he recalled her to himself. But her blind father mourns for ever over her; still he dreams at midnight that the little guiding hand is locked within his own; and still he wakens to a darkness that is now within a second and a deeper darkness. By the power of her keys it is that our Lady of Tears glides a ghostly intruder into the chambers of sleepless men, sleepless women, sleepless children, from Ganges to the Nile, from Nile to Mississippi. And her, because she is the firstborn of her house, and has the wildest empire, let us honour with the title of Madonna.

"But the third sister, who is also the youngest—! Hush! whisper, whilst we talk of her! Her kingdom is not large, or else no flesh should live; but within that kingdom all power is hers. Her head, turreted like that of Cybele, rises almost beyond the reach of sight. She droops not; and her eyes, rising so high, might be hidden by distance. But, being what they are, they cannot be hidden; through the treble veil of crape which she wears, the fierce light of a blazing misery, that rests not for matins or for vespers—for noon of day or noon of night—for ebbing or for flowing tide—may be read from the very ground. She is the defier of God. She also is the mother of lunacies, and the suggestress of suicides. Deep lie the roots of her power; but narrow is the nation that she rules. For she can approach only those in whom a profound nature has been upheaved by central convulsions; in whom the heart trembles and the brain rocks under conspiracies of tempest from without and tempest from within. Madonna moves with uncertain steps, fast or slow, but still with tragic grace. Our Lady of Sighs (the second sister) creeps timidly and stealthily. But this youngest sister moves with incalculable motions, bounding, and with a tiger's leaps. She carries no key: for, though coming rarely amongst men, she storms all doors at which she is permitted to enter at all. And her name is Mater Tenebrarum—Our Lady of Darkness."

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

Ancient and Modern India. By the late W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D. Revised and continued to the Present Time. By P. J. Mackenna, Esq. Second Edition. James Madden.

To the lasting disgrace of our East India Company, it will ever be noted that they have carried the lowest money-getting ideal into their administration. From India they draw vast sums, yet not a sixpence is devoted to the purpose of encouraging and making known the literature of the East. While Russia devotes £10,000 a year to the specific purpose of translation, Professor Wilson is forced to publish at his own cost his translation of the Vishnu Purana and other works!

What wonder, then, if we are ignorant of the history and literature of our great colonies? We ought to be doubly thankful to those who, possessing a knowledge of the subject, undertake the laborious task of reducing it to something like a systematic and complete form. To those whose leisure or whose means exclude them from *Milne's History of British India*, edited by Wilson, we can recommend this excellent compilation by Dr.

Cooke Taylor which Mr. Mackenna has revised with care, and continued down to 1851.

Dr. Taylor very properly opens his rapid survey of the ancient history of India by an account of the Religions and Religious Legends of India, interspersing extracts from the great epic *Mahabharat*. He then briefly sketches the historical events from the first Mahomedan invasion (A.D. 997) to the end of the Afghan dynasty in 1525. After three more chapters we are brought to the British intercourse with India, extending over two centuries and a half (1500—1754), and from that period the story is related more in detail, because more immediately interesting to the public. There is a chapter on "Christianity in India," but it is extremely meagre, and avoids all the essential points of the question. A good index is added—a thing which greatly increases the value of all books, but is absolutely indispensable in historical works.

CLARA HARRINGTON.

Clara Harrington: A Domestic Tale. 3 vols. Colburn and Co.

THERE is a charm in these volumes which smooths the sternness on the brow of Criticism, and, like a winning, coaxing, naughty child, will not let you scold it. In what the charm precisely consists we cannot say. Something, perhaps, of youth with its earnestness, its unmisgiving belief in itself; something also of impassioned seriousness and eloquence; something of the womanly tenderness which breaks forth in its accents. Whatever the charm is, enough that it leads you to forget, or pass over without a frown, all the want of probability, reality, and insight which are there. It is written by one whom, on the evidence here presented, we pronounce to be young, ardent, cultivated, inexperienced, and a woman. She loves the poets, makes companions of the books of the hour, and writes with fervor. Her novel gives remarkable promise; but, as we often say in these columns, guineas are not to be coined without gold, books are not to be written without experience of life. To set forth in plastic creations that which we ourselves have seen, thought, felt, and suffered, is the *only* legitimate object of writing. If we have nothing to say, let us reread the old novels and be silent! Advice which, though always given, is never taken. The authoress of *Clara Harrington* will not take it. She will write more novels. We are persuaded she will. A word, therefore, of critical seriousness may not unfitly be addressed her on the *substance* of this her first novel.

Clara Harrington is a young actress at the Haymarket. Lord Ashford falls in love with her, and tries to make her his mistress. She is naturally indignant at the insult, but forgives him because she loves him. Unable to withstand her charms, he marries her; but marries her under the feigned name of Mr. Merton. They live happily for a while. Tempted by the fortune of a Scotch heiress, Lord Ashford takes a Lady Ashford to his bosom; and thus complicates his existence in a marvellously romantic manner. By a contrivance as transparent as it is commonplace, Clara discovers at last that Mr. Merton, her husband, is Lord Ashford, that he has deceived her, and that he has another and an avowed wife, one married after his marriage with her. On this discovery she is, of course, brought to the brink of the grave; but afterwards resolves to live in order that the crime of having killed her may not fall on her husband. She takes to painting as a livelihood, after having endured considerable brutality at his hands; and he suffers the pangs of remorse.

The story lies there. Now, we beg the authoress to remark its want, not simply of *vraisemblance*, but of grasp of the subject she herself has chosen. Granting that Lord Ashford could have passed undiscovered through all the perils of such a disguise, granting the feigned marriage, and the subsequent incidents—all of which belong to the region of Romance in three vols., not the Romance of Reality—let us direct her attention to these points. In the first place her hero is a low black-guard. The word is energetic, but it is appropriate. Family pride may have coerced Lord Ashford into a secret marriage, but not into such a crime as he is guilty of. Yet he is not presented as a black-guard; on the contrary, our sympathies are demanded for him, and he indulges in pathetic remorse. Moreover his subsequent treatment of his victim is that of an ignoble nature. And for this black-guard Clara sacrifices herself with an angelic devotion, bordering on the ridiculous from its very extravagance. Here it is we miss the real insight requisite. The story so far is simply im-

bosom, fell back fainting on the floor? Of course she did this, and I respect her for it. It was a natural and dignified and femininely proper mode of proceeding. Could she know that the snake was harmless, was asleep on her parapet in the sun, and had only started up and hissed in fear at the sudden noise of the opening window? Certainly not. It was her business, under the circumstances, to scream and faint: and she did her business.

Now let us shift the scene again. Mr. Frostick is returning in the evening from his office—returning eager for domestic enjoyment, impatient to fondle his wife and child. The servant opens the door to him, pale as if all her blood had been turned to whitewash; and muttering fearfully about “Missus” and a serpent. He rushes into the parlour—there is his beloved partner, as nearly as possible raving mad, pressing the baby convulsively to her bosom. She has been attacked by a boa constrictor, twenty feet long, who lives in the roof of the house—nothing shall induce her to sleep up stairs again, or to let the baby sleep up stairs—no! no! it is of no earthly use for Mr. Frostick to tare, and taunt her about dreaming in broad daylight, her mind is made up: she would infinitely prefer going to the workhouse, or roaming the streets all night, to setting foot on the bedroom floor again. It is in vain for her husband to soothe, and promise, and expostulate—she is determined to pass the night on a chair in the back parlour; and she sticks to her determination.

I am soon made aware that I have unconsciously introduced a serpent into a domestic garden of Eden. I have already told my mother that I have a snake; my mother tells our servant; our servant tells Mr. Frostick’s servant; and I get a message, requesting to know what I mean by ruining for ever the tranquillity of a whole household. I apologise, explain, and prove from natural history that the snake is perfectly harmless. In answer to this I get another message. Mrs. Frostick has consented to sleep up stairs again, provided the whole roof of the house is taken off, to assure her that there is no snake in it: Mr. Frostick, as in connubial duty bound, has consented to this tremendous course of proceeding, conceiving at the same time the diabolically revengeful design of bringing an action against me to pay expenses. I laugh contemptuously at this, and dare him to meet me before our country’s tribunals; but serious considerations soon overcome me again, when I hear that the house roof has really been taken off, and no reptile found in any part of it.

Where is the snake? is the momentous question I now ask myself. What scrape will he get me into next? Whose house will he visit, now he has done with Mr. Frostick’s house? What babies will he frighten into fits, what mothers into swoons, what old gentlemen into apoplexies? From the Church pulpit to the workhouse dusthole, there is no place in Stoke Muddleton into which he may not at this moment be introducing himself; and there is no individual in Stoke Muddleton who will not know him, by this time, to be my property whenever he appears. Talk about Frankenstein and the Monster, that’s all stuff and fiction! here’s an appalling reality for you that no novelist of the lot of them can have the smallest conception of! here I am, expecting every minute to be told that I have innocently frightened to death some fellow parishioner; and all because I have bought a snake, price four shillings, and failed to persuade the ungrateful reptile that my best hat-box was a comfortable lodging for him!

I have not omitted making some attempt at putting an end to this frightful state of suspense. The other day I paid two labouring men to become provisionally snake-hunters, and to search all Stoke Muddleton for the missing reptile. This proceeding mollified even the furious Frostick (who is putting on a bran-new slate roof to his house); but it produced no other effect. Once, indeed, my two labouring men—Dabbs and Clutton—saw the snake crossing the road; changing his quarters, perhaps, from a baby’s cradle to an old woman’s nightcap.

Dabbs gave chase, while Clutton stood still and called for extra help. The snake got away, and has not been seen since. Dabbs felt certain that he was on his way home to his native wood—Clutton firmly believed that he was directing his course straight to the house of the Reverend Morbus Lipsicus Stretch, our respected minister, who has twelve children to be frightened out of their wits, and one more soon expected, for the snake to begin upon again when he has done with the first dozen.

In the mean time, public opinion assumes, day by day, a more threatening aspect towards me. I am already, socially speaking, the Pariah of Stoke Muddleton. The reports circulated—especially among my poorer neighbours—about my snake, are worthy of the Dark Ages, or the Cannibal Islands. In some quarters it is believed, that I have let loose a boa constrictor, whose breath can poison people, yards and yards off. In others, it is averred that my so called snake was in reality an alligator from “foreign parts,” accustomed in his native country to feed exclusively on human flesh. One select party, headed by the cheesemonger’s overgrown errand boy, stoutly assert that my vagabond reptile has been seen crossing the high road, in the shape of a winged serpent. This last superstition gains ground immensely among all who remember that the snake not only escaped, nobody knew how, from a hatbox into a garden, but extended his wanderings still further, from a garden to the top of a house. In spite of the trellis-work that runs up the back of Mr. Frostick’s abode, many people are still determined to believe that my snake could only have got to the parapet outside the nursery window by flying there. This is a fact—I am exposing the bare truth, without adding one atom of embroidery. I am not writing for effect; and, being no author, I could not do so if I would. The present is a serious statement, seriously intended—if I thought anybody would laugh at it, I should be utterly disgusted and disappointed. When a man has become, as I have, the accredited perpetrator of a perfectly original species of public nuisance, his position is far too solemn to be joked about either by himself or by others.

No! persecuted and proscribed by a whole parish, publicly charged with predilections for keeping monsters, and letting them loose on society, ribald feelings are not the feelings which accompany such a revelation as mine. When I remember that the outrageous reports which I have described are spread abroad and firmly believed in this nineteenth century of education and cheap literature, by people who live within a sixpenny ride of the great metropolis, I really cannot accuse myself of revolutionary tendencies in crying aloud for social reform, in calling lamentably and imperatively for an immediate supply of Missionaries of the Brotherhood of Common Sense to convert Stoke Muddleton. The social disease is laid bare in these unpretending pages; let the remedy be forthwith applied, and I shall not have been ignorantly “sent to Coventry” by all my neighbours without some good coming from it, after all.

Beyond this, I don’t think I have much more to say. Up to the present time I have not heard of my snake again; he has either wriggled himself back to his native wood, or is lurking in impervious concealment in somebody else’s house. Mr. and Mrs. Frostick have toned down, under their new roof, into a state of dignified sullenness. Among the Stoke Muddleton mob opinion is still violently exasperated against me. The last proof that was given of the estimation in which I am held by the populace generally, came from our own maid servant, who gave us warning yesterday, assigning as the reason that the bare idea of her living in the same house with a gent who was fond of serpents made the affectionate young lead-smelter’s journeyman with whom she “kep’ company” so nervous about her that she was compelled to leave her place, in common regard for her lover’s peace of mind. Insults such as these have long ceased to move me; persecutions, public or private, strike vainly at my tranquillity. I may have lost my snake and lost my character; but I have not lost my ardent interest in reptile creation. While this survives, I can calmly expose my sufferings from the ignorance and malevolence of a large parochial neighbourhood, and feel all the better for it—I can boldly claim the sympathies of my naturalist brethren throughout the world—and, best of all, I can still conscientiously sign myself (certain that I am as good as my name),

PHILO-SERPENS.

I open my paper again to say that I have just received a letter from my brother Tom, who is in the navy, and now with his ship at Borneo. Tom (bless him!) writes word that, knowing my peculiar tastes, and anxious to gratify them, he has secured a *live boa constrictor* for me (!) and has sent it off to my address here by a homeward-bound ship (!) Need I say that I shall receive it joyfully—receive it as a rod of chastisement opportunely arriving to scourge a calumnious neighbourhood? Welcome, avenging reptile! Welcome, thrice welcome, to the village of Stoke Muddleton!

The Arts.

THE LYCEUM REOPENED.

On Monday evening last, I found myself in what the American language designates by an “almighty fix”: and as many of my fellow-bachelors will probably understand the blissful tumult of my thoughts, I shall not hesitate to take them into confidence. The case is this. I had passed Sunday with the stately Harriet, and never before had I been so near making a fool of myself by offering my hand and copyrights where I had already given my heart. Justly alarmed and duly grateful for the escape, I resolved to fortify myself against a relapse by a severe perusal of TERTULLIAN *Ad Uxorem*; the remarks of the Christian Father upon marriage were to be the antidote to Harriet’s eyes. I had a dim remembrance of his argument that St. Paul’s counsel was far from intimating marriage to be a good thing in itself, but only good in comparison with something worse. I remembered also the splendid phrase of savage discernment in which he characterizes “that very bitter pleasure of children—*liberorum amarissimâ voluptate*,” not to mention “weekly bills”! With TERTULLIAN I felt there was safety.

But as the chair was wheeled to the fire, who should present himself but that mysterious and dirty entity the Devil (the printer’s!), with an intimation that my presence was needed at the Lyceum Theatre, which was to reopen that night. Tertullian—the Lyceum—which was I to choose? In the pages of the one lay perhaps the destiny of my future life—in the boxes of the other lay my duty (and engagement on the *Leader*). Intellect was on the side of the quarto—the affections on the side of the theatre. Buridan’s Ass, the schoolmen say, when placed between the two *equally* attractive temptations of water and hay, perished because the attractions were so equalized that he could not decide. But he was an ass. Vivian, being a philosopher, decided, and decided to let his affections gain the victory over his interest—he went to the Lyceum.

Gay and brilliant was the house in its new decorations, happy the smiling faces of the audience pleased to be once more comfortably within its elegant walls. The comedy of my lucky, but over-estimated friend, Slingsby Lawrence was played with great *verve* and finish; and Charles Mathews, when he first presented himself as Affable Hawk, received the hearty *friendly* salute of a public that has no such accomplished actor among its favourites. Frank Mathews was as *mordant* and effective as ever in the begging creditor; and Roxby, in spite of nervousness (they were all nervous!), greatly improved in Sir Harry Lester. Every body had a “reception”; every body was made to feel at home by an audience that felt itself pleased to see its friends. After the comedy “God save the Queen” was sung by the company, which brought more old friends upon the stage, among them MADAME, who sang her verse with immense effect; Julia St. George, who improves daily; Mrs. Frank Mathews, a deserved favourite; and, beside the old familiar faces, there were new faces—Mrs. Chatterley, who returns to the stage after many years absence, to fill a place long vacant; Laura Keene from the Olympic; and Miss Lanza, whose singing will be an acquisition.

VIVIAN.

HINDOSTAN.

The Asiatic Gallery, a new and capacious room adjoining the waxwork show in Baker-street, contains the last new colossal picture on rollers; and thither we went last week to assist at the gathering of notables, private acquaintances, and literary men with which these things are usually inaugurated. The ramparts of Fort William, the citadel of Calcutta, formed the starting point, whence we ascended the Ganges to its source among the snowy regions of the Himalaya. The first transition from the flat, even range of Doric respectability, Town-hall, Government-house, and Mint, to some real Bengal cottage scenery on the opposite or right bank of the river, was striking and agreeable. So, without doubt, thought Louis Haghe, the figure painter; his clever group of officers and cadets in the first scene is completely eclipsed by the portrayal of unconstrained native life which follows. Another artistic bit of painting, creditable alike to the landscape painter, Mr. Phillips, and to the great artist we have named, is a sunset, and would have been quite perfect, even as a *dioramic effect*, but for the work of the machinist, who has contrived to ruin the light and atmosphere by the veriest spectre of a

setting sun ever beheld. These aids to scenic effect are only tolerable when marvellous—as they really used to be when contrived by Daguerre and Bouton—men far above the ordinary race of stage carpenters, and who brought a knowledge of optics, dearly attained, to the production of their illusory tableaux.

A storm on the Ganges told much better, precisely because the painters had it all to themselves. No transparency was introduced; but the scene was lit at intervals by momentary flashes, which imitated well enough the vivid tropical lightning. If the water be painted by Mr. Phillips, he cannot be said to paint water as well as he does land scenery; the ships by Mr. Kneil have, nevertheless, a look of freedom and buoyancy quite surprising. We have protested against the usual style of verbal description accompanying these entertainments. The gentleman who lectures at the Asiatic Gallery recites the whole contents of the shilling book, which is uncommonly long, with ruthless accuracy, and slow, monotonous intonation; requesting his hearers to “look on those snowy peaks whereon the rose tints linger, and round which the white clouds roll,” with the same accent in which he tells them that “the figure in the foreground with an umbrella is a *Babu*,” that “the square house is the residence of Mr. Gubbins of the Bengal Civil Service,” and that Gangoutri is just 10,319 feet above high-water mark.

There is a supplement to the diorama in a well-stocked museum, containing a few of the original sketches.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.—The Executive Committee met on Wednesday. The Secretary was instructed to state that the Committee had purchased a quantity of the tract, *What is a Chartist?* from Mr. James Watson, and any locality or friend might be supplied with the same at one shilling per hundred, by applying to the Secretary, at the office. The Secretary was also instructed to request those localities or friends who have subscription sheets or funds, to forward them on or before Wednesday, December 31, as the Committee are most desirous of winding up their accounts with that honour which is due to the cause. The Committee then adjourned to Monday evening, December 22.—Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN ARNOTT, General Secretary.

WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE, AGARD-STREET, DERRY.—The fourth half-yearly general meeting of the above Institute, was held on Thursday last, November 27, when the Treasurer read the following report:—

“At the conclusion of the present half year little will have to be reported by your committee, beyond the regular working of the Institute. During the summer months the attendance of members was very small, and in consequence, the funds suffered to a correspondent amount. This your committee regret, as it must necessarily prevent them from offering those advantages to the members that they might otherwise do; but they trust as the Institute progresses, and the advantages it offers become more widely known, that the difficulty may be overcome. During the present half year another room has been added to those already occupied, and without additional expense; this the committee intend to fit up as a class room, and have no doubt it will be found very useful. Since the commencement of the classes for the winter the attendance has been good; a circumstance most gratifying to the committee, as they consider the class instruction offered as the most important feature of the Institute. In addition to the classes previously in operation, a class for vocal music has been opened; also a drawing class and an elementary reading class. Lectures on different subjects have also been delivered. Two readings from the poet Burns, one lecture on Education, two on the best means of preserving Health, by the Reverend A. Macdonald; a lecture on pure and sound Literature, by the Reverend J. Owen; a reading from Shakspeare, by Mr. Warner; an address from the Reverend H. W. Crosskey, at the opening of the winter classes. Besides the above, penny lectures were delivered by the Reverend J. A. Baynes, on the Olympic Games and the Great Exhibition; by the Reverend H. W. Crosskey, on the Life and Genius of Ebenezer Elliott; and two by Thomas Cooper, one on Milton, and the other on Washington and the Independence of America. For the delivery of these lectures the use of the Mechanics' Hall was kindly granted by their committee. The average number attending these lectures paying for admission, has been about 500; and a profit of £2 has been realized. George Dawson has also been engaged to deliver a lecture early in January next, of which full notice will be given. Several sums have been received for the library fund, also several donations of books. The funds of the Institute are also in a better condition, as will appear from the balance sheet. Altogether, your committee think the prospects of the Society are in a more promising state than they have previously been, and it is with great pleasure that they see amongst them earnest, zealous, members, who frequent our class rooms, many old familiar faces; and also a great pleasure to be able to say on this occasion, as they have done before,

that to the best of their knowledge all angry and unkind feelings have been banished from these rooms, which they trust will long continue to be the case.—LUKE ROBINSON, Secretary.

DISCUSSION ON CO-OPERATION.

Perhaps in no other town has “coöperative labour,” or “coöperative stores,” received a greater share of attention than in Padiham, and the towns in its immediate neighbourhood. And no person who has been in that hive of industry, could wonder at the prevalence of such topics, so pregnant with interest to working men, especially if they have surveyed the large and well-stocked “store” of groceries, drapery goods, and in fact every article ordinarily used by a middle-class or working man's family. But the crowning effort of the scheme is considered by most to be the large mill which has just been completed, and which by April next will have in it 360 looms. Sixty are already “running,” the cloth manufactured is regularly disposed of, and the profits, we presume, are divided among the seventy-seven proprietors at stated periods. All the shareholders are working men, they have raised all the necessary capital for the erection of the mill, and by the time the machinery in the three rooms is in full operation they will have subscribed and paid £6000 or £7000. In that structure the long-expected discussion between Mr. Lloyd Jones and Mr. Ernest Jones has taken place. Two nights were fixed for the polemical display. Mr. Thomas Hull was appointed chairman for Mr. Lloyd Jones, and Mr. Thomas Tattersall for Mr. Ernest Jones. The rules of the debate were—“That Mr. Lloyd Jones open the debate each evening, and Mr. Ernest Jones close it.” The bills announcing the discussion informed the public that “Mr. Ernest Jones would undertake to vindicate the following proposition:—Coöperation, the errors of the present movement, showing that it carries within it the germs of dissolution, would inflict a renewed evil on the masses of the people, and is essentially destructive to the real principles of coöperation; instead of abrogating profit-mongering, it re-creates it; instead of counteracting competition, it re-establishes it; instead of preventing centralization, it renews it; merely transferring the roll from one set of actors to another.”

We take the above account from the *Preston Guardian*, which gives ample reports of the arguments on both sides. At the conclusion of the debates, the votes are said to be entirely in favour of Mr. Lloyd Jones, but this must have been owing to the Socialist habit of never voting the truth of propositions. It is difficult to conceive otherwise why they should have voted without qualification. The fact is half Mr. Ernest Jones's propositions involve no objection to coöperation.

The *Preston Guardian* of last Saturday contains a report of a tea party, held in the new Mill, Mr. Hull in the chair. Only part of the arrangements were carried out, from the disappointments the managers had experienced through the absence of many of the speakers who were expected to be present. Mr. Thornton Hunt, of London, and editor of the *Leader*, had other engagements; the Reverend J. G. Lee, of Pendleton, could not attend at Padiham, because he found that, if he did, he would have to neglect his ministerial duties on Sunday morning; the health of the Reverend Mr. Adamson would not allow him to be out after dark; and one gentleman declined the invitation sent him, because he had been “converted” to the other side by the discussion of the previous week. The Reverend Mr. Wood, of Padiham, and Mr. Benjamin Glover, of Bury, however, responded to the call of the coöperatists, and, after about 300 persons had partaken of tea, they delivered long and pertinent addresses to the large assembly who had met to hear them.

WILLIAM WEITLING AT NAUVOO.

Mr. Weitling, twice an exile in England (where one or two of his works appeared, which were very remarkable for their Propagandist spirit), is now in America, prosecuting his social studies. The *Popular Tribune* of October 25, records the following visit:—

“Last Friday we had the pleasure to receive the visit of Mr. W. Weitling, a Communist writer, well known among the German Socialists and Communists, and the editor of the *Republik der Arbeiter*, a German weekly paper published at New York, and devoted to Socialism and politics. This gentleman is travelling to visit the different communities in America, and propagate his ideas of social reform, and principally the project of association for the workmen, by which they will be insured mutually against misery in their old days. We shall have, probably, occasion to speak of this project, to which we wish all the success it merits. He stayed only four days among us, and visited our workshops, our schools, &c., and he departed for St. Louis last Tuesday, to continue the subject of his journey.

“Before his departure he took his farewell of us in a short speech in French, delivered with emotion. It is impossible for us to repeat all that he said, with the expression he put in his words; we will, however, give a synopsis of it, as well as our memory will help us.

“He said, first, that he found us in a better position than he had expected, though we have much yet to do; ‘But,’ said he, ‘you are now seated on a base too strong that anything may ever shake it; and with one year more courage and perseverance you will have all that makes living comfortable. Be united as you are now, and never forget that all the Socialists have their eyes fixed on you; that you are the hope of thousands who wait your full success with the greatest anxiety—that thousands of children have chance for a good moral education only in your schools. Forget not that you are the pioneers of a great cause that your union can make prosper. As to me, I will make my efforts to help you in the measure of my abilities. I will not conceal that you have yet much to do; but I will tell my friends that,

if something is yet wanting, any one who has been some days in the Community forgets it as the perfect equality which reigns among you makes every one happy, and that you are improving every day more and more.—Adieu, my brethren.’”

DISREPUTABLE PRETENSIONS OF THE SOCIALISTS.

The following extract from our journal, *Le Populaire* (said by the *Popular Tribune*), will illustrate these pretensions.

“If you (the Friends of Order) do not think it possible to insure to all the right of working, if you will not encourage and organize labour, at least you ought to let it free and cease to rob and fine it. Now, all your taxes, except perhaps the tax on real estates, are nothing but fines bearing on labour, industry, commerce, and exchange. It would seem more just to exact contributions from those who have already a capital, than to ransom those who can live but by working. It is true that these ideas have the wrong of being put forth by the Socialists. They are, therefore, quite unacceptable; for we ought to know that Socialism is an abominable doctrine, it is at least what is said by well-thinking and well-endowed persons that are on the eve of studying it. We must avow, indeed, that Socialists have sometimes some very singular pretensions. Did they not dare say, for example, man has a right to life; to live he has only three means—to rob, to beg, or to work. Now, do they add, we will not rob. You are then but scoundrels and brigands, are they responded to. We will not beg. Ah! miserable vagabonds! cry out the honest people. We will work. Set of lazy fellows! Such are the reasons interchanged from one part to the other. It is easily understood that Socialism discounted could find nothing to reply to so mighty arguments. What remained for it to do was to acknowledge itself vanquished, and to play the dead body. But the cunning pretend that it is not dead at all, that it never felt so strong and lively as since the time they have been looking out for the means of killing it honestly and devotedly.—VILLEGARDELLE.”



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.

[Mr. Neill is informed that the letter referred to by the *Boston Liberator* as being addressed to the *Leader* by Mr. Joseph Barker, late of Wortley, in this country, certainly never reached us.]

OUR RIDICULOUS ANCESTORS.

December 17, 1851.

SIR,—At the time of the Weedon accident I prepared this short note to send to your “Open Council”; but the exigency of travel delayed it. Let those, however, who think it out of date, be sure that they speak advisedly; for, unless railway management is rapidly amended, another accident may put it into date by the time it appears.

At the soiree of a Mechanics' Institution lately, a Railway Director quoted a well-known fact, that in the olden times (from which it was said we were happily far removed)—the times when a person, before setting out from Edinburgh or York to London, used to make his *will*, not being by any means sure whether he would reach the end of his journey. At this striking simplicity of those whom Albert Smith describes as our “old gov'nors” the meeting laughed out its roughest roar (the people are hard in the mouth where this took place), and the Railway Director himself laughed as heartily as anybody. For myself, I laughed because the Director laughed (the very aberrations of respectability being respectable), otherwise I should not have laughed; for it seemed to me that our forefathers were not so very ridiculous, after all, and that in our day we may not unwisely imitate their precaution. At most stations a little business is done in the way of railway-insurance tickets, to which might not inappropriately be added the sale of “Forms of Wills.” For further particulars inquire of the Coroner at Claycross, Bicester, Weedon, Hornsey, and, generally, down the Eastern Counties and Brighton lines.

G. J. HOLYOAKE.

THE ELECTORS AND THE ELECTED.
TO THE CHARTISTS.

December 17, 1851.

BROTHER CHARTISTS,—You are being told you cannot elect an Executive of three (or five) men, and pay them for labour done, because the last convention did not make such a regulation, and therefore it would be undemocratic to alter the constitution of the committee.

I don't understand such very nice scruples. My notion is that *that is the most democratic which is the best for democracy*. My notion is, the constituency that sends delegates whom it sends; that primary assemblies are higher than elected bodies, and that, therefore, the full free vote of the entire Chartist movement can make any improvement it pleases in its organization. So much for the objection on the score of democracy. A nice position we should be in at a time of crisis if we found there was something wrong in our organization, and we must needs wait until we could afford the money, and get up the machinery requisite for summoning a convention! If there is an evil, get rid of it as speedily as you can. And here is an occasion when we cannot wait till a convention is called together. An Executive (by the rules) must be elected at once. A convention could not meet in less than six weeks, and, therefore, I suggested the *only* democratic course left in the emergency, to make forthwith a direct appeal to the Chartist body, whether certain alterations were needed in the formation of an Executive. You are further told you should elect a committee of nine, because the large number "insures a good average attendance."

Pay the men, then you can command their attendance, and discard them if they are negligent servants.

Nine are further recommended, as giving the advantage of a multiplicity of opinions. That is just what we should avoid, it prevents unity of action.

One man tells us, "I'm a Communist, elect none but Communists with me." Another says, "I'm for supporting the middle-class movement." Each one tries to divert Chartism into a tool to carry out his own peculiar notions, and thus all pull different ways, and neutralize the Chartist power.

This comes of having men given to other movements on our committee. Would you take a blacksmith to plane a board, or a bricklayer to make a pair of shoes? In the same way in which you want a carpenter to do a carpenter's work, or a weaver for weaving, so you want a *Chartist for Chartism*. And until you feel and act upon this you will never have Chartist work done properly.

One rich gentleman who, if he had given that time to the interests of man which he has devoted to his own, would not possess the riches he now boasts of. One rich gentleman—and there are others who might be as rich, and perhaps richer, than he, had they not trampled upon Mammon to kneel before humanity, had they not preferred the dungeons with which he taunts them, to the country house in which he revels, one rich gentleman tells us it is unnecessary and impracticable "to pay an Executive"! Let the rich man say it is unnecessary—I, the *poor man*, say it is not, and I am prouder of my poverty than he is of his riches. He tells us, "We do not want an Executive to live upon our energies and sacrifices!" Then neither should *he* want to live upon the energies and sacrifices of an Executive. It is disgraceful in any movement to ask men to do that for us which we refuse to do for others. "Impracticable." What? with such numbers of rich friends, ready friends, ready to form an Executive all for nothing? Surely if so ready to form an Executive, they must be ready to *support* one! He tells us, moreover, that we should "be better served" by rich amateurs than by men whom we paid.

By whom should we be better served than by a Harney or a Kydd? and *can* they serve us unless we give them the means of living? People have such a naughty habit, that they will not live without eating. The unpaid system, by the inevitable law of bread and cheese, drives such men from our active advocacy; and tell the rich gentleman that one such man is worth a thousand of his order, with ten thousand times his sovereigns to boot. Another evil in an unpaid Executive is, that it renders it almost imperative that none but *London* men should be elected; whereas, the metropolis should enjoy no such monopoly in the committee; which should not be tinged by local interests, but represent a national feeling.

The writer further objects to a committee exclusively of working men. I never proposed it. What I said was, that the committee should consist of men who would do *our work*, and not coquet with a hundred different things. That was a sham perversion of my meaning. I perfectly agree with our wealthy monitor that a man, because he had been in prison, is no better than another man. I am as opposed to aristocracy of "convicts," as I am to any other aristocracy; but I do say this, that getting into prison is no cause of reproach, as he makes it. And that it does not "evidence," as he says, "a want of the foresight, calmness, and thought necessary to be possessed;" since none could be more discreet,

thoughtful, and calm, than the leaders of the Trades' Unions, and they are in Stafford gaol notwithstanding. Calm or loud, despotism imprisons democracy whenever it grows dangerous.* A more important point is the policy of not electing men pledged to other movements.

Our friend talks largely of the "Society for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge," the "Anti-state Church Society," and the "Secular School Society." I said nothing about them—though, if a man gives his time to them, he cannot be giving it to us; but what I did say was, we should not elect men wedded to a hostile *political* movement. We are engaged in a struggle of labour against capital, and we should not elect men united with the capitalist. The question is not, are we to join a "parallel association," as the writer says, but are we to join a hostile one and have its agents on our Executive, to neutralize and strangle our movement. Such is the association in No. 11, Poultry—unfledged political birds, who have not yet got the first down feathers of democracy upon them.

Why do I call them hostile? Because, in a struggle of labour against capital, every extension of the franchise that increases the power of the rich more than it increases the power of the poor, weakens and lessens the chances of the latter to obtain their rights. I know of no "parallel" association. If Financial Reformers mean the same thing as the Charter, let them give up the field to the working men who raised the Charter fifteen years before the political poultry had ever cackled. But if they mean not the same, and they do not if they mean merely an instalment of the franchise (as I have elsewhere shown), and that an instalment of one hundred per cent. given to the middle class for every ten per cent. given to the working class, and if that ten per cent. be given only to the aristocracy of labour, then I say it is a hostile movement, one ruinous to the people's cause, and the man who supports it is, though unconsciously, our enemy. I say, "though unconsciously"; for our argument is not, as this writer tells you, "that all men are villains, but it is that *we* wont be made fools and have the old tricks of 1832 played over again. I desire, as well as he, to see Chartism made "loveable"; but I do not wish to see it made a plaything and a laughing stock of the rich. I would sooner see it *hateful* in their eyes than *contemptible* in our own! And you may depend upon it, as soon as the rich begin to love it, it will be a thing not worth the affections of the poor.

Having said this much as to whom I conceive the people should elect, permit me to offer a word to those whom they are electing. There seems a misapprehension on the part of some as to the amount of labour expected from a member of the Executive. I do not believe the Chartists expect unreasonable work from him; but I think they *do* expect, and I know they have a right to expect, that their servants shall perform their work, and that it is not unreasonable to expect the member of the Executive who remains in town, to attend at the office for at least as many hours as a banker's or a merchant's clerk would do, and that each should be prepared to pass in rotation one month out of the three in the country. I do not see that a man need have the capabilities of a steam-engine to perform that which, in his respective line, is performed by every commercial traveller or trader's servant. I regret that any should refuse to serve in the people's cause. Poor chance has Democracy when its best men refuse to serve it. This is false pride, and its errors should be pointed out to a friend (however intimate or valued), for he is no honourable man who does not reprove the errors of a brother as freely as the sins of a foe. No man should be too proud to live by work; and if not too proud to take wages from a private employer, no man should be too proud to take them from the noblest of masters—the People, in the holiest of work—their redemption. It is wrong—very wrong—to reject the helm when called to it in the most critical and dangerous hour. Is this the way to keep the movement on? Stray lecturing and isolated tours won't do it. The shout and cheer of the meeting may be attractive, the independent desultory journey may prove more pleasant; but the steady, obedient, and assiduous service is what *we* want, and when called to the post of duty, no man should shrink from it in the time of apathy.

To the rally, then, every man who has a heart in the cause. We cannot spare one amid the honest sterling few who stand unshaken in the vanguard of our battle. Do you see what comes of such reformers? You leave the helm to the incapable or designing; you repress the rising courage of the people; you shake their awakening confidence. What must the people think and feel when they call on those whom

* There have been many personal remarks written. These I do not answer. Whether I did or did not regularly attend the committee when not on Chartist business in the country, has nothing to do with the question. Whether three, five, or nine should be elected as an Executive, paid or unpaid. The reader is referred to the weekly attendance list, as published in the democratic papers.—E. J.

† Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association.

they love and trust to serve them, and one by one they answer, "Not I!" "Not I!" "Not I!" Is this the way to help democracy, and that in its most critical and trying hour? Oh no! the Charter is endangered, stand by it! stand by it! every man of heart, stand by your ranks! face round on every side! hold up the banner in your centre; stand firm till the storm has blown by—then comes the signal, MARCH, and we will move onward.

ERNEST JONES.

REPLY TO "A LETTER TO CHARTISTS."

London, December 1, 1851.

SIR,—Genuine criticism is always beneficial, and we should be grateful for it; but, to fulfil its office thoroughly, to do its work well, it should be scrupulously accurate, inflexibly just, and always kindly. The critic of a popular movement is the most important officer thereof: he is a responsible censor, liable to the exercise of his particular function on himself. Our friendly critic, H. R. N., in his "Letter to Chartists," with much truth well spoken, has made no distinctions: we are all swept up into one lot of rubbish. He must know (as I know) that the noisy, the turbulent, the denunciatory, and abusive persons among the Chartists are the most notorious, perhaps, but the least numerous, and who are endured for their proved sincerity in many cases, whilst they are rebuked for their violence. If H. R. N. meant by "the Chartists" only a certain portion of them, he were wise to have said so, and should have stated their relative numbers, because it is not true of any of his charges to apply them to the whole body. For example:—*All* the Chartists have not "set up certain wordy idols"; do not "suppose that strong words are strong sense"; do not "ask 'Where's Moloch?'" except to put him out; do not "mistake sound for sense, and noise for strength"; do not "denounce all who will denounce everybody"; do not "scorn to be practical"; do not "revel in the vague"; do not "like to be oppressed"; do not "laud to the skies the great talker and little doer"; do not "regard talk as an end, not as a means." With some, nay with many, of the Chartists, their movement is "a steady gale" intelligently adopted, conscientiously adhered to, candidly avowed, and temperately advocated, who are Chartists and gentlemen, who cannot be vulgar, who work from honesty and earnestness of conviction, and are the very core of the movement, the quiet internal power round which aggregate men who, presenting certain rude appearances of mind and manners, have been readily selected as our models of the whole by our opponents, but who cannot be so recognized by one of ourselves. Candour requires a disavowal of the misconduct of a few and not a sweeping censure of the many; when the critic shall select the actual offenders, and speak of them, we shall listen without feeling any injustice; when this is not so, we must disavow the charges as caricature not portraiture, as the exceptional put for the general, the transient for the enduring.

Criticism, the result of culture, gives greater light; instinct of the people, that inspiration of humanity, gives greater heat. I regret to see them put in opposition. Why may we not have the illumination of culture (which always causes criticism) with the prolific heat of popular instinct united into one process of radiation over society? That man shall be the leader who can combine them in his own person. Till then let us not have a renewal of the world-old contest.—Light trying to put down heat, and heat trying to burn up light. Let these estimable critics remember that all movements have these two parties—the Girondists and the Mountain; and the wisdom and policy of a Chartist is to unite these oppositions, to be careful in his censures, to avoid irritations—for no man is unassailable by kindness, no man is proof against irritations; and there is a danger of doing the wrong we condemn, by denouncing denunciation, and unjustly implicating the innocent in a universal censure. Let H. R. N. persevere in the path of personal exertion, convincing individuals, restraining violent feelings in his locality, teaching and exemplifying mild language, temperate tone, and kind manners, with strong convictions and decided measures—sure that others are labouring in the same course, with as certain success; for the People are sound at heart, and soon respond to the generous call and the affectionate example. Let us be careful how we constantly expose our faults, for exposure hardens them. If we justify our opponents by our indiscreet confessions, we do a wrong to those who are the real heart and life of the Chartist movement—the calm, the temperate, the reflective, and practical men, who are not often the most prominent, though the most useful, of the Chartists. I. C. O.

SCARCITY OF GENUINE POETRY.

Glasgow, December 9, 1851.

SIR,—There can be no surer evidence of the scarcity of genuine poetry at the present day, than the injudicious approbation awarded by critics to effusions pretending to be such, however questionable such pretensions may be, whether as to the structure or the moral tone of the productions. If as to the former much allowance should be made to inex-

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE

FRIDAY.

Consols on Monday closed at 96½; on Tuesday and Wednesday at 96¼; and on Thursday at 96½. The opening price this morning was—Consols, 96½; steady market.

The fluctuations have been:—Consols, from 96¼; Bank Stock, from 214½ to 215½; and Exchequer Bills, from 48s. to 51s. premium.

In Foreign Stocks yesterday, the bargains comprised—Brazilian, at 94; the Small, 93½; Mexican, for money, 26¼ and ¾; for the account, 26¾, ¾, and ¾; Peruvian, for account, 90 and 90½; Portuguese Four per Cents., Converted, 33 and 33½; Russian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 103, 102½, and 102¼; Sardinian Five per Cents., 84½, ¼, 84, ¼, 83¾, and 84¼; Spanish Five per Cents., for money, 20½; for the account, 21 and 20¾; Spanish Three per Cents., 40 and 40½; the New Deferred, 16¾; Venezuela, 35½ and ¼; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 59¾, ¼, and ¼; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 90¼ and 89¾.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32 for the week ending on Saturday, December 6, 1851.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£ 29,902,930	Government Debt, 11,015,100	£
		Other Securities ..	2,984,900
		Gold Coin and Bullion	15,869,555
		Silver Bullion	33,375
	£29,902,930		£29,902,930

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital, 14,553,000	£	Government Securities (including Dead-weight Annuity)	12,241,768
Rest	3,126,495	Other Securities ..	11,547,043
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) ..	8,077,341	Notes	11,048,425
Other Deposits	9,539,188	Gold and Silver Coin	615,654
Seven-day and other Bills	1,156,863		
	£36,452,890		£36,452,890

Dated December 11, 1851. M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK. (Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	214½	215	214½	214½	215	215
3 per Ct. Red ..	97	97½	97½	97½	96¾	97
3 p. C. Con. Ans.	97½	97½	97	97½	97½	97
3 p. C. An. 1726.						
3 p. Ct. Con., Ac.	97½	98	97½	96½	98½	98
3½ p. Cent. An.	97½	98½	98½	97½	98½	98
New 5 per Cts.						
Long Ans., 1860.	7½		7	7	7	7
Ind. St. 10½ p. Ct.	263		262			
Ditto Bonds ..	60 p	61 p	65 p	61 p	59 p	
Ex. Bills, 1000L	50 p	48 p	53 p	48 p	48 p	
Ditto, 500L ..	50 p	48 p	52 p	47 p		
Ditto, Small	50 p	48 p	52 p	47 p	51 p	

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	71	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	23½
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct.	90	— Small ..	26½
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	—	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	45	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	87½
Chilian 6 per Cents. ...	101½	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	90½
Danish 5 per Cents. ...	102	— 4 per Cts.	33½
Dutch 2½ per Cents. ...	58	— Annuities ..	—
— 4 per Cents. ...	89½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	103½
Ecuador Bonds ..	31	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	20½
French 5 p. C. Anat. Paris	96.5	— Passive ..	5
— 3 p. Cts., July 11, 58.45		— Deferred ..	—

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.		BANKS.	
Aberdeen	10½	Australasian	—
Bristol and Exeter ..	80	British North American	45
Caledonian	15½	Colonial	—
Eastern Counties ..	—	Commercial of London ..	25½
Edinburgh and Glasgow	—	London and Westminster	30
Great Northern	18	London Joint Stock ..	18½
Great S. & W. (Ireland)	35½	National of Ireland ..	—
Great Western	85½	National Provincial ..	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire	57½	Provincial of Ireland ..	41
Lancaster and Carlisle	—	Union of Australia ..	35½
London, Brighton, & S. Coast	94½	Union of London ..	11½
London and Blackwall ..	7		
London and N.-Western	116	MINES.	
Midland	50½	Bolanos	—
North British	7	Brazilian Imperial ..	—
South-Eastern and Dover	—	Ditto, St. John del Rey	19
South-Western	—	Cobre Copper	31½
York, Newcastle, & Berwick	17½	MISCELLANEOUS.	
York and North Midland	21½	Australian Agricultural	15
		Canada	49½
DOCKS.		General Steam	27½
East and West India ..	142	Peninsular & Oriental Steam	67½
London	116	Royal Mail Steam ..	83½
St. Katharine	79	South Australian ..	23

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, Friday, December 19.—The supplies of Wheat during the week have been very small, either of English or foreign, but large of Flour from New York. On Monday Wheat was 1s. lower, and no improvement has since taken place; foreign, however, is not pressed for sale. Oats were cheaper on Monday, but they have since shown a tendency to recover the decline. Beans and Peas are both 1s. cheaper than last week. Barley without alteration. The country markets held during the week have been attended with the dullness usual at this season of the year.

stamps and taxes on knowledge. The result will be, that more good will be done in one month for Kossuth, for England, for the whole of Europe, than all the speeches ever delivered, unreported by Times or Post, or the useless machinery of petition in use by the Anti-Tax-on-Knowledge Society can ever do, with double the capital.

With the aid of the people, a paper of the class pointed out—what could not the people do? With such a power in their own hands, despots would soon learn that there is a power in the pen, and mightier far than that of the sword.

I am, Sir, yours truly, W. STEVENS.

“SOCIAL REFORM AND EDUCATION.”

Phrenological Museum, 367, Strand, October 29, 1851.

SIR,—Having read with great interest the letters of Mr. Coningham and Mr. Travis on Social Reform and Education in the recent numbers of the Leader, may I be allowed in “Open Council” to make one or two remarks thereon at the present stage of the inquiry? Both writers in their philosophical attempt to analyse the nature of the being to be educated or improved, before suggesting the methods of education and improvement themselves, have evidently chosen the right path; and no observer of nature will for a moment dispute the great principle laid down, viz., “the dependence of character on organization and external circumstances.” But have your correspondents gone far enough? have they concentrated all the available rays of light which modern philosophy has shed on this subject? Surely not, or the discoveries of Gall and Spurzheim might have been made to furnish a yet more definite axiom of equal or greater importance, viz., that mental manifestation is universally connected with brain, and that by the study of this organ the nature and extent of the mental faculties themselves can be arrived at. I know not whether your correspondents have studied the magnificent labours of Gall, in his *Anatomie et Physiologie du Cerveau*, or the philosophical and irrefutable analyses of motive and powers, the simple and rational views on education—in the numerous works of Spurzheim. I have done so, and if permitted will on some future occasion show the bearings of this system of mental philosophy on the subject under discussion. Let it suffice for the present to enter a protest against the conclusion of Mr. Coningham, that “every infant, except in case of organic diseases, is capable of being formed into a very inferior or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth;” or that of Mr Travis, “That man is good by nature, or prone to prefer right or good to wrong or evil.”

His past errors have arisen from ignorance, which caused him to adopt false ideas of right and wrong, or of that which is conducive or detrimental to his happiness.” And again—“That the individual whose intelligence and moral feelings have been comparatively well developed (by education?) will resist almost or entirely without an effort the temptation which will as certainly produce a vicious will and evil conduct in one who has been less favourably educated.

These conclusions, though containing much truth, err in overstating the case—in attributing too much to external, and too little to internal, circumstances. They do not explain how the untaught Murillo could paint artistically at four years old—how Handel, persecuted by his father for his devotion to music, could compose at eight—or Pascal discover for himself in childhood the propositions of Euclid’s first book, while the sons of many a millionaire, with thousands lavished on their education, never attain mediocrity. What “external circumstances,” that do not operate on hundreds similarly chained to poverty and ignorance in early life, developed the spirit of the muse in Burns, in Bloomfield, and in Elliott, and taught them to sing so sweetly and so well? Why have persons moving in the highest circles, from whom temptation is utterly removed, been frequently known to appropriate what is not their own, in plain words to steal—while unswerving integrity has been maintained by men tempted by poverty, by associates, almost by education, through a long life? Mr. Coningham and Mr. Travis appear to me both to have overlooked the fact, that education can only give ideas, but not faculties—that it can direct and improve motives, within certain limits, but not implant them. The intellectual faculties and the feelings are innate, and their relative energy depends more upon original constitution or development than upon subsequent exercise. Yet is education a mighty lever for the elevation of mankind, and none more than the disciples of Gall and Spurzheim acknowledge its legitimate influence and its absolute necessity, especially when administered according to the principles of that mental philosophy which Gall and his colleague founded; and Auguste Comte has pronounced “one of the principal elements by which the philosophy of the nineteenth century will be effectually (définitivement) distinguished from that of the preceding, a result hitherto so vainly attempted.” (*Philosophie Positive*, tom. 3, p. 842.)

FRANCIS RUDALL, Jun.

perienced authorship, it will be admitted that in regard to the latter nothing should ever in any circumstances be conceded. I am afraid that the critic in last Saturday’s Leader—in his remarks on the verses of the young aspirant to public favour, Mr. A. Smith, of Glasgow—has, from some cause or other, overlooked this very important principle and distinction.

That, in writing from this place, I may not be supposed to be actuated by any unworthy motive, I may remark that I know Mr. Smith only by name; that I have myself no pretensions to, nor no faculty for, verse-making; besides that, being by no means anxious to verify in his case the proverb of “a prophet having no honour in his own country,” I would naturally rejoice in the fact of Scotland producing what she has often done before—a true poet. But, as I have already indicated, there is in poetry to be desiderated something of infinitely more importance than congruity of metaphor, or intensity of passion; and I cannot help thinking that the mere animalism—the puerile indelicacy—of the sonnet to which your critic points so approvingly, should have met at his hands with a very different reception. It is true that the works of too many men of genius are disfigured by similar blemishes; and yet at the present day it will hold that, with the wide field of nature before him, and the world of thought and feeling within, upon which to operate, an author, and especially a young author, even if he feel at liberty to gloat over and commit to writing his impressions of the turbulent emotions of appetite, should be restrained from making public what no modest man would write, and no modest woman could be expected to read. If this should be thought too severe, I beg to ask the critic, if he have sisters or daughters, whether he considers as fit for their perusal such poetry as the passage in question, or even certain sonnets of an author who is, and that justly, world-renowned?

If, however, it shall be made to appear that there is nothing in the objection I have now mooted—that, in fact, it is to be ascribed entirely to my ignorance of the extent of poetic licence—I am, of course, bound to acquiesce. I should be much better pleased at this, than in being obliged to conclude that the critic in the Leader, emulous of the hardihood in other respects characteristic of that journal, has set the mark of his approbation on poetry, irrespective of a consideration of its moral sentiment and tendency. Than this I can conceive of nothing done by an influential public writer to be more unwise or fatal; for, if ever there was a time when lighter literature should be of a tone pure and healthy, and pruriency of imagination be checked with unsparring hand, it is now, when men’s minds are stirred and agitated by conflicting speculation on topics of the highest interest—and when the prevalence of sound feeling as to personal morality is indispensable to just and safe conclusions, as well as to the ultimate well-being of society.

W. M.

A NEW DAILY PAPER.

3, Kempe’s-row, Pimlico, November 17, 1851.

SIR,—I see, by an advertisement in your paper of Saturday last, that the Kossuth Demonstration Committee will meet and settle some financial matters, and consider the future proceedings of the Committee.

Now, Sir, I beg leave, through the medium of your “Open Council,” to throw out a hint for their consideration,—that of establishing a Daily Paper—unstamped—at a low price, in order that true statements of the great struggle now going on may be brought prominently daily before the toiling masses of this country, thereby assisting the great cause of European liberty.

The means of obtaining correct information by the people are of a limited character; the small fry of “weeklies,” which sell immensely, do not, cannot, give to their readers *bonâ-fide* statements of events; but must gather most, if not all, their information from their more fortunate capitalist brethren—the morning papers. These huge engines—the daily press—can be used for the worst of purposes,—are so used (see the Kossuth proceedings). Why? Because it is the interest of the shareholders in them to uphold certain systems of government, whether beneficial to the people at large, or not; seeing that, if these so-called systems of government perish, so must they—not as individuals, but as individuals possessing power from having power in money. Well, then, having shown that the power of the daily press is often used to pervert, rather than to instruct, it is not consistent with common sense to suppose that the small cheap “weekly”—beset as it is with paper duties, stamp duties, &c.—can supply a better and truer article than that from which it is obliged to copy.

Having thus far prefaced, I now come to the point. Let the Committee organize as large a body of useful, steady, practical men as can be found ready to embark in the cause; collect all moneys, in as large sums as possible, or be they never so small; issue shares of what kind they may think most proper and useful; get a good staff of writers; issue the first number of the PEOPLE’S PRESS (or any other name) unstamped; commence warfare in right good earnest against all

The arrivals off the coast of cargoes from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean are few. The Alexandrian Mail brought advices of a large number of ships loading there with grain for the United Kingdom.

Arrivals from December 13 to December 18.

Table with columns: Wheat, Barley, Oats, Flour. Sub-columns: English, Irish, Foreign. Values in sacks and bls.

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Dec. 12.

Table with columns: Wheat, R. New, Fine, Old, White, Fine, Superior New, Rye, Barley, Malting, Malt, Ord., Fine, Peas, Hog. Sub-columns: 33s. to 36s., 30s. to 31s.

FLOUR.

Table with columns: Town-made, Seconds, Essex and Suffolk, Norfolk and Stockton, American, Canadian, Wheaten Bread. Sub-columns: per sack, 37s. to 40s.

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN

WEEK ENDING Dec. 6.

Imperial General Weekly Average.

Table with columns: Wheat, Barley, Oats. Sub-columns: 37s. 6d., 27 0, 18 2.

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.

Table with columns: Wheat, Barley, Oats. Sub-columns: 36s. 9d., 26 7, 18 0.

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 25th day of November, 1851, is 21s. 11d. per cwt.

BUTCHERS' MEAT.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.* SMITHFIELD.*

Table with columns: Beef, Mutton, Veal, Pork. Sub-columns: s. d., 2 2 to 3 0, 2 8 - 3 6, 2 4 - 3 10, 2 8 - 3 10.

* To sink the offal, per 8 lb.

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Table with columns: Beasts, Sheep, Calves, Pigs. Sub-columns: Friday, Monday, 716, 6103, 3520, 23,420, 262, 71, 430, 482.

PROVISIONS.

Table with columns: Butter, Bacon, Cheese, Hams, Eggs. Sub-columns: Best Fresh, 11s. 0d. to 12s. per doz., Carlow, £4 2s. to £4 4s. per cwt., per cwt., 44s. to 46s., 42 - 70, 46 - 50, 56 - 60, 120, 6s. 0d. to 6s. 9d.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, December 12.

BANKRUPTS.—A. R. DAVIS (and not O. R. DAVIS), Newcourt, Bow-lane, City, wine merchant, to surrender December 19, January 20; solicitors, Messrs. Cooper and Gale, Verulam-buildings, Gray's-inn; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings—C. J. SANDERS, Collingwood-street, Blackfriars-road, provision merchant, December 19, January 22; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Plews, and Boyer, Frederick-place, Old Jewry; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings—J. MASH, Colchester, Essex, draper, December 16, January 20; solicitors, Messrs. Mardon and Pritchard, Christchurch-chambers, Newgate-street; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street—T. SALKELD, Basinghall-street, City, warehouseman, December 26, January 24; solicitors, Messrs. Reed, Langford, and Marsden, Friday-street, Cheapside; and Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson—W. MASHAM, Charlotte-street, Portland-place, carpenter, Dec. 27, Jan. 24; solicitor, Mr. W. A. Greaterix, Chancery-lane; official assignee, Mr. W. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—F. PEGLER, Hampton, Middlesex, grocer, December 23, January 20; solicitor, Mr. J. M. Dods, St. Martin's-lane Charing-cross; official assignee, Mr. J. F. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street—G. H. GAUSDEN, Hove, Sussex, licensed victualler, December 23, January 20; solicitor, Messrs. Linklater, Sise-lane, City; official assignee, Mr. G. J. Graham—J. BILL, Wolverhampton, hugg manufacturer, Dec. 22, Jan. 15; solicitors, Mr. T. Bolton, Wolverhampton, and Messrs. E. and H. Wright, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. J. Christie, Birmingham—T. P. DIXON, Falmouth, printer, December 23, January 15; solicitors, Mr. H. O. Bullmore, Falmouth; Mr. J. Stogdon, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. F. Hernaman, Exeter—E. FOWLER, Bristol and Pontypool, draper, December 29, January 26; solicitors, Mr. H. Brittan, Bristol; Mr. A. Jones, Sise-lane, London; official assignee, Mr. T. R. Hutton, Bristol—H. SHAW and H. GANTHWAITE, Houses-hill and Mold-green, fancy manufacturers, January 9 and 30; solicitors, Messrs. J. P. and W. Sutcliffe, Leeds; Messrs. Bond and Barwick, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. G. Young, Leeds—R. NORRIS, Beverley, Yorkshire, innkeeper, January 7 and 28; solicitor, Messrs. Robinson and Atkinson, Beverley; official assignee, Mr. T. Carrick, Hull—I. HODGKINSON (otherwise BRADSHAW), of Bolton-le-Moors, ironfounder, December 30, January 20; solicitor, Mr. W. Radcliffe, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. J. Fraser, Manchester—W. N. MONIES, Liverpool, spirit merchant, December 22, January 12; solicitors, Mr. J. Yates, jun., Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. J. Cazenove, Liverpool.

Tuesday, December 16.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.—M. RUSHWORTH, Huddersfield, milliner. BANKRUPTS.—J. BENNETT, Woolwich, carpenter, to surrender December 23, January 27; solicitors, Messrs. Hudson, Sparrow, Brookfield, and Coupland, Bucklersbury; official assignee, Mr. Graham—G. BETTS, Forencott St. Peter, Norfolk, draper, December 21, January 30; solicitors, Messrs. Ashurst

and Son, Old Jewry; official assignee, Mr. Stansfeld—N. GEARY, St. James's-street, Piccadilly, and Oxford-street, staymaker, December 30, January 27; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Plews, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—G. STANER, jun., Margate, baker, December 30, February 3; solicitors, Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, Coleman-street; and Mr. Wright, Margate; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—J. P. GODFREY, Cullompton, Devonshire, late paper-maker, December 24, January 20; solicitor, Mr. Gioley, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Hirtzel, Exeter—F. E. PREEDY, Sherborne, wine-merchant, December 23, January 15; solicitors, Messrs. Nichols and Clark, Cook's-court, Lincoln's-inn; Messrs. Garland and Fear, Sherborne; and Mr. Terrill, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Hirtzel, Exeter—F. BLAMEY, Gwennep, Cornwall, grocer, December 23, January 20; solicitors, Mr. Stokes, Truro; and Mr. Stogdon, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Hernaman, Exeter—G. FLETCHER and A. CRAVEN, Leeds, cloth manufacturers, January 9 and 30; solicitors, Messrs. Richardson and Gaunt, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds—J. EYRE, Sheffield, grocer, January 10, February 7; solicitor, Mr. Dixon, Sheffield, official assignee, Mr. Freeman, Sheffield—E. WILKINSON and T. BENTLEY, Liverpool, tailors, January 5 and 20; solicitor, Mr. Toulmin, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool—I. ABRAHAM, Liverpool, tailor, December 26, January 22; solicitor, Mr. Shackleton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Turner, Liverpool—C. BAINBRIDGE, Birkenhead, ironmonger, December 24, January 15; solicitors, Mr. Reece, Birmingham; and Mr. Owen, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Bird, Liverpool—J. WARBURTON, Liverpool, tailor, December 29, January 20; solicitor, Mr. Dodge, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool—J. J. SMITH, Liverpool, earthenware manufacturer, December 26, January 22; solicitor, Mr. Pemberton, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Turner, Liverpool.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

On CHRISTMAS-DAY the same Trains will run as on Sundays, with the addition of the Day Mail from Paddington at 10.15 A.M. to Bristol, and from Bristol at 8.35 A.M. to Paddington, calling at the usual Stations.

Return Tickets will be available from Wednesday the 24th until the 29th instant inclusive.

SMITH'S NEW VERTICAL LAMP, with

Shade and glass complete, 14s.; it gives the light of eight candles for the cost of two. HIGHLY REFINED OIL, 3s. 6d. per gallon. BEST STORE CANDLES, 5s. per dozen pounds; no guttering, no wasting, and twice the light of common dips. COMPOSITE (no snuffing), 6s. 6d. SMITH'S MATCHLESS ditto, 7s. 6d. SOAPS, hard and dry—Yellow, 45s.; Mottled, the best in London, 50s. per cwt. (112 lbs.) Lists free by post.—SMITH'S Old Established Warehouse, 281, Strand (opposite Norfolk-street).

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Trustees—Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. (Founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq. (one of the Contributors).

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The Agency intend hereafter to execute all orders for any kind of articles or produce; their operations for the present are restricted to GROCERIES, ITALIAN ARTICLES, FRENCH WINES, and BRANDIES.

A Catalogue has just been published, containing a detailed list of all articles with the retail prices affixed, with remarks on adulteration. Price 6d., or sent by post for ten stamps. Also a wholesale price list for Co-operative Stores gratis, or by post for one stamp.

Particulars relating to the Central Co-operative Agency, with a Digest of the Deed of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the Central Office of the Institution, to be sent by post for three stamps.

Rules have been framed and printed for enabling any number of families of all classes, in any district of London, or any part of the country, to form themselves into "Friendly Societies" for enjoying the benefit of Co-operative Stores. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps. The Agency will undertake to have certified in London the rules of any society organizing themselves on the above-mentioned form.

Catalogue, Wholesale List, Particulars, and Rules, in one parcel, 1s. 6d., per post.

All communications to be addressed 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, to MM. Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.—

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 20th of every month, and from SUEZ on or about the 10th of the month.

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

BOMBAY.—The Company will likewise despatch from Bombay, about the 17th of December and 17th of February next, a first-class Steam-ship for Aden, to meet there the Company's ships between Calcutta and Suez, in connection with their Mediterranean Steamers leaving Alexandria about the 6th of January and 6th of March, affording direct conveyance for passengers, parcels, and goods from BOMBAY to Southampton. Passengers, parcels, and goods for BOMBAY and WESTERN INDIA will also be conveyed throughout in the Mail Steamers leaving Southampton on the 20th of December and the 20th of February next, and the corresponding vessels from Suez to Aden, at which latter port a Steam-ship of the Company will be in waiting to embark and convey them to Bombay.

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

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA—On the 20th and 29th of every month. Constantinople—On the 29th of the month. Alexandria—On the 20th of the month.

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

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

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 22, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION.

LECTURE by GEORGE BARKER, Esq. on the BAL-LAD MUSIC OF ENGLAND, commencing with his celebrated Entertainment "AN ENGLISH CHRISTMAS," every Evening for a fortnight, except Saturday, at Eight o'clock.—LECTURE by J. H. PEPPER, Esq. on WARD'S NEW SUBMARINE LAMP.—LECTURE by Dr. Bachoffner on the PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENTIFIC RECREATION.—NUMEROUS PRIZE MODELS, WORKS OF ART, &c., from the Great Exhibition will be explained by Mr. Crispe.—OPTICAL EFFECTS IN DIS-SOLVING VIEWS, MICROSCOPE, CHROMATROPE, &c.—ADMISSION, 1s: Schools and Children under ten years of age, Half-price.

Open daily from Eleven to Five, and every Evening, except Saturday, from Seven till Half-past Ten.

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THE Stock of BENEFINK and CO., 89 and 90, CHEAPSIDE, and 1, IRONMONGER-LANE, comprises every variety of Electro-plated wares—Chandeliers, Lamps, Tea Urns, Tea Trays, Cutlery, Iron Bedsteads, Baths, Turnery, Stoves, Fenders, Fire-irons—in fact, every requisite, either for the cottage or the mansion, at ten or fifteen per cent. less than any other house in the kingdom.

At this Establishment an eight-roomed house can be furnished for Five Pounds, the articles of the best quality and workmanship.

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TEA AND COFFEE SERVICES IN GREAT VARIETY.

Cot Pattern, richly engraved teapot, 23s. Albert and other pattern Teapots, 30s. Coffeepot to match, 30s. Cream Ewer, gilt inside, 18s. Cream Ewer, gilt inside, 20s. Sugar-basin ditto, 25s. Sugar-basin ditto, 28s.

Elegant Four-glass Cruets, 18s.; Six-glass ditto, 25s.; Table Candlesticks, 18s. per pair; Chamber ditto, 10s. each, complete; Set of Three richly engraved Bohemian Glass Liquors, in elegant frame, 60s.; Set of Four Corner Dishes and Covers, £6. 15s. &c. &c.

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is also one to which B. and Co. attach the utmost importance, as they manufacture all their blades of the best material, the difference in price consisting solely in the more expensive handles and superiority of finish.

Fine Balance Ivory Table Knives, 11s. per dozen; ditto Desserts, 9s. per dozen; Carvers, 4s. per pair.

A set of Electro-plated Desserts, containing Twelve Knives and Twelve Forks, in handsome mahogany case, 50s.

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A popular exposition of the principal causes (over an... 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.

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Extract of a Letter from Mr. William Galpin, of 70, St. Mary's-street, Weymouth, dated May 15, 1851. "To Professor HOLLOWAY. "SIR,—At the age of eighteen my wife (who is now sixty-one) caught a violent cold, which settled in her legs, and ever since that time they have been more or less sore and greatly inflamed. Her agonies were distracting, and for months together she was deprived entirely of rest and sleep. Every remedy that medical men advised was tried, but without effect; her health suffered severely, and the state of her legs was terrible. I had often read your advertisements, and advised her to try your pills and ointment; and, as a last resource, after every other remedy had proved useless, she consented to do so. She commenced six weeks ago, and, strange to relate, is now in good health. Her legs are painless, without seam or scar, and her sleep sound and undisturbed. Could you have witnessed the sufferings of my wife during the last forty-three years, and contrast them with her present enjoyment of health, you would indeed feel delighted in having been the means of so greatly alleviating the sufferings of a fellow creature. (Signed) WILLIAM GALPIN." Sold by the Proprietor, 214, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by all respectable Vendors of Patent Medicines throughout the Civilized World, in Pots and Boxes, at 1s. 1/2d., 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.

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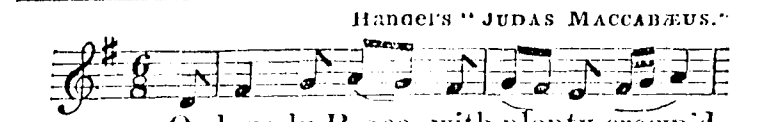
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