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# The Leader.

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

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VOL. III. No. 138.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

THE expectation which awaited the Queen's speech has been disappointed, for it is some proof of the popular faith in Disraeli, that he was expected to throw the fire of genius into that formal document. But it is of the old stamp. An expression of regret at the irreparable loss sustained by the country in the death of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, a little crowing over the success of the militia, the usual assurances from all Foreign Powers, a hope that the Fishery question with the United States may ultimately be settled in a beneficial manner, the opening of the Argentine rivers, suspension of the stringent measures against Brazil, abolition of the Portuguese discriminating export duty on wine, renewal of the East India enquiry, a comprehensive scheme for the advancement of Fine Arts and Practical Science, the prosperity of the country, the consideration of measures for mitigating the injurious effects of unrestricted competition, a liberal and generous policy towards Ireland, the inquiry into caputular institutions, University Reform with concurrence of the university or colleges, possible discontinuance of transportation to Van Diemen's Land, Law Reform, and "other measures affecting the social condition of the country"—these are the suggestive topics of the speech. The Royal programme of the session chalks out a good deal of work; but so much more depends upon the measures themselves than upon the mere promise of them, that the speech cannot be accepted as any indication whatever, even of the desire to deal with the things about which it talks.

Nor does the first night's debate throw much more light upon the specific questions. Protection is given up on all sides; Mr. Christopher and Mr. Newdegate only making the reservation, implied in the proposal to defer action on that subject. Referring to the free-trade paragraph in the Speech, Mr. Disraeli explained its only meaning—that the new commercial policy is recognised and accepted by Government, as the principle of "unrestricted competition." Still Mr. Charles Villiers announces a motion, explicitly laying down the free-trade test for the present and future Governments. The subject of curiosity, Mr. Disraeli's plan, is deferred for a fortnight: it is to "carry out" free-trade—so announced rather threateningly.

[COUNTRY EDITION.]

Convocation is the bugbear of the week, and the Low Church have *honestly* tried to tag on to it the Confessional. But it won't do. The two things are as little inseparable as Lord Shaftesbury and Statesmanship. But the Low Church party have added to the elements of discord and dissolution two very strong dissolvents: the Archbishop of Canterbury has said, appeal to "public opinion" to settle our differences—at least, to relieve me of this horrid convocation. And Lord Shaftesbury shouts out the cry, and makes it the alarum of a fierce agitation. At the same meeting, Canon Stowell proposes the "popular election" of Bishops. Democratic churchmanship with a vengeance! It may be doubted whether Bishops reduced to "popular election" would even be able to keep apostolical gigs. Popular notions of the successors of the Apostles are so *very* primitive. A caution to beneficed dissenters.

The continued preparations for the Empire, while they show an affectation of independent judgment on the part of the senators, show also how completely their master has them under command for purposes essentially his own. They demurred to fixing the succession in the heirs of Jérôme Bonaparte, but they have left the matter of succession to Louis Napoleon himself. The vote of M. Viellard, Louis Napoleon's old tutor, against the establishment of the Empire, offers a well-arranged occasion for the display of Imperial magnanimity to venerable austerity; but the Emperor elect is taking measures to settle the question of succession in the most direct manner. An apartment for the Empress is in preparation at the Tuileries; the room and the title, however, being all that is as yet realized of the august spouse. Petty vexations may disturb the plans of the adventurer; an angry uncle, a pedantic adviser, an indiscreet prefect, may cause him trouble; but the watchfulness of his eye never fails—the whip-hand is always quietly at its work, and every corner in the race is neatly turned. Every obstacle that he pleases to convert into a facility, lends itself to his service: the clergy have become his canvassing officers, the Senate fall in with his desire to have the *Senatus Consultum* presented to him on the seventh of November, anniversary of the 18th Brumaire. The rock ahead at present, is the doubt whether the people, the seven millions, will again vote "Aye"; a doubt suggested by the fact that the whole body of Legitimists resolve to abstain from voting. But

what does that matter? If any of the seven millions indulge the caprice of withholding their signatures, what more easy than for prefects, mayors, and other functionaries, to count up the absentees, on the principle that silence gives consent? It will be as easy to compile the seven millions as before. Louis Napoleon is not likely to encounter any present difficulty. King of Algiers, his uncle will be viceroy over that province; Protector of the Holy Places, his protégé, Abd-el-Kader, will be posted in the centre of Asiatic Turkey; and if the intrigues in Piedmont and Naples, with the garrison in Rome, work well, even the coveted title of King of Rome may grace the unborn head of Napoleon the Fourth. The first trouble that any Francis Moore can foresee for the Emperor, must be impatience or division in his army.

Even Belgium has yielded, King Leopold and all: the mouth of the nation is to be bitted; printed or pictorial animadversions on foreign potentates will subject the satirist or self-appointed censor to two years' imprisonment; and Belgian juries, hitherto stubborn, are to be driven to a judicious verdict. The keener air of constitutional freedom must not visit the face of despotism too roughly. Holland is avenged. The policy of 1830 in Belgium, as in France, annulled. There remains nothing of that memorable year but a nursery, somewhat dangerously situated, for amiable princes of the prolific house of Coburg.

The American mail has not yet brought us the account of the election. Political activity had been in some degree checked, out of respect to Daniel Webster, whose death had somewhat suddenly closed his career. This fatal termination to his illness contributes to explain that want of efficiency in public affairs which had quite recently been noticed. His loss, however, is deplored by all, without distinction of party. The unbidden crowd of mourners at his funeral, the spontaneous sincerity of the ceremony, the strewing of flowers on the bier, and the unpretending interment on his own estate, contrast somewhat favourably with the too long-deferred and not unstudied woe which is to follow Wellington to the tomb. Webster died on the 24th of October, is buried with a truly national funeral, and the reports have crossed the Atlantic, while our own Wellington died on September the 14th, and while the heralds, upholsterers, and carpenters are busied preparing for the military show

with which the national grief, or the official vanity, is to solace itself.

The Australian news does not change in character, but continues to deepen in its glowing colour. The very complaints that come over indicate the marvellous growth of wealth. The South Australian market was recently glutted with goods; a novel complaint, but it is scarcely uttered before the goods are nearly all worked off, and Australia wants more. In Melbourne, a little five or six roomed house is rented at 350*l.* or 400*l.* a year; officials with fixed salaries are reduced to comparative indigence; a gentleman with a comfortable provision of three or four hundred a year, obliged to pay 5*l.* a week for the humblest lodging, is fain to starve upon the remainder of his income. He must leave luxuries to navigators and other persons of the upper or working classes, who are said, however, to be very affable towards their inferiors. Unlike some other people they do not refuse to recognise a man and a brother, though he should be only a "Governor"!

The list of disasters for the week is full, and marked by an unusual event. The conspiracy to defraud emigrants at Liverpool, is but one of a thousand; the fatal railway accident at the same town, changing the names, might do for almost any week; the child murder in Lambeth is not peculiar to the time; and the killing of a boy by an angry brother, preaches a sermon against fraternal contest, which is always ready for good boys that do not need it, and is never attended to by those that do.

The distinguishing accident of the week is one unusual in this country—an earthquake—which seems to have visited the north of England, Scotland, Ireland, and North Wales. It was sufficiently powerful to wake people out of their night's sleep, and it suggested the usual amount of imaginings. It does not appear that any person took it for a Chartist insurrection; but one thought that it was a housebreaker; another, that it was the servant walking about his room; a third that it was somebody upstairs, a fourth that it was somebody downstairs; but upon the whole, the number that recognized the phenomenon was considerable. We may expect probably, to hear of volcanic commotions in Iceland, the usual source of movements like the present in those further parts of the United Kingdom.

#### THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

##### THE ROYAL OPENING.

DREARY weather, with an east wind blowing, keen and damp, and a drizzling mist settling down into a steady fall of rain, made the royal opening of Parliament extremely uncomfortable to all. There were few persons visible on the line of the procession from Buckingham Palace; and for once the Queen drove along the route, so often thronged by her cheering subjects, amidst "the pelting of the pitiless storm." But she arrived in the House of Lords punctually at the appointed time; and the Commons having been summoned, she delivered the following SPEECH:—

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I cannot meet you for the first time after the dissolution of Parliament without expressing my deep sorrow, in which I am sure you will participate, that your deliberations can no longer be aided by the counsels of that illustrious man, whose great achievements have exalted the name of England, and in whose loyalty and patriotism the interests of my Throne and of my people ever found an unflinching support. I rely with confidence on your desire to join me in taking such steps as may mark your sense of the irreparable loss which the country has sustained by the death of Arthur Duke of Wellington.

"I am happy to acknowledge the readiness with which my subjects in general have come forward, in pursuance of the Act of last session, to join the ranks of the Militia; and I confidently trust that the force thus raised by voluntary enlistment will be calculated to give effective aid to my regular army for the protection and security of the country.

"I continue to receive from all Foreign Powers assurances of their anxious desire to maintain the friendly relations now happily subsisting with my Government.

"Frequent and well-founded complaints on the part of my North American Colonies, of infractions, by citizens of the United States, of the Fishery Convention of 1818, in-

duced me to despatch for the protection of their interests a class of vessels better adapted to the service than those which had been previously employed. This step has led to discussions with the Government of the United States; and while the rights of my subjects have been firmly maintained, the friendly spirit in which the question has been treated induces me to hope that the ultimate result may be a mutually beneficial extension and improvement of our commercial intercourse with that great Republic.

"The Special Mission, which in concert with the Prince President of the French Republic, I deemed it right to send to the Argentine Confederation, has been received with the utmost cordiality, and the wise and enlightened policy of the Provisional Director has already opened to the commerce of the world the great rivers hitherto closed, which affords an access to the interior of the vast Continent of South America.

"I have the satisfaction of announcing to you that the sincere and zealous efforts of the Government of Brazil for the suppression of the Slave Trade, now nearly extinguished on that coast, have enabled me to suspend the stringent measures which I had been compelled reluctantly to adopt, a recurrence to which I anxiously hope may be proved to be unnecessary.

"The Government of her Most Faithful Majesty have fully recognised the justice of the claim which my Government have long urged for the abolition of the discriminating duties on the export of wine, and have passed a decree for giving complete effect to the stipulations of the treaty on this subject.

"You will probably deem it advisable to resume the inquiries which were commenced by the late Parliament, with a view to legislation on the subject of the future government of my East Indian possessions.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"The estimates for the ensuing year will in due time be laid before you.

"The advancement of the Fine Arts and of Practical Science will be readily recognised by you as worthy of the attention of a great and enlightened nation. I have directed that a comprehensive scheme shall be laid before you, having in view the promotion of these objects, towards which I invite your aid and co-operation.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"It gives me pleasure to be enabled by the blessing of Providence to congratulate you on the generally improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes. If you should be of opinion that recent legislation in contributing, with other causes, to this happy result, has at the same time inflicted unavoidable injury on certain important interests, I recommend you dispassionately to consider how far it may be practicable equitably to mitigate that injury, and to enable the industry of the country to meet successfully that unrestricted competition to which Parliament, in its wisdom, has decided that it should be subjected.

"I trust that the general improvement, notwithstanding many obstacles, has extended to Ireland; and while I rely with confidence on your aid should it be required, to restrain that unhappy spirit of insubordination and turbulence which produces many, and aggravates all of the evils which afflict that portion of my dominions, I recommend to you the adoption of such a liberal and generous policy towards Ireland, as may encourage and assist her to rally from the depression in which she has been sunk by the sufferings of late years.

"Anxious to promote the efficiency of every branch of our National Church, I have thought fit to issue a Commission to inquire and report to me how far, in their opinion, the Capitular Institutions of the country are capable of being made more effective for the great objects of religious worship, religious education, and ecclesiastical discipline.

"I have directed that the Reports of the Commissioners for inquiring into the system of education pursued at Oxford and Cambridge should be communicated to the governing bodies of those Universities for their consideration, and I rely upon your readiness to remove any legal difficulties which may impede the desire of the Universities at large, or of the several Colleges, to introduce such amendments into their existing system as they may deem to be more in accordance with the requirements of the present time.

"The system of Secondary Punishments has usefully occupied the labours of successive Parliaments, and I shall rejoice if you shall find it possible to devise means by which, without giving encouragement to crime, transportation to Van Diemen's Land may at no distant period be altogether discontinued.

"The subject of Legal Reform continues to engage my anxious attention. The Acts passed in the last Session of Parliament have been followed up by the orders necessary for putting them in operation; inquiries are in progress, by my direction, with a view of bringing into harmony the testamentary jurisdiction of my several Courts; and Bills will be submitted to you for affecting further improvements in the administration of the law.

"To these, and other measures affecting the social condition of the country, I am persuaded that you will give your earnest and zealous attention; and I pray that by the blessing of Almighty God, your deliberations may be guided to the well-being and happiness of my people."

After the members of the Commons returned from the House of Lords, the House adjourned until four o'clock, when members assembled in great force to hear what Government had to say for itself.

As was anticipated, Lord Lovaine moved and Mr. Egerton seconded the address in reply to the Speech. Both gentlemen creditably performed their task, and both admitted that they were averse to disturbing Free-trade. Then uprose Mr. C. P. Villiers, who said that it was the fault of a Ministry if there were a want of unanimity in reply to a Royal Speech.

"He did not complain of much that was contained in the Speech from the Throne, but the House had been assembled at an unusual season, and the country was anxiously waiting for information on topics of great importance, and he did complain of defective information in the Speech. After alluding to the circumstances under which the present Cabinet took office, he said that there was in the Speech no tangible and distinct avowal that Government was reconciled to a Free-trade policy, and that no attempt would be made to modify it. He should not move an amendment to the Address, but called attention to the fact that the House did not know whether Ministers had given up their former opinions on Protection. The country ought to know how that was, and the vague, and he might say deceptive, language of the Address did not clear up the difficulty. It was, he thought, intended to confuse. Why not speak plain English? If great advantage had been derived by the working classes from the repeal of the Corn-laws, why not say so? Or if any party had been injured thereby, why not state that? The House wanted to know, and would know, the opinion of Government. He begged to give most distinct notice that a motion would be submitted to the House which would leave the country in no doubt upon the question, and this motion would be made about the 22nd of the present month."

A long pause followed Mr. Villiers' speech, and no member rising, the Speaker proceeded to put the question, when, amid considerable laughter, Mr. HUME rose and taunted the Ministerial benches with their silence. If her Majesty's advisers had been able to form an opinion on the question at issue, why had they not the manliness to avow it. He complained that the Speech contained no allusion to the income-tax, or a declaration one way or the other as to parliamentary reform, or as to the malt-tax.

Mr. Secretary WALPOLE had waited to know whether any amendment were to be moved.

He admitted that the House had met at an unusual period, and for a special purpose, which was that the financial and commercial policy of the country should be finally settled and decided. Neither evasion nor deception had been intended, but the passage in the Speech had been worded carefully, in order to prevent a warm discussion, or the moving of an amendment from either side. If the other side wished to move their amendment, Government was ready to take the discussion at once.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL thought that there should be no division or long discussion on an address which commenced with a tribute to the Duke of Wellington, upon whom he proceeded to pass a eulogy. But he participated in the disappointment expressed by Mr. Villiers, and rejoiced in the course that gentleman proposed to adopt.

Two courses had been open to Ministers—either to maintain the old Protection policy, which Lord Derby had so long advocated with such energy, or to admit that they had been mistaken, and to manfully avow that they would adopt Free-trade principles for the future. He complained of the continuance of an ambiguity which had for nine months vexed the country. Alluding to the varying declarations which had been made by various Ministers, his lordship dwelt upon the important Free-trade measures which had been passed during the last ten years, changes more important than anything which had been done since 1688. He could not but complain that these great measures had been mixed up with numberless "other causes" of prosperity, and described this as evading the question. Moreover, there were hints in the Speech tending towards artificial props and prices, which actually meant Protection. He objected to being enveloped in the mist which was so much liked by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord John briefly touched upon some other points in the Speech, with which he found no great fault, intimating that he hoped there would be little disagreement after the Free-trade question should be settled.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not believe that if there had really been the evasion complained of, constitutional delicacy would have prevented an amendment from the other side.

He could not agree in the version of the paragraph in question discovered by Lord John Russell and his friends, a paragraph which could leave no mistake in an impartial mind. One doctrine had been laid down positively in the Speech—namely, the principle of unrestricted competition. Alluding to an address by Lord John Russell (when a candidate for the City), in which he admitted that merchants and shipowners had a right to complain of great burdens, and he asked whether it were a Protection move to allude to the sufferings which that noble lord had endorsed? It was the intention of Government to take such claims into consideration, and he believed that they should be able to produce



measures which would do all that could be asked in reason without disturbing the principle of unrestricted competition which had been recognised in the Speech. He referred to the emblazoned catalogue of feats achieved by the Free-trade party, and reminded Lord John Russell that the Minister who had carried free trade in corn was opposed to free trade in sugar, and that the Minister who had carried the latter had been averse to Free-trade in ships. Government had no policy of artificial prices or compensation for losses, but he would say, in no cloudy language, that recent commercial changes had been made without necessary and corresponding changes in the financial system, and that no proper revision of taxation had yet taken place. The Government intended to put before the House a system which proposed to harmonize the two existing systems. Ministers had not mentioned the Income-tax, because they had made up their minds on the subject. They would take the earliest day for bringing forward their measures, and he suggested to Mr. Villiers that the discussion he proposed should be blended with that on the Government proposition, and he thought that the latter could be brought on about Friday, the 26th inst. No one was more anxious to meet this great controversy than himself.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, much had been gained by this discussion, and he thanked Mr. Villiers for his speech, which had elicited explanations from the Government which no doubt it had been intended to give, but which had previously been withheld.

Considering that this was the winding-up of a great controversy, he thought the Government would have acted wisely in giving that night declarations on the subject of commercial policy, which would have placed the matter beyond dispute. For the paragraph in the Speech had been defended by two Ministers on opposite grounds—that it avoided an amendment from either side of the House, and that it was not ambiguous at all. However, if the Protectionists did not stick at the declaration as to unrestricted competition, what would they stick at after that? But he reminded the House, that the constituencies of the kingdom had returned them for a specific purpose, from which they meant not to be turned away by any resolutions, upon abstract principles. A solemn and final sanction of Free-trade was now demanded, and they must now come to a decision on the issue that had been raised by the Premier. They wanted no abstract resolutions; but they did want to set the public mind at ease by a recognition of Free-trade in reference to the past and to future legislation. Jealousy on the subject was not unnatural, considering the composition of the Government. Had Mr. Christopher heard the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? He wanted no dishonourable declaration from the Government—no statement as to internal conversion; but he asked that those who held power in this country should be persons who had definitely and finally abandoned the idea of a return to a protective policy. More he did not demand—less the House could not accept.

Mr. NEWDEGATE reserved his opinion, having faith in the Government. Mr. CHRISTOPHER retained his opinions, but bowed to the decision of the country. Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE was less spirited than usual. Why did not the Chancellor of the Exchequer take his physic like a man? Mr. ADDERLEY defended Ministers.

Mr. COBDEN asked how the country could accept such a paragraph as that in the Speech as a solution of a question of fourteen years' agitation?

But if the Cabinet really meant "unrestricted competition," let the Chancellor of the Exchequer second Mr. Villiers's motion, which should certainly mean nothing more than an affirmation of that principle. He would not hear of leaving the question on a temporary settlement, or of mixing it up with other matters. But he denied that any injury had been inflicted upon the agriculturists by Free-Trade measures, and if there had, he alleged that the complainants came into court with blood-stained hands. He could not agree with Mr. Gladstone that Ministers were not bound to avow their personal convictions on the subject. After contrasting the conduct of Ministers with that of Sir R. Peel, who, on changing his opinions, both avowed the fact and resigned office, he urged Mr. Villiers to bring on his motion, which if Government opposed he would oppose them to the utmost of his power.

Mr. E. BALL deprecated discussion on the present occasion, avowed himself a determined Protectionist, denied that our present prosperity arose from Free-Trade, but asserted that it came from a "moving Providence," and alleged that there was less corn grown in England now than in the days of Protection.

SIR JOHN SHELLEY was glad there was one honest Protectionist in the House.

LORD PALMERSTON applauded the good taste of Ministers in placing in the outset of the Royal Speech an allusion to the great man whom we had lost.

After adverting with approbation to other points in the Speech, his lordship said that what had passed that night had shown how necessary was a decided Aye or No from the House upon the subject of Free-Trade. Protectionists still existed, and doubts might go forth to the country as to the opinions of the majority of the House. After the formal way in which the question had been referred to the country, he thought there ought to be a formal declaration by the Commons on the point. He could not agree that Free-Trade was a measure and not a principle, and considered that it ought to be laid down as a foundation for future legislation. He was, therefore, gratified that the question was to be brought forward, deeming such a course essential to the welfare of the country.

The Address was then read for the purpose of the

question, and COLONEL SIBTHORP interposed an expression of disappointment, if not of disgust, at the conduct of those whom he had hitherto supported. The Address was then agreed to, and a deputation was appointed to present it. The House adjourned at half-past nine.

#### THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

The House met at five o'clock, and the Address in answer to the speech from the Throne was moved by the Marquis of BATH, and seconded by the Earl of DONOUGHMORE. The Marquis of LANSDOWNE, after some touching allusions to the loss which the country has recently sustained by the death of the Duke of Wellington, expressed disappointment at the hesitating character of the views of the Government upon the question of our commercial policy—

"The time had certainly arrived at which her Majesty's Ministers might have been enabled to form a competent opinion upon the subject. The country had clearly abandoned the cause of Protection. He hoped the Government would now see that it was essential to the interests of the country that its future legislation should be conducted upon the same policy. If they did, they would be entitled to the support of every man in the country who was an advocate of Free-trade, and he should not withhold his own assistance."

Lord BROUGHAM, who scarcely alluded to any other subject, paid a brief but most eloquent tribute to the memory of the late Duke of Wellington. The Earl of DERBY also panegyrised, in brilliant language, the great qualities of the departed hero.

He congratulated the country upon the efficiency of the militia, which, he said, was as fine a body of men as had ever volunteered the defence of the State in the hottest period of the severest war, and added that, without meaning or desiring to offend any foreign nation, the Government would endeavour to provide for the defence of the country. He congratulated the House upon the prosperous condition of the country, which, he said, was equal, and in some respects beyond, that of 1846—a period of acknowledged prosperity. This, he did not hesitate to say, was attributable to the legislation which, combined with other causes, had given the people the advantages of cheap and abundant food. But, whatever the cause, he was bound to look to the deliberate expression of the feelings of the country, which, he admitted, were opposed to the imposition of any tax on articles of provision. This resolution, however, involved the whole of our financial policy. At the same time he did not hesitate to say that, after the opinion which had been pronounced by the country, whatever might be the views of himself and his friends as to what would have been a desirable policy, a recurrence to such a policy was impracticable, whilst if practicable it would be most unseasonable. He therefore bowed to the opinion of the country, and, whilst desirous of mitigating the unavoidable evils which had been inflicted upon important classes, he should adopt that policy frankly, and endeavour to carry it out honestly and fairly. He would not now enter into details, but in the course of a fortnight the Chancellor of the Exchequer would lay before the other House the financial measures which her Majesty's Government were of opinion ought to be adopted under present circumstances.

The Address was then agreed to, and their lordships adjourned.

#### DEATH OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

NEWS arrived from New York, by the *America*, on Monday, that on Sunday, the 24th of October, Daniel Webster, whose reputation in Europe has been greater than that of any other American statesman, and whose popularity in his own country has been surpassed by few of his contemporaries, died at Marshfield, surrounded by his relatives and friends.

What appears to be the most authentic account of his end we subjoin. Mr. Webster had been seriously, but not as it seemed dangerously, ill for some time. On Tuesday, the 19th, he abruptly became much worse, and as his end was obviously approaching, he was bidden to prepare for the worst:—

"On Thursday, before he finally took to his bed, he prepared his last parcel of despatches for the President, and dictated upwards of thirty letters to his friends and correspondents; but to them all he signed his own name. Whenever Mr. Webster has been at his Marshfield mansion it has been filled with guests, and now all his illustrious friends, who were on terms of such intimacy with him that they felt justified in going to his house, gathered around him. His bed was in a capacious and stately room, where a large number of persons could assemble without crowding. Among these visitors were some of those men who have for twenty or thirty years been known as his confidential friends, most of whom have been active in bringing forward Mr. Webster's name as the Independent Union candidate for the Presidency. He conversed with them about public matters with a calmness and interest which showed that the welfare of his country was as present and dear to him as ever. On Friday afternoon, when he had rallied from continued paroxysms of pain, he was raised up in his bed to address the members of his household, and all the people employed on his estate, who had assembled to take their farewell of the great and good man whom they had been proud to call their master. I do not know that his exact words have been preserved as they fell from his lips. We know their substance, however. He gave to those persons whom he called his 'faithful and familiar friends' the most earnest advice about their temporal affairs first; 'because,' said he, 'you will remain in

this world after I have left it, and you have your duties to perform to your day and generation while you stay.' He then alluded to the circumstances and the condition of almost every person present, and, dropping a word of counsel and friendly suggestion for the advantage of each, he turned away from the contemplation of the earth, and directed their thoughts to the future life. 'There,' said Mr. Webster, 'centre all my hopes. You will all of you at some day feel that it is not a small thing so to live that you may die calmly, confidently, penitently, and full of hope.' The weeping group closed around his couch, and one by one he bade them all farewell.

"Several interesting incidents occurred during Friday night, and several times Mr. Webster's sufferings returned upon him with a power that seemed almost irresistible. By his side stood two of the most eminent medical men of Boston; and even they were counselling with other illustrious associates in their profession. All that human skill, science, and affection could do was done for the illustrious sufferer. It became quite evident to his physicians, however, that nothing remained for them to do but to administer such palliatives as might alleviate, as far as possible, the severity of his sufferings. An hour or two after midnight on that day he was again attacked with violent vomitings, which lasted for forty minutes. During this time his sufferings were terrible. They were, however, followed by four hours of respite, in which he remained in a tranquil state. His mind continued not only calm but lucid. He was fully conscious of his condition, but he conversed with perfect composure about his state, and had a word of consolation to every weeping friend around him; and it was remarked that he was the most cheerful person in the room. A little after six o'clock on Saturday morning the attacks of vomiting again came on, and each one left him still more feeble; but his powers of resistance seemed inconceivable. Something more than common sufferings seemed necessary to waste his vitality; and yet, during this protracted agony, a despatch, signed by Dr. Warren, of Boston, says—'Although Mr. Webster is gradually sinking, and he can scarcely live twenty-four hours, yet his frame of mind is that of entire tranquillity and happiness. He attends to all necessary business, and his mind maintains its usual attention to all subjects and persons.' This was dated at twelve o'clock.

"At 2 o'clock P.M. a distinguished friend writes this despatch from the dying chamber:—'Mr. Webster continues to sink. His mental faculties seem unclouded and brilliant as ever. He occasionally speaks to his family, contemplates death calmly, and is perfectly resigned.' A few minutes after two o'clock the celebrated Dr. Jackson left Marshfield with the belief that Mr. Webster could not live through the night. Repeatedly during the forenoon of Saturday, and the early part of the afternoon, while he was suffering least, he conversed freely and with great clearness of detail about his private affairs and the condition of his farms, unfolding very completely all his agricultural plans, and impressing upon his farmers the manner in which he wished to have these plans carried out.

"A little after 5 o'clock in the afternoon extreme nausea returned, and he raised much dark matter, tinged with blood. The exhaustion which followed was so apparent, that in another consultation his physicians concluded that his last hour had nearly come. When they announced to him their opinion, he received it with the calmest cheerfulness, and requested that the ladies of his family might be called in. They were Mrs. Webster, his wife, Mrs. Fletcher Webster, his son's wife, Mrs. Paige, and Miss Downs, of New York. As they approached the bed he extended to them one by one his hand, calling them by name, and offering to them support and appropriate words of farewell and religious consolation.

"He next requested the male members of his family, and the personal friends who had been with him during his illness, to approach him; and as they came up one by one he recalled pleasant reminiscences of their past lives, with a clearness of mind which few men ever show during the noontide of manly strength and health. To each one of these friends he also addressed some special words of religious counsel, adding in the one case that his mind had never faltered in the full faith of Christianity, and it now constituted the consolation and the glory of his last hours.

"It was now about half-past 6 on Saturday evening, and, as daylight was fading away—the last fading daylight he was ever to witness on earth—and after an hour of conversation and intercourse with his friends, he closed his eyes, and in a natural strong, clear, full voice, offered up an extempore prayer to Heaven, filled with many expressions of gratitude for blessings given, of penitence for sins committed, and closed with these words:—'Heavenly Father, forgive my sins, and receive me to Thyself through Jesus Christ.'

"At half-past 7 Dr. Warren arrived from Boston to relieve Dr. Jeffries as the immediate medical attendant. As the latter parted from him, and told him he could do nothing more for him than administer occasionally a sedative potion, 'Then,' said Mr. Webster, 'let me lie patiently till the end. If it be so, may it soon come!'

"At last, between 2 and 3 o'clock on Sunday morning, the 24th of October, all that was mortal of Daniel Webster ceased to exist."

The intelligence spread actually with the rapidity of lightning over the whole Union; for the telegraph silently told the sad story to the people at New Orleans on the same morning. Gloom and grief were everywhere visible; and flags draped with black; minute guns firing, all day in some places, bells tolling mournfully, made evident the universality of the feeling of the people: so that it may be fairly said Daniel Webster died on Sunday morning, and all day long over the thousands of miles of the vast continent the nation heard and mourned his death.

The funeral of Mr. Webster took place at Marshfield, on the 29th of October, in the presence of a vast con-

course of friends. There were at least 10,000 persons, among whom were—General Franklin Pierce, Governor Marcy, of New York; Mr. Abbott Lawrence, Mr. Edward Everett, Mr. Charles Ashman, Governor Boutwell, ex-Chancellor Jones, of New York, Judge Sprague, and many other distinguished men; but the only member of the Cabinet present was Mr. Secretary Conrad. Before the interment took place the body was removed to the lawn in front of the mansion, and placed on a bier beneath one of the large poplar trees; and from nine to half-past one o'clock the assembled thousands took a last look. The countenance was serene and life-like. Two garlands of oak-leaves and acorns and two bouquets of flowers were placed on the coffin. Many shed tears and grieved for the loss as of a departed father or dear friend. The whole of the proceedings are described as having been appropriate, solemn, and affecting. Mr. Webster was buried on his own grounds, by the side of his children.

Daniel Webster was a native of the famous Granite State, New Hampshire. His father was an old soldier, who had served in the war which drove the French out of the Canadas; and, subsequently, in the war against the troops of King George III., which ended in the independence of America. Daniel Webster was born in the back-woods of his native state, where his father had settled down on a plot of land granted to him after the Canadian War. In his early life, he made incredible efforts to secure for himself a tolerable education, and, ultimately, not only succeeded for himself, but, by his frugality, enabled his brother Ezekiel to participate in similar benefits. After the completion of his college course, he studied the law, and was admitted to the bar of Suffolk, Massachusetts, in 1805. Practice was plentiful, but not lucrative. In 1812 he was elected to Congress; and, in 1813, he delivered his maiden speech, on the Berlin decrees of Napoleon. From that time to the day of his death, he took part in all the great political movements of his age. Although a Whig, a supporter of John Quincy Adams, when President, from 1825 to 1829, both in the House of Representatives and, from 1827, in the Senate, nevertheless, he supported General Jackson in the efforts made by that statesman to preserve the Union against the insane caprices of South Carolina; but he opposed the anti-United States' Bank policy of the victor of New Orleans. Mr. Webster visited Europe in 1839. On his return, General Harrison, who had been elected President, placed Mr. Webster at the head of the Administration. He took a great part, both in and out of office, in negotiating the Ashburton treaty, and settling the Oregon boundary. Subsequently, by his exertions, the principal maritime powers recognised the independence of the Sandwich Islands. During the administration of Mr. Polk, he opposed the Mexican War; but, when found inevitable, he cordially approved of the conduct of his son, who took a command in a volunteer regiment, and lost his life on the arid plains of Mexico. In March, 1850, he supported the "compromise measures" respecting slavery; and, on the accession of President Fillmore, he once more entered office. His acts, whether regarding Cuba or the Fisheries question, or the Lobos Islands, since that time, are pretty well known to our readers; and it is only to be regretted that his declining days showed that he had, in some measure, lost that control of his faculties, which led him to put forward the Fishery question in so strange a light; and advance and withdraw with equal levity the preposterous claim to the Lobos Islands. But in spite of all his faults, Mr. Webster will retain a high place in the American mind, and in American history, as the statesman who could conciliate the respect of diplomatic Europe, without abandoning his decided Yankee tendencies and habits of thought; and in the history of remarkable men, as one of those who fought his way upwards, through all sorts of difficulties, to such a prominent and honourable position before the whole world.

#### CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE following documents have an interest of their own; and as they explain themselves need no comment from us. The United States' Government, judging from the following letter, in reply to a complaint from the owners of the *Crescent City*, discountenance the proceedings of Captain Porter, her commander:—

Department of State, Washington, Oct. 25.

"Sir, Your letter of the 3rd inst. has been received. As no intelligence has reached this department from Cuba since that which was brought by your steamer, it has no means of knowing the intentions of the authorities of the island other than what you possess yourself, and cannot, therefore, inform you whether mails or passengers will be permitted to land there or not. It may, however, be inferred, from the past proceedings of the authorities, that mails and passengers conveyed in the steamer *Crescent City*

will not be permitted to land there in case the individual named William Smith should remain on board of her.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"C. M. CONRAD, Acting Secretary."

"To George Law, Esq., New York."

A semi-official article in the *Washington Republic* of the 27th, desires to propagate a contrary supposition. That paper says:—

"We publish the following telegraphic despatch, just received from New Orleans, to show the wanton and mischievous falsehoods which find their way through the press and telegraph at this time. The object is transparent. It is to mislead and inflame the public mind, and by wanton misrepresentation affect the election now near at hand:—

"New Orleans, Oct. 26.

"Under the glaring caption of 'The United States and Spain—Our Flag Hauled Down—The Fillmore Administration Backed Out,' with the usual disgraceful editorial comments, the *Courier* of this morning publishes the following despatch:—

"Hon. Emile La Sere, Lieutenant Porter has been summoned to Washington to explain his conduct at Havannah. The result is that the *Crescent City* goes no more to Havannah—the *Georgia*, under Lieutenant Porter, being substituted. This yields the point as to Smith, and is regarded as a backing out of our government. The charge was made in the *Union* of yesterday, and not denied by the *Intelligencer* or *Republic* of to-day.

"A. G. PENN.

"JOHN W. FORNEY.

"This has evidently been concocted for the political effect it is supposed it would produce here.

"We have the best authority for saying that the Cabinet at Washington has taken firm and strong ground in opposition to the treatment of the *Crescent City* by the Captain-General of Cuba, and have no doubt that it will be followed by a speedy redress of the wrong complained of.

"There will be no 'backing out' on the part of the Administration. The rights and honour of the country will be duly maintained and vindicated.

"Lieutenant Porter was ordered to this city for the purpose only of giving full information to the Government, and, at his own request, has been transferred by the owners to the *Georgia*, and will return in her to Havannah."

It is impossible to see, as Lieutenant Porter has been transferred to the *Georgia*, and the *Crescent City* interdicted on account of Smith, how there has been no "backing out."

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

##### LETTER XLVI.

Paris, Tuesday, November 9, 1852.

THE consummation is almost complete. The perjurer is about to reap the harvest of his crime—the assassin to place on his brow a crown steeped in blood. It is blood that has quickened and manured the rank luxuriance of this gaudy growth of a day!

Hypocrisy has thrown away the mask. The name of "Republic," which had basely disguised libticide aggressions, is now a treason. There are no longer *citizens* in France—only *subjects*.

On Sunday last, the 7th instant, notwithstanding the sacredness of the day, the Senate held a sitting, in obedience to the formal injunctions of Bonaparte; and after hearing the report of M. Troplong, adopted the following *Senatus-Consulte*:—

"Art. 1. The Imperial dignity is re-established. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is Emperor of the French, under the name of Napoleon III.

"Art. 2. The Imperial dignity is hereditary in the direct descendants, natural and legitimate, of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of the females and their descendants.

"Art. 3. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, should he not have any male child, may adopt the children and descendants, natural and legitimate, in the male branch of the brothers of the Emperor Napoleon I. The forms and conditions of such adoption shall be regulated by a *Senatus-Consultum*. If, at a period posterior to such adoption, Louis Napoleon should happen to have male children, the adopted sons cannot be called to the throne until after the natural and legitimate descendants. Adoption is interdicted to the successors of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and their descendants.

"Art. 4. In default of any natural and legitimate heir, or of any adopted heir of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the Imperial dignity devolves to Jérôme Napoleon Bonaparte and his natural and legitimate descendants, the issue of his marriage with the Princess Catherine of Wurtemberg, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of the females and their descendants.

"Art. 5. In default of any natural and legitimate or adopted heir of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and in default of any natural and legitimate heir of Jérôme Napoleon Bonaparte and his male descendants, an organic *Senatus-Consultum*, proposed to the Senate by the Ministers assembled in Council, with the adjunction of the Presidents, acting as such in the Senate, in the legislative corps, and in the Council of State, and submitted to the people for acceptance, shall name the Emperor, and regulate in his family the order of succession from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of the females and of their descendants. Up to the moment when the election of the new Emperor is terminated, the affairs of the State are to be governed by the Ministers then in function, who are to form a Council of Government, and to deliberate by a majority of votes.

"Art. 6. The members of the family of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, called by circumstances within the line of succession, and their descendants of both sexes, form part of the Imperial family. A *Senatus-Consultum* will regulate their position. They cannot marry without the consent of the Emperor, and their marriage, contracted without such authorization, involves the privation of all claim to the succession, both for him who has contracted it, and for his descendants. Nevertheless, should it so happen that there exists no child from such marriage, when brought to an end by death, the prince who had contracted it recovers his rights to the succession. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte fixes the titles and the position of the other members of his family. He regulates their duties and obligations by statutes which shall have the force of law.

"Art. 7. The Constitution of January 14, 1852, is maintained in all the enactments which are not contrary to the present *Senatus-Consultum*, and no modifications can be made in it except in the forms and by the means provided for the purpose.

"Art. 8. The following proposition shall be submitted to the people for acceptance in the forms determined by the decrees of the 2nd and 4th of December, 1851:—The people desires the re-establishment of the imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, with the succession in its direct descendants, natural and legitimate, or adopted; and in default of such descendants, in the person of Jérôme Napoleon Bonaparte, as has been regulated by the *Senatus-Consultum* of the 7th day of November, 1852."

This *Senatus-Consulte* was voted by 86 out of 87. One man only, M. Viellard, Bonaparte's old tutor, and who has always resisted all the temptations of ambition, voted *against*. This single example of dignity is our solitary consolation for so many acts of baseness. Bonaparte had appointed beforehand three personages, Cardinal Archbishop Donnet, Marshal Vaillant, and the ex-minister Turgot, to present him the *Senatus-Consulte*. But the Senate did not think it their duty to obey this desire, and by an act of adulation insisted on presenting themselves in a body to *their* Sovereign, to hand the document to him in person. Napoleon the Little received the Senate at St. Cloud, in the very same hall where Napoleon the Great had, in 1804, received the Imperial dignity. He likewise expressed his wish that the *Senatus-Consulte* of 1852 should be voted, and presented to him on the 7th of November, precisely the anniversary of the Eighteenth of *Brumaire*. The First of *Brumaire* falling on October 21, the Eighteenth *Brumaire* falls on November 7. I believe I am one of the very few in Paris who remarked this coincidence of dates. Is this mere insolence in Bonaparte, or is it fatalism and superstition? It is, I believe, both the one and the other. Perhaps, too, it is the spirit of the comedian who follows out the character he plays even to the minutest details. The text of the *Plébiscite* of 1852, which is exactly that of 1804, seems to confirm this observation.

Let me add a few particulars of this high comedy played out by the Senate and its Master for the amusement of Europe. Bonaparte addressed a message to the Senate, on the question of re-establishing the Empire. In this message he told the Senate that the nation had just emphatically manifested its desire for this Imperial Restoration. Then putting his mouth (*embouchant*) to the triumphal trumpet, he exclaimed, "that the re-establishment of the Empire satisfied the just pride of the people, because it raised up again with liberty and reflection what all Europe, thirty-seven years before, had thrown down by force of arms, in the midst of the disasters of the country." This message, by its warlike tone, created an immense sensation in Paris. As if to heighten its effect, 100,000 copies were struck off the same evening, to be placarded in every commune throughout France. The reading of the message to the Senate was followed by the proposition of a *Senatus-Consulte*, laid on the table by ten members, and a commission, likewise of ten members, was then and there appointed to examine it.

The commission immediately elected M. Troplong for reporter. This gentleman had the report in his pocket. Just as the Senate was dispersing, Bonaparte sent instructions to the commission to drag the matter on till Sunday, in order that the *Senatus-Consulte* might be voted and presented on the anniversary of the 18th *Brumaire*. The next day (Friday), M. Troplong hastened to St. Cloud, to read his report to Bonaparte. On Saturday, for the reasons I have stated, nothing took place. Finally, on Sunday, the Senate held their famous sitting. M. Troplong began by reading his report. Never was such balderdash (*galimatias*) seen or heard as this choice *morceau* of eloquence. Caught between monarchy and democracy, as in the teeth of a vice, he makes the one and the other the subject of his eulogy and his abuse by turns. "The imperial monarchy," he exclaims, "is order in the revolution, and rule in the democracy." France, democratic by her manners, is monarchical by her habits and her instincts. Democratic France desires the re-establishment of the monarchy in the person of a prince destined to be the point of union between power and the people, the monarchical symbol of the



organized democracy." "The imperial monarchy has all the advantages of the republic, without its dangers; all the advantages of the monarchy, without its inconveniences." "The republic is really in the Empire, in virtue of the contractual character of the institution, and of the communication and express delegation of power by the people: but the Empire has the advantage of the republic, in that it is the *government of all* confided to the moderating action of one, with hereditary succession as a condition, and stability as a consequence." "Monarchy has this excellence: it bends itself admirably to all the progressive movements of civilization; by turns, feudal, absolute, and mixed, it remains for it only to traverse the era of democratic transformation." The conclusion of the Troplong report is, that "The Empire is a democratic monarchy, and a monarchical democracy."

These "wise saws" were received with the loudest acclamations by the senators—those *claqueurs* at 1200*l.* per annum!

Nevertheless a great intrigue has been going on these three days past. The original draft of the *Senatus-Consulte* of Thursday last, by its fourth article, assigned the crown to Jérôme in default of direct and legitimate heirs of Louis Napoleon. An immense opposition immediately arose in the Senate and in the commission. The Prelates in the commission were for Jérôme; but the Generals, who are afraid of a new order of things eventuating, which might call them to account for their crimes, maintained a violent resistance. Consequently, the commission substituted for that Article IV., another, by which Louis Bonaparte is himself to regulate the order of succession to the throne. Old Jérôme is furious at having been thus befooled. He immediately sent in his resignation of the Presidency of the Senate, and wrote a bald, harsh note to Bonaparte, saying that he did not intend to be cheapened (*marchandé*) in this way, and that he would soon let all France understand that *he, Jérôme*, was the only legitimate heir of his brother Napoleon. All was topsyturvy at St. Cloud on the receipt of this letter. Jérôme, the new Coriolanus, retired majestically to the Invalides, and refused to see any one, to receive any communication, or admit any envoy from Louis Bonaparte. Yet Bonaparte transmitted to him a promise of the Viceroyalty of Algeria by way of amends to Napoleon Jérôme. Algeria would thus constitute a separate kingdom, with an independent government, and a distinct administration. Old Jérôme sent about their business the deputation who brought him this promise.

At the present moment, a great question presents itself. The nation is invoked for the 25th inst. to vote by ayes or noes on the *Senatus-Consulte*. Will the people vote, or will they not vote? It is said that grave apprehensions exist on this score at St. Cloud. The Protest of Henry V. now circulates in France. I myself have seen a copy, and it permits no alternative. In spite of all the denials of the Government prints, which never relax in their efforts to mislead public opinion, the true Legitimists are perfectly united. Circulars of that party are in active distribution in all directions, and their *mot-d'ordre* is to abstain from voting or to vote *against*. In the south, the union of Republicans and Legitimists is complete. In the face of the common enemy, the two parties will vote as one. In other parts of France, it is possible that the common hate will bring about the same results. The issue of the battle now rests entirely on the part which the clergy will take. The provincial clergy are, without exception, Legitimists; they still retain a strong hold on the peasantry. If the Legitimist party is adroit in bringing the influence of the Church to bear on the peasants, Louis Bonaparte may yet experience a severe check. Unfortunately, I have little faith in this result. The rural population, hoodwinked by the lying stories of the triumphs of Bonaparte, menaced by the mayors and the *juges de paix*, who are all creatures of the ruling power, and sunk during a thousand years of Monarchy in ignorance and misery, will vote for Bonaparte. Besides, in default of votes, in the universal silence of the public voice, in the depth of the political darkness which the suppression of the tribune and the press has created, in the absence of all serious control, Bonaparte will always have the power of falsifying every list. In the canton of Pélau, in the *arrondissement* of Montfort, in Brittany, where the *curé*, the mayor, and the *juges de paix* only had voted last year, as many as 200, and upwards, of votes, were counted. It is scarcely likely that the authorities will be less successful on this occasion. *An reste*, Bonaparte is fully conscious that his fate depends on the priests. Accordingly, he cajoles them with all sorts of flatteries, and covers them with crosses and ribands. A decree of the *Moniteur* announces the promotion of archbishops and bishops, and of a great number of clergy in the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour. All these

promotions are made among the clergy of the southern departments.

Bonaparte, it would seem, is scarcely so well satisfied with his prefects. A sweeping *razzia* among these hapless functionaries is in contemplation. Bonaparte reproaches them with not making him popular enough. Some are accused of having used violence towards the municipal councils, to compel them to go to meet the President, others of not having sufficiently inflamed the zeal of the population during the progress in the south. In consequence of this neglect, a great number are to be disgraced. The instant necessity of falsifying the lists of voters renders it important to replace these tools (*âmes damnées*) by other still more ardent partisans. *A force d'ardeur la France finira par s'enfermer le rousi.* Decidedly, M. de Montalembert is right. It is Catholicism that has reaped the profit of all our troubles and all our revolutions. The best proof of this is not to be found in his book, (which has already reached a second edition,) but in the immense legacies of real and personal property that are bequeathed daily in all parts of the country to the Jesuits. The Council of State, which alone has the right of enabling civil and religious congregations to accept of donations, is alarmed at the colossal proportions which these donations begin to assume. More than forty educational establishments may be reckoned already belonging to the Jesuits, and more than 200 fresh demands of authorization are under consideration. Upon each of these religious houses endowments and legacies are showered, and the Council of State, in dismay, submits the question of approval to Bonaparte. His reply is characteristic:—"Approve of everything to-day; we will disapprove to-morrow."

The marriage is again talked of for the 10th or 20th of December. Meanwhile, superb apartments are in course of preparation at the Tuileries for the Empress. The Musée du Louvre is about to exchange its title for that of Musée Napoleon. The popular statue of Napoleon in his *redingote grise*, on the column in the Place Vendôme, is to be taken down and replaced by another in imperial costume. The Nephew cannot afford to blush for the Uncle: he cannot suffer in the statue of his Uncle an absence of decorum and etiquette.

A petty negotiation was recently opened by this crowned dwarf with the *Journal des Débats*. Bonaparte offered to M. Bertin, director of that journal, to resume the title of *Journal de l'Empire*. M. Bertin replied, that that title was his own property, and that he would use it when and how he liked. Bonaparte, irritated at this reply, authorized the *Pays* to assume the title henceforth. This authorization will probably occasion a very pretty action at law.

M. de Montalembert's treatise on the *Interests of Catholicism* has a very large sale, as I have said. The following sentence has made the fortune of the work. Speaking of universal suffrage, he glances at Bonaparte thus:—"Universal suffrage is a mechanism by which the mob is master for a day, to sell itself to servitude for ages, and to make all slaves like itself. It is a lever which may be always used by the most adroit and unscrupulous hand, but which gives that hand an irresistible ascendancy."

Arrests, dismissals, and other rigorous measures, continue. Twenty workmen have been arrested in Paris on pretence of endeavouring to organize a strike among the masons employed in the new Rue Rivoli, and in the construction of the new Bastille barrack of the Hotel de Ville. Forty individuals of the middle class have been also arrested quite recently. General Bourjolly, commanding the Department of the Lower Pyrenees, has been deprived of his command. He had received no warning of this disgrace. On the passage of the President through Bordeaux, he had met with a charming reception. We are lost in conjectures as to the cause of this dismissal. S.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

A PETITION has been presented to the Senate against the principle of adoption in fixing the order of succession to the throne.

Jérôme returned to the Invalides on Monday, and reviewed the old soldiers, expressing his satisfaction to be among them again. He indulged them to an extra allowance of brandy, the quality of which turned the favour away.

Abd-el-Kader returned on Tuesday to Amboise. He was accompanied to the Orleans Railway Station by General Daumas.

On Monday he took leave of Louis Napoleon at St. Cloud, and received from his hands the present of a sword of honour, because, said the donor, "I am sure that you will never draw it against France;" to which Abd-el-Kader replied, with renewed professions of eternal amity, and placed a document in the President's hands full of compliments, and expressing a desire to return for the coronation.

He is to have horses at his disposal as long as he remains at Amboise. He visited, during his stay in Paris, all the principal monuments, besides the museums, the Na-

tional Library, and Printing-Office, all the Ministers, and the Prefect of the Seine.

On Tuesday, the Minister of Justice presented to the Belgian Chamber a bill for the punishing of outrages on foreign sovereigns or heads of governments. This project of law provided that any one found guilty of outraging, by means of the press, images, engravings, &c., the persons of foreign sovereigns, or the heads of government, or of attacking, should be punished by an imprisonment not exceeding a term of two years, and by a fine not exceeding 5000 francs (200*l.*) It was furthermore provided, that the plea of having merely reproduced anterior publications, &c., cannot be admitted in justification or in extenuation of the offence; that the prosecutions are to take place at the formal demand of the diplomatic agents of the foreign governments complaining of any attack or outrage; that the trials are to be regulated according to existing laws—that is to say, in other words, that press offences will still be tried by jury, and that the press law of 1816 is abolished. In the preamble to the bill (*exposé des motifs*) it is set forth that the law of 1816 was virtually declared defunct by recent verdicts of juries; and that a law punishing outrages on foreign sovereigns is an international necessity, a law based on national right, and one admitted by even the greatest nations of antiquity as well as of modern times. It was stated that the Belgian Government could not and did not undertake to prosecute *ex officio*, and consequently that the complaint must emanate from the government considering itself outraged, the prosecution to begin within three months of the alleged offence.

This is the first step in the downward course of concessions to despotic France. Will the Belgians think their nationality worth preserving if such adaptations are persevered in?

Political conciliation is making way in Switzerland. The Grand Council of Lucerne has just decided that the members of the Great Council of the Sonderbund, who, upon the defeat of that powerful faction, were deprived of political rights, shall be restored to the full privileges of citizens; and further, that they shall receive back in money the sums which they were made to pay as a forced loan.

Russia is said to have acknowledged the independence of Montenegro, the mountain state between Austria and Turkey. The Porte has protested, and the Prince of Montenegro has appealed to Austria.

The results of the recent Prussian elections are decidedly Liberal, especially in the great cities. The provinces have mostly returned Conservatives. The great majority of the new members will be found to oppose any reactionary revision of the constitution.

Abbas Pacha has agreed to pay the tribute of 1853-54 (about 300,000*l.*) in advance, to the Sultan, to meet the financial difficulties of the bank of Constantinople.

The Duke of Leuchtenberg died at St. Petersburg on the 5th instant, we know not whether to say, opportunely or otherwise. He was the sole link between the Imperial family of France and Russia. He was the grandson of Josephine and youngest son of Eugene Beauharnais, and was born October 2nd, 1817. By his marriage with the Grand Duchess Maria, in 1839, he became the son-in-law of Nicholas, Emperor of all the Russias. Since his marriage, he has resided at the Russian Court, receiving as one of the family of the Czar, the style of His Imperial Highness. He was an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, and a general in the Russian service. The Duke was a man of considerable cultivation, and a lover of the natural sciences.

It is doubted whether Austria will send any deputation of officers to the Duke's funeral, on account of the offence to the Austrian army, in the person of General Haynau.

The Customs Congress of the condescended southern states has been opened at Vienna. The sum of the Austrian minister's address was the desire of his government, that the old Zollverein should not be dissolved, but that, failing the good will and co-operation of Prussia, Austria would take the lead of a new commercial union. Meantime, Prussia is preparing to meet the dissolution with an array of custom-houses.

Sentence of death is pronounced on Edward Murray, on three different charges of murder. This sentence is dated December 17th, 1851. He is not condemned as a British subject, but as an inhabitant of the Roman States, amenable to the laws of the country. The Pope has, however, commuted the penalty of death into hard labour at the galleys for life. This announcement bears the date of August 3rd, 1852, just previous to the visit of Sir Henry Bulwer to Rome. He will now, in all probability, be set at liberty. "No doubt," writes the correspondent of the *Daily News*, had it not been for the prompt interference of Mr. Moore, the consul at Ancona, last spring, and the energetic steps taken at that time by Mr. Frechorn, our consular agent here, Murray would then have suffered the full penalty of the law."

The executions at Ancona on the 25th inst. may be reckoned amongst the most appalling ever witnessed. Only one of the culprits out of nine would listen to the exhortations of the priests. When it was found that the other eight were hopelessly reculant, they were allowed to intoxicate themselves with rum. The shooting of them was entrusted to a detachment of Roman artillerymen, armed with short carbines, old-fashioned weapons, many of which missed fire, so that at the first discharge some of the prisoners did not fall, but ran off, with the soldiers pursuing and firing at them repeatedly; others crawled about, and one, after being considered dead, made a violent exertion to get up, rendering a final *coup-de-grâce* necessary. *Other executions are to follow.*

The Ministerial crisis in Piedmont is at an end. The *Piedmontese Gazette*, of the 2nd, announced that the King of Sardinia had entrusted Count Cavour with the composition of a new cabinet.

The *Risorgimento* published on the 3rd the following list of the new Ministry:—Count Cavour, President of the Council and Minister of Finance; Gen. Dabormida, Fo-

reign Affairs; Ponzardi S. Martino, Interior; Buoncompagni, Grace and Justice and Instruction; Lamarmora, War; Paléocapa, Public Works. The Marquis d'Azeglio, M. Pernati, and M. Cibrario retire; General La Marmora, MM. Paléocapa and Buoncompagni, remain; and Count Cavour, General Dabormida, and Count Ponzardi San Martino, are added to the Ministry.

In a recent tempest at Athens, one of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, which every traveller has admired, near the Adrian Gate, was overthrown. Most of the ships in the Piræus broke from their moorings, and much damage was done. The storm lasted five hours. Several houses in Athens were thrown to the ground.

#### KOSSUTH AND MAZZINI IN STORE STREET.

WE have the great pleasure of recording a most successful opening of the winter campaign of the Friends of Italy, at the Music Hall in Store-street, Bedford-square. The gathering was great in numbers and in quality. Mr. P. A. Taylor filled the chair; on his right sat Joseph Mazzini, on his left Louis Kossuth; and on either side, among others, were Mr. Robert Lowe, M.P., Mr. Crawford, M.P., Mr. William Coningham, Mr. H. Parry, Professor Newman, Mr. W. Ashurst, Mr. F. Stone (R.A.), Mr. Pulzky, and a numerous party of ladies.

The heroes of the meeting were loudly cheered as they entered. The business was begun by an eloquent speech from the chairman, who during the evening behaved with great tact and firmness. He was followed by Mr. Ireson, who moved a resolution, seconded by Mr. William Coningham, in favour of abolishing the abnormal state of things at Rome.

Mr. W. Coningham won great applause by an energetic protest, as an Englishman, that his countrymen were not content with the position which had been taken up for England at this moment in Europe—

"Englishmen were beginning to see that the consequence of their apathy on the one hand, and of the double game played by their Government on the other was—Louis Napoleon. (Cheers.) The result of indifference was a threatened invasion. (Loud cheers.) He for one, without being an alarmist, was somewhat alarmed, but he would warn England of the present ruler of France. *Hic niger est. Hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* (Cheers.) He (Mr. Coningham) was no admirer of all the performances of Lord Palmerston; but he could not avoid seeing that on that day which saw a miserable intrigue successful in ousting Lord Palmerston from a Ministry which remained brainless when he left it, England had fallen in the estimation of Europe, and that every day since had witnessed her successive humiliations. (Cheers.) This could not last; and he had that faith still in England that he believed when she assumed her proper post among the nations, Italy, Hungary, Germany, and France would commence to rise again." (Great cheering.)

M. Mazzini then came forward and was, as usual on these occasions, very warmly received. He spoke as follows:—

"Having only this evening to read to you a petition which the society recommends this meeting, and its friends everywhere to adopt, I shall prefix only a very few words. Powers of eloquence have never been granted to me; but even if they had been, I could not have used them on this of all evenings. And the reason is in one word. Every one of you has heard within these three or four days that nine individuals belonging to the popular party of Italy have been shot in Ancona. That would seem to have been enough; but I have received to-day, and you will probably to-morrow read in your newspapers, the further information that twenty-seven were shot the day after those nine had been shot. (Cries of 'Shame, shame!') Before these facts, it would be a mockery for me, an Italian, to make a long speech. The state of Italy is really sad, and has been really sad beyond measure for some time. We have wholesale butcheries, as you see, in the states of the Church, and we have wholesale condemnations, not to death, but to the galleys for life, or for twenty years, at Naples. We have wholesale arrests of 100 to 250 persons in Lombardy. These arrests are most likely to lead to condemnations and to executions, like those at Sinigaglia and at Ancona. It is only two months since one of my personal friends strangled himself with his cravat the first day of his entering a dungeon of Austria; and he did this in the fear of his being induced, by physical tortures, which they in Austria do apply, to reveal certain secrets. A few days ago, again, another man of the party, not a personal friend of mine, but an extremely well-known medical man of Lodi, in Lombardy, endeavoured to cut his throat, and did half succeed, in the moment of his passing the threshold of an Austrian prison. Everywhere, indeed, in Italy, men are being arrested *en masse* at Milan, at Verona, and at Mantua. 220 prisoners at Mantua have been beaten in their prison with sticks until they have bled. (Sensation.) That is a fact communicated by them to their families, they writing this information to their families in blood on their linen. I say, again, that in presence of such facts it is almost impossible for me, an Italian, to speak. You may depend on it, that this mass of crimes and of cruelties, which call back to memory the darkest times of the middle ages will pass away and will finish. (Great cheering.) They will finish under the influence of the popular party. Still, though we have hope, it is sad to think of these men dying thus now. I remember our young officers, who were killed by the African sharpshooters, dying with a smile radiating on their countenances; for they died with the flag of liberty waving over their heads, with Rome not yet fallen, and with the belief that Rome was being saved perhaps by

their blood. That was sad, but it was not so completely sad as the fate of those men at Sinigaglia, at Ancona, and at Mantua. These latter died shouting 'Long live Italy, long live the Republic!' and that is glorious; but I cannot help thinking that they had moments extremely sad before dying; for they must have had some knowledge of what was passing in the world, and they could have little hope in beholding Europe apparently drifting altogether into reaction. They could see a Republic like Switzerland driving the exiles, Italian and French, beyond her frontiers, and appeasing French envy by suppressing books, like that of Victor Hugo's *Napoleon le Petit*. They saw likewise Piedmont, a constitutional country, confiscating in the same way these books of Victor Hugo. They saw Belgium with a ministry one-half retrograde, about to introduce a law restraining the liberty of the press, merely with the object of conciliating Louis Napoleon; and, looking further, their last hopes must have disappeared in seeing a Tory ministry allied with the absolute powers, so far as her external relations are concerned, in England herself. (Loud cheers.) Thus there was not a single bright spot on which their eyes could rest as they were dying, and that, I feel, is extremely sad. At all events, our duty is known. We shall endeavour to fulfil it. But your duty, as you have been told before from this platform, is not merely to applaud, but also to act. It seems to me that there is a disease in the political life of England; it is not perversity, but apathy—a want of equipoise between thought and action. It is a Hamlet-like state of mind you are suffering from, in which you think well, and yet cannot act well; in which there is found a sort of impossibility to bring into harmony the realization and the idea. Certainly, if we could go round England and interrogate Englishmen, your vast people and public would be found sympathizing with those principles which you encourage here. But, if you were to test that by an appeal for action—if you were to propose even so little as a one shilling subscription to aid this cause, you would meet with but little success. That is not reluctance, it is indolence and apathy. Let us, however, ask the possible to be done. Here is a petition I am going to introduce to you. It concerns Rome—Rome being the centre and the representative of our Italian patriotic cause. This petition will go to the House of Commons, and will there, perhaps, with other petitions, sink into oblivion. But do not let it. You, each of you, as you go home, can become yourselves a centre of action for sustaining this appeal to your Parliament by obtaining similar shorter petitions signed by tens or twenties, or one hundreds; and I ask you, if you did this, and if the movement spread from hamlet to hamlet, and from town to town, would there not be an effect? (Loud cheers.) In the middle ages there was a superstition that when a murderer walked over the grave of his victim, the hands of the murdered one would be lifted up within the grave. Let the victims of despotism do so. We raise up our hands; and you Englishmen should raise up both your hands in behalf of us Italians, holding in one of your hands the despatch in which Lord Normanby, your ambassador at Paris, avows that the instructions of his Government were, that England had the same objects as the French Government in the invasion of Rome; and holding in the other hand this petition, or some such petition as this. (Loud cheers.) Let you Englishmen say, 'There have been murders committed, and, Pilate-like, we must wash our hands of them.' These are your duties. For us Italians I say, still trust us. (Loud cheers.)

M. Mazzini then read a very able petition to the House of Commons, praying that steps might be taken to set free the Roman States; which was unanimously adopted. Professor Newman followed; and in moving a resolution hailing the union between Italy and Hungary, delivered an excellent speech on the right of Italy to a national existence, and on the duty of England. One point he made was very happy—

"Our prevailing foible and danger, in regard to foreign politics, was not selfishness, not aggressiveness—it was political pharisaism and pedantry. A very large class among them, who on principle abhorred despotism—he referred especially to the Whig party—were so enamoured of the particular course through which the English nation had been led, that they thought every other nation must go through the same course. This was a great mistake. In this country foreign monarchs had never been able to re-establish monarchies who had fallen. (Hear, hear.) The failures of patriots abroad were carped at, as if they were faults; and it was much to be regretted that in this way we should have played into the hands of despots."

Mr. Parry seconded the resolution; and when he concluded, the cries for Kossuth were so loud that he was compelled to respond. When the cheers had subsided, he said—

"Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, I feel deeply, very deeply sensible of your kindness, and of the value of that interest which you manifest for the cause of Italy and Hungary. I thank you for this manifestation the more because, in consonance with the resolution just now adopted, I feel entitled to take such a manifestation, not only for an acknowledgment, but for an approval of the brotherly fraternisation and alliance between the nation of Italy and the nation of Hungary. (Loud cheers.) And in that respect my best answer, I believe, is, that thus—[Here M. Kossuth, extending his hand across the table, seized that of M. Mazzini, who stood up and reciprocated the proof of unity, of course amid the immensest applause of the delighted meeting]—that thus I take up the hand of my friend and brother, Mazzini; and as I stand here before God and you, hand in hand with him, so depend upon it the world will yet see the people of Italy and the people of Hungary, not only standing up, but also marching on, side by side, and hand in hand, till those fair parts of the world are restored to the natural, impre-

scriptible, and inalienable right of every nation to be free, to be independent, and to have to exercise the sovereign right of every nation to regulate according to its own will its own domestic concerns; and to set up and to set down, and to alter and to change, when it will and how it will, its own government. (Tremendous cheering.) As to the rest, obedient to your call I have risen, but only for the purpose to apologize for not making a speech. There is a time and a season for everything in the world. There is a time and a season to speak, and there is a time and a season to be silent. You English are happy. You may hope to carry all that you require by the peaceful means of the free word. For us, we can nothing carry with words. And therefore I have taken—in consequence of my duty I have taken—the rule, that for the future I have only a single speech, which is reserved for the due time, and depend upon it to be spoken in due time; and that only speech that I have in future is "Up, boys, and at them—follow me."

This unexpected communication was received with perceptible astonishment; but the concluding phrase of the sentence produced overwhelming applause. "Until (added M. Kossuth) I have an occasion to deliver that speech, I will have none else. So am I done with oratory."

The meeting immediately after broke up.

#### IN MEMORIAM: "ROBERT BLUM."

WHEN the Duc D'Enghien was shot at Vincennes Europe, that is, "good society," shrieked out an anathema on his murderer, because the Duc D'Enghien was a Bourbon, one of the tip-top peaks of good society. When Hoffer was hung in the mountains of the Tyrol, society, "good" and not good, execrated his executioner; and when Palm, bookseller of Vienna, was put to death for publishing a pamphlet against the Emperor of the French, all the world denounced the victor of Wagram. Hoffer fought not only for his mountain-home, but for an Emperor; and Palm, likewise, published for the same personage. In each case, the massacre was as indefensible as the slaughter in cold blood of the Hungarian generals in 1849, by the orders of the Baron Haynau; or the Prussian massacres in Baden; or the Austrian massacres at Brescia. "Good society," saved by Napoleon III., and "civilization," saved by the red monarchies, however, did not care much about these massacres; and when, on the 9th of November, 1848, the famous Prince Windischgrätz shot Robert Blum in the ditch below the ramparts of Vienna, good society, Mr. Macaulay, and civilization, scarcely said anything at all. Yet the massacre of the young Bourbon, the Tyrolese, the Viennese, and the Saxon, were acts of the same kind of despotic power.

Robert Blum, also, was a bookseller in the famed city of Leipsic. He was a democrat by birth and education, and he was elected to sit, as a democrat, in the famous German Parliament at Frankfort, in 1848. In the autumn of that year, the Hungarian militia had driven Jellachich out of Hungary; and the Hungarian army, acting under treacherous or lukewarm generals, was encamped between the Raab and the Laitha. Vienna was in revolt; Metternich had fled; Bem and Haug were in command of the place, and Windischgrätz was advancing to besiege it. At this juncture, Blum and two others were officially sent to Vienna, by the Frankfort Parliament. Vienna was taken; Blum was taken also, and the official envoy of the national Parliament was shot by the order of Prince Windischgrätz, who, at that moment, actually led the imperial army for the imperial interest, and for nothing else, against the people of the empire. This bloody death of Robert Blum will never be forgotten. Every year the German refugees in London celebrate the dark day of the 9th of November. To them, "Robert Blum" is a sacred memory, and an inspiring watchword.

Accordingly, on Tuesday, a large body, composed chiefly of Germans, met in the large room at the Freemasons' Tavern, to celebrate the death of the martyr of 1848, by a series of orations delivered by Arnold Ruge, Oscar Falke, Dr. Tausenau, and Johannes Ronge. Professor Ruge occupied the chair; over his head was hung a portrait of the noble, hearty face of Blum, with its fine, good-humoured expression, not unlike the busts of Socrates. Above the picture drooped the German tricolor, in bands of black, red, and gold—and on each side a red banner. The first speech was delivered by the chairman in German. He began by explaining how it was that Blum had become the apostle and martyr of German freedom. Blum was the thorough German representative man.

"Blum was intensely the man of the German people; he incorporated all their instincts, all their faiths, all their aspirations; he embodied the people's demand for those rights promised when Napoleon had to be crushed, but never granted; and he was the voice of the people's generosity when they had their tyrants in their power, and should not have been generous. He was the man of the era—precisely the man to translate and put in action the passions of the time. All Germany spoke in him in 1848, with the greater effect that he was sprung from the democracy; but he was too German in not being severe enough; for while the Germans had conquered their kings, the sword was



left in the hands of those kings, and the democracy had suffered accordingly for that fault. Blum, however, was intensely the democrat. He had resolved to go as far as the people would go; and not to foresee—to anticipate—less than they did; and his faith in the people was so great that he regarded their instincts—their impulses—greater than all the calculations of statesmen. He was as wise as a philosopher—no Utopian, as no optimist. He was a large-hearted, clear-headed, practical man, hating wrong, and loving his race; and he had determined to do and to call on others to do precisely that which he believed the time demanded. The speaker proceeded to sketch Blum's political life—the political action he had called into existence in Saxony, and the impetus he gave by his personal dauntlessness to the religious anti-papal movement of Ronge. After a rapid survey of the history of the Frankfort Parliament, and the appointment of Blum (with Flöbel and Hartman, the poet), as a deputation to the Viennese revolutionists, he entered into a defence of Blum's much questioned conduct during the struggle in Vienna. Vienna was, at the time, the turning point of all the efforts of enslaved Europe in 1848. If Vienna were made secure again in the hands of her emperor, and without conditions, Hungary could not long have resisted. Italy would have been overwhelmed; and the Austrian empire reformed, the rest of Germany would have been overrun with reaction. Blum understood this, and attempted to master the crisis; and he fought gallantly, and fell like a hero of humanity under the hands of his assassins. But in Blum's blood had been written a new charter for the people: for, as Pericles said of the Athenians who fell in resisting the Spartans, the grave of a great man was the whole earth."

These sentiments were loudly cheered, and the applause broke forth again when the orator announced his belief that Blum would be avenged; that in the next contest for freedom, Germany would have English sympathy; that London was the beacon of the world; and that the people had but to be patient, and have faith in themselves, and to be true to that faith to ensure victory. Faith in the destiny of democracy is the new religion of the world.

"It was a lie to say, as the 'Philister' party had said, that the democrats and socialists were robbers and murderers. They had sought but to rob the sword from their oppressors; and they would seek to murder only—the murderers. (Great cheering.) Which party had abolished the punishment by death? (Loud cheers.) As absurd were the charges of the other party—the 'Frisvolen.' The 'Frisvolen,' in ridiculing the democrat's faith in the possible perfectibility of society, did not produce an argument—they but confessed their own contemptibleness (gemeinheit). The Germans had learnt necessary lessons in their failures. They had learnt to know themselves; and, still more, to appreciate their tyrants. They might fall again, but it should not be because they were deceived in their kings."

Falke, a Viennese, delivered a stirring speech, of the ordinary revolutionary kind, and wanting in that sturdy statesmanlike tone which Ruge and Tausenau infused into their speeches.

Dr. Tausenau, speaking in English, contended for the right of the Germans, although beaten, to continue the contest from the only free platform in Europe. The Germans were not to be silent because they were beaten for the time; and they could not but be right in standing on and speaking from the only free platform left them in Europe, and in encouraging among one another those political virtues of patience and perseverance to which the English had themselves taught the rest of the world to trust. He proceeded to answer the question he was often asked—why the German democrats held Blum in such reverence; saying, that it was not because Blum was the only or even the greatest martyr, but because a concurrence of circumstances had made Blum the representative of the whole German people at Vienna; because his assassination was one of peculiar atrocity; and because the man himself was of that pure nature—lovable in his family, and therefore virtuous in the political arena—which excited enthusiasm in arousing regrets.

Referring to the late speech of Mr. Macaulay, he said it was a libel on the democracy of Europe.

"He was an admirer of the works of Mr. Macaulay; but this particular speech had made him pause in his tribute; and he had begun to doubt whether the heart of Mr. Macaulay really beat with that of mankind; whether it did not beat merely for the success of a single party? Mr. Macaulay had proved Gibbon to be short-sighted in having thought that civilization could no longer be in danger from barbarians, since civilization could always command the largest and most powerful material—resources of war. Mr. Macaulay had discovered that civilization itself bred the barbarians, who were more savage than Huns and Vandals. He (Dr. Tausenau) might ask if that could be the real genuine civilization which produced such masters? (Great cheering.) But he did not admit the fact; and, judging of the army by their leaders, he would ask if Louis Kossuth was a barbarian? Was Joseph Mazzini a savage? Was Arnold Ruge a Vandal? Was Johannes Ronge a Hun? (Much cheering.) Civilization, according to Mr. Macaulay, had been saved; but where were the signs of this salvation? Was civilization saved because all the capitals of Germany and Italy had been sacked and bombarded—because the press was now everywhere gagged—because there were hundreds of thousands in prison for political offences, and other hundreds of thousands in exile—because popery was everywhere aggressive or triumphant—because education was in the hands of ignorant

and arrogant priests—because in all Italy the Bible could not be read—because every king in Germany had committed perjury—lastly, because Louis Napoleon, crowned scoundrel, was about to become an emperor? (Enthusiastic applause.) Well, if that indeed were civilization, he (Dr. Tausenau) would turn Arab, and, Ishmael-like, make war on that civilization. (Great cheering.) Mr. Macaulay mistook desolation for peace: he did not see that the democrats had never committed a crime, and that they had been crushed only by their oppressors resorting to all the crimes which were accursed of God and man. Mr. Macaulay lived too much in his closet for the healthy play of his genius. He lived only in the circles of government boards, and did not understand that a people had faith in more than routine, and that what now existed from Paris to St. Petersburg was false and artificial, and could not last. (Loud cheers.)"

Ronge spoke on the solidarity of nations; and Mr. Lockhart, an Englishman, closed the oratorical proceedings. A supper wound up the celebration.

#### CHURCH MATTERS.

THE rectors, vicars, and incumbents of the city and Archdeaconry of London held a meeting on Monday, in the large hall of Zion College, to consider the measures which ought to be adopted in order to prevent any attempt to revive the active powers of Convocation. The Reverend R. Ruddock, President of the College, took the chair, and, having introduced the subject of the meeting, a warm discussion immediately arose on the point that several clergymen, members of the College, and favourable to the revival of Convocation, had not been invited to attend. The Rev. Dr. McCaul, at great length, moved a resolution,

"That a report having been widely circulated that a majority of the clergy of the Church of England and Ireland are desirous that the Convocation now assembled should proceed to business, the President and Fellows of Zion College beg to be permitted to state that they do not participate in that feeling, nor believe that under present circumstances such a course would be expedient."

The motion was seconded by the Reverend W. Johnson, but was met by an amendment, moved by the Rev. J. J. Toogood, and seconded by the Reverend W. Scott, that the meeting be adjourned *sine die*. The Rev. W. Goode spoke in favour of the original motion, and the Rev. Dr. Worthington, of the amendment, which, however, was rejected by the meeting; and Dr. McCaul's resolution having been agreed to, the proceedings terminated.

Zion college, whoever and whatever that may be, is not all alone in its glory. Alarm at the "threatened revival of convocation;" hostility to the proximate "revival of the confessional," has caused certain famous evangelists to put in requisition the capacities of the Freemason's Tavern, and the capacities of the pious Shaftesbury, of the strong Protestant Defence Association, and his strong coadjutors, the Earl of Cavan, Lord Thomas Cecil, Lord Henry Cholmondeley, Mr. Arthur Kinnaird, a squadron of naval officers, a battalion of clergymen, and a strong body of volunteer militia laymen. This was the great demonstration of the laity threatened by the *Globe* some weeks ago, and held on Wednesday, in the Freemason's Tavern.

The Earl of Shaftesbury made two points. He told the meeting that there was no chance of putting a stop to the Plymouth confessional proceedings, either by the ecclesiastical or the criminal law. But, said he,—

"A third attempt was made to bring the matter before the Primate of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to appeal to his power to see how far he could put a prohibition on the progress of these practices. That great and worthy prelate (cheers) gave as an answer that he was wholly powerless, and that there was nothing left but to appeal to public opinion (cheers); and therefore it is that to public opinion we come. (Cheers.) Under God's blessing we make that appeal, and we announce our determination to persevere, and from that perseverance we shall never desist till, by the Almighty blessing, we shall be heard and felt throughout the length and breadth of this land."

He decided that the confessional was inconsistent with the Church of England; and he defended the curious marriage of the two substantives, "Convocation and Confession," by saying, that they are as inseparable as Gog and Magog; but he did not attempt to substantiate his point:—

"Well, then, here we are, abandoned, I do not hesitate to say, by those who should take the lead in this great movement, and who should be found in the fore front of the battle. (Cheers.) We have come forward a body of laymen, aided by our clerical friends who share our feelings—who acknowledge and sympathize in our rights—and who, under God's blessing, will jointly maintain with us the great battle of truth (cheers); we come forward to appeal to public opinion, and to implore God's grace so to govern that opinion that it shall be as staunch for the truth as some of our enemies are staunch for error."

Both Lord Shaftesbury and Sir Harry Verney, who followed him, confessed that they did not object to "A form of church government upon a reasonable and moderate basis, in which the laity of the church will have not only a great but a dominant share." (Cheers.)

Sir Harry Verney said—

"He was not contending against the existence of a body in the Church of England fit to govern it, and which should have authority to correct abuses. On the contrary, he thought the existence of such a body extremely desirable; but he claimed that in such a body the laity should have full representation. (Cheers.) Was it to be tolerated that the ministers of the church should come forward, as if they were the church alone, that they should claim authority in the church, and that the voice of the laity should not be heard? Nor was he contending that there were no abuses to be inquired into. First of all, he contended that there should be a searching, full, and true inquiry into the revenues, patronage, and duties of the episcopal bench. (Great cheering.) Secondly, he desired an inquiry into, and public statement of, the expenditure of the sums of money for a certain period of years past in episcopal palaces and other buildings. Thirdly, a searching inquiry into all ecclesiastical and cathedral bodies, especially cathedral schools. (Cheers.)"

The Reverend Canon Stowell went great revolutionary lengths. Having roundly abused the Puseyites, he called upon the bishops, upon penalty of being pilloried, to rise as one man and denounce auricular confession.

"He was not there to disparage our bishops personally, but there was such a tone of sentiment out of doors, and which he heard among intelligent merchants and manufacturers, that he trembled lest the episcopal bench should lose its present standing and influence. He would not think of upsetting it—for the episcopacy was God's ordinance; but the true way was, if the bishops were not equal to the emergency, to give the people a certain voice in the matter. (Cheers.) A bishop ought not to be appointed because a man was a younger branch of a noble family, or a successful tutor, or had obliged a Prime Minister by interfering in an election, or because some member of Parliament had a claim that his brother or fourth cousin should have a place on the episcopal bench. (Cheers.) He thought the people of England might fairly claim a voice in the election of their bishops."

The other speakers amplified the topics of convocation and confession—confession and convocation; and Lord Shaftesbury finished by crying that Protestantism was in danger; and after placing it under the special protection of the Deity, oddly declaring "that there was nothing so great, nothing so secure, as, through the grace of God, a wise and understanding people." (Cheers.)

#### MR. HUME ON DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION.

MR. HUME has addressed a letter to the *Liverpool Albion*, in which he states strongly his preference for direct taxation on property as the system ultimately to be attained to. It is not quite clear from his letter whether he proposes to raise the whole revenue, or only a moiety of it by this means; for he states that there are political reasons against thus raising the whole; but he does not here say whether those reasons are of a permanent or temporary nature. Coming discussions will doubtless give us a fuller exposition of the veteran economist's views on this point.

He urges, with great truth and justice, the necessity of time and caution in making great fiscal changes. When great interests, in themselves honourable and laudable, have grown up in close entanglement with error, it is at once a folly and a wrong to tear up all at a stroke. However clearly and steadily the ultimate rectification may be kept in view, the intermediate measures ought evidently to be much influenced by careful consideration of present circumstances.

Mr. Hume's plan for present action is, "to raise as much revenue by the Property-tax as could be levied by a tax of three per cent. on all realized property, and also upon our capitalized industrial income," as he has sketched in his draft report laid before the Income-tax Committee of last session. This would clear away a vast extent of business at the Customs, and of interference of existing duties with trade.

He proposes also a committee to inquire into the actual incidence of taxation—that is, to ascertain by means of the best evidence, what is the real effect of each one of our present taxes on the different interests of the kingdom; and he expects to be able to produce to such a committee indisputable proofs of the great superiority of direct taxation.

We need hardly add, that we most heartily wish Mr. Hume complete success in these efforts.

#### EARTHQUAKE AT LIVERPOOL.

LIVERPOOL, Manchester, Congleton, Chester, Bangor Conway, Holyhead, Bolton, Fleetwood, and other towns lying on the North Western coast of the island were shaken by an earthquake, at half-past four o'clock on Tuesday morning. The fact, from the universality of observation, is unquestionable; all accounts, allowing for differences in the time-pieces of the observers, agree as to the time; and all describe the motion as a vibration from side to side. It was slightly preceded and accompanied by a loud noise.

Its greatest force was felt along the line of the river, and particularly at Bootle, a village at the north end of the docks. At Birkenhead, also, and in the villages on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, a considerable vibration of the earth was noticed. A person, who resides at Jericho, Aigburth, was awakened by a peculiar trembling sensation. All his joints appeared to be loosened, and for a moment it seemed as if he had been attacked with a violent fit of ague. The person who usually obtains the *Times'* despatches from the Trans-

atlantic steamers, was awakened about half-past four o'clock by a rumbling noise, and, thinking it was the gun of one of the American steamers, he arose, dressed himself, and went down to the pier. At Seacombe, on the Cheshire side of the river, a gentleman was so much shaken while asleep that, on awakening, he imagined for the instant that some one was concealed under the bed. In many houses, on both sides of the river, cupboard doors were banged open, and such noises were caused as to make the inmates believe that burglars had broken into the premises. It is also described as like the swing of a cradle; and one gentleman heard six distinct vibrations of sound.

"This morning," says a letter in the *Times*, "at half-past four o'clock, the shock of an earthquake was distinctly felt at Manchester by many persons, and also in the surrounding neighbourhood. It was the subject of much conversation in the Exchange throughout the day, and in all places of business. Among a great number of other accounts which our correspondent heard was one from a gentleman at Corn Brook, Manchester, who describes it as giving a tremulous, vibratory motion, from north to south, and moving his bed from head to foot. A member of a firm of bankers felt the shock, and ascertained the time to be exactly half-past four. A gentleman at Sale (six miles south-west of Manchester), who has resided nine years at St. Domingo, and is not unacquainted with such phenomena, was awake by it, and recognised the sensation immediately. It was something like the vibration felt in a badly built house when a heavily-laden carriage rattles past. The crockery rattled, and the sensation lasted about half a minute. He looked at his watch, and found that the time was about half-past four. The residents at Timperley-hall and of Longford-hall speak of feeling the shock. The residents at Davyhulme-hall noticed the shock, and a young lady of the family, having a lighted lamp in her room, saw the dressing-table vibrate. All speak of the motion as a lateral vibratory one. A solicitor at Bowdon, ten miles from Manchester, says he felt a tremulous vibratory motion of his bed, as if some one moved it from head to foot. The head of his bed was to the north, or north-east. It occurred at exactly half-past 4, he says, and lasted two or three seconds. It awoke two other members of the family. A manufacturer residing beyond Bolton, and about fourteen miles north-north-west of Manchester, said he was awake, and felt his bed tremble under him. His wife was awake at the same time. The bed and the curtains shook with the motion, and his first impression was that a servant in a room above had been seized with a fit. Several servants and members of the family were roused by it, and one of his sons went out under the impression that the cotton mill had suffered damage, but found that such was not the case. On looking at his watch he found it exactly half-past four o'clock by railway time. A cotton-spinner and manufacturer at Ramsbottom, twelve miles north of Manchester, felt the shock, and another gentleman speaks of being roused by it at Parr's-wood, five miles south of Manchester, and of hearing the furniture shake distinctly. He examined his watch and found it exactly half-past four. Evidence of the fact, indeed, might have been obtained from a thousand persons in Manchester yesterday, but we heard of no damage done. Several persons speak of a sensation of sickness. Dogs trembled and were much frightened. Messages by electric telegraph on the Manchester Exchange speak of smart shocks having been felt at the same moment at Holyhead, Bangor, Conway, and Liverpool, accompanied or preceded by a rumbling noise; but at Manchester no noise was heard, except that caused by the shaking of bed-curtains, crockery, and furniture. The weather is described as having been gloomy at Liverpool, and at Manchester the sky was overcast, and the morning very dark, but calm and fair. The guard of a train from Fleetwood early in the morning speaks of the earthquake having been felt in that neighbourhood."

Tuesday, at Liverpool, was exceedingly dark, rainy, and misty; so much so that gas was obliged to be used in the shops all day.

The spasm of the earth which startled our countrymen, was also felt on corresponding points on the coast of Ireland; and is described in the Irish papers as producing similar effects.

#### CURE OF ASIATIC CHOLERA IN ITS WORST STAGE BY COLD WATER.

DURING the late ravages of Asiatic cholera in the small Polish town, Koval, where, out of a population of less than 1500 inhabitants, thirty to forty were daily falling victims to that fatal scourge, the Canon Stobieski, prebendary of that town, universally respected for his piety and benevolence, raised that feeling of respect to an enthusiastic veneration by his unremitting attendance upon the sick during this awful visitation. He thus, heedless of danger, toiled day and night administering religious consolation, and lavishing upon the poor irrespective of creed or persuasion—food, comfort, and medicines; until at last, sinking from over-exertion and the last trial of his fortitude—the sudden death of his sister and cousin—he in his turn manifested the fatal symptoms of the dreadful epidemic. The inhabitants of the place, terror-stricken by the excruciating sufferings of their idolized benefactor, thronged the church, crowded the court-yard of the parsonage; even the Jews assembled in their synagogue, and prayed for recovery. The physician, his intimate friend, and inseparable companion in his visits of charity, applied all the remedies which science and experience suggested; but alas! without any effect; and he was compelled to see the cramped limbs of his venerated friend assuming the coldness of death, and the livid hues of that awful malady. All at once the sufferer, to all appearance in his last agony, asked for cold water. The physician, in despair, yielded. The patient drank an incredible quantity of coldest spring water; the

crisis took a favourable turn; and, through the mercy of God, his life was spared for the benefit of the district, to continue his pious works of charity.

#### THE DEPOSIT AND GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

THIS company has begun to make progress in its business operations. Amongst the gentlemen who were present at a public meeting at Rickmansworth last Thursday, were Mr. C. Poole, Mr. C. W. Bevan, Mr. W. Prinsepp, Dr. Codd, Messrs. H. Mathews, Tracy, Strasburg, &c.

Mr. Poole having taken the chair, observed that he had hitherto refrained from entering into any public company, but he was so convinced that the Deposit Assurance Company was capable of effecting a great amount of good, particularly among the middle and working classes, that he entered soul and heart into it. Mr. Rendall was glad to have the opportunity of saying a few words, explanatory of the deposit system of life assurance. Savings banks, with all their imperfections, had long been considered the most convenient places for small savings; but he was able to show, from experience, that the plan he was about to bring before the meeting possessed still greater advantages. It was statistically true, that only seventy persons out of a population of 1,000,000,000, the population of the world, live to the age of 110 years. Such being the case, it becomes the imperative duty of man to provide for the contingencies of the future. Deposit assurance combined the facilities and advantages of deposit and savings banks with the important benefits of ordinary life assurance.

Mr. C. W. Bevan said that it had often struck him as a singular coincidence that any one endowed with common prudence should neglect the importance of life assurance. It was true that persons might say they have got no money to spare for the purpose. On the deposit system, a person assuring at the age of 20, and paying 77. 10s. annually, will at the expiry of 30 years have paid in the sum of 2257. His policy would be worth 5227.; and if he were then unable to continue his payments, he would be entitled to 2877., being 507. more than he had paid. Besides, his policy still remains the same, but with this distinctive privilege, that he may draw from the company to the amount of 2877. To exemplify this subject more particularly: by paying annually any sum which at the end of 30 years will amount to 1007., the sum assured, and which would be payable in the event of death, would amount to 2477. 4s. 4d. If during that period the sum of 257. had been drawn, there would be left a balance which the assurer might draw on of 757. Suppose he were to omit paying for one year or more, or to stop altogether, his claim would not be forfeited, because on the deposit system the depositor has entire control over his capital, and each payment effects a distinct policy. He was so convinced of the advantages which the middle and working classes derived from life assurance, that he was anxious that they should participate in its benefits; and he was confident that they would not be slow to avail themselves when they once comprehended its practicability, and felt the great importance of providing against the contingencies of life, from which none were exempt. Mr. Matthews, solicitor, addressed the meeting, confining himself principally to the advantages held out to the working classes by effecting an assurance on the deposit principle. Mr. Barber expressed his concurrence, and hoped that similar meetings would take place in other parts of the country, as he was convinced that the plan of effecting insurances on the system of deposit was calculated to extend the principle of those classes who have hitherto been unable to avail themselves of it.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Queen Victoria and Prince Albert returned to Buckingham Palace on Wednesday, from Windsor Castle, in order that her Majesty might open Parliament in person on the following day. She held a Court and Privy Council on her arrival. At the Court, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Westmoreland, and Lord Lonsdale, had audiences of the Queen. The Privy Council was attended by all the Ministers, and the Queen's Speech settled.

The Queen has appointed the Marquis of Winchester to be Lord-lieutenant of the county of Hampshire; and Lord Bateman to be Lord-lieutenant of the county of Hereford.

Persons living in the neighbourhood of Walmer Castle were admitted to view the coffin of the Duke on Tuesday.

The body of the Duke of Wellington was conveyed to London by train on Wednesday night. It was accompanied by the present Duke and Lord Arthur Hay, and escorted from the Bricklayer's Arms station by a troop of Life Guards; received at Chelsea by a company of Grenadier Guards, and in the Hospital by the Lord Chamberlain. It was placed in the magnificent apartment arranged for the lying in state, which commenced on Friday.

The accounts of the state of trade in the provinces during the past week, demonstrate a further extension of activity and of the tendency to high rates for labour. At Manchester there has been great steadiness, and a very full demand, although the excitement in sympathy with the Liverpool cotton-market has subsided. At Birmingham the general export orders for the United States and Australia are almost beyond the means of supply, and in the iron trade also there has been con-

tinued animation. The claim for higher wages on the part of the colliers is persevered in. A newly-invented cannon is spoken of which, as regards efficiency, is equal to five of the old construction. The diminution in pauperism in the Birmingham district still continues, notwithstanding the remarkable prosperity of the period of 1851, with which the present returns are contrasted. In the six months ending the 29th of September last, there was a falling off of 943 cases in the out-door relief, and a saving of 5417., although the price of bread was 3-16d. higher. From the woollen markets the accounts continue to refer to the smallness of the stocks on hand. At Nottingham both the home and the shipping demand for hosiery are very extensive, while the lace business, which has been chiefly for export, has amounted to a good average. In the Irish linen trade there has been another week of great activity, a rapid clearance of stocks, and a considerable advance in prices.—*Times*, (City article.)

All the captains of the Hertfordshire militia have resigned.

Mr. H. Bourne, the founder of the Primitive Methodists, died last week at an advanced age, in Staffordshire.

Colonel Bruen, M.P. for Carlow, died on Friday night after a short illness.

In consequence of the election of Captain Laffan, as M.P. for St. Ives, Captain Galton has been appointed to succeed him as Government Inspector of Railways.

Alderman Challis was sworn in Lord Mayor of London with the usual formalities, at Guildhall on Monday.

Measures are being taken to present Mr. Whiston, of Rochester, with a testimonial, as a mark of the estimation in which his public services are held.

Lord Norreys has come forward instead of Mr. Norris, of Sutton Courtney, as a candidate for Abingdon.

The Lord Mayor presided over a meeting held to obtain a park for Finsbury, on Wednesday.

Lord Derby and Lord John Russell respectively entertained their Parliamentary friends at dinner on Wednesday evening.

A vacancy in the representation of Abingdon, and in a seat at the India Board, have been created by the death of Major-General Caulfield, who expired on Thursday at Copswood, in the county of Limerick. The deceased was in the 68th year of his age.

Mr. James Disraeli, brother of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has been appointed to the treasurership of the county courts of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lincolnshire; circuits 17, 18, and 19.

At the annual meeting of the town-council of Windsor, held on Tuesday, a resolution expressive of the gratitude felt by the corporation to her Majesty and Prince Albert for the spontaneous and munificent present of their portraits, wherewith to decorate the Town-hall, was passed by acclamation.

The Duchess of Orleans has taken Kitley-house and grounds, near Plymouth, for twelve months, and arrived there with some members of the ex-royal family of France on Friday last. Kitley is beautifully situated in Yealmpton, on the banks of the Yeoln, about seven miles from Plymouth.

The new Master-General, Baron Raglan, having determined upon presenting the young Prince of Wales with some gift upon his birthday (the 9th of November), ordered a model of a 6-pound field-piece to be mounted for the purpose. It is upon a scale of two inches to the foot; length, 10 inches; bore 6½ tenths; weight of powder, 2 drachms; weight of metal, 6 lb. On the body of the gun is engraved the Queen's initials, "V.R.," surmounted by the crown, on the "chase of flight." The model is taken from a 6-pounder brass field-piece, 6 feet in length; weight, about 6 cwt.; and acknowledged to be the most serviceable and prettiest brass field-piece used in the British service.

A Seville journal states that the infant daughter of the Duchess de Montpensier has received the following names:—Maria Christina, Francisco de Paula, Antonia, Luisa, Fernanda, Amelia, Felipa, Isabel, Adelaida, Teresa, Josefa, Joaquina, Justa, Rufina, Lutgarda, Elena, Carolina, Bibiana, Polonia, Gaspara, Melchosa, Ana, Baltasara, Agueda, Lucia, and Narcisa.

The parish of Marylebone, in a special vestry meeting, held on Wednesday, adopted the Metropolis Interments Act; which enables them to provide a new burial ground for the parish.

The Government have officially notified to the corporation of this borough this week, that they will not sanction the construction of commercial docks within this port upon Government property. So ends the dock question.—*Portsmouth Times*.

At a recent meeting of the London Strong Boot and Shoe Manufacturer's Association, it was agreed that non-society men should henceforth be admitted to employment on equal terms with society men. It was also determined that such abuses as forcing men to lodge in their employers' houses, supplying them with coffee or tea against their will, and making them pay sittings, should be abolished.

The Electric Telegraph Company, with praiseworthy anxiety to assist commercial men in their business avocations, have contrived a system of telegraphic franks, the messages on which, if taken to the office, will be immediately despatched to any part of the kingdom. If these franks are purchased in quantities, say 107. worth, the company allow the buyer 5 per cent. discount, and, as he is thus saved the trouble of preparing every separate message, the accommodation is likely to be extensively used.—*Liverpool Times*.



The obelisk known as Cleopatra's needle, long since presented to England, and so long lying neglected in the sands at Alexandria, is at length to be removed, and erected in the grounds of the New Crystal Palace, upon condition that the Government may hereafter reclaim it on payment of all expenses incurred in the transit. Abbas Pacha, a steadfast friend to England, promises every assistance at Alexandria, in shipping the obelisk; and it is hoped that other monuments from Luxor and Karnak will accompany "Cleopatra's needle" from Egypt.

It is rumoured that the report of the Commissioners recommends the establishment of five new professorships, whose salaries are to be paid out of a fund created by the abstraction of 30 per cent. from the incomes of all the fellowships in the University. We understand that great dissatisfaction has been expressed at this recommendation; and we think justly so, for to take 60l. away from junior fellows who have only 200l., would, indeed be a hardship, and one they will not, we think, very easily submit to.—*Cambridge Chronicle*.

From a return lately presented to the Canadian Parliament, we draw the following statement of the way in which the income of the Clergy Reserve Fund is at present disposed of:—Church of England, Upper Canada, 12,646l. 7s. 11d.; Church of England, Lower Canada, 2,173l. 17s. 6d.; Church of Scotland, Upper Canada, 7,114l. 17s. 2d.; Church of Scotland, Lower Canada, 1,086l. 18s. 9d.; United Synod of the Presbyterian Church, Upper Canada, 565l. 13s.; Roman Catholic Church of Upper Canada, 1,666l. 13s. 4d.; Wesleyan Methodists, Upper Canada, 777l. 15s. 6d.; total, 26,032l. 3s. 2d.

At a recent meeting of the Society for the Amendment of the Law, the following resolutions were passed:—

- "1. That the present state of the law relating to the transfer of land is highly unsatisfactory.
- "2. That a cheaper, simpler, more expeditious, and more accurate system is exceedingly desirable.
- "3. That to effect this object the transfer of land should, as far as possible, be assimilated to the transfer of stock.
- "4. That, in particular, purchasers and mortgagees should be relieved from the necessity of inquiring into equitable interests in land.
- "5. That the power to shorten the present practice as to titles to land should be conferred on a competent tribunal.
- "6. That it is absolutely necessary to control, tax, and moderate more effectually than at present the expenses connected with the transfer of land."

It is reported by the Quebec journals that some large lumps of gold have been found near that town, on the river St. Lawrence.

An efficient line of steam communication with Australia, by means of large and powerful vessels, is about to be commenced by the General Screw Steam Shipping Company. The increase of trade between England and our Australian colonies renders the establishment of steam communication absolutely necessary in these days of rapid progress, and there can be no doubt of the success attending this and other undertakings of a like kind.

An American ship, the *Mount Vernon*, was discovered a wreck in the Gulf of Mexico by the *Oxvefa*. The captain succeeded in taking off six unfortunate creatures, who for six days had been exposed to the most terrible amount of suffering. They were almost starved to death, having been clinging to the sides of the wreck for six entire days without the least provisions or water. They learnt from the poor fellows that the remainder of the crew, with some passengers, in all 12, had perished. The six survivors were put on board the *Superior*, which was bound for America, and which would convey them to their native country.

Some slight intelligence has arrived from the Cape of Good Hope by a sailing vessel: but it only amounts to this, that the armed police, instituted by General Cathcart, have been very active in following up the Kafirs and other marauders; and that for the rest "the war was at a stand still." The latest date was September 11th.

On Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, a public discussion on Christianity and Secularism took place between Mr. J. F. Winks, of Leicester, and Mr. G. J. Holyoake, of London, Mr. Winks having undertaken to prove that Christianity was more favourable to the welfare of man than any other system which has ever been propounded. Mr. J. Biddle presided. The new hall was crowded to excess (and we commend the fact to the notice of those who are considered the spiritual guides of the people) from eight to half-past ten the first evening, and to a quarter past eleven the second evening, by an audience chiefly composed of working men, who testified to the interest they felt on the subject, by the attention with which they listened, and the fair play they showed, to both speakers. Mr. Winks opened the discussion by quoting about one hundred of the moral precepts on various subjects with which the New Testament abounds; and the evening was spent in the discussion of these subjects. Mr. Winks did not introduce the religious doctrines of Christianity, and but very slightly touched on the historical and external evidence of its truths and its adaptation to the wants of man. On the second evening, Mr. Holyoake propounded his principles, which were in substance, that the order, and not the origin of nature, was the chief subject for the study of man, and that, as another world was all uncertainty, it was man's special business to make the best of this (without hindrance by the spiritual requirements of the Bible), and to give himself to the cause of humanity and the promoting of the equality of all men. Never, we should think, was a discussion conducted with better feeling. At the close a vote of thanks was passed to the chair-

man for his impartiality, on the motion of Mr. James Plant, seconded by Mr. Holyoake, and supported by Mr. Winks.—*Leicester Mercury*.

Miss Anne Campbell has been committed to take her trial by Mr. Broughton.

An effigy, crowned with "Beresford and no bribery," was burnt at Braintree on the 5th of November.

Cannon, the wild beast of Walworth, will be transported for life. Mr. J. Bayliss, inventor of the fire-escape, has hung himself in the hall of the Middle Temple.

Four convicts escaped from the *Warrior* hulk at Woolwich, on Tuesday. They bored a hole through the side; got out into the mud at low tide; seized a boat and rowed over to the Essex shore. In the passage one was drowned; and another afterwards surrendered.

Mr. Pemberton, a law student at Liverpool, and his wife, have been committed for trial on the charge of ill-treating their female servant, an orphan. They are said to have beaten her with a knotted rope, a poker, and a constable's staff; and also to have shut her up in a damp cellar.

The plaintiffs in the late trial respecting the alleged ill-treatment of the girl Griffiths, in the nunnery at Norwood, applied on Monday to the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for a new trial; which was refused.

Two tradesmen have been charged with conspiring to defraud an emigrant at Liverpool. Richard Gardner, from Lincolnshire, about to emigrate, paid two men, named Marks and Fairburn, the sum of 305l., and received in exchange a draft on a New York banker for 1,025 dollars; about 100l. short of the correct sum. The transaction was admitted; and as the attendant circumstances were looked on as suspicious, the magistrate committed Marks and Fairburn for trial.

Jullien's first night is generally chosen by the fast men and gents of the town for a row. Monday was no exception; and three of the delinquents were arrested. Of these, two were fined 5l.; but a third, calling himself Kemp, and saying he was the son of a general, who had been "drinking slightly," and who treated the whole affair as a kind of practical light facetia, in which it was becoming in the sons of generals to indulge, was not let off so easily. To the consternation of himself and many like him in court, he was ordered to be imprisoned for fourteen days.

Captain James Sargeant, deputy-governor of the *Defence*, convict hulk, stationed at Woolwich, fell down from the middle to the lower deck and broke his thigh, and sustained other injuries so severe that he died on Saturday last.

Some warehouses at Hull, belonging to the York and North Midland Railway Company, were destroyed by fire on Saturday. One man was killed by falling into the Humber.

Three men were buried under a huge mass of earth and timber by the fall of a railway embankment, at Sheffield, on Friday week. Efforts were instantly made to extricate them by their fellow-workmen, who worked night and day for this purpose. The first who was dug out died immediately; the second suffered a like fate after the most strenuous exertions to save him; the third had been smashed with a stone.

Three gentlemen were out on the Isis in a dingy last week, when as the wind began to freshen, they resolved to put up a sail. In doing this, one named Howe fell overboard; the dingy capsized and sunk. Two swam ashore, and were surprised to see Howe struggling in the stream. Kendall immediately swam off; Howe grasped him; both sank; but Kendall rose again and swam ashore. Howe was drowned.

A German, residing in Paris, a hatter, lost his reason from grief at the death of his wife, and fancied himself made of glass. He was accustomed to tell the people not to approach him too near lest they should break him; and for the same fear he scarcely moved, and could with difficulty be persuaded to eat. Last week he hanged himself. A letter left on the table stated that he had voluntarily put an end to his existence to avoid being broken to pieces.

Patrick Lowe, a pensioner from the 52nd Regiment of Light Infantry, (which corps formed part of the Light Brigade during the Peninsular War,) expired on the 3rd inst., aged 84, at his residence, Strand-street, Enniskillen, after a few minutes' illness, of disease of the heart. He was in every respect a fine old soldier, and was present at every battle and siege during the late war, under the Duke of Wellington. He formed one of the "forlorn hope" at Badajoz, where he personally captured the governor of that fortress, and for which he obtained a large reward; he was also present at Waterloo, and had a medal with thirteen clasps, which he never wore, as he considered himself wronged in not getting a fourteenth.

In the *Times* of last week appeared the following advertisement:—

"REWARD FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A YOUTH.—Supposed to have sailed from Liverpool for the United States or California, on or since the 26th of October, a youth, nearly 17 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches high, broad shouldered, well knit active frame, slouching seaman-like gait, sunburnt complexion, dark, expressive eyes and eyebrows, thick black wavy hair, hands long, and slightly tattooed with red cross and other small black marks, on the inside of one wrist a small permanent swelling from a hurt, nails bitten, deep voice, slow articulation; presumed to have shipped as a seaman. Whoever will give information to William Rathbone, Esq., of Green-bank, Liverpool, so as the said youth may be discovered, shall be handsomely rewarded."

The fugitive, who is said to be the eldest son of Lord and Lady Lovelace, has since been discovered in the town by the police, and on Monday he was despatched back to London. According to the youth's statement, he had left his home with the intention of engaging himself as cabin-boy on board a vessel sailing from this port, to avoid being

put on board a man-of-war. The fugitive, who is a fine-looking youth, did not appear, as far as cleanliness went, to have derived much advantage from his excursion.

Fifty-eight more persons have renounced Popery in St. Paul's, Bermondsey, since the last published account, viz., 15th September last. Several of these last converts are well educated persons: amongst them were two ladies—one had been a pervert to Popery. It may be added that great numbers more are meditating their withdrawal from the Popish communion.—*Record*.

During last month the number of emigrant vessels which sailed from the port of Liverpool was 42, containing 17,243 souls. In October, 1851, the vessels numbered 53, souls 20,318.

## HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE mortality of the metropolitan districts continues to be rather higher than is usual at the same period of the year. The deaths registered in the week that ended last Saturday amounted to 1101. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51, the average number was 984, which, if raised in proportion to increase of population, for comparison with the present return, becomes 1082. The excess of last week's number above the corrected average is therefore not considerable.

Fatal cases arising from scarlatina declined from 104 in the preceding week to 82 in the last. Eight children died of small-pox, 6 of measles, 33 of whooping-cough, 5 of croup, 5 of influenza, 18 persons of diarrhoea, one of purpura, 47 of typhus; 4 children of syphilis. No death from cholera was registered. In the last two weeks the deaths from diseases of the respiratory organs (exclusive of phthisis) fell from 262 to 234.

Last week the births of 830 boys and 814 girls, in all 1644 children, were registered in London. The average number in seven corresponding weeks of the years 1845-51 was 1397.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.534 in. The mean weekly temperature, which was 54.2 degs., exceeded the average of ten years by 7.7 degs. It has not been so high since the week that ended 25th September, and since the beginning of October it has not been higher than 49.9 degs. In the last two weeks it has suddenly risen from 45.6 degs. to 54.2 degs. The mean daily temperature was 54.6 degs. on Sunday, or 7.9 degs. above the average; it rose on Monday to 57.2 degs., declined till Thursday, when it was 50.3 degs., and rose again on Friday to nearly the same height as on Monday and Tuesday, when it was about 10 degs. above the average. It was higher than the average throughout the week. The wind blew generally from the south-west.

## BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

### BIRTHS.

On the 3rd of September, at Mauritius, the wife of the Hon. Rawson W. Rawson, Esq., Treasurer and Paymaster-General of that colony: a son.

On the 3rd of November, at Eastwell-park, the Countess of Winchelsea: a son.

On the 4th, at Patshall, Staffordshire, Viscountess Lewisham: a son.

On the 7th, at Casewick, Lincolnshire, Lady Trollope: a son.

On the 7th, at Charing-cross, Mrs. Compton: a son.

On the 8th, at 40, Dover-street, the Countess of Airlie: a daughter.

### MARRIAGES.

On the 4th of November, at the Whim-house, Peebleshire, James Augustus Erskine, Esq., Assistant Commissary-General, second surviving son of the late Hon. Henry David Erskine, of Mar, to Elizabeth Bogue, daughter of George Brodie, Esq., advocate, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland.

On the 4th, at Churchill, Edinburgh, William Wood, Esq., accountant, to Margaret Parker, fourth daughter of the late Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.

On the 6th, at St. Mary's Church, Bryanston-square, the Rev. William Grasett Clarke, second son of the late Hon. Forster Clarke, Member of Council of the Island of Barbadoes, to Eleanor Jane Michell, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Michell, of Little Marshall, near Exeter.

On the 10th, at St. George's Hanover-square, Captain the Hon. Robert Neville Lawley, 2d Life Guards, to Georgiana Emily, daughter of the late Lieutenant-General Lord Edward Somerset.

### DEATHS.

On the 26th of October, at Nice, Louisa Selena, second daughter of the late Sir Culling Smith, Bart., of Bedwell-park, Herts.

On the 1st of November, at Clarence-lawn, Dover, the Right Hon. Lady Charlotte Gould, sister of the Earl of Kenmare.

On the 3rd, at No. 22, Marine-square, Brighton, in his eighty-fifth year, Francis Gore, Esq., formerly Governor of Bermuda and Upper Canada.

On the 3d, at New Radnor, in the sixty-third year of his age, after a protracted illness, Mr. Serjeant Hulcombe, formerly M.P. for Dover.

On the 3rd, at Denton Hall, Lincolnshire, Sir William Earle Welby, Bart., in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

On the 4th, at Kippax-hall, near Leeds, Francis Hastings Medhurst, Esq., aged thirty-four.

On the 4th, at Horfield-barracks, Major Wilkie, Barrack-master, late of the Ninety-second Highlanders.

On the 4th, at Tanhurst, Hervey Vaughan Williams, Student of Christ Church, aged twenty-three, eldest son of the Hon. Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams.

On the 5th, at Worksop, Notts, Susannah Hepzibah, fourth daughter of Dr. Carter, late of Harpole, Northamptonshire, and sister of Mrs. D. Nutt, of 271, Strand, aged sixteen.

On the 6th, at Woolwich, in consequence of an accident while in the discharge of his duty on board the *Defence* convict-ship, of which he was deputy-governor, Captain James Sargeant, late of the Thirtieth Light Dragoons, aged forty-seven.

On the 6th, at Leatherhead, Surrey, Mary, relict of the late Thomas Tegg, Esq., of Cheapside, London, publisher, aged seventy-one.

On the 7th, at Upper Clapton, at the residence of his son-in-law, the Rev. S. B. Berge, deeply regretted, Edward Fowler, Esq., of Lincoln, aged seventy-five.

## TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

Several articles under the head of "Progress of Association," the Eighth article on "Taxation," the continuation of "Letters of a Vagabond," and various Letters to the "Open Council," unavoidably omitted this week.

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

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications.

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

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

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

## Postscript.

SATURDAY, November 6.

BOTH Houses of Parliament met, yesterday. The Speaker, according to custom, presented himself to the Lords Commissioners in the House of Lords, to ask the Queen's approbation of his election; which, together with the confirmation of the privileges of Parliament, was of course granted. He returned to the Commons, and acquainted them with what had taken place. He was then first sworn in himself, and he afterwards administered the oaths to such members as were present. Both Houses were engaged in oath-taking until four o'clock.

As this is the first new Parliament since the *Leader* was established, our readers may like to see the form of asking for the Queen's approval, and claiming privileges. It is as follows:—

The SPEAKER, addressing the Royal Commissioners, said:—My lords, I have to acquaint your lordships that, in obedience to her Majesty's Royal command, and in the exercise of their undoubted privilege, her Majesty's faithful Commons have proceeded to the election of a Speaker, and that their choice has fallen upon me. Deeply impressed with my own unworthiness, I now submit myself for her Majesty's Royal approbation.

The LORD CHANCELLOR then said;—Mr. Shaw Lefevre, we are commanded by her Majesty to assure you that her Majesty is satisfied of your ample sufficiency to discharge the important duties which her faithful Commons have elected you to execute, and that her Majesty most fully approves and gives her sanction to their choice.

The SPEAKER:—I bow with all humility to her Majesty's royal will and pleasure; and it now becomes my duty, in the name and on the behalf of the Commons of the United Kingdom, to lay claim, by humble petition to her Majesty, to all their ancient and undoubted rights and privileges; more especially those of freedom of debate, freedom from arrest for themselves and their servants, and free access to her Majesty whenever occasion may require; and to pray that her Majesty will be pleased to place the most favourable construction upon all their proceedings. For myself, I humbly intreat that if any error should arise it may be imputed to me alone, and not to her Majesty's faithful Commons.

The LORD CHANCELLOR:—Mr. Speaker—We have it further in command to inform you that her Majesty most readily confirms all the rights and privileges which have ever been granted to her faithful Commons, either by her Majesty or by any of her royal predecessors; and that with respect to yourself, although not standing in need of any such indulgence, her Majesty will ever put the most favourable construction on your words and actions.

The Speaker then bowed and withdrew.

The convocations, both of Canterbury and York, met yesterday; the first, in St. Paul's, London; the second, in the Chapter-house, York. The London meeting was adjourned until Friday next. Some proceedings took place at York. Petitions were presented, but the heads only allowed to be read. The Reverend Canon Hawkins presided as commissioner for the bishop. The meeting was prorogued to the 18th of May.

The following is the message from the President of the Republic read in the Senate yesterday:—

"Senators. The nation has clearly manifested its wish for the re-establishment of the Empire. Confident in your patriotism and your intelligence, I have convoked you for the purpose of legally deliberating on that grave question, and of entrusting you with the regulation of the new order of things. If you should adopt it, you will think, no doubt, as I do, that the constitution of 1852 ought to be maintained, and then the modifications recognised as indispensable will in no way touch its fundamental basis.

"The change which is in preparation will bear chiefly on the form, and yet the resumption of the Imperial system is for France of immense signification. In fact, in the re-establishment of the Empire, the people find a guarantee for its interests, and a satisfaction for its just pride: that re-establishment guarantees the interests of the people, by insuring the future, by closing the era of revolutions, and, by again consecrating the conquests of '89. It satisfies its just pride, because in restoring with liberty and reflection that which thirty-seven years ago the entire

of Europe had overturned by the force of arms, in the midst of the disasters of the country, the people nobly avenges its reverses without making victims, without threatening any independence, and without troubling the peace of the world.

"I do not dissimulate, nevertheless, all that is redoubtable in at this day accepting and placing on one's head the crown of Napoleon; but my apprehensions diminish with the idea that, representing as I do, by so many titles, the cause of the people and the national will, it will be the nation which, in elevating me to the throne, will herself crown me.

"Given at the Palace of St. Cloud, Nov. 4, 1852."

At length, by the leave of the Earl Marshall, the official programme of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington has been published. Having carefully compared it with that printed in our Postscript last week, the genuineness of which was denied, we can state, that it differs from its predecessor only in minor points—as that Lord Malmesbury will precede the Earl of Derby; and Prince Albert go in a coach-and-six instead of on horseback.

The funeral is positively fixed for the 18th of November.

An official account of the funeral car is subjoined:—

"The Lord Chamberlain having requested the Superintendents of the Department of Practical Art to suggest a suitable design for the car, the following are the arrangements which have been approved of by Her Majesty. The leading idea adopted has been to obtain soldier-like simplicity, with grandeur, solemnity, and reality. Whatever there is—coffin, bier, trophies, and metal carriage, all are real, and everything in the nature of a sham has been eschewed. The dimensions have been controlled by the height and width of Temple Bar, which will not admit anything much higher than seventeen feet. The design of the car, based upon the general idea suggested by the Superintendents, was given by the Art Superintendent. Mr. Redgrave, but its constructive and ornamental details have been worked out and superintended by Professor Semper, whilst the details relating to the woven fabrics and heraldry, have been designed by Mr. Octavius Hudson, both being Professors in the Department. The Car with its various equipments, consists of four stages or compartments. 1. The coffin will be the principal object on the Car, at the summit uncovered, having simply the usual military accoutrements, cap, sword, &c. upon it.—To shelter the coffin and pall from rain, a small canopy of rich tissue, formed of a pattern suggested by Indian embroidery, will be supported by halberds. The tissue will consist of silver and silk, woven by Messrs. Keith, of Spitalfields; and at the corners of the halberds will be hung chaplets of real laurel. (This canopy will not be used if the day is fine.) The Bier will be covered with a black velvet pall, diapered alternately with the Duke's crest and field marshal's batons across, worked in silver, and having rich silver lace fringe of laurel leaves, with the legend, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." The frieze has been embroidered under Mr. Hudson's directions, and worked partly by students of the female school of ornamental art. The Platform of the Car will be of an architectural treatment, gilt, on which will be inscribed the names of the Duke's victories. The construction and modeling are executed by Mr. Jackson, of Rathbone-place. In the centre, at the four sides, are to be military trophies of modern arms, helmets, guns, flags, and drums, being real implements furnished by the Ordnance. The whole will be placed on a carriage, richly ornamented in bronze, about twenty feet long, and eleven feet wide. Professor Semper has directed this portion. The modeling has been executed partly by Mr. Whitaker, a scholar, and Mr. Willes, a student of the Department, and partly at Messrs. Jackson's establishment. The modeling of the Duke's arms has been entrusted to Mr. Thomas. The castings have been apportioned out as follows:—The wheels to Messrs. Tylers, of Warwick-lane; the corner figures of Fame holding palms to Messrs. Stewart and Smith of Sheffield; the panels of Fame to Messrs. Hooley of Sheffield; the lions' heads to Mr. Messenger of Birmingham; and the spandrels, moulding, and Duke's arms, to Mr. Robinson, of Pimlico.

"The carriage, built by Messrs Barker, will be drawn by twelve horses draped, with the Duke's arms, three abreast, led by sergeants of the Horse Artillery. The superintendence of the whole is entrusted to Messrs Banting."

The Court has remained at Windsor Castle during the week. Her Majesty is visibly not taking so much out-door exercise as usual, if we may credit the Court Chronicle. Prince Albert, however, seems determined to keep up his health by shooting. It has been remarked that Mr. Disraeli dined at the private dinner-table of the Queen this week. Is not this the first time? There has been a crowd of visitors at the Castle, among whom are the Marquis of Exeter, Lord Shaftesbury, the Duke de Nemours, and the Duke of Cambridge.

The ex-premier has acceded to the request of the committee of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute and Literary Society to preside at the next *soirée*, which, in compliance with his lordship's request, has been fixed to take place on the 2nd of December.

The amalgamation between the South-Eastern and Brighton Companies is now confidently spoken of as being in process of negotiation and nearly concluded.

Mr. Rumbold, the member for Yarmouth, received one of the official circulars issued by Mr. Disraeli to the Protectionist and Derbyite members of the new Parliament. Two Tory votes are thus to be reckoned for that borough.

Mr. Samuel Laing, M.P., has, it is understood, resigned the chair of the board of this company; remaining, however, in the direction. Mr. Laing was, it will be recollected, a salaried chairman; and now that he is no longer able to give his undivided attention to the affairs of the company, he has very properly relinquished the salary given with that view.

Yesterday being the 5th of November, the usual search was made in the parliamentary cellars to discover the shade of Guy, and prevent the blowing up of the parliament. With lamp in hand, and with solemn step and watchful eye, every nook and corner was examined for the discovery of combustible materials calculated to blow up the New Palace of Westminster and the peers and commoners of the land, but none were found except some rubbish connected with the lighting and ventilating processes of Dr. Reid. The shade of the ancient Guy was searched for in vain, and after a fruitless effort in the subterranean regions in the New Palace of Westminster, the searchers returned to the carpeted chambers of the upper stories covered with dust, and nearly suffocated with foul air, to report *Guy non est inventus*, and that the lords spiritual and temporal, and her Majesty's faithful Commons, had no cause for apprehension.

The committee which conducted the late election of Bradford, in the interest of Colonel Thompson, have decided to petition against the return of Mr. Wickham. They feel that the election of that gentleman was not the fair expression of the opinions and wishes of the electors—that it was accomplished directly by a conspiracy of the Roman Catholic voters, and indirectly by corrupt and false votes. The votes of the former cannot be removed from the poll, but those of the latter can, and by their removal the act of the former rendered null and void. On this account chiefly, so we believe, have the friends of Colonel Thompson resolved on a petition. An intimation of their intention has been made to the chairman of Mr. Wickham's committee, and a meeting of that body was held yesterday, at the New Inn, to consider what steps shall be taken in the matter. We have not heard the result of their deliberations.—*Bradford Observer*.

Several of the passengers in the Australian steam-packet *Melbourne*, who came home from Lisbon, had interviews with the directors on Thursday, and their statements of the accident which befel the *Melbourne*, together with the general condition and accommodation of the ship, were received in detail. It is said that the directors intend to send out another captain to take the ship on to her destination. It may be stated that the commander of her Majesty's steam-sloop *Inflexible*, Commander Woolridge, has had the experience of being the mail agent for more than a year in the General Screw Steam Company's ships to the Cape.

### SACRED HARMONIC SOCIETY.

The first performance of the twenty-first season of this society took place last evening at Exeter Hall. In the autumn of 1850, many of our readers are aware, important alterations were made at great expense in the body of the hall—such as the removal of the flat plaster ceiling, and reconstructing it of wood in a carved form, upwards of twelve feet higher in the centre than formerly—the removal of the four square pillars in front of the great gallery, so as to obviate the objections against the want of ventilation, and difficulty of seeing or hearing—and, the taking down the central portion of the wall at the east end of the hall. Before these alterations the Sacred Harmonic Society had threatened, in spite of long associations and the central position of the hall, to seek better accommodation elsewhere, and possibly even to build a new music hall more worthy of the metropolis. The alterations we have mentioned, however, elicited the unanimous approval of the press, the public, and the musical executants. Since the last season, the decoration of the interior, which had been delayed so long to allow for the effects of the constructive alterations being thoroughly tested, has been accomplished; and advantage has been taken of the removal of the organ to increase the power, and to add to the varied resources of that instrument. It seems, by a comparison of measurements, that Exeter Hall is now capable of displaying a more extended orchestra than any other building in this country, if not in Europe. All these alterations are understood to have been made at the suggestion of M. Costa, under whose direction the prosperity of the Sacred Harmonic Society has steadily increased; and we are gratified to hear that the subscription list of the present season exceeds any previous year. We must be permitted, however, to express what we believe to be a very general opinion, that neither in ventilation nor in facility of entrance and egress, does Exeter Hall yet approach the ideal it is supposed to represent. Last season, we remember, at the concerts of the New Philharmonic Society, the heat was often quite overpowering, and the sense of the difficulty of getting out in case of sudden illness or fainting, aggravated the discomfort, and turned a pleasure into a torture. We trust that when the dog-days return, in 1853, these miseries will have been got rid of by the recent alterations, which have certainly made Exeter Hall one of the noblest musical buildings in Europe.

The hall was opened yesterday by a private performance on the organ by Mr. Brownsmith, the organist of the society, and in the evening the season was inaugurated by a selection from Handel's *Samson*, including the *Dead March* and the chorus, *Glorious Hero*, to the memory of Wellington. The fragments of Mendelssohn's *Christus* followed a display of the new powers of the organ, and Spohr's *Last Judgment* concluded the evening's performance, which was fully worthy of the society. M. Costa was received with all the honours due to his eminent merits and services. We shall hope to watch the performances of this society with great interest during the season. It seems that the amount paid to the musical profession by this society since its foundation has exceeded 40,000*l*.



# The Leader

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1852.

## Public Affairs.

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

DANIEL WEBSTER.

If anything could prove how much the force and stability of a country lies in the spirit of the people rather than in the letter of its institutions, the career of Daniel Webster would be that proof. The Americans mourn him as a great man, but he was great only in so far as he was essentially American. As a party man we discover his weaknesses rather than his strength; and as a successful individual his greatness is altogether to be discerned in the operation of his country and her influences upon him. Not that very great personal capacities can be denied to him, but they are essentially abilities springing from the soil to which he belonged.

A great practical grasp of his subject,—strong energy, drawn, like that of a tree, direct from the earth to which it belongs,—indomitable vigour of industry, made the son of a country agriculturist become a masterly lawyer, at least at the bar, and one of the most powerful officials that the Union has ever seen. Probably, if Webster were to compare with other men for learning, for original thought, for sagacity of view, he might not only have found his equal, but very often have met his superior. In some of the positions that he took up most decisively and obviously, the valuable nature of his judgment was tested by the event. He thought it possible to oppose the Mexican war, and the Mexican war is one of the greatest events in American history. He thought that the annexation of territory would endanger the Union, and the Union never was more strongly bound together than at this present moment. It was not therefore in his individual judgment, or in any surprising genius peculiar to the man, Daniel Webster, that he shone; but he was a strong instrument well knit in all parts, and capable of the most powerful action; and his full strength was shown when he threw himself, as he often did, heart and soul, into the action of his country. Arguing for the North Eastern claim, or the Oregon claim, Webster was essentially one of the strong men of the day; supporting the Compromise measures on the subject of slavery, the provisional conclusion to which the American mind has come, pending a future settlement of the question, he spoke to the ear of America with the voice of public opinion, and he had the large organ fitted for that spokesmanship.

The State of New Hampshire has been fertile in eminent men, and, as we have before remarked, a great proportion of working statesmen of America have begun life in the work of the farm. Pierce comes from an agricultural family. Fillmore has stated in public how he has been ready to drop with fatigue after the labours of the farm. Beginning work in that rough and practical manner, American statesmen view the world not as a routine of business to be arranged in office, but as the arena of real life, in which great forces are acting, contending, or co-operating. They are familiar with the handling of those forces; and thus they are able to display a strength and vigour in action which our present statesmen lack; and it is to this substantial bone in the thought and language of Daniel Webster that we must seek a large proportion of that strength which we might otherwise ascribe to the individual capacity of the orator. In polish, in care, and in literary nicety, American oratory scarcely equals that which owns a Macaulay for its ornament; but we all feel in reading the speeches of Americans that there is a freshness like that of a voice trained in the open elements, accustomed to speak against the winds; like that of men who have contended with their arms against difficulty and fatigue; like that of men who are accustomed to face danger and strike it down; like

that of men who are not afraid of the bugbear which stifles, perhaps silences, the English speaker—"consequences."

But in spite of this freedom, the one remarkable fact in the career of America has been the stability of her objects. Theoretical writers would suppose that in a country where every man may attain the highest offices, where power depends upon the popular favour, and the adventurer has an open field, the immediate consequence would be a constant vacillation of the public councils and the supremacy of disorder over all. The reverse, however, is the fact. No state has remained firmer to its fundamental convictions than the American people. The freedom of the individual, the independent sovereignty of each state, the indissolubility of the Union are principles which command the allegiance of every American citizen. The very few attempts that have been made to divert the American mind from these principles, whether in Carolina or in Rhode Island, have been instantly crushed. Even so powerful a man as Daniel Webster finds that his individual objects, his particular opinions, and his personal scheme of action, must fall in with the general course of public opinion and national action. It is not even for a man of proportions so great as Webster to divert the public from its settled course of advancement and national extension. And Webster could only exercise his full greatness by aiding rather than opposing the Mexican war. The sole change of any essential kind that has come over public opinion in America, is the change from the policy of mere non-intervention in foreign countries to the aggressive policy which opposes Europeanizing encroachments by aggressive retaliations; and that change has sprung naturally from the course of events. Although sudden in its developments, it is not recent in the seeds of its growth, and it is essentially a development of national opinion. Although divided into separate states and enjoying the largest possible share of local government, the American Union is remarkable for the absence of mere local peculiarities; some broad distinctions there may be vaguely perceptible between North and South, but whether you take him from Salem or Cincinnati, from New Orleans or New York, the American is above all things American; and the public opinion which develops itself in that region of freedom, becomes so ample and mighty, that mere individual influences are merged in a truly united national action. This in part explains to us why an original and independent thinker like Clay is obliged reverentially to stand aside until his nation shall have marched up to the position which he occupied before his day; and why a man scarcely equal in his own individual qualities participated in the full triumphs of the nation with which he chose to march, rather than to walk in an independent path. Webster had bravely done his work. If he made mistakes, he threw all his heart and soul, and a full share of American "grit," into the labour that he undertook; and, errors excepted, his work was well done—done up to the American standard of efficiency; which is saying all. He had lived the proper share of man's life, and done more than the proper share of man's work.

Let us note the peculiar attendance at his funeral. Only one, and that not the most remarkable, member of the Cabinet to which he belonged, followed him to the grave; but amongst the mourners was the chief of his political opponents—Franklin Pierce. Now, why is this? If a writer in England may venture to explain, we should account for it thus. The present Government at Washington, however true to its original party standards, has become more manifestly than ever, non-national in its feelings and policy. Although belonging by appointment, for the time, to that Government, although sharing its party opinions, Webster belonged, far more in feeling and services, to the whole nation. Although differing from Webster in policy, although belonging to the future rather than to the past, the man who of all others must be regarded as representing American nationality, is Franklin Pierce; and when he followed Webster to the grave, he represented America mourning the departed American.

### ENGLAND'S VALUE.

THE constant and steady advancement of commerce is one of the most cheering signs of the present day; we only wish that it were accom-

panied by a corresponding sense of the liabilities which prosperity entails. For many weeks, if not months, we have had to note a continual activity in all branches of trade. At Birmingham the export orders are almost beyond the means of supply; and, with the extension of employment, pauperism continues to decrease: this is independent of the mere influence of emigration. At Nottingham, the demand for hosiery, both for export and home consumption, is very extensive; and the lace business, which was of late comparatively dull, has amounted to a good average. In Manchester, there is a great steadiness and a very full demand, although a temporary excitement created by the speculations in the Liverpool cotton market has subsided. In the Yorkshire markets, the fall trade is nearly over; but "scarcely an end of seasonable cloth worth looking at has been left unsold." The great difficulty in this market is felt by the merchants, in the restriction of their choice of goods; and that is ascribed, primarily, to the high price of the material, which checks the manufacturers in a speculative extension of their plant. In Bradford, the price of wool is still more grievously oppressive: "not to mince the matter," says the trade reporter, "wools are out of all proportion to the price of yarns." Speaking generally, however, the condition of Yorkshire is, and has been, for some time, one of great prosperity.

America and the Australias have had a very great share in this prosperity; and should English statesmen continue to secure a good relation between England and those distant countries, they will both of them have a still larger share in a still greater prosperity. The demand in Birmingham has been very much caused by America. America has been active in Yorkshire and Manchester. America has done more than any other consumer to help the comparatively dull trade of lace in Nottingham. On the other hand, America is calculating that her cotton crop of 1852-3 will range at 2,700,000 and 3,000,000 of bales, at which amount it is calculated that the exports to Great Britain alone will reach a value of fifteen millions sterling. We have more than once noted the growing activity of Australia. Practically, the supply of gold appears to be unlimited, and to be measured exactly by the amount of labour devoted to its excavation. The emigration for the quarter ending in June last, noted by the Registrar-General, amounted to about 100,000; of which 60,000 went to America, and nearly 40,000 to Australia: this is an unusual proportion of the stream as directed southwards. But the emigration to Australia continues even at this comparatively late season: in the past week there has been an actual increase of the tonnage to the Australian colonies; so that the supply of labour to that exhaustless field continues to increase. It does not indeed come at all up to the necessity. If we had statesmen equal to the opportunity and the emergency, supplies of labour would be sent, not only to augment the hands employed upon the excavation of gold, but to tend upon those sheep which are now sacrificed in a hasty and imperfect manner to the wants of the gold-diggers; to the breeding of others; and, in short, to restore for Yorkshire that supply of wool which has fallen short.

But this immense trade, which has been already pointed out, is in itself a responsibility; and we want at the head of affairs a Government able to secure the continuance of the development of which we are boasting. In the first place, we ought to be absolutely rid of a Government whose idea of managing commerce turns upon protection—upon the restriction of commerce. If such a Government have any distinctive action at all, it can only be to lame the trade which has given us our present prosperity—which is daily turning money into the pockets of our commercial men, and food into the mouths of labouring men and their families.

In the second place, we want in the Colonial Office some man who understands Colonial affairs—who has more than a good will; who has, in short, a strong will of his own, and can deal with the affairs committed to his charge, not at all according to the routine ideas of clerks, but according to the circumstances of the time and the colonies. The difference is seen in an instant. The most tangible ideas of the clerks in the Colonial Office, more than in any other Government office, lie in large masses of written and printed papers. To them, public affairs mean letters, reports, blue books, in short, *paper*, with ink upon it of

one kind or other. What the colonists are thinking of is wool, gold, sugar, and the bringing of labour to produce those commodities. What Yorkshire is thinking of at present is more wool; what the English housewife is thinking of is more cloth, or cheaper candles; for the price of tallow is already affected by the sacrifice of mutton to the gold diggers. We want a statesman at the Colonial Office who can understand wool, tallow, cloth, and candles, as well as paper—who can know what it is English housewives want; what commercial men want; what colonists want; and who can set about the work of supplying those wants in some better manner than by making all the emigrant labour pass through an area-gate in Park-street.

In Foreign affairs, we want a man, also, who can understand how to keep the path of trade open, who can understand which is our best ally of all those around us, who can understand cotton, and Manchester stuffs, and can keep clear the course of interchange between Liverpool and New York.

But that is not all. Let us not imagine that pounds, shillings, and pence, are the final question here. Powerful as "the almighty dollar" is in America, we have more than once seen that that energetic community can adopt resolutions of non-intercourse, starving the pocket to indulge a national resolve. And much as we may boast prospectively about Brazilian or Indian cotton, let it not be supposed that America is blind to the power which she possesses, by an abrupt withholding of cotton, to stop the factories of Manchester. Let any statesman ask how he would like to be in the post of responsibility with the engines of Manchester arrested?

Nor is even that all. This commerce traverses the ocean, and we want in office a man who can boldly encourage the managers of our Admiralty in being prepared for the defence of our commerce whithersoever it may go. Nay, England herself is a convoy the very richest that can invite speculators in disorder; and we want in public affairs men who can understand how great nations have their freaks, how rich nations have their dangers, and how commerce, powerful in peace, in war becomes by its wealth an incumbrance and a bait. And even short of any invasion from without, we have a right to demand at the head of affairs a Government who can understand the vast industrial movements of the country, can supply them with every facility, remove every obstruction, and can, at all events, continue to breathe into the nostrils of the people that which is the life of commerce—*confidence*.

#### FRENCH AND AUSTRIAN OCCUPATION OF ITALY.

A FOURTH Parliamentary recess has expired, and Italy is still locked in the joint embraces of Austria and France. Apparently with the concurrence of official England: certainly without any overt protest from Downing-street.

Nor is Lord Malmesbury, with all his heavy liabilities, alone, or even chiefly responsible for this acquiescence in a situation so threatening to the tranquillity and independence of Europe. That Whig Government, which the noble democrat of the Perth dinner-table would fain revive, with a lustre borrowed from expectancy, was the direct and scarcely passive accomplice in the fratricidal aggression on the Roman Republic by the reactionary legions of France, and in the occupation of the Legations by the Austrian Protectorate. It was not, we regret to say, until after his forced release from power, that Lord Palmerston rose in the Commons to denounce this arbitrary disturbance of the balance of power as a danger which it concerned the vigilance of England to arrest.

From July, 1849, up to the present time, and with no prospect of a change, the French in Rome, and the Austrians in Tuscany and the States of the Church, have been, to use the mildest expression, making themselves quite at home. We have no desire to re-open old quarrels with Lord Palmerston. On the contrary, we would rather risk any imputation of inconsistency in his favour, and assert our present desire to be allowed to believe that he was hampered, as Minister, by the clique of Incapables who caballed him out of office at the cost of their own feeble vitality; and that his own more national impulses were daily and hourly balked by the half-hearted

hesitations and dynastic complicities, to which he finally succumbed.

Nothing could be more forcible than the picture Lord Palmerston drew of Italy under her rival enslavers in the peroration of his speech on the Mather case. The occasion was a debate, provoked by Lord John Russell, on the general policy of Ministers. Here are his words:—

"It is lamentable to see the present state of Tuscany, the Roman States, and of Naples. It is difficult to say where the greatest misgovernment prevails. (Loud cries of 'Hear.') It has been said of Austria, that they wished the people of Italy should draw a comparison favourable to them between the condition of the States which they govern, and those which other Governments administer; but, like the gentleman from the sister island, who complained of his bootmaker that, whereas he had ordered him to make one larger than the other, the bootmaker had made it less than the other—(laughter)—so the Government of Austria, instead of making a comparison in such guise that the Italian should think the Lombards and the Venetians are better governed than the rest, only compels them to think that the other territories are worse governed than the other States. (Cheers.) This is, I say, lamentable; and I do not believe there is another example in modern times of such a system of cruelty, tyranny, and violence of every sort as exist in the Neapolitan and Roman States. (Cheers.) It is a disgrace to modern Europe. The position of affairs in Tuscany is not so bad; but the public there are exposed continually to acts of violence from a foreign garrison, for which they have no redress, and which, if committed in England would arouse the indignation of every man from one end of the kingdom to the other. (Cheers.) This occupation of the Italian States, especially of Tuscany, by foreign troops, did not escape the attention of the late Government. It is evident that that occupation cannot cease except by common consent between the Government of France and the Government of Austria. France would not withdraw until Austria has evacuated Tuscany and the Legations, which it cannot be expected to do until the French have retired from Rome. We have been told that nothing could be done until the month of May had passed, and there was much force in the arguments and statements then made. But May has now gone by. I do intreat Her Majesty's Government to turn their minds to this question. It is one which really concerns—not merely the happiness and welfare of a most interesting part of Europe—but which also involves great international questions, and which deeply affects the balance of power in Europe. (Cheers.) I should hope that Her Majesty's Government, being on good and friendly terms with the two Governments mainly interested in a decision upon that matter, will exert that influence that justly belongs to the Government of this great country, and will endeavour to persuade the Governments of France and Austria to put an end to the anomalous and irregular state of things which now prevails in so great a part of the Italian peninsula. (Cheers.) I shall be told, that the condition of the Roman States is such that, if the French garrison were to retire, a great revolution and disturbance would take place. But let me remind the House of what passed in 1831 and 1832, when the five powers of Austria, Prussia, Russia, France, and England, gave to the then Pope advice with regard to the improvement of the internal organization of his Government, which, if it had been acted upon and carried out, would have secured the tranquillity of the States which he governs. Some such arrangement might now with advantage be adopted. I shall be told, perhaps, that some steps are already taken with that object, but I feel that they are practically illusive, and that no practical step has been taken with the view to those improvements which were then recommended, and which are now more wanted than ever. I ought, perhaps, to apologize to the House for the time during which I have occupied its attention. (Loud cheers.) I am, sure, however, that the subject I have mentioned is one that must engage the sympathy of every man in this country; and I am persuaded that if her Majesty's Government will take it up in the spirit in which I think they are disposed to act, great good will result to Europe from their endeavours. (Much cheering.)"

Such was Lord Palmerston's emphatic testimony, last June, to a state of things which has not only not improved, but visibly, and still more *invisibly*, changed for the worse.

To descend to the level of our current statesmanship, we dismiss for the moment all higher and more ennobling appeals, and we ask our merchants, our shopkeepers, our City men:—does it *pay* to forget England's place and duty in Europe?

One British subject languishes in a con-

demned cell untried, unconvicted. Another is cut down in the streets of Florence; a third, and he a British officer, wearing her Majesty's uniform, is dragged in chains through the streets of Leghorn, in sight of the national ensign under which he serves.

Protestantism and free thought, of which England was once the champion, are persecuted in the person of an English missionary at Naples, turned houseless into the street, in spite of treaties; while the Madiari are sentenced to a life's incarceration for reading the Bible, recommended by Exeter Hall; but not rescued by the unavailing mission from Exeter Hall.

But let all these cases pass, and let Lord Shaftesbury and his Evangelical associates intercede with the poor Grand Duke. Let us waive all considerations like British honour, as obsolete and dangerous dreams. As for the spiritual and political independence of Italy, let it be a mere phrase of a few ideologists; but what if the Mediterranean becomes a French lake—what if Tuscany and the States of the Church become part and parcel of the Austrian Customs' League? Austria, we know, is pouring fresh troops into Tuscany daily; France is fortifying the sea-approaches at Civita Vecchia, and appropriating the Pope himself by an excess of arrogant courtesies, which must remind Pius IX. uncomfortably of the venerable hostage of Fontainebleau; while he does ample justice to his teaching, by the wholesale executions at Sinigaglia and Ancona, where people have been shot by the score for the acts of 1848!

We ask these things because it is evident that our Government is now in the act of taking sides, not probably as the people of England would desire, but in a manner which may lead to serious consequences. The expulsion of Signor Lemmi from Malta—although protected by an American passport and an American Consul—because he is the friend of Mazzini and of Kossuth, implies that the British Government is acting as a branch of the Austrian police. The treatment of the refugees in Jersey implies a subserviency also to the Government of France. The officials in Downing-street are taking the part of absolutism against the people.

What attitude, then, will the new Parliament assume in these grave international questions? Will it be apathetic and impassive as the last, and will Lord Palmerston be dumb? We trust not. The day is hastening with rapid strides when England must, under penalty of death, shake off her policy of insincere, mistrusted, and impotent isolation, and stand forth the sole champion of light and liberty on this side of the Atlantic.

#### THE SOCIALIST AT THE DIGGINGS.

NUGGETS may be had for the digging; fortunes of all kinds may be made for the trading; but cattle may be had for the taking; as witness the subjoined extract from an article in the *Times* of Monday last, announcing the formation of a "Gold Exploration Company," by certain substantial citizens of Melbourne and Geelong, and treating on Australian affairs in general:—

"Public safety is very much left to chance. The absence of great crimes may be ascribed to want of temptation, to the absorption of all interest by the gold fever, to the armed neutrality of every person in the colony, rather than to the preventive action of the police. *It cannot exactly be said that horse-stealing is of frequent occurrence, but horse-taking is.* Persons do not set out with a felonious intent, but, if they happen to want a horse or a bullock, they take him wherever they find him. The districts of Campaspe, Loddon, and Avoca, however, make an exception. They have not even the semblance of any protection of any kind, and are overrun with the worst characters. At Melbourne there is a corps of policemen, but, from the accounts in the papers, it would appear they are a very independent set, rude to the public, and violent in the execution of their duty whenever they do execute it. Here, too, the action of the public will most likely be required to set things to rights. Lynch law has been mentioned, but the plan finds little sympathy, and now there is some talk of a private rifle corps for the apprehension of thieves. The thieves when caught are to be handed over to the constituted authorities. That is how Englishmen realize the idea of Lynch law."

Here, then, is a state of society which will serve as an illustration for Mr. Macaulay's definition of socialism as "robbery." This great historian, in common with many of his contem-



poraries, has suffered prejudice to supply the place of investigation and fair judgment. Genuine socialism is not "robbery," but the development of property: is not disorder, but "concert," "harmony;" and it is from an extension of the socialistic feeling that we look for the removal of the disorders and chaotic disruption of Australian society.

Why, we ask, is her society so disorganized? Why her property so unsafe? It is, because with every fresh import of human beings, she continues to be supplied with more individualism. Thither, to that great Eldorado, thousands repair to make a fortune. The shore gained, helter-skelter they go; the timid to the towns, the strong to the diggings, exclaiming, with a reckless sneer, "each for himself, and God for us all!" A three or four months' voyage has developed crude notions of liberty, and possibly the whole physical being has acquired a vigour unfelt before. The prizes, however, are not for all; and to those who are there, and to those going there, we throw out the hint to concert your action one with another. "Concert" is the watchword of the true and rational socialist, not "robbery."

The gradual formation of companies for different trading purposes in Australia proves that a species of organization is being developed, and societies for the stemming of disorder, by arresting criminals, are actively contemplated amongst the citizens; the service performed by the Government officials being of little avail. The criminal will necessarily form part of that stream of population which is rushing through that magnificent field of enterprise. But there is in Australia an amount of intelligence greater for the number of its population more than any other colony can boast; and when this intelligence gets concerted in its operations, the disorders, suffering, and waste will be diminished. England and America present examples in the greatness of their institutions, of unity of action springing from unity of purpose; and although it is evident that Australia will, out of the abundance of her means, in process of time develop institutions suitable to the necessities of her people, how much more rapid and smooth the development when directed by a common understanding.

It is not by lectures or exhortations that this Australian socialism is to be there spread. The lecturer waiting for an audience at the diggings would find no parallel in absurdity.

Like the windmill, with Don Quixote tilting at it, the machinery of Australian society would go dashing round with the same rapidity as ever, heedless of such feeble and futile attempts to arrest its course. Where bread, mutton, and wine can be earned by the sweat of the brow, and incomes realized considerably above seven shillings a week, the propagandist who would speak to be heard amongst those motley groups, must exhibit his passport with the word "capital" inscribed thereon, and must be the skilful contriver of schemes for the further enrichment of his auditors. The monied economist might read that practical working lesson in concert; and although it would be his place to point out where this pair of muscles had best labour, and where that pair, in order to realize the increase of advantages individually and collectively, still his energies would not be directed so much to direction as to combination, aiming to attain the zeal stimulated by a common interest. Surrounded by the raw material in abundance for every earthly comfort, men with pale and anxious countenances are harassed by the feverish uncertainty of their tenure of either riches or life. Teach them how to work together, how to rob, not each other, but the earth alone, guarantee to them the means of a good beginning, and they would repay the economist with gratitude and a good round "interest." Through him they would practically learn how increase of mutual protection and increase of profit are convertible terms arising from the practical application of his doctrine. Amongst such federated hands, horses and bullocks would stray only to be returned to their owners, for all would know that the property of all is worth more than the plunder of the few.

#### A SCREW.

Some time last year, the Government having resolved—may their bounty be extolled!—to bestow on Australia the boon of a bimonthly mail, advertised for tenders for that service. The call was answered by the General Screw Steam

Shipping Company, who offered to put upon the intended line such vessels as the *Queen of the South*, the *Lady Jocelyn*, and others whose build, fittings, appointments, speed, and punctuality, have made that Company's name illustrious in the annals of steam navigation. But their offer was not accepted. A new company, formed for the occasion,—a company untried, inexperienced, possessing as yet not a single ship, and hardly known beyond the latitude of the Stock Exchange, proposed to undertake the job at a lower figure; and how could a thrifty Government refuse such an offer? The contract was given, not to the company that presented the amplest guarantees for its strict fulfilment, but to that one which promised to do the business, no matter how, at the least cost; and so the Australian Royal Mail Steam Navigation Company came before the public, encompassed with the prestige of Government patronage, and exalted almost to the rank of a national institution.

The company's first vessel, the *Australian*, left England in June last, and from Cape de Verde, the first land she touched at, came public protests; signed by her passengers, besides numerous private letters filled with vehement complaints. The writers admitted the good sea-going qualities of the *Australian*, but alleged that she was unfit for the service on which she was employed, and that her inherent defects were made more intolerable by all sorts of mismanagement. She was much too low, they said, between decks; her cabins were too small, six berths being inclosed in a space not more than sufficient for four; she was ill-ventilated and indecently deficient in accommodations requisite for health and cleanliness; she was over-crowded with passengers and over-freighted with goods, even her decks being so encumbered as to leave no walking-room for the more numerous class of passengers; and her cargo had been stowed with such heedless haste as to bury under it part of the luggage marked for use on the voyage. To these and many other complaints the directors of the company replied with equivocations, with excuses on the ground of difficulties incident to a first start, and with promises to do better next time.

The *Sydney* was the second vessel; and in her the company was to have shown what they could do after two more months of preparation; but she exhibited most of her predecessor's faults, and added to them one more—namely, gross want of punctuality. She was a week behind her time at Plymouth, and about a month at the Cape, where one, at least, of her passengers, is known to have quitted her in disgust. Steamer though she is, she will have made a slower passage to Australia than many a sailing vessel.

In their third performance, the Australian Royal Mail Steam Company surpassed themselves, and established for their fleet a reputation unparalleled save by her Majesty's steamers. They took the simplest and surest means to achieve this distinction by purchasing the *Greenock*, built for the Admiralty, and notorious for the tinkering she had undergone in the vain hope of making her seaworthy. This doomed abortion, too bad even for the Admiralty, was christened by her new owners the *Melbourne*; but no baptism could wash out the original sin of her parentage. Six weeks ago she floundered out of the Thames, became almost a wreck in passing through the Downs, put into Deal for shelter, underwent repairs at Devonport dockyard, and was reported ready for sea again. But she could not even get out of port without another little adventure, in which she lost her jib-boom, davits, chain cable, anchor, &c. At last she was fairly started from Plymouth, on the 15th of October, twelve days after her appointed time.

But she was no sooner at sea again than she began to take in water greedily, like a sponge; the under-deck was flooded, baggage and berths were drenched, and some of the latter rendered quite untenable. This was the state of things in fair weather and with a favourable wind. By-and-bye a fresh breeze sprang up, but nothing like what seamen call half a gale, and the *Melbourne* began to roll and pitch as none but Admiralty-built steamers, or line-of-battle ships like the *Albion*, rolled before, or as one of the *Melbourne's* own boilers might have done if it had been rigged up as a yacht, and set afloat in the Bay of Biscay. At last, with a sudden crash, she rolled all her top-masts and her jibboom overboard, with all their gear and canvass. The screw

and the rudder were entangled by the wreck; scarcely sail enough could be set to keep the ship's head to the wind; and for two days and nights this crazy tub lay lurching fearfully, and pitching like a porpoise, unable to sail, steam, or steer.

Crew and passengers, toiling together, succeeded, after thirty hours' labour, in clearing the screw; but another long interval elapsed before the engines could be prevailed upon to move. This difficulty also was overcome; and the ship had again been running her intended course for some twenty hours, when it was found that she had sprung a leak. Her head was immediately turned towards Lisbon, where she arrived on the 24th of last month, and thence, it is said, she is to be brought home to her old quarters in Devonport Dockyard, in order to undergo another course of repairs of indefinite duration. Badly as her voyage has ended, the catastrophe might have been infinitely worse. The closing and caulking of her port-holes, after her first disasters in the Downs, though it did not render her water-tight, yet made her far more than sufficiently air-tight. The ship's surgeon, Dr. Foucart, has recorded his deliberate opinion, that had the *Melbourne* continued her voyage southwards a few days longer, a fearful mortality must have occurred; for it was impossible to preserve health and cleanliness in such a vessel, and disease had already established itself among her overcrowded inmates. Ill-found, unseaworthy, unventilated, with an ill-conditioned crew of disorderly land-lubbers, with rigging not half spread or rattled down, with a choice of two deaths staring the passengers in the face,—such are the temptations to embark in a steam-ship privileged to carry the pendant and her Majesty's mails. Convict-ships are palaces of comfort in comparison. We may then congratulate the *Melbourne's* passengers on their escape from a horrible dilemma—death by malignant fever, or by such a fate as theirs who went down in the *President*.

But meanwhile what are they to do? Many of them are men of small means, who can badly, or not at all, afford the expense to which they have been already put by their forced sojourn at Plymouth and at Lisbon, and that which they must further incur if they have to pay for their passage to Australia in another vessel. Some of them have sent out goods to Australia, expecting to arrive before them in that first-rate fast-going steamer, which never again, we hope, will venture on such a voyage. One gentleman, a passenger from the United States, has six or seven vessels consigned to Port Phillip, and was going out to meet them. He would have saved time if, instead of embarking in the *Melbourne*, he had taken ship for New York, and thence made his way by a sailing vessel to Australia. The ill-used passengers have requested the directors of the Australian Royal Mail Steam Company to forward them to their destination by another vessel; but to this the directors demur for the present: they will do nothing until they have the report of a commission which they have sent to Lisbon to inquire into the facts of the case. But the facts already authenticated and notorious are more than enough to justify the demand of the passengers, and to make it imperative on any company, jealous of its reputation for liberality and fair dealing.

Happily the business of linking Australia and England together by steam communication will not long be left at the sole discretion of the gentlemen who manage the affairs of the Australian Royal Mail Steam Navigation Company. The directors of the General Screw Steam Ship Company have summoned a meeting of proprietors for Friday next, to lay before them a matured project for establishing, without delay, "a full and efficient communication, by means of large and powerful steam-ships, with Port Phillip and Sydney." Such an announcement coming from such a quarter will be hailed by the public with unbounded confidence and satisfaction. What that Company is pledged to do may already be regarded as a thing well done. Gentlemen of the Australian Royal Mail Steam Navigation Company! your annual Government subsidy of 27,000*l.* is in jeopardy. Change your ways if you wish to save it.

#### SEATS TO SEE THE SHOW.

The spirit is awaking. If it be true that the officials proposed to keep down the flags in Chelsea Hospital at the time of the Duke's funeral, lest they should "offend the foreigner," the

notion has been abandoned, in obedience to the indignation which the bare idea had excited. The *Morning Herald* contradicts the report that such an idea was ever entertained; but the occasion has been seized to re-arouse the national feeling. Suggestions have been made to omit the funeral altogether, or to put forth an announcement that Waterloo was buried with the Duke. The *Times* brings its own weight into the indignation movement, and imagines what the Duke himself would have said if he had been asked to discontinue the Waterloo banquet. Mr. Edmund Fry has been writing to the journal against the militia, and the *Times* makes the most of the quaker *reductio ad absurdum*, which that benevolent gentleman put forth at a time so inopportune for the peace party.

Commerce and nationality are indeed contending for the supremacy; and, upon the whole, although commerce has possessed the ground up to this moment, signs are not wanting that nationality is beginning to recover its footing. The death of the hero of Waterloo has been useful to both nationality and commerce; but in different ways. The funeral of the Duke has revived associations which force the public mind to comprehend the relation of this country with France. We are compelled once more to raise the national flag; the attempt to put it out of sight was going too far, and pacific commerce is obliged to disavow the purpose. If on no other place, at least at the tomb of Wellington, the flag must be elevated, with all its victorious recollections, all that may "offend the foreigner." On the other hand, the show is turned by commerce to a pecuniary profit. From Charing Cross to St. Paul's, every shopkeeper intends to trade upon the pageant and its associations. Seats at so much a-piece derive a price from Waterloo which the lessors have disclaimed, but which they do not repudiate while it is an element in their profit.

Possibly, indeed, they might introduce the future as well as the past as an element in the cost of admission. Half-a-guinea for a piece of board next to a chimney-pot is a long sum, when it is only to look at Waterloo on its path to the grave. But the piece of gold might be cheerfully paid, if the possibilities were brought into the bill of the play. There are incidents that might even reconcile men to pay 150*l.* for a room—for a private box, as it were, to see the spectacle. It has been surmised that a gallant neighbour, burning to avenge and redeem Waterloo for his country's glory, would not be indisposed to seize the peculiarly interesting occasion of the funeral pageant of the conqueror; and the anticipated invasion of the French might by possibility take place on that very day. The 18th of November might redeem the 18th of June; and the victory which England achieved on the alien field of Belgium might be reversed in the centre of our own capital; the avengers making a barrack of the cathedral where Wellington was to be laid by the side of Nelson. If this scheme were carried out, the funeral procession would be interrupted, and followed by an engagement in the streets. Here then is a *tableau vivant* to crown the performance,—“Funeral of Wellington—Invasion of Louis Napoleon—grand combat in the streets—presentation of the keys of London by Queen Victoria, on her knees, surrounded by her ministers and officers, to Napoleon the Third!” This would be worth a heavy price of admission, and the seats might even be profitably offered by the same intelligent commerce on a future to-day, to witness Louis Napoleon's triumphal procession from St. Paul's to St. James'.

The only thing likely to prevent so advantageous an opportunity for London commerce is the rising spirit of Englishmen. Some military man has been making a present to the Prince of Wales, on his birthday, of a little cannon, modelled after the best hitherto used in the British service. At the same time, however, the trade reports boast of a new and improved cannon, the manufacture of which has begun at Birmingham. If Waterloo is buried in the tomb on Wellington's death, perhaps there may yet be sport in store for that birthday toy; and commerce itself is inventing the better instrument for its own protection. It appears, then, that we have not yet got to the end of the drama; and that England may have to do something besides playing vassal to France. The prospect does away with some calculations for the spectacle on the 18th and a subsequent day,

and though commerce will regret the loss of the present penny, perhaps it may console itself in the new manufacture at Birmingham.

#### THE WAR OF IDEAS.

SUBMITTED TO ANTI-SLAVERY LEADERS AT HOME AND ABROAD.

THE Editor of the *Boston Liberator*, by his heroic initiative, and no less heroic persistence, has won for himself the representation of the anti-slavery literature and anti-slavery question in both hemispheres. And it is through his recognised name that we solicit attention to this great theme. Our strictures in this, as in our previous paper,\* shall be free, but they shall be impartial. We will not do Mr. Garrison, whom we have chiefly in view, on account of the deserved influence he exercises over his colleagues, the injustice of judging him, we will not say condemning him, in any respect unheard. He shall speak for himself. He has done so in these words:—

“I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.

“It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God that he enables me to disregard ‘the fear of man which bringeth a snare,’ and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power.”

This is a defence which has been generally accepted on this side the Atlantic, and many are the Abolitionists among us whom it has encouraged in honesty and impotence; and whom it has converted into conscientious hindrances. Those who venture to suggest that the most earnest advocates may sometimes retard their cause do not always affect these scruples. We hope Mr. Garrison will not count us among those who “pretend” this fear. The justificatory words we have quoted are spoken with the spirit of a hero, but not with the wisdom of the statesman. Let us suggest a slight alteration in this language, which will explain what we mean. We would have Mr. Garrison to say, “I will be as harsh as *progress*, as uncompromising as *success*.” If a man speaks for his own gratification he may be as “harsh” as he pleases; but if he speaks for the down-trodden and oppressed, he must be content to put a curb on the tongue of holiest passion, and speak only as harshly as is compatible with the amelioration of the evil he proposes to redress. Let the question be again repeated: Do you seek for the slave vengeance or redress? If you seek retaliation, go on denouncing. But distant Europe honours Lloyd Garrison, because it credits him with seeking for the slave simply redress. We say, therefore, that “uncompromising” policy is not to be measured by absolute justice, but by practical amelioration of the slave's condition. Amelioration as fast as you can get it—absolute justice as soon as you can reach it.

We would not have Mr. Garrison regard that “fear of man which bringeth a snare;” but we would have him regard that treatment of opponents which *bringeth delay and defeat*. Mr. Garrison, as all propagandists have been encouraged to do, regards advocacy of liberty as simply a question of *courage*, and supposes that to dare all things is to win all things. Mr. Garrison is a man of honourable character, and we will suggest an honourable reply to him. Let the graves of the martyrs answer him. Above their sacred resting-places the solemn voices of the brave are heard, telling all who have ears to hear that “Bravery indeed ennobles patriotism and humanity; but *wisdom* is required to win the victory.” We will not be guilty of the presumption of asking, that so eminent a man as Mr. Garrison should pause and recast his policy at the solicitation, however earnest, of an obscure English writer. We recall to him the wise aphorism of the great moralist of the oriental world, who wrote before the rhetorical discoveries of modern experience. Three inquirers said to Confucius, “Were you leading troops to the field, which of us would you take for a lieutenant?” The philosopher answered—“The man who with his own hands would engage us in a combat with a tiger; who without adequate motive would wish us to ford a river; who would throw away his life without sufficient reason or remorse—I certainly would not take for my lieutenant. I should want a man who would maintain a steady vigilance in the direction of affairs; who was capable of *forming plans*, and of *executing them*.” A hundred people will form plans for one with the capacity of carrying them out. The philosopher was right in placing wisdom and executive

capacity above courage; for down to this day our popular movements are led by heroes who *fear* nothing, and who *win* nothing.

Could we but keep before us the first sad view of life which breaks in upon the working man, whether he be a white slave or a black one, we should be able to see advocacy from a more advantageous point. We should learn at once sternness and moderation. Do we not find ourselves in an *armed world*, where Might is God, and Poverty is fettered? Every stick and stone, every blade of grass, every bird and flower, every peniless man, woman, and child, has an owner in England no less than in New Orleans. The bayonet or the baton bristles round every altar and at the corner of every lane and street. War is the only study worth a moment's attention by the workman or the slave. To fight or perish is the only alternative, and he who hesitates is lost to manliness and freedom. He who writes these words holds no other creed, and they criticise to little purpose who fail to detect this under-current in all he advances here or elsewhere. The reader who assumes that he finds the counsels of cowardice in these columns is only skilled in blatant symptoms, and has yet to learn how the working purpose clothes itself. There is no question raised in these articles as to the work to be done, but only as to the mode of *really* doing it. The platform resounds with announcements of principle, which is but *asserting* a right, while nothing but contempt is showered on policy which is the *realization* of right. The air is filled with all high cries and spirited denunciations; indignation is at a premium; and this is called advocacy. Thus men dash themselves against the stone walls by which society surrounds its powers and privileges. Tyranny and custom, a dense, compact, wedged throng, hard as a wall and high as a mountain, hems in the wretched; and the few who are valiant among us run their heads against it, and counsel us to do the same—and that is accounted leadership! Objecting to such leadership, I do not therefore object to be led. I believe in war none the less for protesting against suicide. I may not be willing to run head-first against the wall, but I mean to go *through* it no less than those who do. I only cast about for the best mode of penetration. But to calculate, to make sure of your aim, is to be decried as one who is too cold to feel, too genteel to strike. While strong men are found to say this, no wonder that weak men are found to believe it. If an artillery officer throws shell after shell which never reach the enemy, he is replaced by some one with a better eye and a surer aim. But in the artillery battle of opinion, to mean to hit is quite sufficient; and if you have a certain grand indifference as to whether you hit or not, you may count on public applause.

The only question is, do we propose to fight, or reason? That war is the destiny of the slave, white or black, admits of no discussion to one who finds himself with open eyes in the lazaretto of society. Whether we fight for ourselves, for our relatives, or the negro, the laws of arms are the same. For myself, I have no objection to fighting in the gross form. It is a great instinct. I never looked on life from any other point than that of warfare. But it does not answer in the *old* way; society has outgrown it, in England, at least, and I therefore take the side of Reason, but a man need be no less militant, as the soldier of facts, than as the agent of swords. But the arena of argument needs discipline no less than that of arms. It is this which the Anti-slavery party seem to me not only to overlook but to despise. They do not put their valour to drill. Neither on the field nor the platform has courage any inherent capacity of taking care of itself.

America's wisest teacher has spoken noble words to the Abolitionists. No other could speak so well, and no other man has so great a right to take the tone of imperial candour. These are Emerson's royal words:

“The institution of slavery seems to its opponent to have but *one* side, and he feels that none but a *stupid* or a *malignant* person can hesitate on a view of the facts. Under such an impulse, I was about to say, ‘If any cannot speak, or cannot hear the words of freedom, let him go hence;’ I had almost said, ‘Creep into your grave—the universe has no need of you!’ But I have thought better. Let him not go. When we consider what remains to be done for this interest in this country, the dictates of humanity make us *tender* of such as are not yet persuaded. The *hardest selfishness* is to be borne with.

“Let us withhold every *reproachful*, and, if we can, every *indignant*, remark. In this cause we must renounce our temper and the risings of pride. If there be any man who thinks the ruin of a race of men a *small* matter compared with the last decoration and completions of his own comfort—who would not so much as part with his ice-cream to save them from rapine and manacles—I think I must not hesitate to satisfy *that* man that also his cream and vanilla are safer and cheaper by placing the negro and vanilla on a fair footing than by robbing them. If the Virginian piques himself on the picturesque luxury of his vassalage, on the heavy Ethiopian manners of his house servants, their silent obedience, their hue of bronze, their turbaned heads, and would not exchange them for the

\* See *Leader*, No. 130.

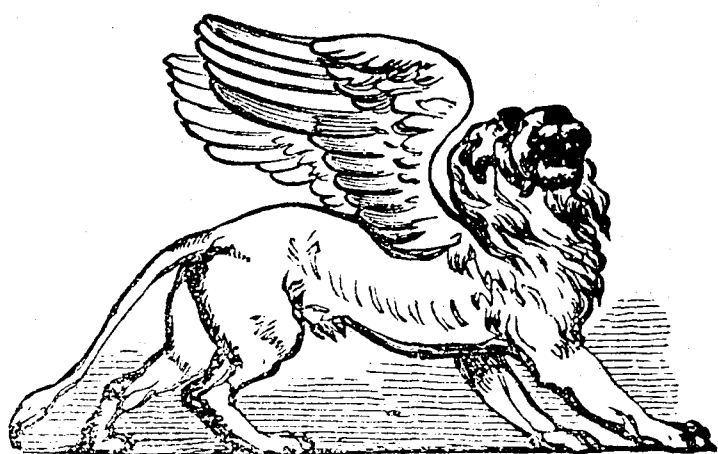


more intelligent but precarious hired service of whites, I shall not refuse to show him that when their free papers are made out, it will still be their interest to remain on his estate; and that the oldest planters of Jamaica are convinced that it is cheaper to pay wages than to own slaves."

The special arguments here may pass: they may or not be the right ones; but in the consideration of the class whose convictions have to be conquered by the way, we have the line of success chalked out by a master's hand. How much more easily did O'Connell win the applause of the New World philanthropists. "Greatest of liars, vilest of hypocrites!" shouted that immense professor of invective. "Tyrants, base wretches, Murderers, you belong not to us!" This cheap and facile denunciation of Slaveholders, which in nowise altered their determination, but rather intensified it, won the everlasting remembrance of the *Liberator*, where it may be seen reprinted in No. 8, for February last, as a parallel menace to the Magyar visitor in Boston.

When Lloyd Garrison praises the great Celtic Monarch of invective for this dire outpouring, he acts the part of the boy who fancies that the terror is in the war whoop of the savage, unmindful of the quieter muskets of the civilized infantry, whose unostentatious execution blows whoop and tomahawk to the devil.

ION.



## 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.

### THE RELATION OF WOMEN TO POLITICAL REFORM.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

WERE all men refined and disciplined, there would be no need to say anything about the relation of women to political reform or any other reform. They would take their right position as water finds its own level. Unfortunately, refined and disciplined men are the exception—so exceptional, that they may be pronounced rare. Women are more refined, but, if possible, less disciplined. The mother, it is said, moulds the child into the man; and man, in scorn or fear, or pride or ignorance, or in all together, keeps her tightly closed within the prescribed limits of her narrow life; and in keeping her dwarfed to this conventional standard, effectually dwarfs himself. It seems that, before refined and disciplined men can cease to be the exception, women must be raised above their present standard.

"For its they quia nuncie the immortyl minde." Before there can be any chance of this, woman must breathe a freer atmosphere. As it is, her intellect and emotions are as tightly laced as her body; and the distortion and weakness caused by the conventional confinement are as great in the one case as in the other.

Until women, and men too, have a freer life—until the world recognises what, individually, it so well knows, that we all have passions that need direction and healthful development, that are not subduable—inflict what amount of talk you may, a full development of our whole nature cannot take place. Until then, the things which now pass for men and women will continue to be things, and to replenish the earth with things after their own likeness.

Our whole social system, including our system of trade, is peculiarly hard upon women, narrowing her activities and obstructing her independence: not so much now as heretofore, but still immensely. I think that many, probably most, of the evils that beset women are traceable to their dependent position, pecuniarily, socially, and politically. To have a dependent is a great temptation to the best of us. What is it to all below the best in the many gradations to the worst? The results of this worst are almost the only public indications of what is passing beneath the surface of society.

What women suffer can only be made known by themselves, and will not be uttered. We may dimly guess how the proud chafe beneath the goad, and, humiliated and outraged, make some wild dash at escape, to be outlawed and ineffaceably branded with conventional infamy; to be relentlessly trampled down, lower and lower, driven from every hold upon the virtuous past; humanity, womanhood, trampled out, or so defaced that little but the fiend remains to pay back to society, pollution, for its rigour and its scorn. We may dimly guess the many gradations from this worst upwards to the best. Some do halt on the road, and happily find some harbour of refuge, at least for a time. And we may also guess how many a patient mother leads a life of endurance without hope, of suffering without relief. It is not said that there are not many women that live happily and well, but that under different conditions they might live a higher and a purer life. It is said that women endure misery, ill-health, and outrage—that they are dwarfed in intellect, in their emotions, and in body—as they would not permit themselves to be were they not dependent. That women suffer much, all know who have eyes to see. The worst never comes above the surface, but merely the startling. It is not intended to develop the whole of this large subject here, but to indicate the relation of women to one important question, that of political reform. To do that may be of some practical service.

We write and talk many fine platitudes about our civilization. It is said, the condition of woman in a nation marks the progress of the nation in civilization. Remember this, and ask what idea, five hundred years hence, when historical students search our archives, will be formed of the position and condition of women in this nineteenth century? No doubt the student would find a tendency to encourage the advancement of women, and when, on the one hand, he met with the works of Miss Martineau, and, on the other, the account of a trial for criminal conversation, where the husband sues for damages for the loss of the services of his wife, what conclusion would be drawn from this anomaly? When it is perceived that the property qualification necessary to ensure a vote does not extend to women; that neither maiden, nor wife, nor widow, however large their possessions, can claim the privilege of exercising any direct personal influence on the Government which disposes of their property for revenues and other purposes without their having the power to say yea or nay in the matter;—when this is seen, will not the judgment given be somewhat derogatory to our civilization.

Will not woman appear more as the *handmaid* than as the *helpmate*, when it is seen how she is left in the power of the man? Men make the laws, a fact which none will doubt who comprehend their relation to women. Men are tried by a jury of men; women not by a jury of women, but of men. The remark occurred in the *Household Words*, "that some of the verdicts of late trials of women would probably have been different had women sat on the jury." It is a question whether most men can comprehend a woman's case as fully, or judge it as fairly, as it should be.

Men, and women too, talk as if Christianity had conferred liberty and equality upon women: forgetting that the Roman matron held quite as dignified a position, the Grecian wife in some instances a higher; forgetting that, among the Teutons, women were not only wives, but friends and counsellors; forgetting that, in this Christianized nineteenth century, with the exception of the county of Kent, the law of primogeniture brands them as unequal; forgetting that, should a woman possessed of property marry, she loses all legal power in its disposal; the property becomes the man's. It is forgotten that, should the husband turn brute or sot, and the wife of necessity leave him, the law enables him to strike a more painful blow than that of brute violence. The law crushes the maternal heart. Should the wife seek an asylum, the man brute can violate her presence and her person whenever caprice or hate may urge him, unless an expensive and public process be gone through, open only to the rich. When the historian comprehends that the polluting stream of unfortunate women that wander through our streets at night is an institution necessary for the maintenance of order—that good Christian men, fathers of women, dare to think prostitution a necessity of civilization, and to think it chimerical to attempt its prevention—will not women appear as socially degraded as they are politically negated? If women saw this matter clearly, would not women think it time, as brave Mrs. Jameson and thoughtful Harriet Martineau do, to take this question in hand? At present women dare not, for fear of what the world—that is, *man*—would say.

The inequality between man and woman as at present recognised by the laws and partially by custom, is a remnant of that barbarism we all decri. Seeing it day by day, being familiar with it from infancy, we do not

perceive the injustice or the wrong till some brutal deed startles us, or some social catastrophe sharpens our perception of the anomalous position and painful inequality of the sexes. Women must fight their own battle, and do it without extravagance or intemperance if they would earn success. Existing evils should be sufficient to induce women not only to countenance and aid reform, but to become active reformers on their own account. Women ought to be as materially interested in political reform as the men. They suffer with the men, and should work with them to attain that political power to alter the state of things which keeps them the serfs of wealth, and often clothes and feeds them worse than the actual slave. It is true that political agitation has been too often connected with debasing influences. There has been too much passion, too much intemperance in speech and act, too much talk about brotherhood, and too little practice of it, to induce women to look favourably on political agitation. The women were right without knowing why, in expecting that if politics were good for anything, they should make those who advocate them better men. Women feel that a vote is not much after all, however right and just it is to have it. Will the possession of the franchise insure employment at remunerative wages? Will it replenish the cupboard? Women have not seen that it would. They feel (blindly it may be) the worthlessness of the bawling democrat, the inutility and weakness of the denunciator, and the danger that, in appealing against tyrannous authority, the habit may be acquired of appealing against all authority. It is only by showing that political reform leads,—is the first step to social amelioration—that a woman's heart can be touched, or her convictions gained. Show her that political reform is the sure precursor of social amendment—which means the removal of the wretched uncertainty of employment—a guarantee of the means of subsistence—a change from the *one* room, where modesty gets half worn out, where cleanliness is impossible, where notions of decency incommode, and where comfort exists of that kind only which arises from the flexibility of human nature in adapting itself to circumstances; which means sinking to the level of those circumstances. A change from this, which so often sends the husband and the son to the public house, to some degree of comfort with room to live and leisure to think and love, as well as time for work, is a reform that woman could take to heart.

Why should not English women march with us in noble fellowship towards the hopeful future? Let women earn their position as equals. Sister, wife and mother, why not friend, counsellor, and reformer? It is not so, however. Women at present neither know their duty nor their interest, and men have hardly known the worth of woman's aid, or they would have sought it more effectually. Spartan women felt with the men—"Honour gone, all's gone." They were the true friends of the men.

But our women, as Ebenezer Elliot says,—

"Urge their husbands to submit to laws which, interdicting our best affections, convert marriage into a crime and a curse multiplied by the number of its births." When shall this be altered?

CHARLES FREDERIC NICHOLLS.

### THE CRYSTAL PALACE AND DESECRATION OF THE SABBATH.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—The proposed opening of the Crystal Palace upon the Sabbath-day, appears, at present, to be the source of considerable anxiety to a large body of the religionists of this country, who assert that if a portion of the only day in the week upon which the poor working-man has a moment of leisure, be spent in the admiration of some of the most beautiful and refined works of artistic genius, and in the inspection of some of the finest productions of human ingenuity and skill, it will inevitably lead to the most fatal immorality, and to the most terrible consequences hereafter. Meetings have been held in which this subject has been discussed by some of our most eminent ministers and religious men: the Rev. John Angell James, Mr. E. Baines, and many others too numerous to mention, have unanimously given it as their opinion that, if this magnificent building be opened on the Sabbath, it will pave the way to infinitely worse desecration in other quarters; that the Sabbath of England will, at no distant period, be kept as it is in France and other continental countries, and therefore Government must be petitioned to prevent so shocking and fearful a profanation of that sacred day, which the Lord hath set apart for his own peculiar worship. I had almost thought that a purer and more sincere service would be rendered to the Almighty, by the admiration, amounting to reverence, which intelligent men would bestow upon the works of those eminent individuals, whose mighty genius this same Being is believed to have created than all the formal prayers

and tedious rituals they might say or hear on bended knees, if attending any orthodox establishment for Divine worship. What little faith can these men have in the efficacy of their most cherished religion, when they conceive it necessary to appeal to the State to aid their efforts? Surely, if the influences of Christianity are so powerful, if its truths are so simple, so evident, and so unmistakable, what occasion is there for flying to Government for help in carrying them out; what necessity is there for having the law to back them up? If Christianity cannot be spread or enforced by preaching and expounding it, if it is so unreasonable and so weak that its defenders and promulgators are obliged to invoke the powers of the State, in order to prevent its downfall, then I am inclined to think Christianity is not long for this world, when its truths and regulations cannot be maintained, without having recourse to the paltry aid of Government or State. I apprehend it is almost time we had some more powerful incentive for the practice of morality, some more efficacious system, whose truths would be accepted by all, without force, and whose regulations would support themselves. Those ministers who advocate the closing of the "People's Palace" on the Sabbath, appear to imagine, that if they can only succeed in persuading Her most gracious Majesty the Queen not to affix her signature to the legalization of the Crystal Palace Company, unless they bind themselves to shut up on Sunday, the holiness of the Sabbath will then be satisfactorily established, and England will still remain a favoured country in the eyes of Jehovah; they apparently forget how extremely improbable it is that those who would have visited the Crystal Palace, had it been open, will attend Divine Worship, now the other is denied them: it is far more likely that many will spend their time in tap-rooms and low places of resort, who might otherwise have been employed in a mentally elevating and ennobling manner. But it appears to me that Government has no right whatever to interfere in a matter which is so strictly one of opinion only. If it interferes in this case, it might do so with equal propriety when granting licences to the vendors of alcoholic stimulants; in a like manner no company should be permitted to exist, unless an agreement were entered into, that business should not be transacted on the Sabbath of the Christian; and I imagine that all the gin-palaces and dram-shops open on the Sunday, produce infinitely more immorality than the Crystal Palace, or all the philosophical, literary, and scientific institutions in the world would do, if no restriction were placed upon the people attending them on this most holy day. Let Government do its duty, but let it not, by showing partiality to one sect, infringe upon the religious liberties of the people at large. If it be necessary that the Sabbath be devoted entirely to the worship of the Most High, let the Christian prove it, by pointing out the advantages, real or supposed, that would accrue, by an observance of this day according to his notions, and allow men to judge for themselves. If the world cannot be persuaded of the necessity for so much lip-service, it would be advisable for the Christian to keep his religious rites and ceremonies to himself, and not endeavour to force men into a performance of them, whether they can do so conscientiously or not, by applying to Government for assistance.

Yours obediently,

W.

#### FRANCE—THE EMPIRE.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—The next act of the gloomy drama enacting in France is about to commence in the proclamation of the Empire, though by what further convulsion the country is to obtain a free and settled government—if indeed such a consummation be written in the book of her fate—is still shrouded in impenetrable darkness.

On the day that the Empire is proclaimed, France becomes isolated from the European Republic. We are told that the country cannot remain stationary in the path it has chosen, and that the French people will consent to the permanent re-establishment of the Empire on the condition only that its glories be restored with its name. If so, war will become a necessity of the very existence of the Imperial Government. If it can detach Austria from her coalition with the northern powers, the French eagles may yet be planted on the Rhine, and Louis Napoleon transmit the imperial sceptre securely to his posterity. If, however, the other continental powers remain unshaken in their present dispositions, France must go to war at the imminent risk of again having her frontier crossed, and her capital occupied by an overwhelming hostile army, and may possibly be compelled to accept her old dynasty under circumstances of dishonour and submission unknown to her for centuries.

Meantime, it is impossible to keep our eyes from the chain of causes which, generated in remote ages, and leading to the extraordinary events of the last sixty

years, have as yet given us no clue to their final results, as regards either the internal government of France or its relations with foreign powers. More than half a century of freedom has failed to give the French people a political creed. "Constitutions," says the legislator, "cannot be made—they must grow." Since the reign of Edward the Third, five centuries ago, when Magna Charta and the law of the "three estates" had struck root, England would have spurned the usurpation to which France has just submitted. It is now sixty-three years since the French nation arose, like one man, against a tyranny scarcely less insupportable than that of the Norman princes in England; but in destroying the old political fabric, the French people left themselves without precedent or data to erect a new one. The ancient regime fell in welcome thunder to France, and at the first deep-drawn breath of French liberty, the system which had been for ages maintained by power, superstition, and priestcraft, crumbled into dust; but the people, abandoning reflection and restraint in the first frenzy of their triumph over their oppressors, swept away every landmark and trace that might have served for their future guidance. Those wholesome checks to revolutionary excess—the reverence for antiquity and the power of habit and association—were lost to France. She had no political associations unbranded with slavery and disgrace. It has been otherwise in England. "Give us our ancient laws and the constitution of our Saxon forefathers," said the barons at Runnymede. To the fervour and constancy with which this cry was maintained, we owe the Great Charta. The foundation thus laid, broad and deep, the political fabric arose slowly and securely through the lapse of ages; nor, if we except the brief period of the Commonwealth, has the organic law of the three estates undergone any change during all the turbulence, civil war, and revolution through which the temple of English liberty has arisen. In reforming her Government, England has but imitated the careful husbandman—

Inutiles  
False ramos amputans,  
Feliciores inserit.

These lines, which were quoted by the late Lord Grey in his speech on the Reform Bill, give us the key to all the changes in our political system since its foundation, which, whether they have been the slow growth of time, or the result of violence, have consisted of little else than the excision of decayed branches from the tree of constitutional liberty, and the substitution of fresh grafts, leaving the venerable and time-honoured trunk untouched by the revolutionary axe.

If resistance to the abuse of power be the common right of humanity, restraint and forbearance are no less its duty in the exercise of its inalienable privilege. Ages of intolerable oppression taught France the first of these principles: of the second she yet remains in the deepest ignorance. The history of the constitution of England—that singular page in the records of mankind—is furnished with striking illustrations of both principles, in our steady adherence, through the period of five centuries, to that system of modified liberty, of which it is becoming more and more our enviable privilege to boast.

It was thought that France, at the revolution of 1830, taught by the events of the previous forty years, and the example of England, had at length learnt wisdom and prudence in the use of political power. Ever since 1830, England has furnished her neighbour with examples of that moderation and restraint with which her turbulent spirit of independence has always been tempered. While reform of the Chamber cost Louis Philippe his crown, and France her constitution, and ultimately her liberty, the tumour of borough-mongering was cut from the constitution of England with the skill and safety of a surgical experiment, which at once cures the diseased limb and restores the general health of the patient.

Many lawyers have doubted the legality of the Anti-Corn Law League, which was so powerfully instrumental in obtaining Free-trade for us. The League, however, having effected the object for which it was formed, was self-dissolved. In these violations of law (if such they be) we see the triumph of its spirit, in that self-restraint in the people for which laws and Constitutions themselves are but substitutes. There can be little doubt that the incipient insurrection of the 10th April, 1848, was rendered abortive by the influence, *in terrorem*, of the very same power (that of the middle classes, now arrayed on the side of constituted authority) which had successfully put an end to the usurpations of the boroughmongers and the landlords. Could France have profited by the many examples of restraint in resisting the abuses of power with which England has furnished her, she had not now lain at the foot of an autocrat and an usurper, to whom she manifests a servility of submission which rivals the times of the Bastille and the *lettres de cachet*.

The Revolution of 1830 was regarded in England as, emphatically, that of the middle classes. The Crown had now taken the character of a national trust; and it was believed that the property and intelligence of France would henceforth become the predominating influence in the State. It would be fruitless now to inquire what was the moving spring of the Revolution of the three days; but it is inconceivable that, twenty years after such a struggle for liberty and representative Government, the country could have submitted to a yoke fifty times more galling than that meditated by the discarded monarch. If ages—centuries, be necessary to bring constitutions to a full and healthy maturity, what could be hoped from a country but half a century arisen from a tyranny as inhuman, long-continued, and degrading as ever disgraced the annals of mankind?

It has been said, that had Louis-Philippe reformed the Chambers by extending the elective franchise, he would only have retarded, without preventing his fall. If so, a better proof could not have been given of the completely unsettled state—the nonage—of political principle in France. The Republic perished from a want of harmony between the executive and the legislative power; but this was a defect for which there was no remedy, for it is clear, that could the executive have appealed to the nation by dissolving the Assembly, to do so would but again have let loose the revolutionary element, perhaps in a more violent form. In England, where the struggles of party are confined within the limits of the Constitution, the provision for restoring unity to the Government by a temporary dissolution of the legislative body, has ever been considered one of the bulwarks of law and liberty. Here the political waves burst harmlessly around the rock of the Constitution, which, like a well-built lighthouse, while it causes the uproar of the breakers, offers the most effectual resistance to their power.

The liberties of no country could be safe with such a military establishment as that of France. Even in England, where the Constitution is clearly defined, and universally acknowledged, liberty could never be considered secure with such an army. Strange, that the doctrine of Divine right should find apologists in the middle of the nineteenth century; but if the imputed divinity of kings kept the people in subjection, at least it kept the army in the same state. The ancient monarchs of France might, by virtue of their divine claim, have disbanded their armies without danger of their revolt; but a decree to this effect from the National Assembly of 1848 would have been but issuing its own death-warrant. The world is strangely altered since the time when armed legions could be formed or dispersed at the nod of the sovereign, by virtue of his heavenward claim. Such was not the period when street insurrections could first change a dynasty, and then destroy a throne, with half a million of men behind it.

The Revolution of 1830 effaced the stain of foreign invasion, and, it was hoped, had united the Throne and nation in a compact, affording some security against the further usurpations of the army; but the work of wisdom and moderation thus so ably begun, was utterly destroyed by the rash experiment of 1848; and if the future annals of France should exhibit any likeness to the worst ages of the Roman empire, when Emperors were enthroned and tumbled headlong into the dust at the mad whim and frenzy of the soldiers, the French people will have to thank the Republic of 1848, when they suffered the sanctuary of the laws to be invaded by a rout of the populace, and France listened unmoved to the frantic shout that laid her dear-bought liberties at the foot of a profligate and ambitious soldiery. Like the horse in the fable, who was unable to rid his back of the man who had aided him to conquer his enemy, France has fallen into subjection to the power which had helped her to pull down the Crown, which was her best safeguard against the insidious friend whom she had invoked to destroy it. Had the country shown but common firmness and consistency in maintaining the settlement of 1830, the army might have been held in allegiance to its ancient line of monarchs, changed, as in England, so far only as to establish the principles of free government; but the golden harvest of freedom and prosperity to France promised by the Revolution of July has been totally blighted by that of February, with its sad mockery of liberty and equality. History affords few examples of an army of nearly half a million of men, master of its own will, and stimulated by the remembrance of former glories and disasters, remaining long at peace with its neighbours. The French people are now on a precipice, with the prospect of bloody internal discord on the one hand, and on the other, the chances of a war, which, it is no idle hyperbole to prophecy, may end in depriving France of the power, at least, of further disturbing Europe with its lust of dominion, if not of the privilege of choosing its own dynasty and form of Government.

J. G.



## 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*.

JULIET'S innocent query as to the value of a name, applied better to roses than to writers; a rose, indeed, by any other name would smell as sweet, but would a novel by the eminent JONES command that instantaneous and eager attention certain to gather round a novel by DICKENS? A name, therefore, in Literature is a vested right. Who is there owning a name shared by others that has not wished those others in—a better world? If you are a SMITH, it is a privilege to be SYDNEY SMITH or ALBERT SMITH; but if you are a CARLYLE, and have managed finally to emerge from the confusion of CARLISLE, and are known, as THOMAS, not at all RICHARD; think of the agreeable surprise on finding another CARLYLE, another THOMAS CARLYLE, and a THOMAS CARLYLE writing on Germany, above all things! This was the fate of *Teufelsdröckh* not long ago. CAROLINE NORTON has had a taste of the same dish of late; to her just horror she sees announced a new novel by the Hon. Mrs. E. NORTON—and a sharp skirmish in the *Times* has been the result. In the case of the two CARLYLES there was simply an identity of name; they were both named THOMAS CARLYLE; but in Mrs. NORTON'S case there has been an obvious *supercherie littéraire*, the obscure lady (or her publishers) trading upon a "colourable pretext." Mrs. ERSKINE NORTON has no claim to the title of Honourable, and even were the claim conceded, a sense of delicacy should have suggested the avoidance of any subterfuge, by printing the name of ERSKINE in full, and not leading the whole public to suppose that the Hon. Mrs. NORTON, the woman of genius, loved by the public, was the authoress of Mrs. ERSKINE NORTON'S novel.

In that queer and enormously fatiguing publication, *Postulates and Data*, which is only relieved from the waste-paper fate by its revelations on the *Ecclesiastical Courts*, there is an article on *Anagrams* (in No. 20), containing some curious specimens of these literary curiosities. Thus, if you print the figures representing the numbers by whom LOUIS NAPOLEON was elected President, and the numbers who opposed him, separated by a line from each other

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and turn the paper to the light, the blank side being towards your eye, and your finger hiding the 000 as it holds the paper, the word *Empereur* will appear; this is even better than *He asserts a true claim*, made from *Charles James Stewart*, or than *Frantic Disturbers* from *Francis Burdett*. The two best anagrams, however, are certainly the *honor est à Nilo* from *Horatio Nelson*; and the reply evolved from PILATE'S question of "What is Truth? *Quid est Veritas?*" The man who stands before you,—*Vir est qui adest!*"

In the last number of the *North British Review* there is a remarkable paper on LAVOISIER, in which, while justice is done to the old Alchemists and metaphysical chemists, a clear and philosophic history of the evolution of chemical science is graphically narrated. In the article on SHAKSPEARE and CORNEILLE there are some good passages, but as a whole, it is extremely unsatisfactory, and the portrait of CORNEILLE is featureless. From this paper we extract a passage needful to be borne in mind by authors and critics:—

"A plea in behalf of 'the interesting' in literature seems to us to be much needed at the present time. We would lay it down as a canon that no book can be good that is not (in its kind, and in relation to those who are intellectually competent to its matter) *interesting*. This might seem a truism, were it not practically denied every day by the timidity of our critical judgments. There are many books which pass as good ones, and are praised as deep, solid, and what not, notwithstanding that they are—nay, in some cases, possibly just because they are, transcendently uninteresting. If the style is dull; if there are no gleams of light, no sallies, no brisk allusions; if the matter does not stand out above the surface in clear shape and relief, but only peeps forth here and there, suggesting something amorphous underneath—then, forsooth, the book is a deep one, and the author is a man of heavy metal! People ought to have courage to resist this fashion, and never praise a book that does not interest them. No one is *entitled* to praise a book that does not interest him. True, on the other hand, one is not entitled to *dispraise* a book simply because it does not interest him. But to the right kind of reader no good book is dull; and the right kind of reader being supposed,—that is, a reader intellectually competent to the intrinsic matter of the book, whatever it is,—then, if a book is dull, it is not a good one. We maintain that this canon will sweep the whole range of interesting books from *Kant* to *Pickwick*, and fail in no one case."

There is also one other article of great ability and learning on the subject of *The Infallibility of the Bible and Recent Theories of Inspiration*, wherein the writer first examines what is styled the "Natural Inspiration Theory,"—i.e., the theory held by PARKER, NEWMAN, GREG, and others of the spiritualist school, that MOSES was inspired in the same sense as CONFUCIUS or SOCRATES, or any other great Thinker may be called inspired. After disposing of this theory more satisfactorily to himself than to us, the writer proceeds to examine the recent theories of orthodox thinkers in Germany, Geneva, and England. Historically, the paper is valuable; critically, we read it with strange, almost sad feelings, as we noted how hopeless argument seems to be when once the mind has crystallized in a peculiar form. Here is a man, distinguished in many ways,

who nevertheless holds the Bible to be the genuine and infallible word of God—and this not as a matter of faith, but of argument:—

"We count it no shame, but a signal felicity and honour, with the evidence which lies before us, to hold up our every-day Bible, beginning with Genesis and ending with Revelation, as the genuine and infallible Word of God. It is a cheap and easy thing to defend this belief, on the ground of mere tradition, and to repel every sceptical questioning of revelation, every insinuation against the integrity of the canon of Scripture, every suspicion of the infallible accuracy of our Biblical records, as in itself profane and blasphemous. Such a homage to the infallibility of the Bible would itself require a personal inspiration to redeem it from presumption and wilful blindness."

He has gone through German and English criticism, and declares that it has not weakened any one point of the old doctrine of Infallibility. Such an instance as this—and there are many like it—ought to absolve every believer from the scorn which unbelief is apt to feel when its intense perception of absurdity is not shared at all! The believers will say, that such cases are strong proofs of the Truth of their creed. They are welcome to the proof. To our minds, it is only a psychological curiosity—a proof of the force of some dominant assumption—a proof of the sarcasm uttered by HOBBS, that the axioms of geometry would be disputed, if men's feelings were wound up with them. In fact, except with the young, argument is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, totally useless. When a man earnestly *believes* in the Bible, he finds no difficulty in "reconciling" anything in it. What to you seems an irresistible argument, passes by him "as the idle wind which he regards not." Let us, as an example, quote a passage from this very article. If God has written a Book for the salvation of man, and that book is, from various causes, internal and external, *not* accepted by Humanity, *not* believed in by millions, ordinary logic would conclude one of two things. First, That the Book must want the primary quality of an educational work—clearness in its propositions, and rigour in its demonstrations; or, Second, That very imperfect means have been devised of securing the reader's attention. These two objections, which are summed up in DIDEROT'S irresistible question, "If God has spoken, why is not the universe convinced?" have no sort of weight with any believer: he is within the inner circle, and "bears a charmed life," for logic reaches him not. If you object to the failure of the Bible in accomplishing its purpose, he, serenely smiling, tells you that very failure is a proof of its Divine origin! It was meant to convince mankind; it has not done so: a human work might have succeeded, but divine works follow not the human course; with divinity, failure is success, and success failure. That we are not exaggerating, you may read in the passage alluded to:—

"The resistance of ages to this book, however, is, after all, its crowning *legitimation*! The Bible is too good for the race it has come to bless! It blesses them like an angel whose mission is peremptory, and it troubles too many waters in its work of healing to be left in peace. It is felt and feared by all the rulers of the darkness of this world."

Among the novelties worthy of recognition, is the new Railway Library started by CHAPMAN and HALL, under the serial title *Reading for Travellers*. The first work is most promising. It is *Old Roads and New Roads*, a charming volume of curious and learned gossip, such as would have rivetted CHARLES LAMB by its fine scholarly tone, and its discursive wealth. If the other volumes are up to this mark, the series will be by far the best of the many which now make Literature the luxury of the poor.

## GÖRGEI'S LIFE AND ACTS IN HUNGARY.

*My Life and Acts in Hungary, in the Years 1848 and 1849.* By Arthur Görgei Boguo. Two vols.

*A Refutation of some of the Principal Misstatements in Görgei's "Life and Acts."* By George Kmety, late General in the Hungarian Army of Independence. Cash (late Gilpin).

HUNGARY, the land in whose behalf Matthew Corvinus displayed the wisdom and the virtues of an Alfred, and Bethlen Gabor performed the acts of a Cromwell; where representative institutions grew and flourished, and local government struck its roots deeply in the soil; where life was held cheap when its price was national liberty, where conscience accepted and sustained the Reformation, and Protestantism withstood the axe and the dungeon; the land which was the bulwark of Europe against the fiery assaults of the children of Mahomet,—which had alternately defied and saved the Austrian crown—defied, when it menaced liberty, and saved when its existence was menaced; this Hungary, whose constitutional laws are nearly as old as our own, was lately traversed from Raab to Orsova by the young Emperor of Austria, who thereby celebrated the triumph of arbitrary power and armed usurpation over constitutional law and national right—England idly looking on. Hungary had resisted encroachments like those of '48 a score of times. The house of Hapsburgh, in its hour of need, had promised obedience to institutions which Hungarian sages had established and Hungarian swords upheld. But the hour of need having passed, the hour of treachery struck, and the house of Hapsburgh ever strove by force or fraud to show that its promises were worthless, and its guarantees a mockery. When Austria was strong she trampled on Hungary; when Austria was weak she implored Hungarian aid; when outraged Hungary menaced the Hapsburgher in his imperial city; the dastardly Hapsburgher hired the alien sword to conquer his too trusting Hungarians. The scenes we saw in 1849—a Russian army aiding an Austrian invasion, were not without parallel in history. With shame be it spoken, and there seems some retribution in the fact, that John Sobieski and his Poles performed, in the seventeenth century, the part which Paskiewicz and his Russians performed in the nineteenth.

But, through all her glories and calamities, her heroic struggles and equally heroic defeats, while we read that Poles and Russians have fought

for Austria, we do not read that Hungary was delivered to Austria by an Hungarian. That was reserved for the year of grace 1849. Szekeli died on the field; Tokolyi and Rakoczy died in exile. It was reserved for Arthur Görgei, Hungarian, to betray his country in working out the most cold-blooded and selfish ambition, and to live in exile, a free prisoner, under the watchful eyes of Austrian mercenaries, with the mark of infamy deeply branded on his brow. If we could imagine the shade of Sobieski looking sadly down upon the consequences of his acts—the late Russian invasion—how grimly and mournfully must the shades of the old patriot heroes of Hungary glance down upon the Life and Acts of Arthur Görgei.

In the spring of 1848, the Hungarian, Arthur Görgei, narrates that he was living a quiet country life on the estate of a female relative, in the North of Hungary, when he was roused and drawn forth by the cry of distress—"The country is in danger," which, from the lips of a patriot Ministry, rang through the land. Emerging from obscurity, the future general was made a captain in the fifth Honvéd battalion; as he had previously served as a lieutenant in the Austrian army. Not destitute of a kind of brute courage, but wholly destitute of a generous faith, Arthur Görgei entered on his duties. Hungary was then struggling to raise an army of defence; her militia and her volunteers crowded to the ranks; but as they were not born soldiers, and had to be made soldiers, Görgei, who must have expected a Cadmean army, grew despondent and savage with his lot. He was quickly transferred from the Honvéds to other services, which, to his credit, he performed with alacrity and success; and had the authorities kept him strictly to works of administration, happy would it have been for Hungary. Fate, and sore need of men, however, ordered it otherwise, and the respectable talents and ferocious courage of Arthur Görgei were employed to organize the Mobile National Guard. He was promoted to the rank of Honvéd major, and stationed in a command, of which Szolnok was the head-quarters. But he was utterly unfitted to the task. He had not the steady patience, the manly firmness and forbearance which creates soldiers out of citizens and ploughboys. In his mind there was a deep stratum of regimental pipeclay; and he never could conquer his contempt for civilians. He wanted regular troops, without the trouble of forming them, and does not appear to have conceived it possible that a national army could be raised from the rustic Magyars. We do not wonder, therefore, that he, with great difficulty, collected scarcely seven hundred men in the course of a month. The Hungarians, like other nations, required to be roused into defending their fatherland: Görgei was only prepared to dragoon them. He does not allude even remotely to the possibility that the people of the circle of Szolnok might have been persuaded by hearty and generous exhortations, such as it would have become a man of superior knowledge to address to men of inferior knowledge. He despised such practices; they were for civilians. Instead, he got an authorization from Louis Batthyani to call courts-martial "to adjudicate upon cases of disobedience, cowardice, and treason, to confirm condemnations to death, and to order their execution;" a mode of recruiting which at least, in a national struggle, has the benefit of novelty. It was while in this command that Major Görgei, according to his own representations, first saved the Counts Zichy from the mob, and afterwards, one, being clearly proved guilty of treason, hung him. It was while Görgei was stationed here, that General Moga, commander of the Hungarian army, and a kindred spirit of Görgei's, fought the Croats at Pakozd, and concluded with them a three days' armistice, by which means the Croats under Jellachich escaped over the frontier.

Perczel now comes on the scene as Görgei's superior officer. That word superior indicates an important psychological peculiarity of Görgei's mind. Arthur Görgei never acted under a superior officer whom he did not depreciate and contemn. There was not one man in Hungary, that man being in rank Görgei's superior, whose reputation he has not attempted to blast. Moritz Perczel was sent after a column of Croats, under Generals Roth and Phillipovich. The troops he commanded were, like those of his inferior, militia. The contempt Görgei had for the patriotic levy, "mostly armed with scythes, and a very few with rusty old muskets, to which 'going off' was almost as rare an occurrence as it was to their scythes," because they would not face artillery, may be gathered from these words. "The militia came, and the militia went, just as it felt inclined. Generally, however, it came when the enemy was far off; when the enemy approached, the militia departed." And yet with these men Perczel followed the Croat column, hampered in his movements by Görgei's disobedience of orders, for which Görgei takes great credit, and captured them, although they were a "well-disciplined corps of from 8000 to 10,000 men." If cowardice, and scythes, and impossible muskets could do this, they played a part in the Hungarian war which they never played in any war before. Görgei's antecedent military employment, and the good account of his own conduct, which he knew well how to lay before the Committee of Defence, gained for him the rank of Honvéd Colonel, on the 8th of October, 1848; the day after the surrender of the Croats at Degh.

Arthur Görgei, like a certain class of rising soldiers and politicians, knew the great force of self-advertisement. Self-praise may be, and is, no recommendation, when *directly* advanced; but self-praise may be, and often is, couched under attacks upon others by persons who are anxious to rise at any cost. Moreover it looks patriotic and careful in a man freely to find fault with everybody to everybody else; carefully keeping self out of sight by words, and obtruding self by facts. This was the Görgei tactic. The following paragraph affords an apt illustration:—

"The degree of firmness, so unusual at that time, which I had shown as president of the court-martial against Count Zichy; the open and decided blame with which I had censured freely, and even in writing, the armistice concluded with Ban Jellachich, immediately after it was agreed upon; the success of the Hungarian arms against Roth's corps, which my friends attributed more to the measures I had taken, singlehanded, against the will of Perczel, than to what had been done in executing his orders;—all this might have directed the attention of the leaders of the Hungarian movement towards me, and made them believe that I was the man who would succeed in giving decision to the wavering operations of Moga's army."

Accordingly Görgei was sent to be a spy in the camp of Moga, who was vehemently suspected of treacherous intents. He was appointed to command the vanguard. There is no necessity here to detail the various manœuvres by which Moga, excited by Kossuth, who had joined the army with a strong reinforcement, and yet hesitating to cross the Laitha to attack Windisch Grätz, led the army to Schwechat on the 30th of September, and met with a terrible defeat. It may not have materially affected the result, but Görgei *again* disobeyed orders at Schwechat. He imputes the loss of the day to the conduct of the troops, who ran away under fire; but he does not tell us whether they were so placed that they must either run away or stand to be shot without fighting, or the chance of fighting, or to maintain any position. The volunteers, led by Guyon, fought well enough. But, in fact, Moga had carelessly placed the army so that it could not fight; and this in an offensive advance ensured destruction or flight. The result was disastrous defeat; and Vienna, which it had been intended to relieve, remained the prey of Windisch Grätz. Görgei, himself, behaved, as he always did on the field of battle, with an utter disregard of death. But he expected too much from the volunteers, over whom had swept the icy chill breath of the treachery of General Moga. Görgei, recommended by himself and Moga, was made General-in-Chief, by Kossuth, after this disastrous battle. Bem now comes on the scene; and has an interview with Görgei:—

"Bem's presence produced a depressing effect upon me. I knew neither whence he came, nor what were his aims. His emerging in Vienna, which has remained inexplicable to me; his doings there, which I knew only by report; and now suddenly the devotedness, just as inexplicable, which he constantly protested for the defence of my country,—these circumstances led me involuntarily to suppose him to be something of a 'knight errant' in a modern revolutionary style of warfare. My country's cause appeared to me to be too sacred, too just, not to make me feel a decided aversion to the companionship in arms of such elements."

Here, for this week, we leave Arthur Görgei, now a General of an army, hailing his own appointment "as a proof that Kossuth had for ever sacrificed, to the welfare of the country, his anti-military enthusiasm;" and in an excess of confidence admitting what Major Görgei had denied, that "the nation had risen unanimously to the conflict;" accepting the chief command because he felt a vocation for it, and modestly expressing a belief that the higher he stood the more likely it seemed to him that his example would inspire his fellow citizens with a strong devotion to the just cause of the fatherland. We leave him also depreciating the rising talent of the army, and despising the civil power. Next week we shall see whither this led the General at present excited by his new dignity, and seemingly proud of his new vocation.

#### WHEWELL ON FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS.

*A Letter to the Author of Prolegomena Logica.* By the Author of the "History and Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences." Privately printed.

We presume that it will be no breach of etiquette to notice this pamphlet, although it seems to have been privately printed. It has been sent to us; and it discusses a topic not personal, but of fundamental importance in philosophy, and it endeavours to extricate Dr. Whewell's favourite doctrine from the "misconceptions" of John Mill, H. L. Mansel, G. H. Lewes, and the *Edinburgh Review*.

We need not remind the student of Philosophy, that the great problem which lies at the very basis of Metaphysics, that which must be settled before the possibility of Metaphysics as a science can be accepted, is expressed in the question,—*have we, or can we have, any Ideas antecedent to or independent of Experience?*

The old doctrine of Innate Ideas has been revived in Germany, and by German disciples in France and England, under the new form of Necessary Truths, or Fundamental Ideas. In England Dr. Whewell is the most celebrated representative of this school, and has done good service by pushing the doctrine to that extremity which renders its fallacy more recognizable.

His position is this: we have ideas which are not only independent of Experience, for no Experience can give them, but are Necessary Truths, the contraries of which are *inconceivable*, and they thus furnish the intellectual capital of all Philosophy; they belong to the spiritual and primal element, and blow to atoms the whole fabric of "Sensational Philosophy."

Against this it has been argued at some length by Mr. Mill and Mr. Lewes, that these Ideas *are* given in Experience, that they are *not* truths necessarily commanding the assent of the mind; that they are truths the contraries of which *are* conceivable and are very often conceived, and that so far from having the *self-evident irresistible* character of *intuitions transcending experience*, they require, in many cases, a very laborious training in the mind that is to understand them.

Dr. Whewell now comes forward with a restatement of his views, modified to meet these objections, which he considers to arise out of a misconception of his doctrine. He gives up the irresistibility, the self-evidence, and the impossibility of conceiving the contrary, but still thinks he retreats into an impregnable threshold:—

"The special and characteristic property of all the Fundamental Ideas is what I have already mentioned, that they are the mental sources of necessary and universal scientific truths. I call them *Ideas*, as being something *not derived from sensation, but governing sensation*, and consequently, giving form to our experience;—*Fundamental*, as being the *foundation of knowledge*, or at least of Science. And the way in which these Ideas become the foundations of Science is, that when they are clearly and distinctly entertained in the mind, they give rise to inevitable convictions or intuitions, which may be expressed as *Axioms*; and these Axioms are the foundations of Sciences respective of each Idea. The Idea of Space, when clearly possessed, gives rise to geometrical Axioms, and is thus the foundation of the Science of Geometry. The Idea of Mechanical Force (a modification of the Idea of Cause), when clearly developed in the mind, gives birth to Axioms which are the foundation of the Science of Mechanics. The Idea of Substance gives rise to the Axiom which is universally accepted—that we cannot, by any process (for instance, by chemical processes) create or destroy matter, but can only combine and separate elements;—and thus gives rise to the Science of Chemistry.

"Now it may be observed, that in giving this account of the foundation of Science,



I lay stress on the condition that the Ideas must be *clearly and distinctly possessed*. The Idea of Space must be quite clear in the mind, or else the Axioms of Geometry will not be seen to be true: there will be no *intuition* of their truth; and for a mind in such a state, there can be no Science of Geometry. A man may have a confused and perplexed, or a vacant and inert state of mind, in which it is not clearly apparent to him, that two straight lines cannot inclose a space. But this is not a frequent case. The Idea of Space is much more commonly clear in the minds of men than the other Ideas on which science depends, as Force, or Substance. It is much more common to find minds in which these latter Ideas are not so clear and distinct as to make the Axioms of Mechanics or of Chemistry self-evident. Indeed the examples of a state of mind in which the Ideas of Force or of Substance are so clear as to be made the basis of science, are comparatively few. They are the examples of minds scientifically cultivated, at least to some extent. Hence, though the Axioms of Mechanics or of Chemistry may be, in their own nature, as evident as those of Geometry, they are not evident to so many persons; nor at so early a period of intellectual or scientific culture. And this being the case, it is not surprising that some persons should doubt whether these Axioms are evident at all;—should think that it is an error to assert that there exist, in such sciences as Mechanics or Chemistry, Fundamental Ideas, fit to be classed with Space, as being, like it, the origin of Axioms.

"In speaking of all the Fundamental Ideas as being alike the source of Axioms when clearly possessed, without dwelling sufficiently upon the amount of mental discipline which is requisite to give the mind this clear possession of most of them; and in not keeping before the reader the different degrees of evidence which, in most minds, the Axioms of different sciences naturally have, I have, as I have said, given occasion to my readers to misunderstand me. I will point out one or two passages which show that this misunderstanding has occurred, and will try to remove it.

"The character of axiomatic truths seen by intuition is, that they are not only seen to be true, but to be necessary;—that the contrary of them is not only false, but inconceivable. But this inconceivableness depends entirely upon the clearness of the Ideas which the axioms involve. So long as those Ideas are vague and indistinct, the contrary of an Axiom may be assented to, though it cannot be distinctly conceived. It may be assented to, not because it is possible, but because we do not see clearly what is possible. To a person who is only beginning to think geometrically, there may appear nothing absurd in the assertion, that two straight lines may inclose a space. And in the same manner, to a person who is only beginning to think of mechanical truths, it may not appear to be absurd, that in mechanical processes, Reaction should be greater or less than Action; and so, again, to a person who has not thought steadily about Substance, it may not appear inconceivable, that by chemical operations we should generate new matter, or destroy matter which already exists.

"Here then we have a difficulty:—the test of axioms is that the contrary of them is inconceivable; and yet persons, till they have in some measure studied the subject, do not see this inconceivableness. Hence our Axioms must be evident only to a small number of thinkers; and seem not to deserve the name of self-evident or necessary truths.

"This difficulty has been strongly urged by Mr. Mill, as supporting his view, that all knowledge of truth is derived from experience. And in order that the opposite doctrine, which I have advocated, may not labour under any disadvantages which really do not belong to it, I must explain, that I do not by any means assert that those truths which I regard as necessary, are all equally evident to common thinkers, or *evident to persons in all stages of intellectual development*. I may even say, that some of those truths which I regard as necessary, and the necessity of which I believe the human mind to be capable of seeing, *by due preparation and thought*, are still such, that this amount of preparation and thought is rare and peculiar; and I will willingly grant, that to attain to and preserve such a clearness and subtlety of mind as this intuition requires, is a task of no ordinary difficulty and labour."

What is all this preparation, and labour, but Experience? A less metaphysical mind would suggest that if these Fundamental Ideas are "intuitions" which cannot be given by Experience, but are above and beyond it, how is all this Experience needed before these Necessary Truths can be seen to be true? Dr. Whewell is ready with his answer:—

"That some steady thought, and even some progress in the construction of Science, is needed in order to see the necessity of the Axioms thus introduced, is true, and is repeatedly asserted and illustrated in the History of the Sciences. The necessity of such Axioms is seen, but it is not seen at first. It becomes clearer and clearer to each person, and clear to one person after another, as the human mind dwells more and more steadily on the several subjects of speculation. *There are scientific truths which are seen by intuition, but this intuition is progressive*. This is the remark which I wish to make in answer to those of my critics who have objected that truths which I have propounded as Axioms, are not evident to all."

That this is no answer at all, but is virtually a concession of the very point in dispute, will be seen by an attentive perusal of the following passage, wherein he brings his new form of the doctrine into greater distinctness:—

"An able writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (No. 193, p. 29) has, in like manner, said, 'Dr. Whewell seems to us to have gone much too far in reducing to necessary truths what assuredly the generality of mankind will not feel to be so.' It is a fact which I do not at all contest, that the *generality of mankind* will not feel the Axioms of Chemistry, or even of Mechanics, to be necessary truths. But I had said, not that the generality of mankind would feel this necessity, but (in a passage just before quoted by the Reviewer) that the mind under certain circumstances attains a point of view from which it can pronounce mechanical (and other) *fundamental truths to be necessary in their nature, though disclosed to us by experience and observation*."

To say that Truths are necessary, but "disclosed through observation and experience," so far from assisting Dr. Whewell's philosophy, amounts to a destruction of it, or to this astounding truism that Necessary Truths are necessarily true!

The question, remember, is this capital one: Can we transcend phenomena and know anything of Noumena? To do so we must have Ideas independent of Experience, because Experience tells us only of phenomena; we must therefore be furnished with a set of Intuitions superior to Experience; not given in it; the property of the Mind. Dr. Whewell, anxious for the existence of that Metaphysical science he so congenially

upholds, declares we have such ideas. He elaborately demonstrates the fact. And his demonstration amounts to this: the mind can, by laborious training, following the efforts of centuries, arrive at these ideas; through observation and experience the ideas will be *disclosed*.

This demonstration does not impress us with a high sense of Dr. Whewell's sagacity. It confounds the necessity of a fact, *i.e.*, its being the fact it is, with the necessity of our knowing it. Because things bear certain *relations* to each other (and these relations, if they are, must be necessary) and because the inquisitive mind can, by patient training, ascertain these relations, he calls the objective necessity of the fact a Necessary truth, and says it is a Fundamental Idea independent of Experience. In other words, he gravely enunciates the proposition that, if a truth is a truth it is a necessary truth. But the question never was: Is the truth *true*, and, when you know it, *known* to be true? but: How does the mind get at that truth?

That the whole is greater than the part, is a truth, a necessary truth, the contrary of which is inconceivable. But why inconceivable? Because as soon as you conceive "a part," you conceive something of which it is a part, *i.e.* the whole. An apple pip bears a *relation of size* to the whole apple; and this relation, being a simple one, is universally perceived, and the perception is an universal, self-evident, irresistible truth; but simple as it is, it is disclosed through experience. "Fire burns," is equally a necessary truth; the greater affinity of sulphur for iron than for lead is a necessary truth; all truths are necessary. The only distinction that can be made is, that some relations from their universality admit of a more universally intelligible expression; but, obvious or obscure, the relation has to be learnt through experience, and *then* expressed in a formula.

In conclusion, let us recal to Dr. Whewell that, indeed, which we are almost ashamed to recal, the simple fact of there being no dispute respecting the mental *existence* of certain general ideas capable of standing as the foundations of axioms, and so forming sciences; the dispute has been, and is, respecting the *genesis* of those ideas—whether they are "disclosed" by experience, or whether they have a source superior to all experience. In this dispute, Dr. Whewell, with strange unconsciousness, concedes all that his adversaries demand; like the French at Waterloo, he quits the field, proclaiming loudly that he has won the victory.

#### A BATCH OF NEW BOOKS.

THE activity of the publishing season somewhat taxes our space. Our table is covered with new books, some of which we must clear off at once, or they will grow old before in due course we can reach them. Therefore, for a week, we postpone the continuation of Butler's *Analogy*, and summarily notice a few volumes to keep the reader *au courant*, reserving to ourselves the right of returning on a more convenient occasion to any of them that may require more lengthened examination.

Dr. Tilt's *Elements of Health, and Principles of Hygiene*, (H. G. Bohn,) for example, is an excellent work on a very important subject, the health of our wives and daughters. It has little novelty, but following Southwood Smith, A. Combe, and others, expresses in plain, popular style, the leading principles requisite to be borne in mind with reference to *female* health at various epochs. It is a book for mothers. Of a somewhat similar character is Dr. Henry Davies's little work, *The Young Wife's Guide during Pregnancy and Childbirth, and in the Management of the Infant*, (H. G. Bohn,) treating of a special section of Dr. Tilt's general subject. Such books are always of great utility when they are themselves free from quackery and ignorance, because they help to destroy the tyrannous ignorance of nurses and mothers who "having reared large families," are invariably formidable with their "experience." Ignorance is at all times bad, but for genuine danger there is nothing like experienced ignorance!

Dr. Whewell's *Astronomy and General Physics* is a reprint of the Bridgewater Treatise, and forms a volume of Mr. Bohn's excellent *Scientific Library*. This is one of the books we must find an opportunity of examining hereafter, for the sake of the subject.

In Dr. Lardner's *Handbook of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy* (Taylor, Walton, and Maberley), the student and the man of business will find an unusually clear, systematic, practical treatise, unencumbered by rhetoric or twaddle, fulfilling every requisite of a handbook. This, the second course, comprises Heat, Magnetism, and Electricity, illustrated with some two hundred diagrams, and rendered useful with various appliances of index, analytical tables, and titles to paragraphs. It is a solid, not a flashy, compilation; it is intended for the *use* of the student, and not by any means to "astonish the Browns." What with its accuracy, its careful tables, its cognisance of the latest discoveries, and its clear arrangement, we can emphatically recommend it as the most serviceable book of the kind we have met with.

Dr. Landsborough's *Popular History of British Zoophytes or Coral-Lines*, (Reeve and Co.,) is a volume we must commend, though at the expense of the author. The numerous coloured illustrations render it a peculiarly attractive and valuable book; and, indeed, some of the text may be commended for its information; but the religious reflections and twaddle dragged in at all times, and the want of any artistic or philosophic power in the arrangement of the materials, makes the book little better than a common-place book with capital illustrations. So interesting a topic might have employed a better pen.

Smith's *Parks and Pleasure Grounds; or Practical Notes on Country Residences, Villas, Public Parks, and Gardens*, (Reeve and Co.,) is a practical work, meant for the country house rather than the study, conveying the views of Gilpin, Price, and others, with some of the results of the author's own experience.

In the republication of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, which Messrs. J. J. Griffin have undertaken (in compact volumes), the *History of Greece, Macedonia, and Syria*, by Dr. Lyall, Dr. Mountain, Dr. Renouard, E. Pococke, Cleland, and Dr. Russell, has been edited by Mr. E. Pococke, who has not only enriched it from his own stores, but has added a variety of pictorial illustrations of sites and coins.

*Punch's Pocket-Book* for 1853 will be welcomed with open arms for

the sake of Leech's inimitable pencil and the really *useful* qualities it has; nor is the letter-press to be left unread, though less amusing than it used to be. Is it really less comical, or have we become more accustomed to the tone? A question.

*The Comic Almanack* (D. Bogue) is this year edited by Robert Brough and illustrated by Cruikshank and Hine, and is rather an improvement on its predecessor. *The Farmer's Almanack and Calendar* disdains any attraction beyond the circle of its solid usefulness.

In George Gilfillan's *Martyrs, Heroes, and Bards of the Scottish Covenant*, (A. Cockshaw,) there is an attempt to narrate the history of the Covenanters in typical lives—a good subject, admitting of both historic and dramatic portraiture. We have not, however, read the volume yet; it is one of those to which we propose returning.

Hugo Reid's *System of Modern Geography* (Oliver and Boyd) seems a clear, well-arranged, school-book; but, as we often say, only teachers can offer an opinion on the merit of such books, and we claim no authority.

While on this subject of tuition and school-books, let us draw particular attention to Chapman and Hall's completion of their truly valuable *Penny Maps*. A handsome quarto volume is before us, bearing the title of *Lowry's Table Atlas*, which is the collected form of these *Penny Maps*, originally published in parts. It was a good idea, considering the indispensable nature of maps, and the great expense attending their formation, to bring the maps to so low a price as a penny each by *printing* them (the coloured copies are printed in colour) instead of engraving them. Something of smoothness and elegance is sacrificed, no doubt, but not much, by this process—a drawback, however, which bears no proportion to the advantage of such unusual cheapness. In this complete *Atlas*, we have one hundred clear and even elegant maps, at the price of fifteen shillings plain, or one guinea coloured. An ample *index*, giving every facility in research, gives, with the indication of the page, the latitude and longitude. On this subject of Maps, we may also notice the *Geographical Projections to accompany Keith Johnson's Atlases* (Blackwood and Sons). It is a set of drawing-boards, on which the maps may be copied in white or coloured chalks—a substitute, in short, for slates, as the drawing can be rubbed off with a sponge when done with. It is not only a great saving in expense—it is also a more captivating method for boys. The present series comprises the World on Mercator's projection, Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, and the British Isles, with a blank page for laying down the meridians and parallels of any map, by advanced students.

In the *Spiritual Library*, of which the first volume—Richer's *Religion of Good Sense*—has appeared, we are somewhat surprised to hear that "the object is to lead Man back to God and the spiritual state from which he has fallen; to prove that communication with the spiritual world, or *clairvoyance*, is as possible and practicable now, as it was when Abraham talked with angels; and that Spiritual Medicine, or Mesmerism, is as potent a means of cure now as when it was practised by our Lord and his Apostles!" We need only announce such an object.

*Uncle Tom's Companions: a Supplement to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, (Edwards and Co.,) is a volume setting forth what the author considers as ample confirmation of Mrs. Stowe's novel in the shape of a narrative of the adventures and persecutions of real negroes, Frederick Douglass, Dr. Pennington, William Wells Brown, the Rev. W. Garnet, Henry Bibb, &c. When are we to hear the last of *Uncle Tom*?

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*Uncle Tom's Cabin*. (Bentley's Standard Novels.) Bentley.  
*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, With a Preface by the Earl of Carlisle. Geo. Routledge.

ANOTHER, and another! "The cry is still they come!" Never in the memory of the oldest inhabitant has a novel created such a furor as this *Iliad of the Blacks*, Mr. Bentley at once places it among the "Standard Novels." An indignant preface introduces his edition. The edition published by Messrs. Routledge is not only a handsome one, but is prefaced by some remarks on the great topic of slavery from the pen of the amiable Lord Carlisle.

Mr. Bentley, it is understood, has given the authoress an immediate interest in the sale of his Standard Edition, in the shape of a percentage on every copy sold. This generous act, with the other examples of the same kind on the part of English publishers, cannot fail to have the best effect on the solution of the copyright question in America.

*The Napoleon Dynasty, or the History of the Bonaparte Family*. An entirely new work. By the Berkeley Men. With twenty-two authentic portraits. John Chapman.

MR. CHAPMAN sent us, the other day, Schœcher's *Crimes du Deux Decembre* wherein Louis Napoleon was certainly not idolized. He now sends us an American importation, which might have emanated from the Elysée had it been better written. It is an elaborate and shameless flattery and justification of Louis Napoleon and the whole family. The "Berkeley Men" already speak of him as Emperor, and regard him as the righteous solution of the political and social problem. They have done well to screen themselves under the anonymous.

*Christmas Books*. By Charles Dickens. Chapman and Hall.

THE stories with which, during five successive winters, Dickens gladdened and saddened hundreds of firesides—the "Carol," the "Chimes," the "Cricket on the Hearth," the "Battle of Life," and the "Haunted Man"—are here gathered into one volume of the *Cheap Edition* of his works, now publishing by Chapman and Hall, and will form a most delightful Christmas Present, as well as a permanent favourite. To announce the fact of their re-publication is all that is necessary.

*Lawson's Merchant's Magazine*.

*British Quarterly Review*.

*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*.

*Colburn's United Service Magazine*.

*Fraser's Magazine*.

*Break House*. Part IX.

*Sponge's Sporting Tour*.

*Home Circle*.

*Public Companies' Monthly Manual*.

*Bentley's Shilling Series—The Brilliant Marriage*. By E. Carlen.

*Bentley's Miscellany*.

*Prospective Review*.

*Retrospective Review*. No. I.

*Biographical Magazine*.

Day.  
Jackson and Walford.  
W. Blackwood and Son.  
Colburn and Co.  
J. W. Parker and Son.  
Bradbury and Evans.  
Bradbury and Evans.  
W. S. Johnson.  
Charles Mitchell.  
Richard Bentley.  
Richard Bentley.  
John Chapman.  
John R. Smith.  
J. Passmore Edwards.

*The Charm*.

*Portrait Gallery*.

*The History of the Battles of Ligny, Quatre Bras, and Waterloo*.

*Papers for the Schoolmaster*. Vol. I.

*Geographical Projections*.

*History of the American Revolution*. By George Bancroft. Vol. II.

*Excursions in Ireland during 1844 and 1850*. By Catherine M. O'Connell.

*A Popular History of British Zoophytes, or Corallines*. By Rev. D. Landsborough.

*Reasons for Legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister*. By Lord Denman.

*The Picture Pleasure-Book*.

*Index to the Penny Maps*.

Addey and Co.

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Richard Bentley.

Richard Bentley.

Reeve and Co.

Hatchard and Son.

Addey and Co.

Chapman and Hall.

## Portfolio.

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

### SHARDS AND PEBBLES.

#### I.

It may be there be natures of such mould,  
That 'mid the haunts wherein your millions fare,  
They would be pure as white-robed angels are,  
And walk, dispensing blessings manifold.  
But he who knows the demons of his thought,  
And, knowing, conquers by the unswerving might  
Gained out of Reason's solemn second-sight,  
(Not without aid by the world's witness wrought,)  
Will pray that none who in his love are shrined  
May fall within such doom. Ponder aright  
The issues of that lot. Hatred of kind,  
And bestial night-black instincts, scaring light,  
Scorn of all sanctities,—these are the fruit  
Evolved in process of the Man made Brute.

#### II.

It is the folly of our thoughtless mood  
To see, when nobles hand-in-hand with boors  
Walk and converse, how men troop out of doors,  
And stare, and speak of noble Brotherhood.  
If thou so think, let no collyrium  
E'er touch thy heavy eyelids. Sleep, nor seek  
To wake in the deep-threatening time to come;  
For then be sure that brother-bond will break,  
And all who now are pastors, guides, and stays,—  
All for whom privilege has cursed the world:  
Escocheon'd nobles, churchly priests, and guides—  
Anointed guides of men, with flag unfurled,  
Will trample on the crew they now embrace,  
He shall be crowned with LIBERTY who rides.

NEWENHAM TRAVERS.

### THE HAUNTED SHORE.

I WALKT at sunset by the lonely waves,  
When Autumn stood about me, gold and brown;  
I watcht the great red Sun, in clouds, go down,  
An orient King, that 'mid his bronzed slaves  
Dies—leaning on his sceptre—with his crown.  
A hollow moaning from innumerable caves,  
In green and glassy darkness sunk below,  
Told of some grand and ancient deed of woe,—  
Of murdered kings that sleep in weltering graves.  
Still thro' the sunshine wavering to and fro,  
With sails all set, the little vessels glide;  
Mild is the Eve and mild the ebbing Tide,  
And yet that hollow moaning will not go,  
Nor the old Fears that with the sea abide.

M.

## The Arts.

### ANNE BLAKE.

LEIBONIUS in his learned, but not altogether lively, treatise *De Cacographia* (Batav. 1643) among other profound truths, says,—“The principal cause of bad writing is in not forming the characters correctly.” (It doesn't look so imposing when printed in English, and in the columns of a newspaper; but if you could see it in the ancient pages of a squab quarto, set forth in large-type Latin!) I am much struck with the truth of the remark whenever a dramatic work comes before me; and now *Anne Blake*, in printed repose, solicits my impartial judgment, I feel more unhesitatingly what I felt on the night of performance, that the poet has not attended to the suggestion of the learned Leibonius (which is strange, considering that he probably never heard of that luminous author)—I feel that he has been guilty of the primary sin, and has *not* formed his characters correctly. Not only so, but he has evidently paid little attention to this matter of character, and has, like almost all his brethren, thought far more of points, situations, and images.

In the original conception of *Anne* herself, Marston certainly had what is called “a good idea of a character.” He set out with that. But the start is not the race, and many a gallant start breaks down before the winning



post. The idea which he sat down to work out seems to have been that of a poor dependant, stung into rebellion by the daily taunts and temper of her relations, made fierce, and proud, and stubborn, by injustice. This passionate and sensitive nature, which leads her into insolence towards her uncle and aunt, will cause her to misunderstand her lover, to break from him and accept another, to suffer and give suffering. There lies real domestic tragedy in that conception; but to evolve the tragedy the poet must attend to truth and forget the stage,—there lies the difficulty! Marston fails, I think, simply because, instead of patiently and skilfully working out his original intention, he has suffered himself to be diverted from it into old conventions—forsaking the real and difficult path for the easy one of routine.

Let me try to make this clear. In the first scene we have the insults to which she is daily subjected as a "poor dependant" indicated with sufficient precision, though with no great art. We are prepared therefore to find her rebellious, and she is so; "her very words are cuffs," even to those who are polite to her—a mistake, at the outset, I think, because it makes her unamiable, petty, shrewish, and almost justifies Mrs. Kean's extremely unpleasant personation. Anne loves Thorold, a strolling artist, and is engaged to be married to him. Llaniston, a rich gentleman, heir to a peerage, is in love with her, and the first act closes with the offer of his hand, made to her uncle, who being in his debt, anxiously jumps at the proposal. The exposition promises well. It shows us the vulgar insolence of the uncle, the languid insolence of the aunt, the fierce rebellion of the dependant, the little love story, and a glimpse of coming perplexities. A good start: now for the race! In the second act, *Lady Toppington*, desirous of weaning Anne from Thorold before mentioning the offer of Llaniston, undertakes to make her break away in a fit of jealousy. Here I note a false step, and one which is doubly fatal: fatal, because it hurries into routine; fatal, because it is a deviation from the original conception. For observe: if Anne is to be made miserable through jealousy, all the previous superstructure is needless; we do not require a nature made fierce by wrong to illustrate jealousy; we do not want an insulted dependant for that. The tragedy of Marston's original conception lay in this character of Anne Blake, and through that character it should have been evolved; that is to say, we ought to see how such temper and such sensitiveness would naturally lead her into sorrow by its misconstructions. And with this idea Marston began the temptation, but as he proceeded, the fatal tendency of that one false step made him falter into conventional stage business; and you may judge how conventional, when I tell you that Thorold wears a portrait of her mother next his heart, is seen to kiss it by Lady Toppington, and by that token is proved (to the satisfaction of Anne) to love another! When will dramatists consent to give up this very improbable portrait business? Every man, woman, and child in the pit feels that Anne must ask her betrothed about that portrait, tax him with it, taunt him with it (Anne, especially, not being restrained in matter of speech), and that the doubt would be cleared up at the first word. But so completely has Marston sacrificed truth to situation, that he actually allows so clumsy a contrivance as that of Thorold's leaving on the table the miniature he has kept concealed in his bosom; he leaves it for the stage necessity of Lady Toppington's getting it into her possession, and showing it to Anne!

This is not tragic passion, it is contrivance. The audience perceives the strings pulling the puppets. The third act prettily enough sets forth the lovers' quarrel. Thorold, ignorant of the portrait discovery, attributes her coquetting with Llaniston to heartless ambition. This is a really good act; the fourth is still better. I do not understand the gratuitous insolence of Anne to the man she is about to marry:—

"You should have heard my wooing  
An hour back. 'Anne, behold me at your feet,'  
I cried,—'You'll give me hope?' what was her answer?  
Straight to the point. She asked my yearly income—  
Net—after all deductions; if indeed  
I were a peer's next heir; would live in London,  
Take her to Court, mix with the world and see  
She matched its proudest—for all which perhaps  
She'd give me a wife's duty. As for love,  
I must omit that trifle."

But I pass on to the scene of remonstrance, wherein Thorold tries to warn her against the step she is about to take. He speaks of her parents:—

"You know already,  
How toil brought sickness, sickness—poverty;  
How—bowed in mind and frame—your father sat  
By his cold hearth, yet from one faithful breast  
Drew warmth and hope. Before him knelt his wife,  
Your mother!"

ANNE.

Well?

THOROLD.

He loved her, as they only  
Can love who suffer, loved her—soul and form.  
Her form was as the crystal to the light,  
Her soul—the light that filled it.—Yet they parted!  
Those twin lives broke, and blent on earth no more!

ANNE.

What parted them?

THOROLD.

Well asked!—What could? Not want,—  
They had quaffed it to the dregs, and in its cup  
Pledged love anew; not exile,—where he stood  
Was home to her; not chains,—her faithful tears  
Had rusted them to free him; not the seas,—  
They had foundered on one plank; not Iceland snows,—  
You had tracked her footfall there! All these, men brave  
For Gold; why, Love had mocked them!

ANNE.

Tell me, then,  
What severed them?

THOROLD.

*They had a child—an infant.*  
Famine was at their threshold. For their child  
Those true hearts quailed. They sought your uncle's aid.  
He offered shelter to the wife and babe,—  
*Denied it to the husband!*

ANNE.

And my father?

THOROLD.

Strained  
Your mother to his breast, till soon their eyes  
Lit on the form that clung for life to hers;  
They saw its wan, pinched cheek, the blight of want  
Creep on their blossom. *They could save it!*—he  
With one long kiss, till their souls met again,  
Embraced his wife, unwound his beggared arms,  
And said—*Wife, go!*—And for her child she went!

ANNE (aside).

I must quit or yield. (*She rises.*)

THOROLD (detaining her).

You were that child—for you  
They wrenched the bent of life,—slid from the raft  
That buoyed their fainting limbs, that you might ride  
The sorrows where they sunk!

ANNE.

Cease!

THOROLD.

Will you pay  
That mighty debt by sin?—a sin that mocks  
The love they worshipped. She, your mother speaks,  
*She pleads, look in her face.*

(*Snatches the miniature from his breast, and places it in her hand.*)

ANNE.

Her face! that portrait  
My mother's face?

THOROLD.

Even so.

ANNE.

My mother, mother!

(*Sinks on her knee, reverently pressing her lips to portrait.*)

(THOROLD gazes on ANNE with deep emotion—then quits the room.)

It was that scene saved the piece; that, and several scattered touches of great beauty and nice feeling; for if in this analysis of the play I am finding little but fault, you must not therefrom conclude that I do not see great merit in it. The tears of the audience during this act, and my own pleasure—though mingled—throughout, were recorded in my notice of the first performance. But with whatever ornaments a man of talent may enrich his work, they cannot remove the central defects they may help to conceal. Therefore, speaking critically of *Anne Blake*, I say it presents no dramatic character consistently evolved, no dramatic story artistically told, no elemental passion vividly portrayed. Where Marston, in his preface, says that in Mrs. Kean's acting his creation lives, and that such an embodiment of an ideal cannot quickly die, he seems to me to explain the whole mystery of his failure.

Before I close this long and severe notice, let me quote that noble eulogy of the obscure, yet influential race:—

"THE MEN WHO THINK!

Whose weapon is the pen, whose realm the mind.  
I mean not laurelled bards; but daily workers,  
Who, like the electric force, unseen pervade  
The sphere they quicken: nameless till they die,  
And leaving no memorial but a world  
Made better by their lives!"

I could quote other quotable passages, but I leave you to find them in the work yourself.

#### JULLIEN'S CONCERTS.

JULLIEN the Mons, the great Napoleon of the realms of Polk, the darling of a promenading public, the best concert giver, and most successful entrepreneur,—Jullien, whose whiskers and whose waistcoats madden ambitious youths, whose poses and graceful gesticulations enchant ingenuous maidens from the country, whose brilliant qualities and real musical merit—a merit amply proved by appreciation and by composition—Jullien, is to quit us for the dollars of the West! he is about to enchant America! and who knows that he may not carry his triumphant progress from the Lane of Drury to the Spice Islands of the Eastern Seas? Who can say where he will stop? He departs from us! *Adieu Veneres Cupidinesque!*

But before he departs he once more opens his hospitable doors. In flying, he leaves behind him a sting of delight—the Parthian! For one month he is to be seen controlling the harmonious tumult of that orchestra, making it discourse divinely of Beethoven, piquantly of polkas, rhetorically and theatrically of Meyerbeer. For one month! On Monday the crush was tremendous; like herrings in a barrel were the multitudinous and perspiring public crammed and jammed, up even unto the ceiling. Besides his own orchestra, there were the attractions of Anna Zerr, of two first-rate violinists, the brothers Mollinbauer, and a beautiful clarionet, M. Wuille. Of the "row," the enthusiasm, the heat, the noise, the glare, and the success of that evening, I have no time to speak. This last annual series will probably be the most brilliant of all.

VIVIAN.

WHAT WE STRUGGLE FOR.—And who does not know how ruthlessly women will tyrannise when they are let to domineer? and who does not know how useless advice is? I could give good counsel to my descendants, but I know they'll follow their own way, for all their grandfather's sermon. A man gets his own experience about women, and will take nobody's hearsay; nor, indeed, is the young fellow worth a fig that would. 'Tis I that am in love with my mistress, not my old grandmother that counsels me; 'tis I that have fixed the value of the thing I would have, and know the price I would pay for it. It may be worthless to you, but 'tis all my life to me. Had Esmond possessed the Great Mogul's crown and all his diamonds, or all the Duke of Marlborough's money, or all the ingots sunk at Vigo, he would have given them all for this woman. A fool he was, if you will; but so is a sovereign a fool, that will give half a principality for a little crystal as big as a pigeon's egg, and called a diamond: so is a wealthy nobleman a fool, that will face danger or death, and spend half his life, and all his tranquillity, caballing for a blue riband: so is a Dutch merchant a fool, that hath been known to pay ten thousand crowns for a tulip. There's some particular prize we all of us value, and that, every man of spirit will venture his life for. With this it may be to achieve a great reputation for learning; with that, to be a man of fashion, and the admiration of the town; with another, to consummate a great work of art or poetry, and go to immortality that way; and with another, for a certain time of his life, the sole object and aim is a woman.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

THE FLY IN THE WEB.—The truth is, that, whether she laughed at him or encouraged him; whether she smiled or was cold and turned her smiles on another; worldly and ambitious, as he knew her to be; hard and careless as she seemed to grow with her court life, and a hundred admirers that came to her and left her; Esmond, do what he would, never could get Beatrix out of his mind; thought of her constantly at home or away: if he read his name in a Gazette, or escaped the shot of a cannon-ball or a greater danger in the campaign, as has happened to him more than once, the instant thought after the honour achieved or the danger avoided was, "What will she say of it?" "Will this distinction or the idea of this peril elate her or touch her, so as to be better inclined towards me?" He could no more help this passionate fidelity of temper than he could help the eyes he saw with—one or the other seemed a part of his nature; and knowing every one of her faults as well as the keenest of her detractors, and the folly of an attachment to such a woman, of which the fruition could never bring him happiness for above a week, there was yet a charm about this Circe from which the poor deluded gentleman could not free himself; and, for a much longer period than Ulysses (another middle-aged officer, who had travelled much, and been in the foreign wars), Esmond felt himself enthralled and besotted by the wiles of this enchantress. Quit her! He could no more quit her, as the Cymon of his story was made to quit his false one, than he could lose his consciousness of yesterday. She had but to raise her finger, and he would come back from ever so far; she had but to say I have discarded such and such an adorer, and the poor infatuated wretch would be sure to come and rôder about her mother's house, willing to be put on the ranks of suitors, though he knew he might be cast off he next week.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE. BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK. (CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	224	223	223	223	223	223
3 per Cent. Red.	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
3 per Cent. Con. Ac.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
3½ per Cent. An.	103½	103½	103½	103½	103½	103½
New 5 per Cents.						
Long Ans., 1860				6 7-16	6 7-16	
India Stock			275	275½		
Ditto Bonds, £1000	84	86	83	83		
Ditto, under £1000			87	87		
Ex. Bills, £1000	73 p	76 p	72 p	75 p		
Ditto, £500			76 p	73 p	75 p	
Ditto, Small			76 p			

#### FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Belgian 5 per Cents.	100½	Russian, 1822	118½
Danish 5 per Cents.	105½	Russian 4½ per Cents.	106½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	65½	Sardinian Bonds	98½
Dutch 3 per Cents.	97½	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	62½
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	101½	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	26½
Portuguese 5 per Cents.	25½	Swedish Loan	par 1½ dis.
Portuguese 6 per Cents.	40	Turkish Loan, 6 per Cent.	1862
Portuguese 7 per Cents.	38		2 pm.

## WATCHES! WATCHES! WATCHES!

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### ALLSOPP'S PALE OR BITTER ALE.

The unanimous opinion of the most eminent scientific and medical men of the day, of BARON LIEBIG, Messrs. GRAHAM, HOFMANN, MUSPRATT, WATSON, BUDD, MARSHALL, HALL, TRAVERS, FERGUSON, ROWE, VIVIAN, HEYGATE, LEMAN, ARNOLD, EVANS, FORMBY, PETRIE, MACROBIE, VOSE, TUFNELL, HUNTER, DAVIES, JONES, SENIOR, MACLAREN, MACAULAY, GRAY, TEEVAN, HILL, HAYWARD, HARRISON, PEPPER, INMAN, Sir CHARLES CLARKE, the SANITARY COMMISSIONER of The Lancet, &c. &c. &c., (many of them after careful analyses, and all of them after long experience,) having been pronounced in favour of the healthful and invigorating qualities, as well as the highly dietetic properties of their Pale and Bitter Ales, Messrs. ALLSOPP & SONS do not feel themselves called upon to go into any further vindication of their justly popular beverage, from the aspersions of malicious and interested parties; but content themselves by announcing that they have commenced supplies from the *Brewing of this Season*.

ALLSOPP'S PALE OR BITTER ALE may be obtained in Casks of 18 Gallons and upwards, from the Brewery, Burton-on-Trent; and from the undermentioned Branch Establishments:—

LONDON, at 61, King William Street, City;  
LIVERPOOL, at Cook Street;  
MANCHESTER, at Ducie Place;  
DUDLEY, at Burnt Tree;  
GLASGOW, at 115, St. Vincent Street;  
DUBLIN, at Ulster Chambers, Dame Street;  
BIRMINGHAM, at Market Hall;

At either of which places a list of respectable parties who supply the Beer in Bottles (and also in casks at the same prices as from the Brewery), may at any time be seen.

#### BARON LIEBIG ON PALE ALES.

MESSRS. ALLSOPP & SONS recommend parties applying to Mr. Miller, of the Jerusalem Coffee House, Cornhill, London, for any information on the above subject, to ask to see a letter from BARON LIEBIG addressed to Mr. BASS, and dated GIESSEN, 23rd AUGUST, 1852. Copies of which letter are already in the possession of all the Brewers at Burton-upon-Trent.

### THE ROYAL EXHIBITION.—A valuable

newly-invented, very small, powerful WAISTCOAT POCKET GLASS, the size of a walnut, to discern minute objects at a distance of from four to five miles, which is found to be invaluable to Yachtsmen, Sportsmen, Gentlemen, and Gamekeepers. Price 30s., sent free.—TELESCOPES. A new and most important invention in Telescopes, possessing such extraordinary powers, that some, 3½ inches, with an extra eye-piece, will show distinctly Jupiter's Moons, Saturn's Ring, and the Double Stars. They supersede every other kind, and are of all sizes, for the waistcoat pocket, Shooting, Military purposes, &c. Opera and Racecourse Glasses, with wonderful powers; a minute object can be clearly seen from ten to twelve miles distant. Invaluable, newly-invented Preserving Spectacles; invisible and all kinds of Acoustic Instruments for relief of extreme Deafness.—Messrs. S. and B. SOLOMONS, Opticians and Aurists, 39, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, opposite the York Hotel.

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As working-men organized for the management and execution of our own business, we appeal with great confidence to our fellow working-men for their hearty support. We ask that support in the plain words of plain men, without the usual shop-keeping tricks and falsehoods. We do so because we know that we offer an opportunity for the exercise of a sound economy, but we make our appeal more particularly because we believe that every honest artisan in supporting us will feel that he is performing a duty to the men of his class, which to overlook or neglect, would be a treason and a disgrace.

We ask for the support of working-men in full assurance that no better value can be given for money than that which we offer, and we desire success through that support, not solely that we may rescue ourselves from the wretchedness and slavery of the shop-system,—but more particularly that our fellow-workers of all trades, encouraged by our example, may, through the profitable results of self-management, place themselves and their children beyond the reach of poverty or crime.

Relying on the good faith of the people, we await patiently the result of this appeal.

The annexed List of Prices will show that in seeking the welfare of the Associates they make no monopoly profits.

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### THE CONSUMERS' PROTECTION SOCIETY.

It is proposed to establish a society for the protection of consumers, to comprehend all those persons who, recognising the principle, may desire to give the sanction of their names and stations to the correction of an acknowledged evil—to form an Executive Committee who would undertake to conduct the necessary correspondence through which it may be acquired, and agencies established in all parts of the kingdom—to invite the formation of local and auxiliary societies, and to assist all who may apply for special information, as a means of guiding them in their transactions. The publication generally to comprehend information regarding the production and supply of the various articles of food, building materials, medicine, clothing, furniture, implements, &c.,—the elements of cost in raising, preparing, and distributing them—the adulterations, frauds and impositions practised, the means of detection, and the channels through which better supplies may be procured at fair rates.

Prospectuses may be had at the following Booksellers in London:—Messrs. Ridgway, 123, Piccadilly; E. and W. Boone, 29, New Bond Street; Pelham Richardson, 23, Cornhill; and J. Whitaker, 41, Pall Mall.

Particulars regarding the Consumers' Protection Society may be had also, either by personal application, or by forwarding four postage stamps, at the Provisional Office of the BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND, Consumers' Protection Agency, Fenchurch Chambers, 159, Fenchurch Street, City.

### BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND. CONSUMERS' PROTECTION AGENCY.

Provisional Office: FENCHURCH CHAMBERS, 159, FENCHURCH STREET, CITY.

#### Objects of the New Business concern:—

To undertake the execution, on behalf of the public, of any orders for any articles of trade;

To secure the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of articles ordered;

To establish and maintain, upon an extensive scale, show-rooms for the exhibition of goods, for sale or otherwise;

To recommend to the clients of the Board the professional men, tradesmen, contractors, working men, and various persons whose services may be required;

To settle accounts and make payments on behalf of the customers or clients, &c. &c. &c.

#### Advantages secured to customers dealing with the Board:—

An easy, safe, inexpensive mode of transmitting their orders; All and every security, that the existing state of civilization, and the concentrated power of capital, labour, machinery, skill and experience can afford, as to the purity, quality, right price, prompt and safe delivery of the articles ordered;

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Simplification of household accounts;

Avoidance of keeping several books and credit accounts with tradesmen;

All articles charged according to a list of fixed prices, debated between the merchants and the Board: all such lists published and forwarded, from time to time.

Reduction of prices, and great saving by the suppression of all the costly experiments that consumers have to bear from their not being acquainted with proper places of supply, and with well-controlled merchants;

Facility for credits applicable to the whole of their consumption, and bearing upon the whole of their income, whatever may be the terms of receiving the said income, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly.

Further particulars to be had by applying to the above address, or by forwarding four postage stamps.

The prospectus of the Consumers' Protection Society may be had also at the above address, by personal application, or by forwarding one postage stamp; the BOARD OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND being established practically to further the views of the Consumers' Protection Society.

### BARON LIEBIG ON PALE ALES.—

If I wished to associate with any individual brewery my remarks on the alleged adulteration of bitter beer with strychnine, it would have been only natural to have mentioned another brewery, in which alone, and not in Mr. Allsopp's, I was engaged in investigating the Burton mode of brewing, and it was also in that brewery, and not in Mr. Allsopp's, that the Bavarian brewers acquired all the instructions they obtained—at Burton. The admiration I expressed of this beverage, in my letter to Mr. Allsopp, is advertised in such a manner as to lead to the inference that my praise was exclusively confined to Mr. Allsopp's beer; this was not the case; my remarks referred to that class of beer.

GiesSEN, July 24, 1852.

N.B. The Baron's original letter is in the hands of Mr. Miller, at the Jerusalem Coffee-house, Cornhill, where it may be seen by any one taking an interest in the matter.

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On Policies for the whole of Life, one half of the Annual Premiums for the first five years may remain on credit, and may either continue as a debt on the Policy, or may be paid off at any time.

CLAIMS paid thirty days after proof of death, and all Policies are Indisputable except in cases of fraud.

INVALID LIVES may be assured at rates proportioned to the increased risk.

The Assurance Fund already invested amounts to £850,000, and the Income exceeds £136,000 per annum.

The Accounts and Balance Sheets are at all times open to the inspection of the Assured, or of any person who may desire to assure.

A copy of the last Report, with a Prospectus and forms of Proposal, can be obtained of any of the Society's agents, or will be forwarded free by addressing a line to

GEO. H. PINCKARD, Resident Secretary.  
99, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London,

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All policies indisputable, unless obtained by fraud.

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Annual Premiums for £100, with whole profits.

Age 20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55
£1 15 8	1 18 0	2 1 6	2 6 10	2 14 9	3 5 9	4 1 7	5 1 11

Annual Premiums, payable for 21 years only, for £100, with whole profits.

Age 20	25	30	35	40	45	50
£2 7 10	2 10 8	2 14 6	2 19 8	3 6 4	3 14 9	4 7 2

A comparison of these premiums with those of any other office will at once show the immediate advantage secured in the Scottish Provident. The premiums payable for 21 years only are nearly the same as many offices require during the whole of life.

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### NEW FEATURE IN LIFE ASSURANCE.

## THE DEPOSIT AND GENERAL Life Assurance Company.

18, NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON.

"E PLURIBUS UNUM."

The public is respectfully invited to examine the principles of the Deposit System of Assurance, which is based upon Tables calculated by, and is under the immediate supervision of Francis G. P. Neison, Esq., F.L.S., the Consulting Actuary to the Company.

Comparative Tables to assure £500 on death, by a person aged 20 next birthday, on the ORDINARY and on the DEPOSIT System of Assurance.

### ON THE ORDINARY SYSTEM.

Age next birthday.	Annual Premium to assure £500.	At the end of thirty years when the party is fifty years old, he will have paid into the office.	His Policy at that age, in case of death will be worth	The sum the ordinary life offices would give him for the surrender or sale of his Policy, after thirty years' payments amounting to £249 7s. 6d., which they have had the benefit of at compound interest.	The sum the ordinary Life Offices would give him if he were unable to pay, or if he omitted to pay his current annual premium of £8 6s. 3d. after he has paid into their coffers £249 7s. 6d., and which they have had the use of at compound interest,† or in the event of his death one hour after such omission or inability to pay.
20	£8 6 3	£249 7 6	£500	Little more than £80, perhaps £90.	NOTHING.

### ON THE DEPOSIT SYSTEM.

Age next birthday.	Annual Premium to assure £500.	At the end of thirty years when the party is fifty years old, he will have paid into the office.	His Policy at that age, in case of death will be worth	The sum the ordinary life offices would give him for the surrender or sale of his Policy, after thirty years' payments amounting to £249 7s. 6d., which they have had the benefit of at compound interest.	The sum the ordinary Life Offices would give him if he were unable to pay, or if he omitted to pay his current annual premium of £8 6s. 3d. after he has paid into their coffers £249 7s. 6d., and which they have had the use of at compound interest,† or in the event of his death one hour after such omission or inability to pay.
20	£7 10	£225	£522 2 7	£287 2 9	If unable to pay, or not desirous of paying, the Policy would still remain of its full value, £522 2s. 7d. till death, if 20 years after, no further payment being required. If however the party from any cause wished to cancel the Policy, he could not only draw out all he has put in, viz., £225, but a certain bonus of £62 2s. 9d. in the bargain, which is more than one-fourth of the whole of his payments, or he could either draw out a part, £20, or £50, diminishing the Policy only by the assured value of the sum so drawn out at the age when withdrawn. See pages 5 and 7 in detailed pamphlet, by F.G.P. Neison, Esq.

\* The rates here selected are those adopted by the English and Cambrian Office, and advertised in its distinctive features as low rates of premium, and professedly for the lower and middling classes. In most offices, particularly the older ones, such as the Scottish Equitable and the Globe, these rates would be much higher. In the former, £10 7s. 6d., with 10 shillings per cent. entrance fee, would be the rate to insure £500 at 20 years of age. In the latter, £8 13s. 4d., to insure the same sum. The higher the rate the more in favour of the deposit system.

† Money laid out at compound interest DOUBLES ITSELF every fourteen years.

On comparison of these two tables, it will be seen that a person under the novel system of deposit assurance can secure the following advantages:—viz., 1st, For a less sum, paid annually, he can assure a larger sum in case of death than under the ordinary system. 2ndly, In the event of a desire to surrender his Policy, he can receive in this Company, by the above example, which applies to all ages, three times as much as on the ordinary system. 3rdly, In the event of inability or omission to pay, his Policy remains still his property, of the same value as it

was, though he cease his current payments for any number of years; whereas on the ordinary system he gets nothing. 4thly, Should he require to increase or decrease the amount of his Policy, he can do so at pleasure. He can, at any time, by giving a fortnight's notice, withdraw any part from £1 up to the whole amount of his previous payments, and with interest. After he has withdrawn part one year, he can, by a single payment, three years, or any time afterwards, raise his Policy to a greater or even its former amount; and by this system he can at all times regulate his annual savings by his annual expenditure, with the facility in the bargain of having a fund to fly to in case of necessity, the same as in a bank, with this palpable advantage, however, that he gets interest for his money, and in case of death his family receive more than the amount of his savings. In ordinary Life Offices he can do no such thing, but his Policy at once lapses or is cancelled the moment he ceases to pay his current premiums, and instead of having any fund to fly to for aid, all his hard-earned savings become forfeited to the Society, and his misfortunes serve to benefit the pockets of his more fortunate co-assurers.

Such a system is too equitable and too striking to be overlooked, and deposit assurance is the only system of assurance which can be universally recognised and adopted when its principles are impartially canvassed, and its palpable benefits become widely diffused. It confers greater advantages than a bank because it allows a fair rate of interest in case of withdrawal, and gives twice the amount in the hands of the Company to the representatives of the Depositor in case of death, thus combining the

### ADVANTAGES OF A BANK WITH THE BENEFITS OF AN ASSURANCE COMPANY.

In cases of endowment assurances the advantages of the deposit system are still more striking.

### Advantages of this Company under the ordinary Life Assurance Branch.

To those who prefer this branch Policies are granted from £20 to £5000 on every known principle thereof.

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Loans from £50 and upwards granted on every kind of security, real or personal, on the most equitable terms to the borrower.

Annuities of every description granted on very favourable terms.

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4. Policies Paid within Fourteen Days after Proof of Death.
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