

The Leader

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

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News of the Week.

PANIC at the inroads of Catholicism, and indignation at the "insolence" of the aggression consummated by the reestablishment of the Papal hierarchy, agitate all England. The loud cries reverberate with ever-encreasing echoes from John o'Groats to Land's End. Meetings are convoked, excited churchwardens wiping devotional perspiration from their bald foreheads, cheer eloquent speakers whenever a reference is made to the "glorious principles of the Reformation," or a sarcasm is flung at the absurdities of Rome. Pulpits become platforms. The "drum ecclesiastic" is beaten with apostolic energy; its very emptiness intensifying the noise. Guy Fawkes rises into a character of immense significance, and no splendour seems too great for such a "demonstration" as the motley pageant—at once an insult and a pastime—of the Fifth of November. Exeter—the Exeter of Philpotts—transcends itself. Alarmed Protestantism sees the lurid glare of Smithfield burnings in its vision of the future, unless this "aggression" be thwarted. Deans, Deacons, and Bishops sound the alarm. Episcopal London delivers a Charge to his diocese, in which he throws the onus upon Tractarian teachings, and the hold over the "practical mind of England," which German Rationalism has taken: so that, by his own showing, it is not the Pope who is to blame so much as the Church itself, which exhibited such internal weakness as to provoke external "aggression": and the only remedy he can propose is, that England should obstinately shut her ears to all arguments and evidences that may tend to impair the orthodox convictions of her Established Church, and, by a firmer adherence to the Thirty-nine Articles, save threatened Protestantism! Nay, so great is the alarm that even her Majesty's Prime Minister, forgetting his usual reserve, steps forward to address the Bishop of Durham on the subject of the "insolent and insidious aggression," and—most characteristically!—he professes in the same breath to feel no real alarm—affecting to believe that we are too strong to fear any outward attacks. If he is not alarmed, why this unusual step? If he really believe that no foreign potentate can fetter a nation which has "so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion," why does he not rely upon free opinion to achieve its own triumph? Lord John also throws the whole blame on the Puseyites, and hopes they will desist from their "insidious course"—but what if their free opinion incline them to that course?

On the other side, the Catholics are exultant. Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, in a striking letter to Lord Shrewsbury, justly stigmatizes the endeavour to raise a no-Popery clamour, and contends that the Pope has simply abolished the office of Vicars Apostolic, and placed the English Catholic Church

under the government of *ordinary Bishops*, contending that it is no more than was done by the Free Kirk Secession in Scotland when it set up Presbyteries in opposition to those of the Establishment. He further declares that the decree of the Pope having gone forth, it will be upheld by every faithful Catholic from the greatest to the least, though Protestant violence should convulse England to the centre. Such being the position of parties we must be prepared for something more than a mere ecclesiastical squabble; it will be a grand struggle such as will set all England in a ferment.

Nor do matters look more peaceable on the Continent. Radowitz has resigned because vacillating Prussia, after all her military bravado, after all her marching and countermarching, now basely leaves her protégées in the lurch. The conference at Warsaw has ended in the triumph of Absolutism. Prussia sacrifices all the principles she professed. The Czar and the Emperor of Austria dictate disgraceful terms, and Radowitz, deserted by his own cabinet, resigns.

The quarrel between Changarnier and the President is patched up, much to the comfort of the friends of "order;" but the haughty and inexplicable general has gained his point, and will not suffer his army to utter cries of *Vive l'Empereur*. Many hoped that the troublesome general would be deprived of his command; but the President did not feel sufficiently powerful to adopt such extreme measures, and accordingly a hollow truce is proclaimed. The President, like the enthusiast in Canning's *Rovers*, exclaimed, "An idea strikes me—let us swear eternal friendship!" and eternal friendship was sworn. While this diplomatic burlesque was being performed, a classical burlesque was got up in the Champ de Mars for the delight of the *badouis*; Madame Poitevin, crowned with roses, and clad in a Grecian tunic, made her *débüt* as Europa, with a "real" bullock for Jupiter, and, seated on his broad back, she ascended in a balloon amid tumultuary applause.

At the dinner given in commemoration of the acquittal of Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall, there was a more than usual display of Democratic enthusiasm. Mr. W. J. Fox making several powerful speeches; Mr. Toulmin Smith insisting with great vigour on his scheme of developing the old Saxon principles of local self-government as opposed to excessive centralization; and Mr. Francis Newman eliciting a storm of applause by saying, in proposing a toast in memory of the Hungarians, that, although no Republican himself, he plainly saw that there was but one solution possible for Italy, Hungary, Germany, and Poland, and that was the Republic. Count Pulszky, in returning thanks, referred to local self-government as the only substitute in Hungary for our free press and trial by jury—a sentiment which produced a "sensation."

There appears to be some dissension in the Chartist body. At the sitting of the John-street Conference, on Sunday, a motion was made for its immediate dissolution, on the ground that Mr. Feargus O'Connor and Mr. Bronterre O'Brien were hostile to the proposed union of Chartists with Socialists, that Mr. Ernest Jones was against it, and that Mr. G. W. M. Reynolds was not openly in favour of it. The reason was, that should the Conference proceed in the endeavour to establish the union it was feared that it would break up the Chartist party. But where is that party now as an active organization? And why, if the antecedent *policy* of Chartism has been imperfect, should not a new policy be initiated?—still keeping the main object, the Charter itself, in the foremost place. An overwhelming majority resolved to lay their programme before the country, and to accept the verdict whether for or against the proposed union. We rejoice in the decision. The Chartist party needs a reorganization of its scattered elements, and the Conference offers the only programme yet put forth, which is not founded on the Chartist "pure and simple" policy, but on the Charter, "and something more."

The system of Bill-swindling disclosed this week suggests reflections on the lamentable consequences of a certain very explicable unwillingness to look difficulties in the face, and the readiness to rush at any issue without much heed of whether the issue may lead. Curious enough, too, it seems at first sight that Clergymen should so frequently be involved in these pecuniary difficulties; and this arises partly from the vague expectation of getting a "rich living" one fine day, but more from the expensive habits and bill-jobbing which their university education, by an almost inevitable process, involves them in; for, thrown among the sons of wealthy men at a time of life when temptation is most formidable, and forced under the severest penalties of *deconsideration* to keep up to the standard of living they see around them, they quit the university not only hampered with debts, but hampered by that far greater evil, the *habit* of improvidence.

The Lord Mayor has been entertaining the Directors of Railway Companies, and the American Ambassador was loudly applauded for saying that railways were the greatest labour-saving machine ever invented. But the eulogists of machinery are wont to overlook the fact that this "labour-saving" is in itself a curse, unless it be accompanied by an equivalent change in the social structure. The progress of material civilization is, undoubtedly, all tending towards the emancipation of labour; but how if we devote all our energies to perfecting machinery, and leave those to starve whose labour thus becomes unnecessary? If men are rendered superfluous at the Mill and the Forge, their hunger and fierce necessities are not made superfluous by the "improvement"; and, unless an equivalent change in our industrial system can be made, so as

to furnish remunerative employment upon the land to those who cannot obtain work in the mill or the factory, a terrible fate will that of industrial England be when the crisis comes from an overstimulated material civilization acting upon the remnants of antique feudalism! Little do the advocates of "improved machinery" and the "industrial energy of the country" imagine how inevitably they are hastening the break-up of that society which they think it profanation to touch with the unsacred hand of criticism!

THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S CHARGE.

The Bishop of London delivered the charge to the clergymen of his diocese in St. Paul's Cathedral, on Saturday. After a long dissertation upon the Gorham controversy, he went on to say that there was no need of any fresh synodical declaration on the subject of baptism. Were any such attempt made he much feared that it would open the door for an endeavour to tamper with the Book of Common Prayer. Already a proposal had been made by certain individuals to expunge the Athanasian Creed, the assertion of baptismal regeneration, and some of the rubrics in the office for the Holy Communion. He adverted to the secessions to Rome which have lately taken place, denied that the Gorham decision furnished any excuse for the step the seceders had taken, and ascribed the movement rather to the doings of the Puseyites in the Established Church. Turning from the superstitious side of public opinion, the bishop warned his hearers against a much more dangerous antagonist of the church—the spirit of free enquiry:—

"While we are looking to the dangers which impend over us in one quarter, let us not close our eyes to those which threaten us from another. A natural principle of antagonism in the human mind makes it probable that some, who fly off from Popery, will traverse the entire diameter of the rational sphere, and be landed on the antipodes of infidelity. I would desire you to consider whether some of those persons who are disgusted with the departures now too common from the soberness and simplicity of our devotional offices, and with the exaggerated notions which are insisted on as to the authority of the priestly office, are not too likely to take refuge, not in Low Church doctrine, as the term is commonly understood, but in the boundless expanse of Latitudinarianism, a sea without a shore, and with no pole-star to guide those who embark on it but the uncertain light of human reason. I cannot but think that we have more to apprehend from the theology of Germany than from that of Rome; from that which defies human reason than from that which seeks to blind or stifle it; from a school which labours to reconcile Christianity with its own philosophy, by stripping the Gospel of all its characteristic features, and reducing it to the level of human systems, than from a church which rejects and condemns even the soundest conclusions of true philosophy when they are at variance with the determinations of its own presumed infallibility. The theology, if it deserves the name, to which I allude, has been grafted upon, or grown out of the idealism of the German philosophers. It has exhibited symptoms of decline in its native soil, but I fear it is beginning to lay hold on the more practical mind of this country, and from it, in my judgment, more danger is to be apprehended, than from the attempt to revive worn-out superstitions, and to shackle the understandings and consciences of men with fetters which were broken and thrown off at the Reformation. Moral evidence, historical testimony, inspiration, miracle, all that is objective in Christianity, is swept away by the writers of this school, its glory defaced, its living waters deprived of all their healing virtues by distillation in the alembic of rationalism.

"Now, I fear that there are many persons who think that they may safely go to a certain length with these bold adventurers in theology without following them into all their extravagant speculations; for instance, that they may deny the inspiration of Holy Scripture, as the Church understands it, without calling in question the evidences—that is, the historical evidences of Christianity; that they may believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and yet cast off what they term a superstitious reverence for the text of the Bible. But I do not believe it to be possible for any one thus to undermine and weaken the authority of the Apostles and Prophets, and so to undermine the foundations of his belief, without impairing the soundness of the superstructure, and diluting his faith in Jesus Christ as his chief corner stone. To deny the inspiration of Scripture is one step towards the rejection of the Gospel as a revelation from God.

"Against this fatal heresy I would earnestly caution my younger brethren, as being one from which, in the present state of the human mind, we have much more to fear than from the encroachments of Popery. Rationalism, as its name implies, referring everything to man's unaided reason as the ultimate test of truth, flatters the pride of his nature, which is revolted by the humbling but consolatory doctrines of the Gospel. Popery offends and disgusts the understanding by inventions opposed alike to common sense and to the plain letter of Holy Scripture. The latter aims at the complete subjugation of the intellect to the authority of the self-constituted Vicar of Christ; the former asserts the supremacy and infallibility of reason. It is manifest that this is the most likely to find favour with a trained and scientific generation, while the former can rest its hope of general acceptance only on the ground of an uninquiring igno-

rance. The true safeguard and preservation from both extremes is to be found in the general diffusion of sound scriptural knowledge, by means of education—in a sedulous inculcation of the doctrines of our Reformed Church, as drawn from the inspired word of God, and in a firm adherence to the Creeds, and Liturgy, and Articles. If these be cast aside, or if, while they are subscribed to in the letter, they are understood and interpreted in a non-natural sense, so as to explain away, on one side, the fundamental truths of Christianity, or, on the other, the distinctive doctrine of Protestantism, we shall soon be afloat in a sea of error, drifting helplessly among the shoals and quicksands of heresy, old and new. The Church will no longer be an ark of safety; its ministry will be a ministry not of peace but of confusion; and what the results will be we may learn from the example of the continental churches, which are now reaping the bitter fruits of their defection from Catholic truth and order, and of their separation of religious from secular education."

In the midst of so many evils there was, however, one subject of congratulation. Within the last ten years no less than fifteen bishops had been sent to distant lands, to preside over the distant branches of the Church. He then said a word or two regarding the establishment of Sisterhoods of Mercy, to which he was favourable, warned the clergy that if the education of the people was ever taken out of their hands, they would have themselves chiefly to blame, recommended them to prepare sermons and bibles for the immense influx of strangers in 1851, and wound up by an exhortation to union and active exertion in all good works.

THE CHURCHES MILITANT.

The following letter has been addressed to the Bishop of Durham by Lord John Russell. It will be seen that the premier seizes the opportunity of giving the Puseyites a bit of his mind. From the tone of the letter it would almost seem as if Ministers intended to take some step in opposition to the Pope:—

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND THE BISHOP OF DURHAM.

My dear Lord,—I agree with you in considering "the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism" as "insolent and insidious," and I therefore feel as indignant as you can do upon the subject.

I not only promoted to the utmost of my power the claims of the Roman Catholics to all civil rights, but I thought it right, and even desirable, that the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholics should be the means of giving instruction to the numerous Irish immigrants in London and elsewhere, who without such help would have been left in heathen ignorance.

This might have been done, however, without any such innovation as that which we have now seen.

It is impossible to confound the recent measures of the Pope with the division of Scotland into dioceses by the Episcopal Church, or the arrangement of districts in England by the Wesleyan Conference.

There is an assumption of power in all the documents which have come from Rome—a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times.

I confess, however, that my alarm is not equal to my indignation.

Even if it shall appear that the ministers and servants of the Pope in this country have not transgressed the law, I feel persuaded that we are strong enough to repel any outward attacks. The liberty of Protestantism has been enjoyed too long in England to allow of any successful attempt to impose a foreign yoke upon our minds and consciences. No foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion, civil, political, and religious.

Upon this subject, then, I will only say that the present state of the law shall be carefully examined, and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumptions of power deliberately considered.

There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign Sovereign.

Clergymen of our own Church, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, "step by step, to the very verge of the precipice." The honour paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the Church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the Liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese.

What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power, compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself?

I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course. But I rely with confidence on the People of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endea-

vours which are now now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul.

I remain, with great respect, &c.,
Downing street, Nov. 4. J. RUSSELL.

A meeting of the clergy of the east-end of London, not subject to archidiaconal jurisdiction, was held on Tuesday afternoon at the rectory, Stepney, in consequence of a requisition addressed to the Reverend R. Lee, rector of Stepney, by a considerable number of the clergy, when it was unanimously resolved:— "That an address be presented to her Most Gracious Majesty, expressive of the feelings of strong indignation with which the recent act of the Bishop of Rome is regarded, as a practical assumption of the royal prerogative of creating dignities within her Majesty's realm,—a virtual excommunication of her Majesty and all her Protestant subjects,—a subtle evasion of the laws,—an implied insult to the Parliament of this realm,—an ignoring of the episcopacy,—and a denial of the validity of the orders of the English Church; and praying her Majesty to take such measures as to her wisdom shall seem good for restraining this Popish insolence, and checking this unwarrantable invasion." Addresses of a similar purport were carried unanimously to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

A large meeting of the clergy and laity of the Church of England was held at the Liverpool Collegiate on Monday evening, the ostensible object of which was to aid the funds of St. Aidan's Theological College, at Birkenhead, and to extend its benefits to the population of Liverpool. The most prominent topic, however, was the recent "usurpation" or aggression on the part of the Church of Rome, and free expression was given to that strong Protestant feeling for which Liverpool has long been notorious. The chief speakers were, the Reverend Rector Campbell, the Marquis of Blandford, the Reverend W. Pollock, and Mr. T. B. Horsfall, all of whom spoke strongly against the aggressive movement on the part of Pius the Ninth and Cardinal Wiseman.

A meeting of the clergymen of Liverpool and the neighbourhood took place at the Savings Bank, on Tuesday afternoon, at which an address to the Bishop of Chester was adopted, protesting against the attempt of the Roman Catholics to take possession of England. The Reverend Hugh McNeile said the Roman Catholics laughed at those who talked of bringing the strong arm of the law to bear upon them. They knew too well that "our statute-book had been gradually denuded of those arch-Papal acts which would have enabled us to grapple with an evil like the present."

In Manchester the annual meeting of the Operative Protestant Association was held on Monday evening, when the Reverend Canon Stowell delivered an oration on the late proceedings of Pope Pius the Ninth. He contended that the promulgation of the bull issued by the Pope was a direct infringement of the law of the land:—

"The act of the 9th and 10th of Victoria, c. 69, repealed certain acts passed in the reign of Glorious Queen Bess to keep the Papacy in check; it also repealed an act of Elizabeth 'against the bringing in and putting in execution of bulls, writings, instruments, and documents, and other superstitious things from the Bishop of Rome,' so far only as the penalties therein mentioned, which were pains and punishments as for high treason (and, therefore, nothing less than death). But what did it leave enacted? Why, these were the words:—'but it is hereby declared that nothing in this enactment contained shall authorize or render it lawful for any person or persons to import, bring in, or put in execution within this realm any such bulls, writings, or instruments, and that in all respects, save as to penalties and punishments, the law shall continue the same as though this enactment had not been made.' (Cheers.) Here was an act made in 1846 which distinctly declared it to be unlawful for any person or persons to bring in or enact any bull or document from the Pope of Rome; and, therefore, they (the meeting) had the law in their favour, and, God helping them, they would compel any Administration to enforce the law of the land. And right glad should he be if, when his so-called 'Eminence,' Dr. Wiseman, landed in England, in his proud and arrogant assumption, he found a couple of policemen to walk him off." (Cheers and laughter.)

He characterized the Tractarian movement as the chief cause of the present deadly thrust at the Protestant Church. The whole of that movement was, from first to last, a movement towards Rome—a Jesuitical attempt to un-Protestantize England. But if the Pope fancied that, because a few raw, unfledged young men of the Oxford school had gone to them, and "because Dr. Pusey was one foundation-stone and Dr. Newman the other foundation-stone of an arch across the gulf, that, therefore, there was a bridge over which all the Church of England was passing to Rome, he was utterly mistaken." There never was a time when the People of England were more prepared to die for Protestantism.

An Anti-Popish memorial to her Majesty was adopted by the meeting.

Meetings of a similar kind have also been held in a number of the metropolitan districts, and in Coventry, Wolverhampton, Ludlow, Hastings, and other towns.

At St. Saviour's church, Southwark, on Tuesday evening, the service appointed for the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot was performed, and every part of that spacious edifice was most densely crowded. The sermon produced a great sensation, and when the congregation arose to leave the church at the close of the sermon, the organ began to play the air of the National Anthem, upon which the congregation suddenly commenced the words, and sung two verses with great enthusiasm. Mr. Curling succeeded in procuring a pause, and remarked that, as some expressions in the remaining verses were not quite befitting the sanctity of the place, they had better substitute the Doxology. The organ then began to play "The old hundredth," and the people sang "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," with great enthusiasm.

A PROTESTANT REVIVAL.

Just at the time when poor old Guy was almost sinking into his grave once more—in spite of Harrison Ainsworth's romance—Dr. Wiseman, in a fit of silly eagerness to outshine his worthy brother, Dr. Blomfield, has produced a revival of the solemn farce which commemorates Gunpowder Plot Day. "The oldest inhabitant" has witnessed no such exhibition of popular feeling on the Fifth of November as that which took place on Tuesday last. From an early hour in the morning the by-streets of the metropolis and its suburbs were rife with the effigies of "Guido Fawkes," while crowds of urchins in all directions called upon her Majesty's liege subjects, in sonorous tones, to

"Remember, remember, the fifth of November!
Gunpowder treason and plot!"

As the day advanced, "Guys of larger growth" presented themselves in the more frequented thoroughfares, attended by numberless idlers, who kept up a running fire of pellets against the Pope and Popery. In some cases an attendant carried a bowl of white-wash and a brush, with which he diligently inscribed the walls and pavement, in rude characters, "No Popery!" "No wafer gods!" "No Catholic humbug!" and similar anti-Romanist expressions. The Guys were received with more than usual welcome by the populace, and the conductors of the several groups found no difficulty in levying a handsome "mail" on the passengers.

The most elaborate exhibition in London was one which issued from the purlieus of Farringdon Market into Fleet-street. It consisted of a group of Guys of colossal magnitude, and had evidently been "got up" by some zealous Protestant regardless of cost. There were altogether fourteen figures (animate and inanimate), presided over by a colossal Guy about sixteen feet in height, who, elevated in his chariot, a van drawn by two horses, was compelled to bow down considerably before he could be made to pass beneath Temple-bar. This pageant included an animate effigy of the new Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, attired in the canonical robes of the Romish Church, and wearing the red broad brimmed hat appertaining to his office. The Cardinal was supported on the right by a waggish fellow habited in the robes of a nun, and upon the left by a jolly fat monk, who leered impudently under his mask at the passers-by. There was also a second figure of a monk looking very lugubriously, and labelled, "St. Guy, the martyr." An animate figure, holding a brush and a pail of whitewash, inscribed, "Holy Water for the Penitent;" a man in barrister's robes, and three or four masks, completed the group. The van bore two large inscriptions—the one, "Cardinal St. Impudence going to take possession of his diocese in Westminster," and the other, "Guy Fox going to be canonized in St. George's-fields," and several smaller ones, such as "No Popery," &c. On its appearance in Fleet-street, this group attracted an immense crowd, who greeted it with loud cheers and laughter. Several police officers were in attendance, and, accompanied the procession to the confines of the City. After passing through Temple-bar the "Cardinal" and the "Guy" were conveyed through the Strand into Covent-garden-market, thence back into the Strand and down Bond-street, returned through Whitehall, over Westminster-bridge to St. George's-fields, where they arrived shortly after four o'clock. Although a great crowd of persons attended the procession throughout the whole route indicated, there was no attempt at disturbance of any kind during the day.

The next most imposing "Guy" perambulating the streets was an equestrian effigy—also of colossal size—which confined its wanderings to the eastern districts of the metropolis, and, like its western rival, was accompanied by a very great crowd of spectators. Other "smaller fry" thronged the streets until a late hour.

About seven o'clock several thousand persons assembled in the Cambridge Heath-road, Bethnal-green, and the various avenues adjoining, for the purpose of witnessing the burning of the effigy of Cardinal Wiseman and the eleven new Catholic Bishops who are to "fill" the various sees into which England has been divided by the Pope. The piece of ground selected was the "Green," which

covers several acres, and which is close to the church of St. John's. It was granted for the purpose by Miss Eastman, the freholder. In this place a pile of several loads of faggots, under which were some tar-barrels, was placed. The effigy of the Cardinal was raised on a stage, properly suspended in the centre of the pile, and three of the bishops were attached to poles at equal distances round his "Holiness." The commencement of the ceremony was announced by the discharge of a rocket, which was followed by a salute of various-coloured lights, blue, red, green, and purple, by which, on a frame, were represented the words, "A Wise Man." The pile was then fired, and from the combustible nature of the materials an immense flame raised itself in the atmosphere, which spread a strong glare over the neighbourhood. The effigy of the Cardinal was first given up to the flames. This was the signal for loud cheers, which were repeated again and again, and which were renewed as each of the other effigies were caught by the flames. A splendid display of fireworks followed, including discharges of maroons, fiery meteors, Albert shells of snakes, tourbillons, a Victoria shell of all colours, &c. The ceremony concluded by letting off two fire-balloons, and a band of music playing the national anthem, which was responded to by the vast concourse, who gave three cheers.

Notwithstanding the precept from the Lord Mayor, cautioning persons from either purchasing, selling, or discharging fireworks in the City, as soon as it became dusk some thousand persons took possession of Tower-hill, and a continuous discharge of fireworks was kept up without intermission for several hours. Some of the displays caused much cheering. One of great splendour, in large Roman capitals, exhibited the words, "The Queen, God bless her, and no Popery;" another, "The speedy downfall of Popery," &c. The display of rockets, Roman candles, squibs, and crackers was most extensive; and when any of the above-named devices were exhibited the applause from the populace gave unmistakable evidences that they were far from being satisfied with the Pope's recent appointments. Whilst the fireworks were being let off, a large figure, representing "his Holiness" on a donkey, was led into the ground. The animal wore a Cardinal's hat, and round its neck was hung a large bill, on which was printed "Wiseman." Several persons, representing "Right Reverend Fathers," walked at the side of the animal. The crowd gave several derisive cheers as the procession passed.

At Bonner's-fields the effigy of the Pope, in his full canonicals, was destroyed in the presence of an immense number of persons, who testified their approbation by hearty cheers, mingled with cries of "Down with the Pope!" and a continuous discharge of fireworks. At the Surrey side of the water similar expressions of public disapprobation were evinced; and, owing to the large number of fireworks discharged, it was apprehended that some mischief might ensue. The firemen of the London Brigade were, therefore, ordered to be in constant readiness, in case their services might be required. We are glad to learn, however, that no accident of any importance happened.

At Richmond the inhabitants embraced the opportunity of showing their disapproval in every conceivable way of the appointment made by the Pope. The discharges of fireworks and the destruction of the Pope's effigy proceeded with great spirit up to a late hour. At Hampton Court, Kingston, Blackheath-park, Guildford, Godalming, and various other places, there were also anti-Popery demonstrations of a similar kind.

The Anti-Papal demonstrations in the provinces have been unusually grand in most of the large towns.

In Exeter it has been for many years the custom to display a large number of brilliant rockets, and afterwards to illuminate the huge Cathedral by means of a huge bonfire; but the recent Papal bull kindled so strong a popular feeling, that a considerable sum of money was easily raised, and a procession with effigies was determined upon. In the course of the day, forty seams of wood were brought into the Cathedral-yard, and piled for the bonfire in the roadway, about equidistant from Broadgate to the western entrance of the ancient edifice. Large placards upon the walls announced that "the induction of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and his gang" would take place in the Cathedral-yard in the evening at nine o'clock. The discharge of rockets began at eight, p.m., and at a quarter past nine the grand procession marched out of the College, where it had been about an hour and a half in forming. It extended more than 150 yards, and was composed of above 200 persons in characteristic dresses. First came about thirty bareheaded friars with torches, and by their light was seen a gridiron, shackles, and thumb-screws, with a placard, "The instruments of Torture." Next came the Inquisitor-General, a gigantic effigy, in sombre habiliments, with a crape mask, symbolical of the office, and by its side two men similarly attired as officers of the Holy Inquisition. The chief object of attraction followed, borne by men; it was a gorgeous effigy of Pope Pius IX. in full Pontifical robes, sitting in a chair of state, and preceded by two censor-bearers; he wore the triple-crown, magnificently ornamented with a profusion of jewels (mock, of course).

The lesser star, Dr. Wiseman, was only divided from the Sovereign Pontiff, by an immense crossier, and his effigy also was dressed in perfect keeping with his rank as Cardinal, the hat, collar, and robes included. Behind him twelve men dressed in white, with a red cross on each of their backs, and head coverings of a combination of mitre and helmet, significant of the Romish Church "militant," followed, each bearing a placard of his title, and although there was no time to read the names, no doubt all the twelve bishoprics were there. Then came placards and banners *ad infinitum*, and the procession was closed by a band of music. As the procession passed round the Cathedral-yard the scenic effect was increased by some beautiful coloured lights, red, green, violet, and purple. Having completed the circuit amid the discharge of rockets, Roman candles, &c., the procession conducted the figures to the bonfire. The Pope and Cardinal having been placed back to back, a light was applied, and the effigies were consumed amid a discharge of rockets and the deafening shouts of the beholders. The cathedral presented a grand appearance, a part of the sacred edifice being brilliantly lit up by the glare of the bonfire, and a portion remaining in sombre shade. The number of persons assembled was not less than 10,000. The windows of the houses were crowded with ladies, and the tower of St. Mary Major's Church was thronged. The sport went on, and the Exeter inauguration of the revival of the Papal hierarchy was kept up until midnight. No accidents or breach of the peace occurred.

At Brighton, on a particularly shaggy Jerusalem pony, rode the impersonation of Cardinal Wiseman in rich scarlet robes and a preposterously large scarlet hat. Then followed five attendant priests "all shaven and shorn," and with masks of a sallow and unwholesome hue, anything but prepossessing. Then came Pio Nono himself in scarlet and white with triple tiara and cross, very golden and glittering, followed by Mazzini in military costume and with a drawn sword. A Life Guardsman headed the procession for the double purpose of announcing its approach by sound of trumpet and taking care that their holinesses were not pelted with penny pieces—as whenever such missiles were aimed, he gallantly threw himself forward as a shield to receive the affront—and pocket it. Lastly, came John Bull—not the fat, jovial, Protestant John of the olden times, not the red-faced, Falstaff-bellied, life-enjoying envy of surrounding nations, but a thin, sallow, inert old man, a priest-ridden, fast-day keeping fetch of his former self, ragged and pitiable withal! And he, "with lingering steps and slow," followed the steps of the ghostly papistic equestrians, as if eager to join them in their progress, but still unwilling to express his eagerness by any overt act. The whole cavalcade was admirably managed, and gathered immense crowds of spectators as it swept along.

THE PATRIOTS OF 1794.

The 56th anniversary commemoration of the acquittal of Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall took place at Radley's Hotel, Bridge-street, on Tuesday. The chair was taken by Mr. W. J. Fox, M.P., who was supported by the following gentlemen:—Mr. J. Toulmin Smith, Mr. F. W. Newman, Count Pulski, Mr. S. Shaen, M.A., Mr. F. Lawrence, Mr. Parry, Mr. Charles Follen, Mr. P. A. Taylor, Mr. W. Stradwicke, &c. The Chairman said that were there no reason for upholding this annual commemoration this would be a valid one, that it was a rallying point for the veteran reformers of the generation that was passing away and the rising reformers of the generation that was starting into life. Their chief objects were to preserve and do homage to the memory of good, true, brave men—men who were worthy of being held in continual remembrance, who were the confessors of liberty, and were ready to be martyrs—and to testify to the worth of the institution to which they owed their escape. But they were especially met to assert that great foundation truth of all politics—the sovereignty of the people. (*Cheers*):—

"By the phrase 'the sovereignty of the people,' they did not mean an unreasonable power to be put forth upon mere impulse, but the primary authority of the people to be exercised through the medium of representation. They meant that sovereignty which had been in partial exercise from the earliest periods. It was to be traced in the passing of the great charter, when principles were laid down which to this day continued to be landmarks of rights and justice; in the early days of the House of Commons, however imperfect might be the system of representation, the redress of grievances was connected with the granting of supplies. It was to be seen in the banishment of one dynasty and the substitution for it of another, involving the principle that monarchs existed for the people with their suzerainty, and that the continuance of their authority was dependent on the people's acquiescence and approbation. (*Cheers*.) They rejoiced in the extension of the means of bringing this principle into practical operation. It was this which gave them a claim to the title of a people. On looking around the world they lamented to see how much the existence of the popular element was denied. In countries where there was only the despot, the serf, and the soldiers, there was not, and it would be vain to talk of the sovereignty of the people; but they believed not in the continuance of this chaos; on the contrary, they believed there would yet be a Germany—(*Cheers*)—one, great and free—they believed there would yet be a Hungarian nation and a Poland—(*Great cheering*)—they believed that the sovereignty of the people was growing, and would become a universal reality. (*Cheers*.) The sovereignty of the people in this country could not, in his opinion, be realized without the universality of the suffrage. (*Hear, hear*.) Towards that end they were advancing. Schemes short of that might be proposed, and for a time might be worthy of adoption and support; but still the inherent

conviction of those who united with, and of those who had now succeeded, the patriots of 1794, was this—that nothing short of universality of the suffrage could satisfy the claims of human nature, or render to man that which was his right. It was with this conviction that he gave what had always been the introductory toast on those occasions, 'The sovereignty of the people.' (Cheers.)

The toast was heartily responded to, as was also that of "Her Majesty Queen Victoria." Before proposing the latter, the Chairman remarked that, if they were met there to discuss their spiritual and not their political condition, it might be difficult to say under whose authority they lived, as they were in the diocese of Cardinal Wiseman as well as in that of Dr. Blomfield. The toast of "Trial by jury, the palladium of British liberty," was proposed by Mr. Toulmin Smith, who strongly condemned the pseudo-liberalism which had raised up in this country a system of centralization, tending to degrade the bodies and minds of the people, and to deprive them of the blessings of self-government. The memory of the twelve men who, in 1794, were acquitted, and proved the inestimable advantage of trial by jury, was drunk with enthusiasm. The Chairman prefaced it with an eloquent speech:—

"Since the great event commemorated on that occasion heaven-born ministers had risen and fallen, thrones had been shaken, wars had been waged and concluded, and still there had been a gathering of true honest men to celebrate the deliverance of fifty-six years back. No one of the twelve men in after life ever stained the memory of that great day of deliverance. No one of them was ever assailed by the breath of vituperation, or did anything to disgrace the cause with which his name had become identified. The course which they all took was a noble one. The sought for nothing but what high political authorities had sanctioned their seeking, and they sought it by means worthy of freemen; and after the trial they returned to their several occupations and pursued them honourably. They always continued consistent to their principles, and several of them, having spent a long life, sank peacefully into their graves amid the blessings of all good men. They were not the notoriously profligate; they were not offenders against the decencies of society; but they were men who approved themselves honest and upright in their dealings; and it could not but strike the youngest minds that there must be something wrong in a system which sought to make them die the death of dogs. These were the men whom the government of the day sought to destroy. And by what means? By imagining or purposely inventing the notion of conspiracy; by employing spies, and by attempting to tamper with the jury. The trials were conducted with rigour. The prisoners were confined in dungeons, and some of them deprived of their papers until it was too late to use them; and upwards of thirty days were passed in endeavours to procure their condemnation. This was the feeling of the ruling classes of this country; this was the feeling of a professedly religious king—(hear, hear)—in reality a narrow-minded bigot, and whose long reign was marked by the shedding of more blood, by the wasting of more treasure, and by the loss of more territory than that of any preceding monarch. This was the policy of church and state. (Hear, hear.) All that was retrograde in mind and heart—all the owls and bats, and birds of night that hate the sunshine—all were alarmed at the principles which were dawning upon the world, and combined to crush those who asserted that God and nature had made men free and equal. How undoubtedly they stood that conflict they learnt from the memoirs of Thelwall. So warrants were prepared, and would have been issued, had a verdict been obtained. But the accused endured the trial, and they had their reward in this affectionate commemoration. (Cheers.) Although in these days the press was free to an extent of which they had no conception; although in these days free trade had taught feudalism that its day was over, and that it had now only to 'die in peace'; although the country, while showing its love of order had shown also its love of freedom and of political progression; although they lived in better days, and in hopes of brighter days yet to come, still, let them not forget those who contributed to this joyous march of events, and had their names inscribed on the page of history, in letters which would never grow dim and be read without emotion. Their spirit survived; it would not die, it would outlast all struggles. There was a spirit of inherent immortality which inspired the bosoms of the men commemorated, and might well strengthen their hearts in this commemoration."

Mr. Parry proposed the memory of Muir, Palmer, and Skirving, and the other Scotch patriots who were convicted and sentenced between 1792 and 1794. There was no value in such a meeting as the present, unless it were remembered that the principles the patriots of 1794 advocated were not yet fully carried out. Universal suffrage and the responsibility of the representative to the country, were the great principles sought to be recognized. If they wanted a thorough financial reform—if they desired that the army and the navy should cease to be the refuge of the cadets of the aristocracy, they must secure a thorough representation of the people. (Cheers.) He had no more sympathy with the Archbishop of Canterbury than with the Archbishop of Westminster: in one sense he had less, for he believed that the former got more pay and did less work; but if they desired that dissenters should not pay to the support of an establishment which could not direct their souls to heaven, if it directed any, they must seek an extension of the suffrage. The great stumbling-block of reformers of all classes was the inadequate representation of the people. The martyrs of Scot-

land died for that principle; Hardy and Tooke were ready to die for it, and yet fifty years later the people were far from having achieved what these patriots aimed at.

Mr. Francis W. Newman proposed the memory of the Hungarians who fell in the maintenance of their liberties, and in vindication of the laws of their country, in an excellent speech to the following effect:—

"The hearty greetings with which the name of Hungary has been received imply that the company is well acquainted with the details of Hungarian right; and, besides the lateness of the hour, forbid me to enlarge. Yet, even a year or two years back, probably very few of us knew much of Hungary. Most truly has a former speaker said that the cause of freedom everywhere is our own. Nevertheless, we are in such a corner of Europe that too often we do not understand the facts of a national struggle until the crisis is past. I remember that, as a boy, I used to fancy that England was the only free nation in Europe, and that the rest had always been under despotism; and I believe this is a popular notion. If this were true—if freedom sprang not out of human nature, with the growth of reverence for moral and political law, but out of English nature—the roots of freedom would not be so deep; it would not be, as it is, strictly natural to man. Such a notion, therefore, if flattering to our vanity, is weakening to our cause. The same may be said of the idea promulgated by some of our ingenious German friends, that only the Teutonic races are capable of freedom. Whether they rightly call the Hungarians a Scythian nation, I leave my learned friend, Mr. Pulski, to discuss. At any rate, the Hungarians teach us that Teutonism is not essential to freedom; for they had (what my toast calls) a system of local self-government which England might do well to imitate: and this it was that upheld their liberties against the usurping attempts of the Austrian Cabinet. I call on you to celebrate the Hungarian patriots because 'they fell in maintenance of their long-inherited liberties, and in vindication of the laws of their country.' Had it been otherwise—had they lived under a system of unrighteous law, and died in the attempt to overthrow it—they might have deserved our sympathy, but they could have no celebration in this place, where we meet to commemorate constitutional struggles. He who rises against the laws, even against the worst laws, treads on narrow confines between high heroism and deep criminality, and we may well hesitate whether to admire or to condemn. But the Hungarian struggle was one for the constitution and for the law, which was treacherously violated by a small knot of Austrian conspirators—not by the Austrian people—not by the Austrian Crown, for the unfortunate Emperor Ferdinand was little above an idiot; but by a few generals and faithless Ministers, who, when they could not make their Emperor as pliant a tool as they wished, deposed him, and set up a youth in his place, who was not King according to the laws of Hungary. The Minister Stadion then put forth his celebrated centralizing constitution, annihilating the old Hungarian Parliaments, and, by a stroke of his pen, pretending to make a new Parliament, in which Italians and Hungarians should sit with Croats, Gallicians, and Austrians. But the Hungarians loved the old laws and the old constitution, to which they and their Kings had sworn, more than the new system which a usurping Minister was imposing, and might next year as easily withdraw. From the time that the designs of Austria were fully manifested, the struggle became a strictly national one; and the victims of it were martyrs, not merely to liberty in the abstract, but to the cause of their country and its hereditary laws. There was no part of its law which they so valued as its local self-government; nor was there any part which the usurping Cabinet of Vienna had more insidiously laboured to undermine. Every quarter of a year the county meetings took place, and generally lasted for six days. In these four weeks they every year discussed public measures; county conferred with county; instructions were issued to their representatives in the Supreme Parliament. They had not on each occasion to get up 'his Majesty's agitation' anew, as among us the Anti-Corn-law League at one time, and the National Education Society at another; but the same organization existed always for all public purposes. And this is what I understand my friend Mr. Toulmin Smith to mean; not that he is averse to Parliamentary Reform, but that no Reform will work rightly unless Local Self Government be more developed among us. Certainly, the example of France shows us that Universal Suffrage, even under Republicanism, does not always and in itself make a people master of its own laws, or improve its administration. Does it not seem, that every body of men, whatever the mode of its constitution, is slow to part with power, and grasps after more? A court of Chancery tries to enlarge its jurisdiction, a Royal Cabinet the range of its proclamations, and a Democratic Parliament the number of its functions. It is far from clear that the Parliament in Paris will ever establish Local Self Government, which would, of course, exceedingly limit its powers. My friend, Mr. Toulmin Smith, wishes to enforce on the meeting, that we are in danger of losing local right while struggling for central power. But, though Hungary has fallen a noble victim to treachery and cruelty, it is not for ever: nay, her fall is not without sad comfort to other nations; for now, Italy and Hungary, Germany and Poland, have all but one interest; and that—I grieve to utter it in a monarchical country—is, Republicanism. I am no Republican; in England I am satisfied with our hereditary constitution: but I cannot disguise from myself, that, through the imbecility or fanaticism of kings and the treachery of ministers, Republicanism has become the only hope of continental nations. The King of Hungary himself or his cabinet, cut all the ties that bound the country to him and his dynasty, and the Hungarian patriots have left their names to consecrate the national, but not the royal cause. Neither time nor my memory

allows me to repeat some of their last noble and touching words; but they died for Duty and for Country, and with the blessing of God."

Count Pulski returned thanks. He said Local Self Government had been the palladium of Hungarian liberty. In England there were three safeguards of liberty—Freedom of the Press, Trial by Jury, and Local Self Government; in Hungary there was only one—namely, Local Self Government. (Cheers.) In the name of the survivors of the late war, and of the prisoners in Asia and Europe, he returned his warmest thanks for the commemoration of their martyrs.

Mr. F. Lawrence proposed the memories of the jury who acquitted Hardy and his associates, and of the counsel who defended them, Erskine and Gibbs.

The company broke up at a late hour, apparently highly pleased with the manner in which the commemoration had passed off. It was stated that the attendance was larger than it had been for some years.

PARLIAMENTARY AND SOCIAL REFORM.

The Council of the National Reform League has addressed the following statement to the members of the body residing in London:—

Brethren,—In the *Northern Star* and *Reynolds's Newspaper* and the *Leader* of last week, you will have seen a resolution of this Council, approving of the withdrawal of our delegates from the Conference sitting at John-street.

As our brethren in the country may, probably, not fully comprehend the motives which dictated our policy in this matter, we hasten to explain them to you, lest any misconception should arise, injurious to ourselves or to others.

We have no complaint to make of the Conference—none of the particular societies represented thereat—none of the delegates themselves.

Our withdrawal from the Conference was simply an act of policy or prudence on our part, to prevent disunion in the Chartist ranks, of which the whole of our society forms an integral part. The great majority of the Chartist body are not Communists, nor Socialists, nor National Reformers, nor Trades' Unionists, nor members of any of the bodies said to be represented at the Conference. They are simply Chartists, that is, men desirous of being represented in the Commons House of Parliament according to the principles declared in the *People's Charter*. To preserve the integrity and unanimity of this body ought, we think, to be a prime consideration with every association represented in the Conference, and with every individual out of it holding Chartist principles. On no account should such integrity and unanimity be, for a moment, endangered by obtruding the views or projects of any particular social or politico-economical sect upon the body, as a reform to be worked out in common with the *Charter*.

We may, in our advocacy of the *Charter*, present such views or projects as natural results or consequences likely to flow from a wise advocacy of universal suffrage; but we cannot enter them upon a programme as essential parts of a national organization for the *Charter*, without estranging from the movement the millions not yet conversant with these views—nor, consequently, without perilling the integrity and unanimity of the Chartist body. Particular societies like our own—or like the Social Reform League, or the Co-operative Trades' Societies—may safely enough, and with, we think, advantage to the cause of progress, propound their particular theories of social and economical science which it is their especial mission to promulgate. They may do so, either as members of their particular societies, or as Chartists looking to universal suffrage as the best means of realizing the reforms they desire. But, seeing how widely these several societies differ as to the particular social and economical changes that ought to take place, and seeing, also, that the vast majority of the unrepresented classes desire to be untrammelled by any particular theory of social rights or of social reform, the Council of the National Reform League sees no possibility of fusing or amalgamating the several societies into one aggregate, one at the expense of extinguishing the rest, nor of uniting them upon any common basis of action, other than the principle upon which they are already avowedly in accord, viz.:—The principle of universal suffrage, with the necessary guarantees for its full, fair, and free exercise, as laid down in the *People's Charter*.

In favour of a union of this kind, the London members of the National Reform League are, to a man, agreed. We desire to see the National Charter Association limit its programme to this single cardinal point. As Chartists we shall give it our best support towards this end.

We desire to see every other popular society (whatever its particular social or economical creed) to concur with us in making common cause with the National Charter Association for its attainment, without calling upon them to abandon their own special objects or missions. By this means we may have a real union of all the societies in one great body for the attainment of one common ob-

ject upon which all are agreed, viz., *self government through universal suffrage*; while at the same time their consciences, intellects, and energies are left free to develop their own particular views in their own circles or upon the public platform, open to all sets of reformers alike, while advocating the People's Charter.

In sending delegates to the Conference we had hoped that a union of this sort might be the result of its deliberations; in this hope we have been disappointed; the Conference has thought fit to mix up other reforms of an economical or social character with the organic reform demanded in the Charter.

Such a course, if persevered in, must, we fear, endanger the integrity and unanimity of the Chartist body, indeed it has already done so, if we are to judge by the published reports of various public meetings in town and country, as well as by the correspondence it has provoked in the Democratic papers.

The National Reform League will be no party to such dissensions, while as a league it will hold fast to its programme till the public mind has been sufficiently matured to appreciate the social rights it demands, it will at the same time uphold the integrity of the Chartist body by all the means in its power. To this end it will eschew the dangerous policy of sanctioning the obtrusion of its own, or any particular creed of social reform, upon the Chartist body, as part and parcel of a national programme, while it will not the less zealously promulgate its political and social views amongst all sects and classes of the public. In other words, it will, as a league, do all in its power to promote the plan of national reform (based upon social rights) which it has promulgated, but as a component part of the great Chartist community, it will steadily refuse its sanction to any and all measures which might fetter the free action of that community, or endanger its integrity through the mixing up of other questions with that for which alone the millions demand a national organization, viz., the attainment of the People's Charter.

Signed in behalf of the Council of the National Reform League,
J. B. O'BRIEN, President.

P. W. McNEILL, Secretary.

THE INTERVENTION IN HESSE.

Advices from Cassel and Frankfort of the 4th instant state that the number of Prussian troops now quartered on the city of Cassel amounts to 2500, and that another force of 3000 men was hourly expected. A detachment of 1600 troops, Hussars, Foot, Rifles, and Artillery, occupied Fulda on the 2nd instant; and another force, under the command of General Von Katte, proceeded immediately from Fulda to Neuhoft, near Schlüchtern. Quarters had been commanded both at Fulda and Neuhoft for the Bavarian troops, but the Prussian battalions, which arrived earlier, occupied these towns and the positions which they command. The Prussian troops at Fulda muster 4000. At Hanau the Civic Guard has been effectually disarmed by the Bavarian and Austrian troops.

A Prussian Corps of Observation is concentrating on the Nassau territory, in the immediate vicinity of Frankfort. This corps consists of three battalions of the 28th Regiment, of two squadrons of the 6th Lancers, and of one battery. Other Prussian troops are concentrating at Kreuznach. The Prussian and Bavarian outposts are at a very short distance from each other, near Fließern and Neuhoft. It is stated that General Von der Groben has declared that he thinks only of occupying the Etappe roads, and that he would not attack the Bavarians and Austrians, unless they were to endeavour to push him out of his positions. Nothing of the kind is likely to be attempted, for both the Prussian and Bavarian commanders have received orders from their respective Governments to stay all proceedings, and not to advance.

AUSTRIA AND SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.

The triumph of Austria in German affairs seems now to be complete. On Sunday an Austrian officer arrived at Kiel with federal despatches, ordering the immediate cessation of hostilities, and threatening, in case of non-compliance, that the execution of the orders shall be insured through the instrumentality of federal troops. The duchies are now expressly forbidden to prolong the war. Austria and the Diet threaten them with penal consequences in case of refusal. Letters from Hamburg say it was expected that the Regency would return a fitting answer to this usurpation. The Government had met immediately upon receipt of the message, but nothing was known of the result. General Hahn was on his way from Berlin to Kiel, provided with new instructions to the Statthalterchaft as the Austrian arrived.

Meantime, we are told, there is no lack of preparation on the part of the duchies. Four dépôt companies of recruits were expected at Altona, quarters had already been prepared for their accommodation. It is stated that a number of powder-magazines have been established between Rendsburg and Altona. M. Boltog, a former Austrian officer, has just entered the Schleswig-Holstein army. The general staff has just been strengthened by the addition of a non-

German officer of the highest military talents; he will not, however, wear the uniform of this army, nor occupy a prominent exterior position.

ANOTHER FRENCH CRISIS.

For the last few days the French people have been in a rather more serious crisis than at any period since the last disturbances. The dispute between General Changarnier and the Government seemed in a fair way of being brought to an explosion by the following order of the day, addressed to the army, which was issued on Saturday:—

“Paris, Nov. 2, 1850.

“According to the terms of the law, the army cannot deliberate; according to the terms of military regulations, it ought to abstain from all demonstration, and not utter any cry under arms. The General-in-Chief recalls these dispositions to the troops placed under his command.”

This official notification to the troops, without any intimation having been given to the Minister of War of such an intention on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, produced a great sensation at the Elysée and throughout Paris. A new conflict between the Government and General Changarnier appeared imminent. All kinds of alarming reports soon obtained a widely-spread circulation, and nothing short of General Changarnier's immediate dismissal was expected. The Government, however, did not think proper to take any such decided step. Changarnier has had an interview with the President, and, to all outward appearance, the two men are on the most friendly terms with each other. Paris journals regard the affair as damaging to the Napoleonists. The *Opinion Publique*, after drawing attention to the fact that neither the *Moniteur du Soir* nor the *Patrie*, though avowed supporters of the Elysée, have published the order of the day, declares that the advantage in the late struggle at present remains with General Changarnier, this last act of his having, it says, brought about the triumph of discipline and of the law. The *National* also assigns the advantage to the general, affirming that he has now struck a master blow, and that by it he holds the Elysée in check. “The triumph of General Changarnier,” it says, “is complete. He replies to an affront by a provocation and a bravado; and he has the immense advantage of having right on his side.” The whole squabble appears to be a very contemptible affair, but in France a small thing often leads to great results.

AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA.

The latest news from Berlin announces the resignation of M. de Radowitz, in consequence of the retrograde policy of the Government. Two other Cabinet resignations, M. de Ladenburg and M. de Heydt, have been tendered, but only that of the latter has been accepted. The Liberal papers speak in the most melancholy terms of the humiliating position in which Prussia is placed by its truckling to Austria. A letter from Berlin of the 3rd instant, in the *Cologne Gazette* says, that one important point has been well established:—

“M. Radowitz shrinks from the consequences which Austria is drawing from the Warsaw conferences, as well as from the material fact which the occupation of Hesse revealed earlier than had been expected, namely, that Austria was ready to fight. The results of the Warsaw conferences are becoming clearer. According to the Prussian proposals in the definitive organ of the confederation, the legislative and executive powers were to be divided. The executive to be exercised by the two powers only, the presidency to alternate. Austria should enter with all its provinces into the Bund. The eleventh article of the Congress Act was to be interpreted as reserving the right of Prussia to retain and increase its alliances within the confederation. No Parliament should exist by the side of the federal organ. Upon these bases the free conferences were to open. Thus six points were proposed by the Berlin cabinet. In Warsaw, Austria showed herself inclined to concede the greater number of these proposals; she only reserved the questions of the presidency and the dualism of the executive. On this last point the allies of Austria must first be consulted. Austria appeared inclined to enter into the free conferences, but required that they should exist by the side of the Diet, and that the plenipotentiaries there should have the undisputed right of calling for the assistance of the Diet. The Parliament and constitution of the union were to be given up. Yesterday despatches were received, in which these demands were plainly and formally set out. Austria intimated that she was in real earnest. At the same time the entrance of the Bavarians into Hesse was announced as the execution of the treaty of Bregenz. Austrian declarations were made on the subject also. No affront to Prussia was intended; the Bavarians would leave the land immediately upon the restoration of the sovereign authority, and Prussia might occupy the military roads. Upon this Radowitz proposed the mobilization of the army; he would negotiate supported by the army, in order to give effect to the Prussian representations. The result is known.”

THE MAYOR AND THE RAILWAY COMPANIES.

The Lord Mayor gave a sumptuous entertainment, on Wednesday evening, in the Egyptian-hall, to the Directors of the London and North-Western, the South-Eastern, the Midland, and the York and

North Midland Railway Companies, and to the principal officers of the different companies, as well as to several distinguished visitors. Among other guests of note was the American Ambassador, Mr. Abbott Lawrence. In reply to the toast of “The Foreign Ministers,” he said:—

“He looked upon railways as among the great civilizers of man. (*Hear, hear.*) He was said to be a public benefactor who caused two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before. Those gentlemen were surely benefactors of their country who had brought their countrymen together, making travelling by public conveyance so cheap that the poorest man could not afford to walk. (*Laughter and cheers.*) He looked upon railways as the greatest labour-saving machine ever invented—(*hear, hear.*)—but he considered that we were only commencing the application of steam, either to land travelling or navigation. (*Hear.*) He felt delighted in meeting the railway kings of England; or as that phrase was not popular—(*a laugh.*)—railway managers—(*hear, hear.*)—gentlemen dealing with a capital amounting, perhaps, to one-third of the national debt of England—gentlemen who might almost be said to have the destinies of the nation in their hands. (*Cheers.*)”

Several of the speakers referred to the Industrial Exhibition of 1851. Mr. Lawrence said he believed it would be of the greatest benefit to this country and to the world. As to fears for this country, “it was too late in the day to talk of the energetic, broad-shouldered Anglo-Saxon being driven out of the markets of the world.” Mr. Paxton, in reply to the toast,—“Prosperity to the Industrial Exhibition,” with which his name was coupled, made a few remarks on the Crystal Palace:—

“The building was considered a great novelty, but it was no experiment; there was no feature in it that had not been carried out by him at Chatsworth and other places. (*Hear, hear.*) He felt perfectly certain as to the result. (*Hear.*) He claimed no merit; he had only done what every Englishman ought to do in such circumstances; he saw a difficulty arising, and, believing he could render efficient aid, he came forward to assist—(*hear, hear.*)—and, as far as his humble ability went, he should be happy to give it to the end of the chapter. (*Hear, hear.*) He believed the exhibition would tend more to the benefit of mankind than any circumstance that had ever occurred in the history of the country, or, perhaps, of the world. (*Hear, hear.*) It would do the utmost honour to this country. Our friends across the Atlantic, who had become a great tree, returning to the mother country in shoals, would find it still a stouthearted oak, sending forth vigorous branches, and sheltering a happy people, contented with their institutions. (*Hear, hear.*) If the Exhibition did nothing else, he hoped that it would cement various nations together—(*hear.*)—and that our visitors would return home to declare to their friends and neighbours the warmhearted reception they had met with from all classes of Englishmen. (*Cheers.*)”

COOPERATION VERSUS COMPETITION.

A public meeting of the working classes was held, on Tuesday, at the Literary Institution, John-street, Tottenham-court-road, to consider the plan of coöperative stores, as a means of assisting the establishment of working men's associations. The first resolution was moved by Mr. Henry Mayhew in the following terms:—

“That the resources of Great Britain, in wealth and industry, are sufficient to secure the constant employment and comfortable maintenance of its population; that nevertheless the condition of the labourer is insecure and miserable, those in employment receiving inadequate wages, while those unemployed suffer the extreme of wretchedness; that this state of things is caused by a misapprehension of the economical law of ‘demand and supply,’ which, as it is now understood, means the lawless and inhuman competition of the fraudulent and strong against the honest and weak; and that the best remedy for this is an equitable arbitration or mediation between demand and supply by the means of coöperation among the people.”

He spoke strongly against the doctrine that wages were to be regulated by demand and supply, and also against free trade:—

“If men would hold together and persevere in endeavouring to mend their position, they would ultimately beat down the doctrines of the Free-traders, who were the greatest enemies of the working classes. He belonged to no party, but he contended that the doctrines of supply and demand, which were called the rights of labour, were the wrongs of labour. Low-priced food would be a blessing to the working classes if the price of labour was fixed, but if labour was to be governed by the price of food, it must result in the misery and distress of the working classes. The agriculturists who used to be engaged throughout the year were now only employed during the harvest, and had to walk about the country the rest of year, and so it was with hop-pickers and others. With carpenters and other workmen there was a system of fines and other charges which reduced the nominal wages to the lowest amount a man could subsist upon. He saw no cure for this state of things but combination through trade societies. He knew that £5,000,000 a-year was now distributed among the unemployed by the trade societies, and he called upon the working men to hold together to protect the fair tradesman, and be determined to have their own rights.”

Mr. Field seconded the resolution, and contended that the principle of coöperation by which one man was to exchange his labour for the products of the

labour of others was the only one which could raise working men to their proper condition.

Mr. Walter Cooper supported the resolution; and contended that if the land of England were in the hands of the people, it would support three times the population of the country. He knew that Cobden and Bright were always telling them that trade was good, and so it was comparatively; they said that the people were well employed, but they kept out of sight the misery that had been inflicted upon the working classes by the reduction of wages through the employment of machinery, and women and children. He advocated labour associations, believing them to be most powerful for raising the position of the people, though he was aware they would have many failures, but every failure would give them experience and greater power to make them ultimately successful.

Mr. Lloyd Jones proposed that coöperative stores being calculated, this equitable arbitration between the consumers and producers, receiving orders and distributing goods, with a view to the interests of both parties, deserves the support of all who desire to put an end to these reckless and fraudulent trading practices, through which so many suffer so deeply. The speaker contended, at considerable length, that, through the means of coöperative societies, the workmen would not only get the usual prices of their labour, but also the profits which at present went into the hands of the capitalist and middleman.

THE BILL-SWINDLERS.

Among the numberless fraudulent modes of obtaining a living which have become common of late years the bill-swindling system is probably the most extensive. The ordinary plan of hooking a victim is very simple. An advertisement appears in the *Times*, which holds out a prospect of immediate relief to all who are in debt or pecuniary difficulty of any kind. All they have to do is merely to give sufficient security, and they are promised as much money as they require. From a case which came before the Court of Common Pleas on Monday, for a rule nisi in the matter of Sibury v. Wilkins, the rule being to show cause why an order made to stay proceedings in the action by Mr. Justice Coleridge should not be set aside, we learn a few particulars of the way in which the bill-swindlers go to work.

In the present case it appears that, in April, 1849, the Reverend Thomas Hodson Wilkins, of Ringstead-house, Northamptonshire, received a printed circular from a person who gave his address as "Alpha, 57, Burton-street, Tavistock-square," and professed his readiness to lend money on security or negotiate bills of exchange. Having at the time some occasion for a loan, he addressed a letter to Alpha, and received in return a communication signed "J. Gardiner," but which he had afterwards reason to believe was in the handwriting of the Mr. Sibury above alluded to. After some correspondence it was agreed that Mr. Wilkins should accept a bill of exchange for £150 at three months, receiving, however, only half that sum himself, and being made liable, of course, for that half alone. Accordingly, he accepted a bill in blank for £150, which was dated the 27th of September, 1849, and forwarded the acceptance to Gardiner. Having waited some days in vain for a remittance, Mr. Wilkins despatched successively two letters, stating his uneasiness. In the reply which he at length received, the person writing in the name of Gardiner informed him as follows: "You agreed to my proposition of jointly borrowing £150, to be divided between us. I am endeavouring to obtain this loan, and shall certainly not relinquish the project until I fail, unless very handsomely paid for it." Between the date of this reply, viz., October 5th, and the 14th of December, a variety of letters were interchanged, and on the latter day J. Gardiner wrote to the effect that he had procured £70 on the bill, which he had applied as his own share of the loan to pay another bill; he added that the "scoundrel" who advanced that money demanded it back again the day after it was received, with an additional £5; that, being himself only able to raise £25, he must look to Mr. Wilkins for £50. In another letter he stated that the money must be forthcoming on the 29th, when the bill became due, or writs would be out against all parties. Subsequently he forwarded a worthless promissory note of his own for £50, to be negotiated by Mr. Wilkins, and the proceeds applied for the purpose above alleged. By the payment of a small sum it was pretended that the action on the bill was deferred; but at length, on the 9th of February, he intimated that the "fix must come," and on the 14th he wrote to say that the writs were out, and recommended that Mr. William Smith, of 16, Wilmington-square, should be appointed to accept service for Mr. Wilkins, and prevent the opposing attorney sending into the country. The writ of summons was issued on the 15th, in the name of Samuel Sibury, by Thomas Pittman, attorney, of No. 18, Charlotte-street, Portland-place, no application having been made to Mr. Wilkins for payment of his acceptance, either by Pittman or any other solicitor. Smith had been

empowered by the defendant to act on his behalf, as Gardiner suggested, and he conducted the case. On the 6th of April a letter from him was received by Mr. Wilkins, informing him that an arrangement had been effected, by which he (Mr. Wilkins) should pay a moiety of the plaintiff's costs, amounting to £6, and also the sum of £75 by monthly instalments. A judge's order to this effect had been procured from Mr. Justice Coleridge. It is with respect to this order, by which proceedings were stayed, that the rule nisi was moved for on Tuesday, the defendant having become convinced that Gardiner, Pittman, and Sibury had been acting in concert with a view to defraud him of his acceptance.

From the affidavits put in it appeared that these persons had been carrying on a number of similar transactions; that there were at least eight in the gang, and that they had succeeded in victimizing clergymen and gentlemen to an incredible amount. In the summer of 1849 they addressed circulars to various residents in the country, and also published advertisements in the *Times* and in some country papers, in which they offered to advance money by way of loan; the addresses given being in one case that of Thomas Pittman, in another that of James Gardiner, and in another that of Samuel Sibury. Nine gentlemen, of whom seven were clergymen, entered into communication with the reputed lenders, and gave promissory notes in blank for various sums to one or other of these parties—one giving five such acceptances, each for £1000. Of the nine two received some very trifling advances, and the remaining seven got no value or consideration whatever. Five of the number had writs issued against them, on their acceptances becoming due, at the suit either of the three above-mentioned or of one of their confederates. One very remarkable case was that of Augustus Long Phillips, late of Christ's College, Cambridge, who figures as the victim. This gentleman had the misfortune, not uncommon with university men, to leave behind him at the seat of learning some outstanding claims. In order to liquidate these he proposed to himself to raise a sum of money on some reversionary property, and put himself in communication with Pittman. Having waited some time in vain for a loan on the securities offered, he took a journey to London to accelerate the movements of his agent. Pittman then persuaded him to accept a bill drawn by himself for £225, and introduced to him a person named William Morton as prepared to discount it. Morton said he could not do it at the time, as he had already discounted that morning a bill for £500, but that he would get a friend to do it. Hereupon Pittman made over the acceptance to Morton, which, however, was never discounted, and which Mr. Phillips had great difficulty in recovering. Pittman now offered again to get it discounted at fifteen per cent., provided a picture of Domenichino's was taken as equivalent to £60. Having refused this offer, Mr. Phillips was next induced by Morton to accept bills for £400, for which he got no consideration. One of these bills, which was an acceptance for £200, found its way into the possession of William Langdon, a saddler in Duke-street, Manchester-square, to whose house Morton had removed. Mr. Phillips paid this man £70 on account of the note in question; and, having been sued, at the instance of Thomas Foulkes, on another £100 note, he compromised that action by paying £50 through Pittman, of which Pittman himself kept half. He paid to Pittman for his services—of which the chief was procuring a loan of £700 from an insurance society—£102; and, being told that the charge might have been much higher, further presented him with a ring. He also discounted, at Pittman's request, a bill of exchange, produced by Gardiner, and accepted by another of the nine, a clergyman near Lewes; as no consideration had been given for the bill it was practically valueless to him.

Among the other links in this case by which the connection of the various parties was proved, one was furnished by the affidavit of an attorney employed by Samuel Sibury on occasion of his bankruptcy, who deposed that the letters signed "J. Gardiner," and addressed to Mr. Wilkins, were in the handwriting of Sibury. A second was furnished by the advertising pages of the *Times*. The acceptor of the five promissory notes for £5000 advertised in that paper to caution any person against dealing in those securities, fraudulently obtained by J. Gardiner. At a later date an advertisement was inserted, disclaiming all connection with the case in question, by a person signing himself "J. Gardiner, Ballymena, County Antrim." Subsequently, a letter was addressed to the proprietors of the *Times*, requesting a second insertion of this advertisement, which on the ground of its fraudulent character they refused. The manuscript of the advertisement so rejected proves to be in the handwriting of a law-writer named Willis, who had been employed by Fagg, the clerk of Pittman, to write it. It also appears that Pittman and Morton were in the habit of meeting at the house of Langdon, in whose name one of the suits was brought; and that Lewis, in whose name another was entered, was a connection of and resident with Smith, being like him an attorney.

We are glad to see that the rule nisi has been

granted in two cases out of these transactions, so that the whole affair will now be probed to the bottom. The exposure will doubtless have the effect of teaching persons who feel inclined to raise money by discount or loan, that security is much better than secrecy, and that they had much better rely on agents whose character they know than on the ambiguous services proffered by such persons as the present trial has brought before the public.

THE BURGLARIES OF THE WEEK.

The four prisoners, John Mitchell, William Dyson, James Mahon, alias Hollindale, and William Robinson, charged with the burglary at James Holford's, Esq., Holford-house, Regent's-park, were brought up and conveyed to the lock-up rooms in the outer office, on Monday, as was also George Rouse, who had been remanded from Monday last, upon another case of burglary, and cutting and wounding a constable. The prisoner Mitchell, who was so severely wounded by one of Mr. Holford's servants, still looked exceedingly ill. His left arm was, as upon a former occasion, in a sling, and he was faint and dejected in the extreme. At ten minutes past three, Mitchell, Dyson, Mahon, and Robinson were, by direction of Mr. Broughton, brought in by the gaoler and placed at the bar. Mitchell, who was unable to stand without suffering pain, was told that he might sit down, for which he expressed his thanks. The court was crowded to excess, and on the bench were many persons of distinction.

Mr. Wontner addressed the magistrate at some length on the part of Robinson, and contended that no evidence whatever had been adduced to show that the latter was in or near Mr. Holford's premises at the time of the burglary being committed, and it would be proved by satisfactory witnesses that he was elsewhere when the said burglary was effected. If he should establish that fact, he should, of course, press for his client's immediate release from custody, more especially as only four persons had been seen on the premises, and one of the officers had intimated that another party was suspected of being concerned in the transaction.

Mr. Wontner then, in order to prove an alibi, called several witnesses, two of whom, Charles Robinson and Ann his wife—the former brother of William Robinson—swore that the prisoner was at their house in Canton-terrace, Hoxton, from between twelve and one on Sunday, the 13th ultimo, and that he went to bed and did not quit until twelve at noon the next day. The other witnesses' evidence merely went to the extent of their having seen him at the Union public-house in Union-street, Kingsland-road, until the premises were closed on the night of Sunday, at twelve o'clock. The officers were further questioned; and it was stated that the George public-house, Lombard-street, in the Borough, was the constant resort of thieves and other well-known bad characters, and that all the prisoners had frequently been seen there together. Since the first examination the prisoner Robinson had been missed. On the night of the 13th ultimo he was there.

Mr. Broughton said he had listened attentively to all that had transpired, and was ready to admit that the evidence against Robinson was comparatively slight; but he had very properly been taken into custody by the police; and it had been clearly shown that he had been a suspected character for a considerable time; and the question was whether he (the magistrate) should not detain him longer, or again send him to prison. The plan, as originally projected, was, no doubt, that the whole of the party, whoever they might be, should meet at the public-house, Battle-bridge, and after that go singly, and in different directions, to Mr. Holford's house. From the numerous burglaries recently perpetrated, the public had become much alarmed with regard to their own personal safety and the security of their property; and as to the alibi which had been set up, it was supported entirely by the evidence of a brother and sister—the rest of the witnesses examined could only speak as to their having been in the prisoner Robinson's company until a short time after the public-house was closed on Sunday night. Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, he had made up his mind to remand Robinson, with the rest of the prisoners, until Monday next, but if good and substantial bail to a considerable amount could be procured, he might perhaps feel disposed to take it.—Mr. Wontner remarked that he should no doubt be able to bring forward security.

George Rouse, who was charged with a burglary at the house of Mr. Seaton, the Dublin Castle, Park-street, Camden-town, and stealing from thence about £26 in gold, silver, and copper monies, and also with inflicting several wounds with a knife upon Godwin, by whom he was secured with the stolen property in his possession, was brought up for final examination on Monday. The only additional evidence now was that of Mr. Collins, the surgeon, who states that Godwin, the officer, had had a very narrow escape of his life. The prisoner, who had nothing to say, was fully committed to Newgate for trial.

The two men, George Roberts and Charles Dove, charged with breaking into the West Surrey Branch Bank, on the night of Thursday last, were brought

up for re-examination at Epsom, on Monday morning, before the bench of magistrates. Some further evidence, corroborative of that previously given, having been given, the prisoners, who looked very chapfallen, having been duly cautioned by the chairman, were asked if they wished to say anything to the charge made against them?

Roberts said: Yes, sir, I do. I was in Guildford on the 31st of October, and while on my way to Epsom, or, more properly speaking, to London, I met my fellow-prisoner. We came on together, and on our way through this town we sees this parcel tied up in a handkerchief. We took it up and carried it behind the engine-house, where we opened it. I thought it might have been a child. When we see what it contained, Dowe put on the coat and put some things in his pockets. I put some in mine, and as the things was found so I found 'em in the parcel.

The Chairman: Is that your statement?

Roberts: Yes.

The coolness with which the prisoner made this extraordinary explanation excited some risibility in the court. The prisoner Dowe said he had nothing to say. The Chairman then told both prisoners that they stood severally committed for trial for the crime of burglary, and the accused were removed in custody.

The parties concerned in the jewellery robbery in the Strand were brought up for examination on Wednesday, but nothing of importance transpired. The whole of the prisoners were remanded for a week.

Samuel Harwood, one of the parties charged with being concerned in the murder of the Reverend G. E. Hollest, was brought up for re-examination at the House of Correction on Wednesday, and, some further evidence having been gone into, the chairman said he felt it his duty, proceeding on the depositions, to commit the prisoner for trial. The prisoner was then removed, and, a warrant for his committal to the county gaol having been duly signed, he was conveyed to Kingston. We are sorry to learn from the *Times* that the unfortunate widow of the deceased, whose courageous conduct had wellnigh saved the life of her husband on the night of the murder, is left by the calamity with two youthful sons totally unprovided for. A small cottage near the vicarage is now being fitted up for her reception, the anticipated arrival of the successor to the deceased rendering it necessary that she should vacate her present residence.

Mrs. Rebecca Codling, a single lady, living at 93, Moss-lane, Hulme, Manchester, with only one domestic in her service—a girl who usually sleeps in the house with her—went to bed on Thursday night week, at her usual hour, after fastening the outer doors of the house and the windows, but having no fastening on her bed-room door. About three o'clock she was awoke, and perceiving a faint light in the room, supposed the girl had left the room for some purpose. She called her by name ("Sarah") and put one hand involuntarily to one side of the bed, where it rested on something which the moment afterwards she discovered to be the back of a man. She then saw that there were two men in the room, their faces partly covered with black crape, and, greatly terrified, she screamed for help. The men told her if she made any further noise they would murder her. In spite of this threat she screamed, and one of the men struck her across the forehead with a heavy iron bar, about fourteen or fifteen inches long, which for a time deprived her of consciousness. When she came to her senses again, the men were still in the room, and one—a very tall, powerful man—told the other to strike her again, unless she gave them her money. Upon this she took from under the bedclothes a pocket containing from 20s. to 30s. in silver, and gave it them. They then left the house. It appeared that they had been in the house some time before she awoke; for they had broken open the drawers, boxes, and cupboards, upstairs and down, and had taken some silver plate and other valuables. As soon as they had left the house, she and her servant girl went down and gave an alarm, but not in time to have any of the burglars traced. Since then, however, the whole of the burglars have been taken. First of all, Mr. Superintendent Beswick apprehended a man named George Gregory, at Bolton, whom they had employed to sell the plate; and at midnight, he seized in their own houses or lodgings the other two, named Holland and Brooks. The latter, it seems, has lately been living with a young woman, named Jane Carruthers, whose mother has long been employed as a charwoman by Mrs. Codling, and from whom there is reason to believe the burglars had got to know the defenceless state of the house. They had broken into the house by scaling the wall of a back yard, and having stuck a plaster of treacle paper to a pane of the back window, were enabled to force out the glass without noise and unfasten the window inside. In Brooks's bedroom was found the iron bar with which Mrs. Codling was struck. On being taken into a room where the prisoners were standing along with other persons, Mrs. Codling immediately identified Gregory as the man who struck her with the iron bar, and Holland as the one who told him to do it. The prisoners were brought before the magistrates on Tuesday, but were remanded till Monday.

Mr. Sirrell, of Barbican, appeared at the Mansion-house, on Tuesday, to answer the charges brought against him of having purchased goods, knowing that they had been stolen. Several persons were present to identify their property, among others Mr. Godden, a brewer, near Maidstone, in whose house a burglary was committed on the 26th of September, and Mr. Isaac Argent, proprietor of the Rainbow Tavern, from which place a number of silver spoons have been purloined. Mr. Inspector Lund, in the course of his examination, stated that there had been one or two hundred persons making enquiries about the goods. Among the property removed from Mr. Sirrell's premises, the total value of which was between £3000 and £4000, there were 1000 spoons, some hundreds of watch movements, about thirty watches, and between sixty and seventy rings.

Alderman Gibbs consented to take bail for the appearance of Mr. Sirrell upon a future day, when the investigation will be resumed.

AN EVENTFUL CAREER.

The *Stamford Mercury* of last week gives an interesting account of the life and fortunes of a young woman of that neighbourhood who rose to a high station by means of her personal attractions, and, after a chequered life, died in Italy a few weeks ago. She was the daughter of John Peele, a small farmer at Corringham, near Gainsborough, who eked out a somewhat declining livelihood by dealing in horses, &c., having previously been in better circumstances. Being an only daughter, and aware that she possessed no small share of rustic charms, she resolved to try her fortune in a higher sphere. She became a dress-maker in Gainsborough, and resided subsequently in Hull, and it is said as housemaid in a good family in London, where her attractions obtained for her the attentions of a person of rank, to whom she afterwards averred she was married; and she from that time occupied a position where her fortunes led her into contact with some of the highest classes. A few years afterwards she astonished her former companions by appearing with her carriage and livery servants in the character of *chère amie* to Mr. Fauntleroy, then a flourishing banker in London. The riches of the banker were of a doubtful character, however; sometime afterwards he was convicted of forgery, and paid the penalty with his life. Affected by the ruin, but not participating in the crime of Fauntleroy, she struggled bravely with fate, and generally maintained a fair appearance in society both in London and Paris. She shortly reappeared in her native county as Duchess of Palata. At this time the fortunes of her family had reduced them to be the occupants of a small cottage at Morton, and age rendering her father incapable of active exertion, he filled the humble office of rural postman. To her honour it should be recorded that she enabled her parents to pass the remainder of their days in comfort. Six or seven years ago she again visited her native place, a widow, his grace the Duke of Palata having paid the debt of nature. Her mother she left at Morton, paid the last duties to her father (somewhat ostentatiously), and volunteered her assistance to promote the advancement of her female relatives. Again, however, "a change came o'er the spirit of her dream;" and some three or four years ago the public journals announced her marriage to the son of an Irish clergyman of good family. In this character, accompanied by her niece as *femme de chambre*, but not by her husband, she once more visited Gainsborough and the scenes of her youth; after making her mother an allowance, she again departed for Italy, in good health; but death, which spares neither rank nor character, has closed the "last scene of all this strange eventful history."

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen, it is said, has designed a carpet; and Prince Albert has executed some pieces of sculpture for the Exhibition.

Rumour asserts that the students of Glasgow University are thinking of Prince Albert as Lord Rector for the ensuing term.

There will be four theatrical performances at Windsor Castle before Christmas. The first is fixed to take place on the 25th instant. There will also be a performance after Christmas, but the day has not yet been named.

The Duchess of Kent, attended by Lady Augusta Bruce, arrived in town from Frogmore shortly before twelve o'clock on Thursday, and paid a visit to the Duchess of Gloucester at her residence, Gloucester-house. Her Royal Highness returned to Frogmore in the afternoon.

The Duchess of Cambridge, accompanied by the Hereditary Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the Princess Mary of Cambridge, and attended by Baron Knesebeck, visited the Queen and his Royal Highness Prince Albert, and partook of luncheon with her Majesty and the Prince, on Thursday. The royal party returned to Kew in the afternoon.

The effects of her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge have been removed from Cambridge House to Kew Cottage, where the Duchess and Princess Mary are now staying, and where it is understood the Duchess intends permanently to reside. Cambridge House, it is understood, will be either given up to the Marquis Cholmondeley or the ground landlord, Sir Richard Sutton.

The Lady Adeliza Fitzalan Howard met with an accident a few days since, while riding in company with her noble father and Lord Foley, in the vicinity of Arundel Castle. The horse which her ladyship rode shied suddenly at something in the hedge, and Lady Adeliza was precipitated with some violence to the ground. She escaped, however, without any serious injury.

Lord Holland has arrived at Rome, as also the Countess Grey and some members of her family, and Princess Borghese and suite. Lord Durham arrived, per steamer, at Civita Vecchia last week but one, but went on to Naples, where he will have the pleasure of performing quarantine, for arrivals from Civita Vecchia, Leghorn, and Genoa are now subjected to a quarantine of fourteen days at Naples, in consequence of the three above-named ports receiving vessels in free pratique from Marseilles, where all traces of the cholera have disappeared.

It is satisfactory to know that the muniments of the Duke of Wellington are kept in the vaults of the basement of Apsley-house, which are properly fitted for their reception, and properly arranged under the care of the illustrious duke. These ducal muniments are amongst the best records in the island. They are carefully guarded against damp and fire, while the only protection of the national records against fire is that afforded by the rain water and the rats.

The following statement appears in the *Stamford Mercury*, but we understand there is not the slightest truth in it:—"Intelligence has just arrived at Grantham, which, no doubt, is too true, that his grace the Duke of Wellington, whilst hunting with the Belvoir hounds, fell at a Lincolnshire ha-ha, and dislocated his collar bone. The surgeon of the hunt, attempting to reduce the dislocation, met with a most determined opposition, and his grace expired in the arms of his brother fox-hunters. The Duke of Rutland, Lords Granby, Forester, and others, bore the hero home to Belvoir Castle with great grief."

A letter from Milan states that the Marquis and Marchioness of Ely had a narrow escape on the 20th ultimo. While crossing the Alps by St. Gothard, and when within a few yards of Aivolo, the horses took fright, and the postilion lost all command over them. At the time they were but a few inches from the precipice, when their courier, Vincent, seeing the danger, leaped from the box, and in an instant arrested the horses. The danger was averted, but Vincent had an ankle dislocated. Lord and Lady Ely were enabled to proceed to Milan on the following morning, en route to Florence.

It is said that Lord Dunraven will shortly resign his seat for Glamorganshire, in consequence of the close attention to matters connected with his lordship's Irish estates rendered necessary by the demise of the late earl.

The Honourable Beilby Richard Lawley, of Escrick-park, the son of Lord Wenlock, has been introduced to the electors of the borough of Pontefract as a candidate for the representation. He declares himself a Liberal, and favourable to the extension of the suffrage.

Sir John Craven Carden, of the Priory, Templemore, and his brother, after a few hours spent in shooting rabbits, on Tuesday last, returned to the house. Lady Carden went towards them, and seated herself on a rustic chair, surrounded and covered by shrubs. Both gentlemen immediately joined her. Having placed their rifles, which were on full cock at the time, against the trees which entwined around the back of the chair, they entered into conversation with Lady Carden, when a sudden gale of wind arose which shook the trees and caused one of the rifles to discharge. The ball entered under Lady Carden's left ear, and terminated her existence on the spot.

Mr. Martin's appointment to a vacant judgeship was announced to the bar by the Lord Chancellor on Saturday; but as there are said to be certain reasons for his not taking his seat on the bench by the side of his father-in-law, Sir F. Pollock, it is probable that he may be transferred to another court.

Mr. Sergeant Allen, of the Oxford circuit, and Mr. Sergeant Wilkins, of the northern circuit, have received patents of precedence. Mr. Miller, of the Midland circuit, will receive the cof. The vacancies occasioned by the elevation of Mr. Martin and the retirement from circuit practice of Mr. Whitehurst have led to several applications to the Lord Chancellor for silk; but at present no determination has been made as to which, if any, gentlemen will be called within the bar.

Intelligence has been recently received of the death of Mr. Henry Hallam, only surviving son of the eminent historian of the *Middle Ages*. This melancholy event took place at Sienna, on the return of Mr. Hallam and his family from a short visit to Rome. It will be remembered by the large class of friends and admirers to whom Mr. Hallam is justly endeared that a similar misfortune, almost identical in some of its circumstances, bereaved him several years ago of an eldest son, whose genius and whose virtues had singularly endeared him to all his contemporaries. So sudden and so painful an affliction has seldom fallen twice upon the same family; and it is increased by the premature close of another life rich in every promise of personal excellence and professional distinction.

The Presidency of the East India Company's educational establishment at Addiscombe, now vacant, and with £1500 a-year, exclusive of a residence and other pecuniary advantages, will, it is said, be given by the Court of Directors to one of the last chosen members of their own body, viz., Colonel Olivant.

A commission under a writ *de lunatico inquirendo* sat at the Cadogan Hotel, Sloane-street, on Wednesday, to examine the state of mind of William Lee, Esq., aged fifty-five, a gentleman of fortune residing at 17, Chesham-street, Belgrave-square. The jury found a unanimous verdict that he had been of unsound mind since the 18th of June, 1849.

As the Queen of Holland was taking her usual airing one day last week, a man, whose name has not yet been

ascertained, placed himself before the horses and refused to let the carriage proceed. The outriders immediately interfered, but the man stood firm and resisted, and he was consequently arrested, and will undergo an examination.

The Infanta Dona Josepha, sister of the King of Spain, who has been recently residing at Valence for the benefit of her health, is about to proceed to Italy. She will be accompanied by her brother, Don Francisco de Paulo.

A letter from Seville announces that Princess Clementine of Orleans was shortly expected in that city, on a visit to the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier.

Upwards of thirty Arabian horses, purchased for the Queen of Spain in Africa, have been landed at Marseilles, whence they have started for Madrid. Each horse, on reaching the Spanish capital, will have cost, it is asserted, about 25,000f.

As an Austrian steamer was conveying the Empress Mother, grandmother of the present Emperor of Austria, the Archduchess Sophia, and other distinguished persons from Pola to Trieste, on the 24th ultimo, during a fog, it ran down and sank the commercial steamer Amelia. Fortunately, no lives were lost.

At the time of his abdication, King Charles Albert assumed the name of Count of Barge. The municipality of Barge, desirous of perpetuating the memory of this fact, has decreed the erection of a marble monument to the late King in the principal church of the town.

Kossuth, through M. Breisach, had been offered a free gift of a hundred acres of fine land, in the vicinity of New York, by an American gentleman. The Forrest case has been again before the courts, but with no result. Father Mathew had administered the pledge to 2500 people at St. Louis.

When Mademoiselle Rachel was lately at Carlsruhe, an aged and infirm Jewess called on her, and, after stating that she was in most indigent circumstances, gave her convincing proof that she was sister to the celebrated actress's father. Mademoiselle Rachel made her a present of a gold watch, and agreed to allow her a pension of 900f. a-year for the rest of her life.

The Commendatore Campana, Marquis of Cavelli, well known as the proprietor of the finest collection of Etruscan antiquities in the world, has just concluded a match with an English Catholic lady, Miss Rowles, whose ancestors were distinguished as partisans of the Stuart family, and lost the title of baronet on that account. The marquis has purchased a palace in the Via del Barberini, which he is fitting up for his bride in a sumptuous style, and where his interesting and valuable Etruscan collection will form a rare ornament. The bridegroom is nearly forty, whilst the lady is in her twenty-seventh year, and is possessed of an income of £2500 per annum.

The *Ami de la Religion* contradicts the report given by several journals, that M. de Montalembert, who is now at Rome, has been charged with a secret mission by the President of the Republic. The report is, nevertheless, generally believed.

All Paris went to the Champ de Mars on Sunday to witness a tournament, Roman chariot races, a race by the "Clan Lochleven," and a variety of other amusements provided by the managers of the Hippodrome. The day's entertainments were concluded by a balloon ascent, certainly one of the most extraordinary that has as yet been devised. It was announced that Madame Poitevin would be mounted on a real live bull suspended from the car of the balloon; the lady personating Europa and the bull representing Jupiter. The bull, however, proved to be merely a bullock, on whose broad back sat Madame Poitevin, crowned with roses and clad in a white dress, over which was thrown a purple velvet cloak embroidered with gold. The balloon passed over the Invalides, an immense crowd witnessing its progress.

The *Risorgimento* and the *Concordia* of the 2nd instant, contradict the statement that the Pope has issued a bull excommunicating the kingdom of Piedmont. They say there is not the least truth in it.

The Cortes were opened on the 31st ultimo by the Queen in person, with the usual ceremonies, the members of the two Chambers being convened to meet in the new palace of the Congress.

A telegraphic despatch from Trieste announces, on the authority of letters from Damascus, of the 10th ultimo, that an insurrection had broken out in the latter place and at Horan, in consequence of the military conscription, but that it had been immediately repressed. The people had, however, closed the gates of Balbec.

The Emperor of Russia proposes, it is said, to have a tunnel bored under the Neva, similar to that executed by Mr. Brunel under the Thames. M. Alarie Falconnet, a celebrated French engineer, has been applied to to furnish plans for this undertaking.

From Nova Scotia we are informed that Earl Grey had notified to the Provisional Government that the British Government will grant assistance towards building the Halifax and Portland Railway. Earl Grey, it is said, approved of the enterprise, and expressed a belief that Halifax would ultimately become the chief port for transatlantic communication.

The Arctic steamer from New York arrived at Liverpool on Monday night, with papers of the 27th ultimo, after a passage of ten days. The intelligence she brings adds nothing, either politically or commercially, to that received by the Europa. Some fugitive slaves had been arrested at Boston, after much opposition, which, it was feared at one time, would be attended with bloodshed. At Chicago resolutions had been passed nullifying the Fugitive Slave Law.

A public *sairee* was held at the London Tavern on Thursday evening by the friends and supporters of the principles of the Anti-Church Association. After tea a meeting was held, over which Mr. Samuel Morley presided. In opening the proceedings, the Chairman ex-

pressed his conviction that the Papal aggression—which was now "frightening the island from its propriety"—had been mainly produced, if not indeed invited, by the conduct of the Puseyite section of the Established Church itself. The general feeling of the other speakers who addressed the meeting appeared to be, that the recent measures of the Pope, taken in conjunction with the intestine divisions going on in the Church's own bosom, will tend to accelerate the dissolution of that union between the Church and State against which the association had so arduously struggled. In the course of the evening a report from the executive committee was read, announcing their intention to raise a fund of £1500 or £2000 for the publication of a library of works inculcating anti-state-church doctrines.

An association for improving the social and moral condition of labourers and others residing in the parishes of Windsor, Eton, and the neighbouring districts, has just been formed at Windsor, under the immediate auspices and patronage of the Queen and the Prince Consort, who have taken a warm interest in the success and prosperity of the association. The design of the association is to encourage among labourers and their families, and domestic and other servants, habits of morality, good order, providence, and industry, by the annual distribution of rewards in money, and appropriate medals. Medals will also be presented in special cases to the most deserving, by the royal president.

The executive committee of London has issued notice to the local committees that all payments on account of the crystal palace now erecting must be paid up within the next month and remitted to the Bank of England.

A large and influential meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures was held on Thursday, "to consider the plan of a proposed mission to the East Indies, the object of which is to ascertain, by an unbiassed but minute investigation on the spot, the real obstacles which prevent an ample supply of good cotton from being obtained thence, and the causes which impede the extension of our commerce with that country." Mr. Bright made a long and able speech on the subject, and it was ultimately resolved to appoint Mr. Alexander Mackay, author of "The Western World," as the Indian Commissioner.

The wife of a clergyman in Cheltenham intends to exhibit a lady's silk scarf made from silk the produce of silkworms kept in an open building in an adjoining county. The lady gives the following interesting account of its manufacture:—"Having resided for about three years in a village in Herefordshire, the garden of which possessed a remarkably fine mulberry tree, I wished to give my family an idea of the habits and natural history of the silkworm, and the method by which silk is produced. With this view I procured a quantity of eggs early in the spring of 1847, which were hatched about May, and I placed the worms, 2000 or rather more in number, in an outhouse in the garden. There they were attended and fed by myself and some of the juvenile members of my family, and in due time they spun; and, much wishing to turn the produce of their industry to some use, I directed my attention towards making the scarf which I have the pleasure to lay before you. The silk was wound from the cocoons by my daughter and myself on a winding machine, and afterwards I wove it into its present form. It has, consequently, never been in the hands of any manufacturer, and presents the same colour and quality as when taken from the cocoon. I may add, that the outhouse in which the worms lived had no windows to protect them from the weather, which was unusually cold for the season of the year; as I think this point may illustrate the fact that our English climate presents no insuperable obstacle to the cultivation of silk. The mulberry tree was the common kind."

The living of Alresford is now vacant by the resignation of the Earl of Guildford. It will be divided into three distinct benefices, under three incumbents, to whom the income from each parish will be respectively assigned.

The ship Persia last week arrived in the West India Docks, from Ceylon, having on board two very fine young elephants, the property of the commander, besides a number of monkeys, owls, civet cats, porcupines, moose deer, &c., consigned to the Royal Zoological Society, Regent's-park. The animals are all in very fine condition. The elephants are male and female, about two years old, four feet high, and are remarkable for their docility and playfulness.

The shipping agent at Folkestone received on the 1st instant, from Paris, an octobasse, which, we believe, is intended for that celebrated inventor of novelties to delight the public, M. Jullien. The wonderful dimensions of this instrument may be imagined from its height, being upwards of twelve feet, independent of the stand. The tones will be produced by pedals acting in circular pieces (instead of the hand) on the finger-board.

The magistrates at Brentwood held a second investigation on Saturday into a charge of felony preferred by a servant girl, aged fifteen, against the Reverend R. A. Johnstone, who is rector of a parish adjoining the town. The preliminary depositions of the girl and her mother leave no doubt of the reverend gentleman's guilt, but they were not forthcoming on his appearance before the magistrates. It is stated that the people, who are very poor, have left for London, and the police have been fruitlessly searching for them. The reverend gentleman was held to bail, himself in £500, and two sureties in £250 each, to appear on Saturday (to-day).

The guardians of the Steyning Union have advertised for a porter at the Shoreham workhouse. He is to be able-bodied and single, and his salary (beyond lodgings and rations in the workhouse) is to be £10 per annum. Out of this remuneration he is to find his own clothes. The Uckfield guardians have advertised for a nurse, who is to devote her whole time to her duties, and such other duties as may be required by the master or matron, and the remuneration is to be board, lodging, and £7 a-year.

A singular accident occurred at the junction of the Derby and London and North-Western station, Birmingham, on Thursday morning. Between three and four o'clock, after the mail train left for Gloucester, a goods train passed over the viaduct which crosses Lawley-street, when an explosion took place, from what cause is not known. With the exception of the stoker of the goods engine no person connected with the train was seriously injured. But the results have otherwise been fearful; the parapet wall and masses of brickwork were propelled from an elevation of fifty feet, and lay in large masses, showing the violence of the shock.

A youth, at Durham, while visiting Wombwell's menagerie last week, laid his hand upon the paw of an African lion, which was protruded beneath the bars, a familiarity which the brute resented in a fearful manner. With the quickness of lightning the animal laid hold of the unhappy intruder by the hand, and drawing him close against the bars of the cage with his other paw he fastened upon his head. The cries of the lad instantly attracted the attention of the keeper, who flew to the spot, and after severely beating the infuriated brute upon the paws, compelled him to relinquish his hold. The whole proceeding was the work of a moment, but the unfortunate lad retains traces of his fearful rencontre which he will bear with him to the grave. His head and both his hands are lacerated in a terrible manner, and he has also received several severe scratches on the throat and neck.

A quarrel took place at Liverpool, on Saturday, between two men who had been at a penny raffle. A man, named Callaghan, complained that the winner of the prize, named Caffray, had acted unfairly. A scuffle took place, and Callaghan threw a brickbat at Caffray, which struck the latter behind the ear, and caused his death. An inquest was held on the body, and a verdict of manslaughter has been returned against Callaghan.

The jury appointed to enquire into the murder at Jersey, of which we gave an account last week, has returned a verdict to the effect that the woman was murdered by her husband.

In the course of Saturday afternoon a communication was received to the effect that Mr. Joseph Harris, the missing Post-office inspector, was actually in Scotland, well in health, and in the highest spirits.

Ogle Wallis, formerly a cornet in the 12th Dragoon Guards, who has been twice remanded on a charge of assaulting Henry Coplestone, landlord of the Queen's Arms, Bath, and Ann, his wife, with a razor, with intent to do them some bodily harm, was brought up for final examination on Monday. The mayor said a great deal had been said about a razor and cutting and wounding, but they had no evidence of a razor having been used. The magistrates inflicted the highest penalty in their power, a fine of £5.

A Mr. Blurton, residing in Newhall-street, Birmingham, who has been in the habit of walking in his sleep, left his bed about a quarter-past five o'clock on Sunday morning, opened the window of the attic room in which he slept, and precipitated himself to the ground. In his descent he fell against the dining-room window, which partly broke his fall, but he came with great violence against the spiked railing in front of the house and was much injured.

A miner at the Frongach lead-mines, near Aberystwyth, having placed a lighted pipe near three barrels of gunpowder which they were about to use, an explosion took place, by which one man was killed on the spot, and two others so much injured that they died in a few hours.

A bull in a wild state broke out of the estate of Sir William Middleton, one day last week, and made its way through Coddensham and Crowfield, and on to Debenham, running at everything in its way. Many persons had very narrow escapes from injury, several having to turn into the fields with their carts to avoid an upset, and others to climb trees for safety. It was shot by Mr. B. Chevallier after having travelled about ten miles.

An enormous fish, weighing upwards of 100lb., called the maigre (*sciœnaquila*), was caught last week off Brixham Roads by some fisherman of that port, and sent by railway to Billingsgate market on Saturday morning. This fish is generally abundant, according to Mr. Yarell, on the southern side of the Mediterranean; but is also caught off the shores of Spain, France, and Italy. It is gregarious in its habits, swimming in shoals, making a purring noise loud enough to be heard from a depth of twenty fathoms; its capture, however, is not a very easy task, from its great size and strength.

On one small property in the county of Kerry there were, at the beginning of harvest, twelve substantial tenants and their families, and now there is but one; the rest have all gone off to America, taking with them the whole of their rents and value of their crops.

The liberal portion of the Irish Catholics are all in favour of the new colleges. They do not hesitate to declare so openly—but if asked to say what they will do in the event of the decrees of Thurles being confirmed by the Pope, a definite answer is rarely given. Some, however, go the length of asserting that in such case a schism in their church is inevitable.

A Dublin weekly paper, called the *Liberator*, which was started a couple of months ago as the organ of Mr. John O'Connell, is dead. No publication took place on Saturday, nor is another expected. So much for O'Connellism.

At the weekly meeting of the board of guardians of the Ballymahon Poor-law Union, on Monday, the chairman said that it was a painful duty to him to inform the board that one of the applicants for admission to the poor-house that day was a magistrate for two counties, Mr. John E. Nugent, and there was not a member of the board who did not deeply feel the unfortunate gentleman's reverse of fortune. Mr. Nugent, who is related to the first families in the county of Westmeath, had but a short time ago an income of £1500 a-year.

European Democracy, AND ITS OFFICIAL ACTS.

This page is accorded to an authentic Exposition of the Opinions and Acts of the Democracy of Europe: as such we do not impose any restraint on the utterance of opinion, and, therefore, limit our own responsibility to the authenticity of the statement.

We present to our readers this week the second manifesto of the Central European Democratic Committee, whose first address will be found in the *Leader* of the 12th of October.

The former document was essentially an appeal to Democratic parties throughout Europe to unite in a common organization for mutual aid and defence; and it pointed out the common ground of principles upon which that union might be accomplished.

The document which we present to-day is eminently practical in its nature: it professes to indicate the means by which that organized unity may be attained. Independently of its immediate practical object and import, it will be interesting to the English reader as containing an enunciation of the true idea of Nationality, as entertained, in general, by Democracy abroad,—distinguished from the narrow *nationalism* fostered by dynastic interests on the one hand, and a vague cosmopolitanism on the other.

We present this second manifesto without additional remark, which we postpone, from a press of matter unconnected with this department of the paper, until next week.

THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

TO THE PEOPLES!

We have invited European Democracy to manifest its existence, that is to say, to organize itself. We have pointed out the common ground on which that organization is practicable; our thought has been understood. Let the men of goodwill, who have from all parts of Europe hastened to adhere to the work of concentration, accept our sincere thanks.

As to those who, penetrated by the same idea, ask us by what means it can be realized, we will endeavour to tell them, with regard always to the different conditions of liberty in which their various countries are placed.

Let us again specify the object:—

Just as in the bosom of every state individuality and association, or, in other words, liberty and authority, ought to be represented and harmonized, so also, in every general democratic organization, it is requisite to harmonize and represent nationality and alliance, country and humanity. Without a reconciliation of these two elements, there can be nothing but despotism or anarchy, and we want neither the one nor the other.

There were in the last century men who, alarmed by the international conflicts which left traces of blood at every page of the history of mankind, and confounding the narrow *nationalism* of royal races with the nationality of free and equal Peoples, endeavoured to efface the national idea by a kind of vague cosmopolitanism. By so doing they placed the individual, weak and isolated, directly in face of the great problem of universal humanity to be solved; they proclaimed the object, but suppressed every means of attaining it. This was an exaggerated but unavoidable reaction against a system which had perverted the parent idea of nationality, substituting for it the hostile interests of some princely families.

The fundamental idea of nationality is the organization of humanity in homogeneous groups, with a view to the accomplishment of a common duty. Progress of all, development of all the forces imparted to the human race, for the commonweal.

Each People is a labourer in the vast common workshop of the world, representing, by its own peculiar aptitudes and tendencies, a special function in the work, the object of which is identical, although the means are varied. Each People is recognized by the other Peoples and loved by them, according to what it accomplishes for the advantage of all. It is to humanity what the distribution of labour is to production.

The definition of the common duty is the work of all; it is the charter of humanity; and the day will come when it will be elaborated in a congress formed by the representatives of all free Peoples. The choice of means belongs to every People. It is the charter of nations; they alone can determine it. Under the inspiration of the general thought each will determine the special mission which it has to accomplish in the world.

These are the bases on which the organization of Democracy ought to be founded.

Every organization having the conquest of the future in view ought to represent that future in its essential conditions.

In order, therefore, that the organization may be complete, it is necessary that, in the bosom of every nation, and on the common ground we have indicated, a reconciliation and fusion of all fractions of the Democratic party should be carried out, without, however, interfering with the study of special questions—economical and social. From this internal labour of reconciliation and fusion ought to emanate a *National Committee*, as a true and regular expression of the wants, desires, and general tendencies of the country.

It is then that the delegates of the National Committees will constitute the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of European Democracy.

It should be well understood that the men who at present compose this committee, who collectively sign these appeals, consider themselves merely as precursors. If they have taken the initiative, it is because somebody must initiate the work which no one hitherto had attempted to commence. They will continue their labours until the organized national democracies are prepared to proclaim their sovereign will.

To give a uniform impulse to the great European organization, to originate the apostleship of ideas which ought to bring into a close union the different members of the human family; to provide the necessary guarantees, so that no revolution shall betray or desert the banner of fraternity, by isolating itself; so that no revolution shall ever violate, by a fatal ambition, the rights of internal life belonging to each People; so that no revolution shall die from abandonment, under the concentration of leagued aristocracies;—these are the duties of the present committee. To it also it belongs to prepare men's minds for international brotherhood, until the definitive compact of all emancipated nations shall appear.

Lastly, it is its duty to give the signal for a common awakening of the Peoples.

The duty of the National Committees will be to elaborate the preparatory means destined to facilitate the internal development of each nation.

When circumstances shall require, the Central Committee will summon all the most intelligent and devoted men of Democracy to a supreme manifestation.

There are two ways by which the National Committees may be formed. In the first, the initiative comes from above, and embraces the masses; in the second, from below, and creates a unity by elected chiefs. Both are good: the selection ought to depend upon the peculiar circumstances in which each country is placed.

With Peoples whose organization is already advanced—with whom the absence of irritating questions, and the proclamation of a national object, render adhesion easy to foresee, the first method is the most expeditious. Let some known and devoted men embody in themselves the national mission; let them boldly become its interpreters. With their hands upon their hearts, free from all egotism and personal vanity, let them proclaim themselves organizers; they will be followed. Whenever a power reveals itself by truth, by sacrifice and determination, it is acknowledged and accepted.

With Peoples, on the other hand, whose elements being more divided by the multitude or rivalry of schools, unification cannot be quickly enough accomplished, let the movement begin from below; let it begin on every point where there is a germ of devotedness and energy to be found—wherever men meet who wish for good, and believe both in the future of the cause and in themselves let that organization at once commence. Let them understand each other; let them rally themselves together, and gradually propagate discipline and organization; let regular relations be established amongst these fraternal groups. Let them recollect the three shepherds of Switzerland, the twelve Apostles of Christ; and let them work on as if the whole cause of the People were centred in themselves.

There exists at present, as everything testifies, an immense desire for unification in the bosom of the Democratic masses; the People will drag after itself the leading men—the army will choose its chiefs.

And let this task of unity be publicly performed, in the broad light of day, with the calm and resolute courage of faith, in those parts of Europe in which, as in France, legal modes of expression are not all exhausted. Let it be secretly accomplished in countries where silence is the common law: catacombs or forums—every place is good in which to labour for the triumph of justice.

The Central Committee will never leave those groups of the militant church who may accept its initiative, without the aid of a common inspiration—without counsel and fraternal words.

Close and indissoluble ties must be everywhere and unremittently established amongst the men of futurity.

Brethren, think of those who suffer—of those Peoples who die under the knife. Remember that every day of torpor allows the aristocracies to pollute with a fresh stain the noble banner of the Revolution. Let, therefore, all mistrust, all indifference disappear before the great idea of a common duty. Thus will vanish, under our united efforts, those accusations of anarchy which are daily directed against us from the camp of our enemies. They have nothing but interest to pursue, whilst principles guide us; interests divide, principles alone rally; we are, therefore, the party of unity.

In three months Europe must know this. On that day we shall be triumphant.

For the Central European Democratic Committee,

LEDRU-ROLLIN.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

A. DARASZ, Delegate of the Polish Democratic Centralization.

ARNOLD RUGE, Member of the National Assembly at Frankfort.

London, October 20, 1850.

Associative Progress.

WORKING ASSOCIATIONS OF PARIS.

THE CHAIRMAKERS.

This association occupies two or three stories on both sides of the court, and is decidedly the most flourishing and extensive in Paris. It is difficult to know which to admire most, the skill and industry of the men or the excellent good feeling that reigns among them, which is truly the characteristic of all the three associations in this court where real fraternity may be seen in daily practice.

We were conducted over the extensive workshops, and explained the various steps in making chairs and seats of every kind, and we found every department as well defined and arranged as in the largest establishments of our own country; the division of labour was carried on in every branch; all were hard at work with cheerful countenances. We were greeted at every step with the welcome *bon jour, citoyen*, and many a shake of the hand, while above and below the court outside resounded with the songs of these brave pioneers in the industrial army of progress, songs which we understood were all composed by members of the establishment.

The gérant, Citizen Auguste Antoine, explained to us with great clearness and eloquence the principles upon which the association was founded; that the members were on a perfect footing of equality, obeying only the laws agreed to at the general assembly, and executed by the gérant and other officers elected annually by the whole society; all are paid according to the work in respect of quantity and quality, and the profits are divided in proportion to the amount of wages gained by each member; this method he insisted upon as being necessary under existing circumstances for the real prosperity and success of any similar undertaking. I explained to him that they wanted but one thing to make them the first business in France, and that was Taylor and Jordan's steam lathe for copying any pattern of carving on wood or stone. The association commenced in November, 1848, with six members, subscribing what funds they could, and which have been since repaid them. There are now 180 members, including about 80 adherents not yet admitted into the establishment, besides upwards of 100 paid workmen. They received the last 1500*fr.* of the three million grant, and in January, 1850, after having repaid all deposits previously made, the interest of ten per cent. on the profits of the preceding October, the rent and all expenses of trade and management, the society possessed a profit of more than 9000*fr.* (£360) to be divided among the members in proportion to their salaries, reserving a small sum for the expenses of the ensuing year.

THE UPHOLSTERERS.

This association makes up for home trade and exportation all kinds of materials for furnishing rooms—seats, beds, curtains, and decorations of every sort; and sends workmen to those who wish to have their rooms furnished and decorated at home. The following account is from the official documents of the society.

It was formed in December, 1848, in a sort of shed adjoining the house of one of the members, and its first order came from Citizen *Guinard*, the member of the Constituent Assembly, and, not having money sufficient to purchase the velvet required, the members raised 100*fr.* by pawning their little property. From December to May business was so dull that three-quarters of the time not a single member was employed; but, instead of losing courage, they transferred their establishment to the Cour St. Joseph, rightly judging that they would receive the sympathy and assistance of the Chairmakers' Association, whose business is intimately connected with their own. So poor were they at this time that the only furniture in their establishment was a carpenter's bench, two pair of trestles, and three rickety stools, but not a single chair to offer their customers.

Their first employment here brought them in 35*fr.* to each member for a fortnight, out of which they deducted 5*fr.* as a reserve fund, making in all 100*fr.*, which, added to the 190*fr.* arising out of their previous transactions, formed a capital of 290*fr.* (£11 10*s.*)

The following table shows the results of their proceedings from the 1st of May to the 1st of September, 1849:—

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Business transacted to the amount of | 1861 <i>fr.</i> 15 <i>c.</i> |
| Members' contributions at various periods, | 173 <i>fr.</i> 80 <i>c.</i> |
| Stock in warehouse | 435 <i>fr.</i> 85 <i>c.</i> |
| Debts due | 245 45 |
| Cash in hand | 8 75 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 690 00 |
| Owed by society | 106 00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Balance in hand | 584 05 |

They could now obtain credit from the tradesmen to a small amount, but throughout September they made no more than 313*fr.* worth, and lost 150*fr.*

In October they did rather better, about 670f.
In November, having credit with the drapers, they did business for 1742f.

In December they had established their credit, opened an account with a tradesman for 1000f. worth of goods, and completed orders to the amount of nearly 5000f.

The following is the balance for January 1, 1850 :—

| Dr. | | Cr. | |
|--------------------|------------|----------------------------------|------------|
| Cash..... | 456f. 14c. | Members' Contri- butions..... | 689f. 59c. |
| Raw Materials.... | 210 80 | Subscriptions..... | 132 00 |
| Goods in Warehouse | 1225 80 | Different Creditors | 3304 60 |
| Debts due..... | 2438 05 | Stock due..... | 204 60 |
| | 4330 79 | | 4330 79 |

The profits realized amount to 236f. 49c., very small in reality, but very considerable when we reflect on the small amount of business transacted during the first months, and the expenses incurred.

The rooms they now have being too small for their operations, they intend next quarter to take a place twice as large.

Such is the history of these three fraternal Associations nestled down in one court, and living together in true brotherly love. What has been said of one in respect to their moral and social condition may be said of all; they are evidently composed of the élite of the working men in their several trades, and, being always ready to admit new members into their body as soon as they have employment for them, they bid fair to be the ruin of competition, and establish the working man in that proud condition of manly independence, social comfort, and steady progress, which is the just reward of the real producers of wealth. (To be continued.)

THE NATIONAL CHARTER AND SOCIAL REFORM UNION.—At the usual sitting of the Conference on Sunday last, at John-street, Mr. George Hooper was called to the chair. The business commenced with the reading of the amended report, the result of the previous sittings. On the motion being put from the chair that the report be adopted, Mr. Wilson proposed to insert a preamble professing limiting the Executive of the union to the use of legal and constitutional means. This was rejected, on the ground that no one had a right to suppose that the Executive would use other than legal and constitutional means. Mr. Harney then rose and read a set of resolutions, stating the nature and objects of the Conference, adverting to the external opposition to the plan of fusion proceeding from Messrs. O'Connor, O'Brien, and Ernest Jones, and the neutral position of Mr. Reynolds, and concluding by a resolution that, as a consequence thereof, the Conference should then dissolve. Mr. Leblond asked whether such resolutions were in order. The chairman declared that they were, and invited the delegates to discuss them. Messrs. Leblond, Clements, Bate, Fussell, Wilson, and Stallwood successively spoke against the resolution. Mr. Pettie, in an animated speech, though upon different grounds from Mr. Harney, declared himself in favour of their adoption. Mr. Shaw made a neutral speech, and Mr. Harney replied. A division was then taken on an amendment moved by Mr. Stallwood, at once confirming the amended report and rejecting the resolutions by 14 to 6. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Fussell, Stallwood, Arnott, Shaw, J. Wilson, G. W. M. Reynolds, G. J. Holyoake, Walter Cooper, and Thornton Hunt, was appointed to draw up an address to the country and the four societies sending delegates to the Conference, which forthwith adjourned to Sunday, the 1st of December next.

PROGRESS OF THE REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—The Society is still making progress. We hope that great exertions will be made in all the districts to complete the £200. We are glad to hear that Manchester is beginning to move with spirit in the matter, and that Hyde is progressing bravely. We shall communicate matter respecting the formation of branches or districts in our next. Moneys received for the week ending November 4 :—Leeds, £1 14s. 11d.; Epworth (Lincolnshire), Mr. W. Read, 5s.; Derby, Mr. Sivwright, 3s.; Edinburgh Renters, 1s.; Hyde, per Joel Bradley, 7s. 2d.; Manchester, per Mr. E. Stephens, 4s. Communal Building Fund :—Leeds, 9s. 6d.; Epworth (Lincolnshire), Mr. W. Read, 10s.; Hyde, per Mr. G. Bradly, £1 2s.; Birstall, per Mr. Bentley, £9 10s.; Gildersome, White and Gilpin, 3s. 6d.; Drigglington, Clayton, &c., 6s. 4d.; Hunslet, Leeds, Mr. Walker, 2s. 6d.; Leeds, a Friend, 5s.

MILES PLATTING MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.—In accordance with the wish of many members of this Institution, Mr. G. J. Holyoake delivered a lecture here on Monday, Oct. 21. The subject, "Knowledge without Books," was listened to for an hour and three-quarters with unbroken attention. The object sought to be ascertained was—what kind of knowledge, if any, should precede books—what books are to do, and where their confirmatory function begins. At the conclusion Mr. Holyoake was elected, in conjunction with Mr. Winstanley, Sir Benjamin Heywood's agent, as delegate to the Secular Educational Conference held this week in Manchester.

PORTSEA.—On Tuesday evening last Mr. Merriman delivered the first of a course of lectures, under the auspices of the Working Men's Association, in the spacious lecture-room of the Athenæum. The subject was "Pauperism; its cause and its remedy." Incidentally he dwelt upon the questions of the land and money monopolies, the effect of machinery upon the Social condition of the operative classes, the evils of the old and new poor-laws and emigration, and by giving the outline of a plan for the productive employment of the pauper population. A. H.

POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY, NOV. 9.

A deputation from the Court of Common Council waited upon Lord John Russell, yesterday, to present a vote of thanks to his lordship for his letter to the Bishop of Durham. The deputation was most cordially received by the Premier. He felt most grateful for the sentiments of confidence expressed, and remarked that it was at all times gratifying to him to receive the thanks of the Lord Mayor, the corporation, and the citizens of London: indeed, if it were not for such support from those who represented the people, it would be impossible to give full effect to the opinions of the Government.

A deputation of the parishioners of St. George, Hanover-square, presented an address to the Bishop of London yesterday on the subject of the recent Papal aggressions. The deputation proceeded to the bishop's residence in St. James's-square, in eleven private carriages. Having been received by his lordship in the library, Colonel Fitzroy, on behalf of the deputation, read the address, to which the bishop replied at great length. He did not agree with those who think that this pretension of Papal authority is utterly absurd. The Pope knew very well what he was about :—

"He knows that if this usurpation is quietly submitted to under the notion that it is of no consequence—if he be once permitted to get in the sharp end of the wedge, he will by degrees, through his subtle emissaries who are scattered over this kingdom, and are working under ground to a degree one can hardly have any conception of, succeed, not ultimately in subverting the Church or injuring the constitution of the country, but in creating a great deal of dissension, disturbance, and disquiet, and in agitating people's minds, which may, perhaps, lead to popular commotion; and I know of no kind of intestine division so injurious in its character and tendency as that grounded on religious dissension."

But the people of England did not require the assistance of the Pope to settle their religious disputes. They had "that test of truth which the Church of England has always had recourse to—the pure word of God." He then proceeded to show the deputation that they had other duties to perform besides that of memorializing their bishop. They must remember that the usurpation of the bishop of Rome was not confined to spiritual matters :—

"In resisting the invasion of the Church of Rome you are resisting, not merely a spiritual power, but a Court which uses its spiritual power *in ordine temporalia*. Not one of those decrees or Papal bulls which have asserted her plenitude of authority over all temporal Sovereigns has ever been repealed or disowned, and I have not a doubt that if you give her the least power or authority it will be all over with our glorious constitution."

With reference to the Puseyite movement, his lordship spoke as if he had always been strongly opposed to it :—

"Gentlemen, I shall say nothing as to one remark that has been made, namely, the countenance unhappily given by some members of our own Church to practices and opinions which savour of the Church of Rome, further than to express my own deep regret, and to assure you that for some years past I have earnestly and anxiously protested against them, and endeavoured to call back those who seem to be going they know not whither. A crisis has arrived at which we all must take our stand. We must either continue to be Protestants, or we must, by degrees, succumb to the continued, secret, subtle aggressions of the Papacy. I can answer for my brethren as well as myself, that they will be faithful and earnest in their endeavours to preserve the pure light of the Gospel upon the Church's golden candlesticks unsullied, on the one hand, by the corruptions of Popery, or, on the other, by wild fanaticism."

A deputation from the parish of St. Anne, Limehouse, also presented an address of a similar character to the Bishop of London yesterday, to which his Lordship gave a suitable reply.

At a meeting of the parishioners of St. Bride's, held last evening, for the purpose of expressing their sentiments upon the recent attempt by a foreign sovereign, known as the Pope, to exercise power within the realm of England, by parcelling out the land, and pretending to confer offensive titles, it was resolved to address her Majesty on the subject.

The parishioners of St. Andrew's, Holborn, met last night, but the proceedings were not so unanimous. The projectors of the meeting came forward with a proposal to address the Bishop of London, which was received with great disapprobation and cries of "Turn him out." The Reverend E. Pizey, the mover of the resolution, battled hard in favour of Charles James, and was seconded by Mr. Gresham, solicitor, who said it was evident that his lordship had begun to see that he had gone too far in the direction of Puseyism, and was anxious now to take a right course. In reply to this it was urged, amidst great applause, that if the bishop had abjured Puseyism merely because he found what the opinions of the Government were, he was undeserving of their confidence. An amendment, that they should address the Archbishop of Canterbury instead of the Bishop of Lon-

don, was then agreed to; after which a vote of thanks to Lord John Russell for his letter was carried amidst enthusiastic cheering, followed by "three groans for the Pope and Cardinal."

At Islington a large meeting was held in the National School-room last night. An address to the Queen, protesting against the recent Popish aggression, was carried unanimously, and the meeting concluded by singing "God save the Queen."

Mr. Disraeli has addressed a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Buckingham, stating that he has received numerous appeals from his constituents requesting him to coöperate with them to call a county meeting to express their reprobation of the recent Papal assault on the royal prerogatives. He agrees that it would be proper to call a county meeting, but in doing so takes occasion to point out the glaring inconsistency between the way in which Ministers have honoured the Romish bishops of Ireland, and the tone now taken by Lord John Russell. If they are to meet and pass resolutions they will have something more to speak of than the conduct of the Pope.

Prince Albert left Windsor Castle, for town, at ten o'clock yesterday morning, by a special train on the Great Western Railway, and after arriving in London inspected the building erecting in Hyde-park. He then proceeded to Buckingham Palace, and afterwards went to Paddington, travelling to Windsor by a special train, and returned to the Castle at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The returns of the Board of Trade for the month ending the 10th of October were issued yesterday. As compared with the corresponding month of last year, they show an increase in the declared value of our exportations of £807,742, and it appears that the improvement is distributed with remarkable uniformity throughout almost all departments of industry. The aggregate value of our exports during the first nine months of the present year, has been £50,286,402, against £44,809,414 in the like period of 1849, showing an increase of £5,455,988. Should they continue at the same rate for the next three months, the aggregate value of our exports for the whole of 1850 will be upwards of £66,000,000.

A coal pit explosion took place at Haydock colliery in Lancashire, on Thursday morning, by which at least nine lives were lost.

The *Liverpool Mercury* contains an account of a fearful explosion of naphtha, which was attended with fatal consequences in Seacombe, on the Cheshire shore of the Mersey, in a Roman Catholic school and reading-room. It appears that on Wednesday the schoolmaster, Mr. Johnson, and six of the scholars were together in the front room on the ground floor. The master was engaged in pouring some naphtha into a lamp from a tin can, containing about half a gallon; and a lad named John Crossie, about ten years of age, was holding a candle by his side. Never having before filled the lamp, Mr. Johnson was ignorant of the quantity required; and, before he was aware, the inflammable liquid ran over, and, coming in contact with the lighted candle, ignited. An instantaneous report, like that of a cannon, was heard, followed by a tremendous crash occasioned by the falling of the partition wall, about twelve feet long and nine feet high. In the reading-room, immediately above the scene of the explosion, were fourteen persons, several of whom were so severely injured that but little hope is entertained of their recovery.

Count Bernstorff, the Prussian Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, has suddenly gone to Berlin, some say to assist at a specific solution; others state that he will not return. The latter opinion prevails, because a project for a secret interview between the Queen of Prussia and the Archduchess Sophia at Dresden has failed. Ministerial Councils are daily held at Berlin.

The illness of which Count Brandenburg died on the 6th instant, is said to have been the result of his mission to Warsaw, in which he was completely outwitted by the Austrian and Russian diplomatists. Delirious fever was the malady which caused death. Count Brandenburg was the natural uncle of the present King of Prussia.

The Capitan Pacha's line-of-battle ship blew up in the arsenal at Constantinople on the 23rd ultimo, and killed upwards of 1000 people who were on board. She had only arrived from a cruise two days previous, and was landing her powder.

Cardinal Wiseman is still at Liege, and is likely to remain there for some days. Dr. Doyle, the Catholic rector of St. George's, will proceed to Liege to-morrow or the following day to meet the new cardinal, and accompany him to London.

The exploits of Guy Fawkes in London have created a still greater sensation in Paris than they have in London. Some of the Paris papers look upon "these public manifestations" as something that may lead to a revolution in England. The *Débats* reminds the English people that the cry of "Vive la Réforme" ended in the Revolution of 1848, and hints that the exhibition in London of Cardinal Wiseman on the back of a donkey may lead to the pillaging of the Bank of England, and the burning down of Pimlico.

A hostile meeting took place on Thursday, in the wood of Meudon, between M. Charles Hugo and M. Charles Viennot, both writers in the Paris press. The seconds, in their account of the affair, state that after a sharp encounter, which lasted a minute and a half, M. Charles Hugo received a thrust in the knee, not such, however, as to occasion any disquietude to his friends.

The Leader

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1850.

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 its eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

RICHARD COBDEN AND NATIONAL EDUCATION.

WHEN Peel was brought to see that the time was ripe for the abolition of the Corn Laws, every one knew that they would soon be abolished: we may as confidently assert that, now Richard Cobden has identified himself with the great and truly statesmanlike scheme of Public Education put forth by the Lancashire Public School Association, the movement has passed from that of a mere agitation into a national necessity, which cannot long be postponed. Last week he appeared as the inspiring leader of men of thought, men of influence, and men of action, all earnestly pledged to the realization of a noble scheme. His accession is almost tantamount to a national sanction. Not only is he master of all the effective tactics of agitation, but the influence of his name will in itself be an agitation. He brings to the subject great sagacity, unusual power of elucidating a question, of so massing its facts, as to drive his convictions with irresistible momentum home to the English mind, and he also brings that invaluable *fortitude* so nobly described by one of our old dramatists, as

"Not the appetite
Of formidable things, nor inconsult
Rashness; but *virtue fighting for a truth*,
Derived from knowledge of distinguishing
Good from bad causes."

One evidence of his sagacity is seen in the very alteration he suggested, which converts the *Lancashire* Public School Association into the *National* Public School Association, thus giving a dignity and extension to the movement without in the slightest degree weakening it. His speeches, both at the Conference and the meeting, are weighty with grave thought, and eminently adapted to conciliate and to convince. He pointedly calls to mind the superiority of this agitation over that of all other great questions in the fact, that nobody opposes it on its merits, nobody says Education is a *bad* thing, on the contrary, all are *now* agreed that it is a good thing, perhaps the best of things; nor can any one declare that we have Education enough. "The community," he says, "admits the object you seek is desirable; nobody has a plan opposed to yours on which people will unite; the existing system which the Government has put forth, as a proof that something is doing, is such an utter failure that all parties are ready to repudiate it." This certainly does clear the field for action. Collect your troops, and the day is won.

The great obstacle to the scheme is religious alarm. The Church, with canine infelicity of temper, will not educate the people, still less will it suffer any other body to educate them. It declares that secular education is godless, and will propagate infidelity. The pitiable weakness confessed in this alarm, the contempt of all logic, the monstrous perversion of the plainest notions of common sense we scorn to examine. If reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and the broad facts of history and science cannot be accessible to the people at large without involving, as a necessary consequence, the rejection of religion, we must think a religion so weak *unworthy* of preservation. But foolish as the religious antagonism is, therein lies the real obstacle; and Cobden is right in boldly facing it, grappling it, and even *welcoming* it, that he may "drag the hideous monster into day." Some of his thrusts are those of a master of fence. No one can use a fact like he. Give him a pebble for his sling, and Goliath soon feels it dash against his forehead. Thus he recalls the fact that in this country we pay eight millions a-year to the teachers of religion, yet, when a scheme is set on foot to teach grammar and writing to the neglected people, and to teach them without taking from the Church one shilling of its eight millions, "they have the effrontery to come

forward and tell us we are going to give an irreligious education!" Nothing can be clearer than this: either the Church fund is a school fund, and it is the duty of the Church to educate the People—in which case it has grossly neglected its duty—or the Church has only to concern itself with religious teaching, and must leave secular instruction in other hands. We leave the Church to choose the horn of this dilemma on which it prefers to be spiked.

Another argument Cobden used is very striking. Alluding to the Catholic demonstration, he shows that in a Protestant community it is indispensable for men to be able to read, at least, the Bible, for the assumption that man has a private judgment and indulges it, is the foundation of Protestantism, so that "the sincere Protestant, the religious man, who opposes us for wishing to teach the children of the universal church to read, is standing in the way of the progress of those very religious doctrines which he is bound by his own conscientious convictions to defend." "Help us, at least," he exclaims, "to give the People the power to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue." We do not see how the Protestants can get over that.

There was one sentence in the speech of the American visitor, the Reverend Dr. Bacon, which was a flash of light. Referring to his country where education is universal, he said, "We depend there upon the ministers of religion to make the People, if they can, be a Christian People; and, then, we have no fear but the common schools will be as the People are, for whose use they are intended, and who have the control over them." Indeed, the speeches were all full of interest and good pith; but the great triumph was the hearty adhesion of Richard Cobden. The movement has now a noble cause, a powerful army, and an accomplished leader; let the throbbing thunder of the drums startle into earnestness a Government that only moves upon pressure from without!

GUY FAWKES.

MAUDLIN philanthropists preaching about "tolerance" have of late years endeavoured to put down the national pastime and religious demonstration of Guy Fawkes; to the indignation of all right-minded boys. Fortunately the Pope has interfered, and by an atrocious usurpation of all England, has reinstated Guy in his pristine favour.

I see no reason why gunpowder treason
Should ever be forgot.

Is not Guy a symbol at once of our religious earnestness, and of God's loving care for England? The execrable monster had his powder barrels ready, but the eye of Providence was upon him, and now *he* blazes aloft amidst squibs and Roman candles, while jubilant throats howl at him! Put down Guy Fawkes! It would be a pact with Antichrist. The Fifth of November is an ever-memorable day, and, by making it a recurring pastime for British youth, we keep alive their attachment to the glorious principles of the Reformation, and a Christian uncharitableness towards the scarlet enemy. Archdeacon Bentinck does not hesitate to say that God's favour to his chosen Israelites was paralleled in his guarding us from the Popish Plot—and *he* ought to know.

Never in our remembrance were the Guys so magnificent as on Tuesday last: they formed quite a national pageant, and brought home to the least reflecting a sense of the iniquity and ridiculousness of Rome, with her "wafer gods" and red stockings. The mind naturally contrasted the fopperies of Catholicism with the "purity of the Gospel" as manifested in our church; red stockings so absurd, and lawn sleeves so respectable! Cardinal Wiseman made a superb "Guy," and the Protestant heart of man yelled out its scorn at the symbol of an ambitious theocracy. Accordingly showers of pence "remembered the Guy," and glorious bonfires wafted him to the clouds. Ah! it was a great day for England: it brought out the real British feeling: it showed our attachment to Protestantism and our love of fireworks. If precipitate ambition did ever hope to Romanize England, Tuesday last must have given it a lesson. It showed plainly enough that if *Pio Nono* ever place his foot on our shores the brewers will Haynau him.

A boy of our acquaintance remarked with great sagacity that he should have been sorry if Guy Fawkes had not attempted to blow up the Houses of Parliament, "because then we should have had no Guys." That is to say, youth would have wanted a noble pastime, and Protestantism have

wanted a memento of victory. And *this* is what maudlin philanthropy would do away with!

Contemplate a Guy as he is borne under your windows: is he not a perfect symbol of Popery? In the first place he is a sham. He is stuffed with shavings, rags, and refuse,—fit representatives of Popish doctrines. He is a spectacle to captivate the ignorant and wondering crowd; he is supported only by a basis of ignorance and loud voices. There is no pulse of life in him, no speculation in his eyes; he is a mere remnant of past superstition. The only light he carries is a *dark* lantern—symbol of untranslated scriptures!—while the pipe in his mouth typifies the sensualism of his nature. Around him shout and dance a crowd of mercenary devotees, demanding money in his name to spend in "indulgences" and fireworks. If that be not the Pope, who can it be? And seeing how the masses are affected by symbols and instructed by them, is it not madness to talk of abolishing such concrete philosophy as we find in Guy Fawkes? We tell the British Protestant that unless Guy be held sacred as "an institution" Protestant babies will be roasted in Smithfield—nothing less; and let the Mothers of England reflect on that!

"FOR GOD AND THE PEOPLE."

THE unanimity of the unenfranchised in demanding the Suffrage is one great and cogent reason why it should be conceded to them. On other questions they may not be united. They may differ as to the policy of mixing up demands for Social Reform with those which they are making for the restitution of their Political Rights. Their feelings may vary with regard to the question, whether Church and State should be connected or severed; whether Education should be secular or sectarian, voluntary or governmental. They may hesitate to pronounce in favour of sanitary centralization, albeit fully and painfully aware of the necessity of reform in that direction. Between Free Trade and Protection, Association and Competition, they may be divided or indifferent. On matters of detail they may be uncertain or undecided; but on those which concern their political emancipation, Universal Suffrage among the number, they are united and determined. Ask any intelligent, earnest man of the working classes his idea of the means by which the wrongs of his class may be redressed! Run over to him all the subsidiary reforms which men are now seeking in different spheres and in different manners! He will tell you these are all very well in their way, but that his class would be sure of them, and of much more than them, if they had but the Suffrage.

So far, indeed, has this conviction prevailed among the People, as to be made a matter of reproach to them on the part of their opponents. They are changing their policy, it is true, and combining with their agitation for the franchise and its attendant measures, efforts for social improvements in which many of their best friends are deeply interested; but their estimate of the former is not affected by their recognition of the value of the latter. Political privilege is still paramount in their hearts.

And that which is paramount in the hearts of a People, who shall dare deny them? This conviction of prevalence so universal as to be cherished by a whole class, is sufficient earnest that the claims of that class must be sooner or later conceded. And why not concede these frankly and cordially at once, rather than wait until you are compelled; until enmity, jealousy, and ill-will, repay your compulsory surrender, instead of the fraternal mutual trust and good understanding which always follow timely and generous recognition of rights, and abolition of unjust restrictions? What folly to halt at the threshold of Reform, when to cross it would set you at one with the masses who now distrust you! Why stand still and prate about "household suffrage," which is but exclusiveness in another form; when, by making "universal suffrage" your watchword, you would at once win the millions to your side, and make the possession of immortal mind the test of citizenship rather than that of dead, material, brick and mortar?

This universal prevalence of the suffrage idea, justifies and ensures that idea's fulfilment. It is the intuitive sense of their own rights and their own power to gain them which animates the many against all opposition and under all discouragements. This is God's work among them, and work that never is in vain. Difficulties rise in its path, the idea overleaps them all. Ignorance stands dull and darkling in the way; the idea

enlivens and enlightens it. The power of the despot, the menace of his minions, the cajolery of his courtiers, the heart sickness of deferred hope, the prospect of persecution and death, and the gloomy terrors of superstition are all powerless against the idea, it contemns them all, and marches fearlessly on to its own fulfilment.

When the hosts of the first crusade were pressing onward to regain the Holy Sepulchre; when city and hamlet, castle and cottage, were deserted for the camp of the cross, one idea possessed the hearts of the myriads and bound them together as the heart of one man; and to those myriads, under the influence of that idea, famine, sword, nakedness, and pestilence were as nothing. That idea, the conviction that they were God's instruments, and that they would be, on that account, invincible, found utterance in their war cry, "God wills it! God wills it!"

And the idea which at this day possesses the Many will urge them onward to the reconquest of their own rights, as theirs impelled the crusaders to the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The more obstacles multiply, the sterner will be their determination; at every repulse they will gather fresh strength: fresh friends will rally round them at every fresh proof they give of their conviction, their devotedness, and their zeal: for, however delays may tantalize, however false friends may deceive, timid friends discourage, and open enemies oppose, nothing can resist those who believe in, and work with and for "GOD AND THE PEOPLE."

THE POPE, OR FREE THOUGHT?

EVERY man really anxious about Truth should rejoice at the present commotion in the religious world. War is better than apathy, intolerance more respectable than indifference. The pretensions of the Catholics on the one hand, together with the indignation of the Protestants at the "aggression," will have the effect of rousing men from lazy acquiescence, and force them to reconsider the grounds of their acquiescence. In this struggle our "Mother Church" must be roughly handled; a prospect which does not fill our minds with any immeasurable grief, although its anticipation has already made the lawn sleeves flutter with episcopalian horror.

The Bishop of London's Charge, which rambles over eight columns of the *Times*, is peculiarly significant as the expression of Church of England philosophy; more than half of it is devoted to that foolishness of squabbles, the GORHAM squabble; the rest is thunder against Catholicism and Rationalism—the two Nightmares which disturb episcopal repose. The *Times* bids us admire the "vigorous logic" of the Charge; we do "admire" it: our wonderment is excessive that intelligent men should accept such logic. Having alluded with superb scorn to the "mummeries" and "histrionic practices" which dazzle the weak-minded, the Bishop then declares that the Church of Rome has other agencies with which to captivate the stronger minded:—"For those whose education and habits of mind require something like argument and evidence, she has her subtle dialecticians and persuasive orators;" but then the alarmed Bishop earnestly hopes that "none of you will give the least countenance to their proceedings, nor run the risk of impairing the strength of your own convictions, and of weakening your attachment to the Church, of which you are members, by attending any of their services, or listening to their lectures."

The Bishop is right. What can be more dangerous than listening to arguments and evidences? How are we to keep our convictions unimpaired, and our attachment towards the Church blind and devoted, if we hear what is to be said on the other side? We have consecrated Nonsense: we have made belief in shocking absurdities an integral portion of respectability, and on that we have built a Church; if, therefore, we listen to the lectures of subtle dialecticians, do we not obviously imperil our attachment to those absurdities, do we not run the risk of finding out what it is we have consecrated, and why we have done so? Right, the Bishop undoubtedly is; but what queer logic in his railing against the blind obedience demanded by Rome, and then claiming blind obedience to the Thirty-nine Articles! The difference between Rome and England is curious. Rome claims the obedience of Faith; England the obedience of Fear. Rome assumes infallibility; England is so conscious of her weakness that she warns her sons not to listen to arguments and evidences lest their convictions be impaired!

The master-principle of Protestantism—as we often reiterate in these columns—is the liberty of private judgment. It is the protest of the free Soul against the authority of man. Without this principle Luther would have been impotent; with it he consummated that dissolution of dogmatism which Abelard commenced when he proclaimed the abstract right of Reason to be heard in the elucidation of Faith. Rousseau expressed it in one luminous phrase. "If any man could this day prove to me that I am bound in matters of faith to submit to the decision of any authority beyond my own, to-morrow I would become a Catholic, and every truthful and consistent man would do the same." Now, mark the logic of the Church of England! She uses this principle of free thought to oppose the pretensions of Rome; but she denies the use to all who oppose her, and warns you not to listen to arguments against her, confessing her weakness to be such that if you do listen your belief in her will waver. Plato makes the licentious but astute Alcibiades run away from Socrates, declaring he is afraid to listen to the sage lest he be wearied by arguments from his career of intrigue. Bishop Blomfield, who has read Plato, seems to think Alcibiades a model of respectable prudence, and wishes clergymen to imitate him.

Really the confession of weakness in the Bishop's charge is quite pathetic. Terrified as he is at Romanism he is still more terrified at Rationalism. The former he thinks must disgust the "good sense" of Englishmen, and can only hope for support from "uninquiring ignorance" (how, then, about the subtle dialecticians?) the latter he declares "most likely to find favour with a trained and scientific generation." Now, of course, a system likely to find favour with a trained and scientific generation is on the face of it absurd, and, what is worse than absurd, fatally dangerous to a Church not in favour with well-trained minds; accordingly he warns all men against that as against a moral plague. But the philosopher, more sedulous for truth than for bishoprics, is bound to ask these two questions: Has human reason any right whatever to test religious dogmas? and, if we admit the right, should we not claim for it absolute freedom, so as to secure all the advantages of rational enquiry? To answer the first question affirmatively is to condemn Popery; to answer the second affirmatively is to condemn the exclusive privileges of the Church of England; since, if Reason has any right to interpret dogmas it has equal right to interpret the grounds upon which they repose.

A more accurate survey of the present condition of the religious world would, we believe, have shown the Bishop that the great danger of the Church lies less in Rationalism than in the active Spiritualism on the one hand, with the passive Indifferentism, the reckless Don't-care-ness among the clergy, and the "respectable" conformists on the other—the public being perfectly cold all the while. Had he seen this he would scarcely have suggested as a remedy the astonishing plan he proposes, namely, of a more rigid adherence to the Creeds, Liturgy, and Thirty-nine Articles, with a strenuous opposition to the separation of secular from religious instruction!

But, bad as times look, the Bishop has one consolation. God has not forsaken the Church. That is something. Are you curious about the proof? The proof to his mind—*visum tenentis*?—lies in the providential fecundity of Bishops! We are not hoaxing. You shall have the *ipsissima verba*: "Have we not thankfully to acknowledge the goodness of God towards the Church of this country in permitting it to send forth within the last ten years fifteen additional bishops to preside over its distant and too long neglected branches!" It is always comfortable to have a standard whereby to measure divine favour; formerly it used to be the wholesale slaughter of enemies or abundant harvests, now it is "More Bishops." Mitres are crowns of glory, halos of divine favour: blessed is the nation that rejoices in Bishops!

To return to our main position, the stir which is now made by the Catholic "aggression" will be useful in rousing men from indifference, and forcing their attention upon first principles: the great battle that is to be fought is that between Authority and Liberty, and men must declare themselves either for the Pope or for Free Thought. This is just the preparation we desire for the New Reformation.

LAND SALES IN IRELAND.

The rate at which a number of estates have been sold in Ireland, during the last fortnight, renders it more and

more evident that a large profit might be made by a joint-stock company for the purchase of land in bulk, to be sold in small lots. In many cases we find that the entire sum paid for a large estate does not amount to so much per acre as an Ulster farmer could easily obtain for the tenant-right of his small piece of land, irrespective of the rent paid to the landlord. Where large estates can be bought for £15 or £20 per acre, and readily sold to small farmers at an advance of forty or fifty per cent. upon that sum, we are surprised that no English capitalists seem as yet to have embarked in the speculation. Even at £40 an acre, an intelligent industrious farmer, who could purchase ten acres of fertile land near a good market for his produce, would find it well worth his while to give that price. Were he to sow one-half of his farm with flax, that alone would sell for £60, exclusive of what he would get for the seed. We perceive that a large company is about to be formed, which undertake to purchase, at the rate of £12 per acre, the produce of 100,000 acres of flax. There would be occupation for 20,000 small farmers, at an average of five acres to each. In addition to that extent of land under flax, they might have several acres devoted to green crops and potatoes, so as to produce food enough, including plenty of milk and butter, for their own consumption. Political economists will stand aghast at the bare idea of encouraging the growth of a race of small yeomen in Ireland. They need not be alarmed at the prospect of that class of the population ever being multiplied too rapidly. Even supposing that 100,000 families could be placed upon their own comfortable little freeholds, averaging ten acres each, this would not swallow up much more than one hundredth part of the soil of Ireland. And yet, what an incalculable amount of good might be realized by such a disposition of the soil, in the hands of thrifty enterprising men!

THE PROSPEROUS LANDLORDS.

WHATEVER the landowners may say to the contrary, we question if ever they were much better off than they are at the present moment. Here and there, indeed, an unfortunate individual may possibly find himself in a worse condition than he has been at some former period; but, taking the landlord class generally, we deny that they are suffering, or that they have just cause to complain. The truth is that they are much more comfortable than they deserve to be, as most of them would frankly admit, were it not somewhat dangerous to speak their minds freely. Does any one question this? Let him only ask the first grumbling Protectionist landowner whom he happens to encounter if there is any intention to petition Parliament, during next session, for an enquiry into the extent and cause of agricultural distress. Depend upon it the answer will be in the negative; a conclusive proof that the grumbling landowner knows too well that his case will not bear investigation. Up to the present time no class of persons in England has derived more benefit from free trade than the landlords have done. We do not say that they will continue to do so, nor do we think that they would be so very comfortable if the farmers had justice done to them. Whether the latter class will submit much longer to pay the same rents as they did when corn was fifty per cent. higher, begins to be very doubtful. As a tenant-farmer remarked at the annual meeting of the Leominster Agricultural Society the other day, the landlord saves nearly fifty per cent. upon most of the articles consumed in his establishment, and, as the price of farm produce is also much lower, "the difficulties of the farmer ought to be met by a permanent reduction of rent, instead of temporarily returning ten per cent., which is a very prejudicial system." But if the farmers wish to see anything done to improve their condition they must make up their minds to act independently of the landlords. They must send two or three thousand petitions to Parliament, praying for the appointment of a committee to enquire into the causes of agricultural distress. Let them only do this and entrust their petitions to the care of Mr. Cobden, with a request that he will lay their statement fairly before the House, and they may rest assured that he will put the case in such a way as will frighten the great body of the landowners into granting justice to their impoverished and ill-used tenantry.

SOCIAL REFORM.

EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRORUM.

XVI.—LE DROIT AU TRAVAIL.

TO THORNTON HUNT, ESQ.

Rawden, near Leeds, Oct. 22, 1850.

DEAR SIR,—Your letters on the land and the landless have set me musing, as I doubt not they have many another who has not as yet learnt the art of walking blindfold through the world, which art I take to be the true realization of the faith of this age, the practice of its theory, the ethics of its philosophy, as, indeed, of every philosophy which is epicurean.

But the misery of the landless, though we cannot lose sight of it, is no spectacle for us to bandy words

upon; to me it is a sacred thing, and if I saw no chance of help, I should feel I best showed my sympathy by sorrowing in silence. But what chance of help can either of us see within our very limited range of vision? Little enough, indeed; still, if all look, one may find; a spark from any one of our farthing candles may light the beacon on the hill, and you, at least, give me another candle to burn. Excuse me, then, if, to get more light from it, I try to snuff it.

Your letters give me the following propositions, if not new to me, yet fresh from the force with which you state them,—viz. :—

First, That the land is the inheritance of all who dwell on it; that the earth was God's gift to mankind, given to man as a race to subdue; and that therefore, man, as an individual, has a right to his share of this gift as his "landed estate."

Secondly, That the division of labour consequent on civilization, implies no disclaimer of this right; that the man who does not labour on his land, but toils to supply comforts or luxuries to his fellows, does so on condition that they shall in turn provide for his necessities. He does not give up or give away his estate, but he makes it over to society in trust that, while he works elsewhere, it shall be tilled, and tilled for him—neither lie waste, nor its produce be withheld from him.

Thus the earth is, or rather ought to be, divided among its inhabitants; each inhabitant being *de jure*, a landowner, inasmuch as he is a citizen of the world. Society, you say, is the trustee of those landowners, who, not occupying their own land, engage in what you well define as "secondary," instead of "primary," employments—that is, who produce comforts and luxuries instead of necessities. Trade is the process by which this trustee professes to fulfil its trust, to exchange the one produce for the other.

Now before we proceed further, I must confess that, to the wording if not the meaning of these propositions, which I think you will allow I have stated fairly, I demur, because I do not think you mark with sufficient clearness the distinction so ably drawn by John Stuart Mill between land and its improvements; between land without labour, and land with labour; between land in its original form, and land transformed by human toil. In the one case it is a power which all may use; in the other case it is both a power and a result—the result of the use of the power. Doubtless, strictly speaking, there is no right of property in land; the property is not in the land, but in the labour which is put into it; but you cannot separate the land from the labour—that which is put in from that into which it is put. A man waters the earth with the sweat of his brow, and a new earth is formed, and the chemical power of man's intellect is not able to decompose it; so, then, I cannot agree with you when you say, that each man has by right a landed estate; a man earns an estate by his labour, does not inherit it as the birthright of his manhood; nor can the land belong to all who live upon it, nor be considered the property of society; society holds no property; to say that it does is a contradiction in terms, for property is, by the very conditions of its nature, private; as Proudhon acknowledges when he makes the first article of his Communistic creed the assertion that "property is robbery."

Property is the wage of labour, and *that* alone; if it be not *that*, or derived from that, whatever it profess to be, it is not property but robbery. It presupposes two things. First, that a man works for his wage; and, secondly, that he gets it. The Communist differs from all the rest of the world in denying his right to the wage; he would abolish the wage, but, in so doing, he would abolish property, not give it to society. "Nothing," as Dr. Arnold well stated in treating this question, "belongs to everybody; but it either belongs to somebody or to nobody:" so the land belonged to nobody till it was cultivated, and then it belonged to the somebody who cultivated it—its rightful owners are its conquerors who have subdued the earth with their labour, they hold it by the right of conquest. No man, therefore, can justly complain because others have "landed estate" and he has none; their estate is their labour, and he could not get part of the estate without robbing them of the labour; but of this he can justly complain, that he has had no chance of acquiring an estate for himself either landed or other, not that he may not take the property,—which is the wage of another, but that he may win no wage for himself.

Land, as I have defined it, is a power which originally all may use; but though all may, only some do, and their use of the power gives them a right to it, a property in it, they appropriate this power, so that they alone can use it; what, then, becomes of the rest? Man lives by the sweat of his brow. They, too, are men. Have they not the right, at least, to choose between toil and death? Is it not the birthright of each member of the human family to force the earth by the strength of his hand and the skill of his brain to give him its fruits? and yet, first come first served, the new comer finds the earth possessed; is he, then, a trespasser? Who has a right to warn his brother off God's earth? Has not *his* life also a purpose? and he cannot live on the land without living by it? But, if he seizes the land, or part thereof, he seizes his brother's labour. How, then, reconcile the destination of man, which is the right to live, to fulfil life's task,—the basis of all rights,—with the right of property?—only by allowing the right to labour, which is but allowing each man to do his part in the fulfilment of the destiny of his race. Yes, the right of property, which is *the right of labour* to its reward, depends on *the right to labour*. The security of property, which is the possession by the workman of the wage which he has earned, depends on his permission to his brother to earn *his* wage; and this permission can be ensured only by property admitting, nay, believing with a living faith, that it has its duties as well as rights, and that its first and chiefest duty is to take care that no man is injured by the exercise of its right. So that the duty of the landowner is to care that no man suffers because he enforces his right to his land; but the landless does suffer if he may not live by his labour. Originally all *might* till the earth; but only some have used their might, so that to them the might has become a right—to possess the earth, inasmuch as they have subdued it; not a right to monopolize its fruits, but a right which is a duty to sell them to all who are willing to earn them by the sweat of their brow. The landless may then with justice say to the landed, "Put me, at least, in the same position, give me the same leave to toil as though you were not; in the sweat of my face shall I eat bread, that bread, not your land, which is the sweat of your face is my inheritance, my estate."

Yes; "the curse," which turned by toil into a blessing, is God's gift to man, and all the aids of civilization to bear it, which are man's gift to his brother, the legacy of the past to the present, for man is

"Heir of all the ages in the foremost files of time."

These constitute the inheritance of man, the estate to which his title-deed is his manhood. The promise of trade is to secure to each man, landless as well as landed, this inheritance.

So much for what ought to be: now, then, for what is—you and I agree that each man has an estate, though we may differ in defining it; we agree, moreover, that civilization, or division of labour, which is but a process of civilization, should not destroy nor take from, but rather add to this estate, though it may have made society the trustee for its members. We agree, moreover—

1st. That society does not fulfil its trust; that if it relies on the "promise of trade" to do so, trade breaks its promise; that millions are robbed of their estate in whole or in part.

2nd. That trade breaks its promise because it knows not how to keep it: that it fails in its efforts to establish a market wherein each man may exchange his labour for another's, because it sets many to useless labour which cannot be exchanged; it tempts them to produce a something which is a sham thing, for which, therefore, nothing can be got: relying, for example, on the man who has a store of necessities, say food, wanting nicknacks (to use your excellent nickname for luxuries), it tells the food-wanter to make them; he does its bidding, makes them as fast as he can, soon makes too many, more than the food-poseessor wants, so he cannot get food for them; but other nicknacks are wanted, so he tries to make them, learns a new trade, travels into a fresh path; but the journey takes time, during which he pines. Thus, while over-production of necessities, or too much primary labour, seems, while so many are necessitous, an absurd impossibility; over-production of any one luxury, or misguided secondary labour—in a word, mistaken production—is both possible and probable, and a cause of misery to the producer.

Trade, which is barter systematized, offers to give the producer at least food in exchange for his produce; but it does so on condition that his produce is wanted, if not it is useless, therefore unpaid; but though no one may need his produce he must need his pay—till he dies.

But why, then, does he produce what is not wanted? If he makes mistakes he must suffer for them; if mistaken production be the cause of misery, it is so inasmuch as every mistake is the cause of its penalty,—that penalty is non-payment; the law of nature is that the payment of every mistake is nil; he who sows the wind reaps the whirlwind; useless produce is a mistake: after all, then, trade does keep its promise, which is, to pay for what is made, not marred.

But who makes the mistake? that is the question. Surely, he who employs the labour uselessly; but, who is he? Not the labourer himself, but his employer—the capitalist. It is the capitalist who guides the labourer in the employment of his labour, guides him—into the pit of pauperism. Why, then, does the labourer follow his guidance? If the capitalist be blind, not seeing where labour is wanted, why does the labourer let a blind man lead him? He must be blind also; and if the blind lead the blind no wonder that both fall into the ditch. Alas! he cannot but let him lead him; he is forced, be his eyes ever so open, to follow the blind man, because by him he is fed. It is food, not guidance, the labourer wants, therefore he follows the capitalist. Capital, as you well define it, is "stock;" past labour saved, stored up to provide for present; the capitalist owns that stock, it is his. How he got it is not now the question, perhaps he made it—saved it out of his own wage, perhaps not; any way he has it, and without it the labourer cannot labour, for he cannot live; so to get it the labourer must submit to the conditions of the capitalist, and the first of these conditions is that he must do his bidding, find out how his stock can be used to a profit, be his cat-spaw, try his experiment for him, above all, pay the penalty of its failure, that is, suffer for his mistake; for if the capitalist makes the mistake of setting the labourer to useless employment of his stock, his stock does, indeed, remain useless, perhaps lies waste, he loses his interest, perchance diminishes his capital; but the labourer loses his labour—wastes his time—spends his life; for, mark, the capitalist only feeds him while he tries the experiment; if it fails he lets him alone to pine, for he has turned him into a tool fit for that experiment, and that alone, and now he wants to try another.

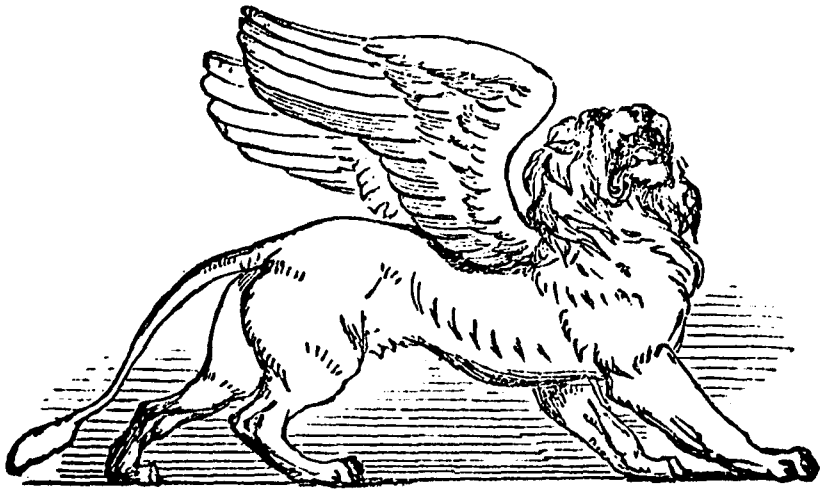
The law of demand and supply professes to be the rule of society; the demand of the labourer is not unreasonable, merely life in return for labour; the capitalist is employed by society to supply this demand, by using the labourer's produce for the supply of the demands of others, by finding out what is for him the best—the fittest labour, how he can produce that which will pay him most; but the capitalist does not fulfil his duty; he takes the labourer's produce, it is true, his time—his strength—his life, but he sells it in the market for nothing.

Nor does the mistake of the capitalist cause merely an over production of luxuries or nicknacks, a glut of secondary produce, it also realizes a paradox, performs what seemed an impossibility, inasmuch as it causes a glut of primary produce, a glut of necessities to their producers, though not, alas! to their consumers. The capitalist forces the labourer to make what no one needs, so the labourer has nothing to offer in the market which will be taken as payment for what he needs; the food-wanter has nothing to pay for food, so the food-producer may give, but cannot sell, his produce to him; but the food-producer is himself but an agent of the capitalist who employs him, gives him part of his stock, keeps him—on condition that he uses his stock to his gain, on condition that his labour be profitable, which, if its produce be unsaleable, it is not; so, then, the capitalist tells him, "I can keep you no longer; what matter to me that your fellows are starving for want of the fruits of your labour? they cannot buy them; my object is to sell not give; you labour for my profit not their preservation; you produce more food than can be sold, therefore you glut the market; your labour is useless to me, therefore it must be useless to you: go you, and sell your labour to your starving fellow, he will pay you with his cries, but I will pay you nothing, for to me you are a surplus labourer, an article I do not want!"

Hence the great paradox of society as we associate; men cold, and hungry, and naked, and houseless, because they are not allowed to feed, and clothe, and shelter their fellows; the loom is silent and the weaver is naked; the plough stands still, not because there is enough bread and to spare, but because the man who wants bread may not work for it; the plough stands still and the ploughman starves, because he may not feed his starving brother. And yet nature is rich and just; my wealth, she says to industry, is thine for the sweat of thy brow; and industry knows that her wage is sure, and comes as a strong man confiding in his strength and its reward, but capital brandishes over him her magic wand, and forces him to sit as it were, spell-bound, beating the air with his hands, in a prison whose crystal walls are clear but impenetrable, through which he sees the prizes he pines for but cannot reach, like a bee which flaps its wings against a window, buzzing its life out, wondering, in its vain struggles, why it cannot suck the honey from the flower which it sees.

Thus does trade break its promise; how, then, can it help it? how, indeed! It is easier to declare a duty than to do one, or even to say how it is to be done. The right as it ought to be, and the wrong as it is, are not hard to define. What can be? that is the question. But my puny efforts to solve this question I must postpone, for I have already written more than enough to weary, if not your patience, at least that of our mutual friends, the readers of the *Leader*.

Wishing us all good store of patience, believe me, yours truly,
W. E. FORSTER.



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.

DIPLOMACY, ITS RELATION TO POPULAR FEELING.

Oct. 30, 1850.

SIR,—I have long been convinced that it is high time England did something to rescue herself from the twofold evil of an exclusive press and an occult and irresponsible diplomacy. In no one of the great continental convulsions was the true feeling of English people expressed in the official documents issuing from the Foreign-office. True, the Whigs carried the day, in the great Palmerston debate of last session, by the *lacheté* of the so-called Radical party. There was a great deal of splash and froth about nationality and the principles of progress, though the purblind Liberals failed to see that Ministers covertly sneered at the one, and denominated the other a "jargon." Lord Palmerston cares nothing for that unconquerable desire for nationality which was the mainspring of the Hungarian and the Italian revolutions. That is only a card which may make for or against the noble lord in the game of statecraft he is continually playing. While Italy was striving to be free, and Hungary independent, his lordship was protocolling, intermeddling, suggesting transactions, initiating congresses, and hovering over every movement like the spirit of discord and dissonance. The triumph of the Palmerstonian policy, whatever that may be, was his only aim. For this he wove his nets of intrigue in the Foreign-office; and for this he performed that "intellectual and physical feat" on the 25th of June last, when he talked and smiled the radicals into supporting his policy. How could England be fairly represented by such a genius in unscrupulous tact and insinuating talk? But, I am assured, Aberdeen would have been worse! So much the better. We should have known it, and the opposition to Aberdeen would have been but the stronger.

Open the "correspondence" published by the Foreign-office in reference to the affairs of Italy, and you will find that, previous to the Lombard insurrec-

tion, the men planted by the diplomatic dibble in the cities of Italy were naturally, with one exception, indisposed, some of them inimical, to the national Italian cause. Mr. Freeborn was that exception. The rest were thick-and-thin diplomatists, or commonplace letter-writers. Yet even their despatches tell in favour of the National party. Lord Minto's promenades were mere sentimental moonshine. Sir George Hamilton, stationed at Florence, was an Austrian at heart, an aristocrat by system and instinct, a lover of Grand Dukes, and consequently a partizan of absolutism. Lord Napier, located at Naples, was forward, officious, and pragmatical. He told Lord Palmerston that the Neapolitan Radicals were a "lawless faction," and designated the Jesuits as "unfortunate persons," fit objects for the care and protection of a British ambassador. Mr. Abercromby carried out his instructions, and behaved decently, it is true, for a diplomatist; but even he was not free from the misrepresenting mania; while Lord Ponsonby, from Vienna, in his despatches on Italian affairs, showed himself openly Austrian; and Mr. Peel looked down upon Italy with a Conservative eye, and wrote his despatches with a Tory pen. Nearly all the consuls and vice-consuls were either openly reactionary or conveniently dull. Were these gentlemen the fit and proper representatives of English feeling on Italian affairs? Certainly not. I do not wish to blame them. They were responsible to Lord Palmerston, and doubtless only carried out their instructions.

I have taken the Italian insurrection as the basis of this letter in reference to the state of our diplomacy, because there are official documents to prove the validity of my assertions; and I have done this mainly with the view of drawing your attention to an important question.

Signor Mazzini observes, in the preface to the volume reviewed by you last week, that, "for the honour of England, and for her future, a party should be formed which should examine things seriously, which should inform itself and the people as to the truth in all national questions, and urge its Government to a path more logical, more virtuous, and more consistent with the principles of England's life than that which it has hitherto pursued." I ask through you, Sir, would it not be possible to form such a party, and endeavour to carry out Signor Mazzini's suggestion?
GEORGE HOOPER.

OUR SCHOOLS.

Oct. 29, 1850.

SIR,—For the sake of brevity I will not allude to the Squeers and Blimber class of schools, already so well and faithfully described by a master hand, but shall restrict myself to an account of the system as it is in most of our middle class schools, where wholesome food and a certain amount of cleanliness may be found, and where there are opportunities for healthy exercise.

In the following observations I speak only of the majority. I know well there are excellent and noble exceptions; but even in the best of these there is too much time devoted to book learning.

In the ordinary respectable school, as it is termed, the principal is frequently a man who seldom takes much interest in the business of the schoolroom; he appears there once a day or so, looks upon it as a means of pocketing the parents' money, and, with the exception of occasionally caning a boy, leaves the whole charge of the pupils to assistant masters, of whom he really knows very little, and, perhaps, changes every twelve or six months, or even less. Of such schools it is needless to say any more: nothing is learned but vice; disorder, idleness, and their attendant evils luxuriate. And yet, perhaps, it is a question whether this or the forcing system is the most injurious.

Where things are carried on with some pretensions to instruction, about seven or eight hours a-day, on the average, are given to intellectual pursuits, rather less to meals and recreation, and the rest, about eleven hours, to the dormitory. At least twenty-four hours in the six days of the week are devoted to the study of language; and out of these about sixteen are commonly given to the classics, which, in forty weeks, the average portion of the year spent at school, would amount to sixty-four days of ten hours each, or nearly three months. Three months in every year of the best part of life are thus wasted on the pretence of studying a subject which, to nineteenth-century, will be of no earthly use, and entirely forgotten after a few years. But it is a fine discipline of the mind say its supporters. Let us examine this question a moment. It is cultivating one faculty of the mind to the neglect of all the others; and so bad is the method employed that it not only breeds disgust for all learning—that is of little consequence—but is highly injurious to the moral sentiments of the child, both in the evil passions that are excited on the one hand and exhibited on the other; in the injury it inflicts upon his constitution by confining him to one posture for so many hours, frequently depriving him of exercise in the open air, and being in direct opposition to the dictates of nature, at an age

when the animal spirits are predominant, and require full and free exercise for the healthy development of body and mind.

Again, those branches of instruction in which the reasoning faculties might be agreeably and usefully exercised are taught by mere precept and authority, and the directions are mechanically followed without any exercise of reason or judgment, to be forgotten as soon as the practice ceases. Under such a system the study of geography, history, and even mathematics becomes little else than committing words to memory, and, therefore, merely exercises the faculty of language.

Such is the kind of intellectual education given at the generality of our middle-class schools.

I would fain draw a veil over the rest; but in a matter of such high import there must be no concealment. I will, therefore, in all soberness and Christian charity, but with fearlessness and truth, endeavour to disclose the evils of the system for the moral training of the young. The principal means employed are precept and advice, aided by punishment for a breach of rule. There is besides in most schools a sort of supervision or inspection by one or more of the assistant masters, who, in many instances, has to watch the boys like a policeman during their hours of recreation. I know one man who made it a rule with his assistants that they should never speak to the boys except on business, for fear of losing their authority. This person may be a most excellent man in many respects (though too frequently the case is far otherwise), but is most probably not at all suited to be a guide to young persons in their amusements, since he has been chosen for his classical and mathematical learning, and without respect to his capabilities as a moral educator; yet he is the person under whose charge they are placed at the times they most require judicious guidance.

In numerous instances that I could name the principal knows little about his assistant masters except that they are willing for a paltry salary to submit to be treated like common servants. Indeed, so negligently is this part of the system conducted that it is a fact the situation of assistant-master has frequently been the last resource of the most profligate characters, who, having received what is called a gentlemanly education, and wasted their prospects in debauchery, offer themselves as instructors of youth.

But, perhaps, these men are not much worse guides than the regular bookworm—the Mr. Feeders B.A. The means supplied to boys for healthy out-of-doors occupation consist generally in a play-ground enclosed by walls, in which they are left to amuse themselves as best they may. They have besides a field for occasionally playing cricket in summer, and in winter a monotonous walk is the substitute. Some few schools have a small piece of garden ground in which the boys grow mustard and cress, radishes, &c. The consequence of such a *laissez-faire* system is that the greater number spend half their leisure in listless idleness or in planning schemes of folly and wickedness; while at many of the foundation schools they are allowed to run about the town with no other control than the necessity of being in at a certain hour. What manly deeds are performed under such a system may be easily imagined.

The public opinion that grows up amongst boys thus left to themselves is of the lowest character, and most tyrannical in its influence. It has been already alluded to by your correspondent. The boy who ventures to oppose this public opinion will have to endure an amount of ridicule that few boys can withstand. Many of their absurd ideas, it is true, they have brought from home, and especially that of looking upon their studies with the eye of a shopman: "Of what use will it be to me? Will it bring me in a larger income?"

Such is a very brief outline of some features of our wretched system of education, the results of which may be seen in the evils and follies of society; and through ignorance and depravity perpetuates itself indefinitely. For if any individual, unless of uncommon talents, influence, and capital, set himself to introduce a better, he will find that he has brought a commodity into the market which is not required, and will be left without a customer. It is not, then, so much from any dereliction of duty on the part of schoolmasters, as from the ignorance and folly of parents, that such a system has prevailed, and, in spite of the endeavours of most worthy and excellent men, still continues to prevail. How, then, to change this state of things is the question, on which I will throw out some hints in my next letter.
J. G.

A REFORMATION.

"He that is not with me is against me."—Matt. xii. 30.

October 21, 1850.

SIR,—I take this opportunity of firmly and positively asserting, in reply to the observations of your very able correspondent, the Rev. E. R. Larken, that I have thoroughly and seriously reconsidered my reasons for assuming the frightful title of Anti-christ. And in addition to the scriptural evidence I

formerly published, I now submit from my deliberate opinions, the undermentioned internal corroborative testimony.

Firstly. Because, although I devoutly assert that the Son of Man was the Messiah, or the anointed teacher of the Gentiles, predicted in Daniel ix. 26; yet I solemnly deny that the Son of Man was the Messiah Prince, or the anointed ruler of Israel, looked for by the Jews, and predicted in Dan. ix. 25. I devoutly assert that the prophecy in the 26th verse was fulfilled in the death of the Son of Man, and I solemnly deny that the prophecy in the 25th verse has been fulfilled; but I ardently believe, by faith in the predictions of the Son of Man, that *he is destined to be the Messiah Prince, or the anointed ruler of Israel, at his Second Advent.*

Secondly. Because I solemnly deny that the Son of Man has any legitimate claim to the supreme attributes of Lord and Saviour; and I devoutly assert that it is profane in any one to assume either; and I fervently believe that they belong justly to the Creator alone.

Thirdly. Because I solemnly deny that it is laudable in mankind to give up wife, children, home, friends, property, liberty, and life, by taking up their cross and following Jesus. And I devoutly assert that the requisite and praiseworthy destiny of mankind is expressed in the words to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their Creator. This divine character, I fervently believe, may be achieved by a conscientious endeavour to act up to the religious and moral duties enumerated under the head of "A New Reformation."

Now that I have given utterance to the above candid expression of my opinions, I think I have plainly established my indubitable right to the undisturbed possession of the title of Antichrist.

I have attentively perused the letter upon the doctrine of atonement, signed Benephilus, and as I warmly admire the sentiments it conveys, I have eagerly amalgamated them with the sequence previously proposed. I fervently reassert that I shall joyfully associate myself with any one in an endeavour to have those elevating, equitable principles universally published, maintained, and defended as truth. I have much pleasure to remain an Unitarian believer of the Priestleyan School, and your constant reader,

ANTICHRIST.

REPLIES TO ATTICUS.

London, Bury, Nov. 5, 1850.

SIR,—With deference to the high talent of your correspondent, Atticus, I would venture to suggest that the torpidity which he ascribes, in his third letter, to the Unitarians as a sect, may be the effect of a very different part of their belief from materialism and necessity, which are not, I believe, fundamental articles of Unitarian faith—namely, their reliance on remedial punishment in a future state. This consolatory doctrine of balancing so exactly the action and its reward, while it transforms in the mind of the believer the great hope of everlasting happiness into a *certainly of ultimate bliss*, also eternal, and consequently virtually, though not relatively, undiminishing, rests, it appears to me, on unsound bases.

What is the prize which the Apostle Paul so often calls our attention to, in his Epistles, with such intense earnestness, which we are to strain every nerve to win, make every earthly sacrifice for the acquisition of? Surely, not a *degree* of happiness, or an exemption from a limited duration of pain; his soul was too daring to fear corrective punishment—his enthusiasm too generous to be awakened by the hope of a superior share of bliss or exaltation! No! there is but *one cause* adequate for the result produced on his mind and those of the early martyrs—namely, that he believed in and promulgated the awful alternative of eternal life or eternal death, according to obedience or disobedience to the will of God. He does not in his writings conjure up fiends of torture to terrify into obedience; for the horrible, blasphemous idea of attributing everlasting vindictiveness to the Deity, manifested in the bestowment of eternal torments for temporal sins, is an adopted remnant of the fabulous lore of idolatry: he merely places the stupendous prize before us to gain or lose; and this, I contend, is the only faith that can develop the true martyr spirit! This, confirmed by the words of Scripture, of course disproves the doctrine of the immortality of the soul (for which we are also indebted to Pagan systems and theories), of which, indeed, the recognition of the *resurrection from the dead* (which we are expressly assured, on Divine authority, is not a corporeal resurrection) alone is a manifest confutation, since there can be no restoration of life where there is no cessation of perceptive existence.

In conclusion, I must add one word in favour of necessity, as distinguished from fatalism, which I cannot but consider to be far preferable, as a belief, to free will, in which we limit the power of God in extending that of man; as whatsoever He foresees must be predestined, while whatever restraints He may impose on human volition we may be certain are to facilitate human improvement. Let us but effect

all of good that we can in our limited sphere, and we need never apprehend that our finite power and excellence, even when most developed, can have suffered from the restrictions of Infinite Goodness and Omnipotence!—I remain, Sir, yours obediently,

CLARA WALBEY.

THE LEEDS REDEMPTION SOCIETY.

Paisley, Nov. 2, 1850.

SIR,—It seems evident to me that of all the experiments now in operation in Britain, to give a practical demonstration of the utility of coöperation, the Leeds Redemption Society is the best. It is the only one, keeping out the pauper experiments in Sheffield, Cork, &c., which possesses the three essential elements in the production of wealth—Labour, Land, and Capital. True, it has them as yet in a very limited degree. But I hope to see a speedy increase; and for this purpose I beg to suggest that the conditions upon which persons, living at a distance from any of the branches, or, like myself, continually travelling from place to place, can be admitted as members, should be published in the *Leader*. I think that many more would be induced to join, and thus increase the speed and magnitude of its operations. I wish this Society to prosper, that the world may see how much better it is for men to work and live in concert, than to keep up an incessant struggle of competition—every man against his neighbour.

HOMO.

ON UNITARIANISM.

Oct. 28, 1850.

SIR,—In reading the valuable letters of your correspondent Atticus, I ventured to hope that you would insert a few remarks on Unitarianism from one who has been a pretty attentive observer of its various phenomena for the last few years. And I am confirmed in this hope by thinking that you and all the friends of truth and progress regard the opinions and movements of Unitarians with curiosity and expectation. As a sect, Atticus admits that they have been honourably connected with many reforming movements, religious, social, and political. But besides this, they have paved the way to a greater extent than they generally have credit for, for the diffusion of a deeper, wider, and more truly religious philosophy, such as you, Sir, so ably advocate. They have, I believe, in greater proportion than any other sect, furnished guides to that better state of things to which we aspire; whether these guides have remained in their sect, as Channing did, or have left it, like Emerson and Theodore Parker.

But, great as their service to the cause of truth has been in this respect, it has been greater in another way—that of providing recipients of the better and more Christian ideas which are demanding men's attention at the present day. And here I think facts will bear out the assertion that wherever a preacher of a more comprehensive interpretation, and a more thorough application of religious ideas has arisen, he has received a greater accession of followers from Unitarians, *in proportion to their numbers*, than from any other sect. Mr. Dawson, of Birmingham, could, I imagine, bear witness to the truth of this statement. The common charge, that "Unitarianism is the half-way house to infidelity," will be considered no slight proof of my position by any who remember what kind of opinions and what kind of men it has been the fashion to brand with the word "infidel."

At the same time it is certain that the majority of the Unitarian public is averse to change. This majority, too, comprises, as is natural (though with some exceptions), the men most influential from age, wealth, and social position. It is not, generally, from this class that reformers must expect to recruit their numbers. Their appeal must be made, not to the preoccupied minds of the *habitués* of our churches, wondering at any complaint against a religion which is "good enough for them," but to the aspirations of those amongst us (and I believe they are many) who are unsatisfied by the stale and scanty diet of an effete system, and hungering for a more complete fulfilment of their ideas of truth and justice.

Thus much in regard to the position of Unitarians generally, towards the onward movements of the time. On another occasion I hope, with your permission, to describe more in detail some particular features of what I conceive to be the present aspect of Unitarianism. I remain, Sir, yours truly,

GLOUCESTRENSIS.

THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—The scheme of the feudal system was to sustain a territorial government, based on the possession of land. This system should have passed away long ago—should have been dead and buried in the tomb of all the Capulets in the time of Charles II. But the effect, the spirit, and the bent of laws survive their uses—survive even their proved, notorious, and most mischievous abuses. The beauty and the safety of all commercial dealings lie in their perfect simplicity—in their absolute, unrestrained, and unfettered freedom. Why should not, to use the language of lawyers, a like case produce a like rule in reference to land?—*British Quarterly*, No. 24.

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*.

THE talk of the day is certainly not running upon topics of Literature. Go where you will, the engrossing subject is the Catholic "aggression"; open any journal and you are sure to meet with some earnest recommendation to "make a stand for the Religion of our Fathers." We cannot share the alarm; still less can we reciprocate the desire to rally round the "Religion of our Fathers." We have the highest respect for our ancestors, but why we should obstinately espouse their doctrines has never been made clear to us. Why not ask us to stand by the Science of our Fathers? Why not maintain the Politics of our Fathers? Why not uphold all their Social views? Why not despise Railroads, patronizing Post-chaises and the Mail Coach? The answer is ready—(unhappily, it is wrong)—viz., that "Religion is not a *progressive Science*." Speaking with accuracy, it is not a Science at all; but, taking the phrase for what it means, we distinctly say that Religion is a progressive Science, and that the whole history of man is a demonstration of the fact. Polytheism is a progress onwards from Fetichism; Monotheism is a progress onwards from Polytheism; and in Monotheism itself there are marked epochs of progress commensurate with the enlargement of men's conceptions. Thus Christianity is an obvious and avowed progress from Judaism—a new Law to supersede the old, and even in Christianity itself—waiving, for the present, our right to consider the Reformation as a progress—it is surely keeping within the strict limits of truth to say that, of late years, the *moral* element has become preëminent over the more metaphysical and argumentative—JOHN, rather than PETER and PAUL, has become the "favourite disciple"; and Christianity has assumed, even to orthodox minds, a different aspect from that which it presented to our fathers. Unless we are to be bound down to the strict letter of Scripture, it stands to reason that, if we are to exercise our own judgment in interpreting Revelation, our interpretations *must* advance with the advancing culture of our age; and, if we are not to exercise our liberty of thought, we must pass over to Catholicism, accepting the interpretation settled by the early Councils. So that the talk of standing by the religion of our fathers logically ends in embracing the very dogmas which that war cry is raised to combat! Strange that men should see the fallacy of the stationary doctrine when applied to politics or science, and yet not perceive that unless "man's large discourse of reason" is to be peremptorily closed the same fallacy lurks in orthodoxy. For ourselves we iterate and reiterate the proposition that there is no alternative from absolute Authority other than absolute Freedom; but we have touched on this subject elsewhere, and for the moment only refer to the topic, as one over-riding all literary gossip.

Not that literature is without its hopeful signs. Read the number of *Blackwood* just out, and in the review of *Alton Locke* see how candid an admission is made of the extent and profundity of the social evils which that book so eloquently depicts; read also the *British Quarterly*, with its sterling paper on the feudalism of our laws respecting land—a paper to startle even the most bigoted upholder of our "glorious constitution," showing that the forms of the feudal system and the inconveniences consequent upon a strict compliance with these forms, are this day in operation precisely as they existed five centuries ago, and that, in spite of all the progress which the industrial spirit has effected, it has not been able to free land from the traditions and habits of feudalism, nor to render it an article of commerce in the way of plain bargain, sale, and transfer. But then this was the politics of our fathers—the wisdom of our ancestors—to whisper a desire for change is to outrage the cause of "order!"

In the same number of the *British Quarterly* there is an elaborate and valuable paper on NEANDER, and a searching criticism, from the orthodox side, of MACKAY'S *Progress of the Intellect*. In the *North British Review* we notice for especial admiration a comprehensive, thoughtful, and philosophic estimate of CARLYLE, superior, perhaps, to anything that has yet been written on him; also an admirable article on the *Agricultural Crisis*. Signs of hope that this generation will not pass

away without doing some "work of noble note, not unbecoming men who strove with gods," signs that the whole intellect of the nation is employed in attempting to appreciate the extent of social evil and to suggest the remedy, signs there are that make life worth living for, and give to our daily struggles the dignity of an exalted ideal. Among them, and not the least significant as an indication, we count the new journal, *The Christian Socialist*, less for the ability it displays, though that is remarkable, than for its earnestness and the elevation of its truly Catholic spirit. There we find clergymen, and the friends of clergymen, openly avowing that they will fight the cause they hold as true, yea, even in the ranks of Chartists and Infidels, recognizing truth even when propounded by their antagonists, and resolved to merge differences in the broad union of agreement. This is the true principle. Let us move together to accomplish whatever we hold in common, leaving differences of opinion to adjust themselves in due course.

Literature in France is without any novelty just now. That novel by PAUL FEVAL, *Beau Démon*, of which we spoke last week, turns out to be an exciting story of the bandit class; and those who love the Abruzzi peopled with romantic, high-souled scoundrels, will canter through the volumes at an agreeable pace.

Germany has presented us with a specimen of effrontery we never could have looked for. There is a new edition of GOETHE in thirty volumes 8vo., issued at a high price; and the two first volumes which have just appeared rival the shameless French novels, in the unwarrantable waste of space, by which one volume is extended into two. Several pages have only half a dozen lines of print! and, whenever there is a new division, its title is used as a pretext for occupying a page by itself, and the second page is given to the motto! By similar tricks one of GEORGE SAND'S novels, which was sold by her to the publishers as one volume, grew, for the public, into three.

In striking contrast to this prodigality of margin stands the new edition of that very useful work, the *Conversations Lexicon*, the page of which is heavier than in any work of the size we remember; the object of GOETHE'S publisher has been to give as much paper as possible, the object of the *Conversations Lexicon* to give as much print. While noting these new editions let us not omit the pretty little pocket edition of SHAKSPEARE, translated by TIECK and SCHLEGEL—an admirable help to those who are beginning their German studies.

Contemporaneously with our account last week of GOTTFRIED KINKEL, furnished by an eminent German author, there appeared in the *Household Words* a graphic picture by an English poet who had known KINKEL at Bonn. At the close of his paper he appeals to the Literary men of England to unite in a strong expression of sympathy with the unhappy victim, trusting that if it were "duly and respectfully made known to the King of Prussia or to Baron MANTEUFFEL, the Minister of the Interior may induce his Majesty" to set KINKEL free, and suffer him to emigrate to England or America. We agree with the writer that a strong expression from England would greatly influence the King; but will the Literary men of England unite for the purpose? Hitherto they have shown little disposition to unite for any purpose whatever. The thing is, nevertheless, worth trying.

MRS. CROWE'S LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

Light and Darkness; or, the Mysteries of Life. By Catherine Crowe, Author of the "Nightside of Nature," &c. 3 vols. Colburn.

Mrs. Crowe's speciality is a mastery of horrors. Her world of fiction is peopled with phantoms and criminals. She enchains the reader with a tale of mystery more skillfully than any other writer, by the directness and unmisgivingness of her style. But what suppers one must eat, to enjoy the nightmares pursuing her waking dreams! What loins of pork must "sit heavy" on our imaginations! How she herself must shudder at graveyards by moonlight! What picturesque terrors must accompany her travels! Or is it that familiarity breeds contempt, and that she has so long been mistress of the realms of horror as to feel no fear? We know not: but this we know, that for a collection of incidents to make your hair curl, and your blood chill, and your breath, she has no superior.

In this her latest publication we have a collection of

tales, all turning upon the criminal and diseased parts of our nature, without any claims to literature beyond a certain straightforward matter-of-factness which enhances the reality of the stories, and a certain dexterity in the development and unravelment of a plot peculiarly her own. There is no surplusage; none of those wearisome passages thrown in as ballast by unskilful writers, and remorselessly "skipped" by dexterous readers. The narrative is never retarded while the writer makes reflections, or luxuriates in descriptions. Her plots are never like those of Bayes in the *Rehearsal*, meant to drag in "good things;" they are there for their own sake, and are their own "good things." Analysis of motive or elaboration of character is never attempted. She has a story to tell, and tells it.

We defy any one to read the "Accusation," the "Monk's Story," the "Poisoners," or the "Priest of St. Quentin," and pause till he comes to the close. On the other hand one is forced to admit that the stories leave a very disagreeable impression: all this horror is unrelieved by beauty, by heroism, or by philosophic purpose. The influence cannot be good. It is well now and then that the grave should be opened, and living men forced to look into it; but if one can have too much partridge, still more can one have too much graveyard! Humanity is not Ghoulism. Such a story as the *Unseen Witness*—with which Mrs. Crowe enriched our columns—is worth a dozen volumes of *Light and Darkness*—its quiet everyday truth bore a sound lesson, and it depicted human beings in their normal condition.

From the very nature of these tales, it is difficult to select an illustrative extract; the one best suited for our purpose is this of the—

SOMNAMBULIST MURDERER.

"Somnambulists are sometimes subject to strange hallucinations," he replied; "their dream is to them as real as our actual daily life is to us, and they not unfrequently act out the scenes of the drama with a terrible determination. I will just give you one instance of the danger that may accrue from a delusion of this nature. At the last monastery I inhabited, before I became Prior of Pierre Châtel, we had a monk who was known to be a somnambulist. He was a man of a sombre character and gloomy temperament; but it was rather supposed that his melancholy proceeded from physical causes than from any particular source of mental uneasiness. His nightly wanderings were very irregular; sometimes they were frequent; sometimes there were long intermissions. Occasionally he would leave his cell, and after being absent from it several hours would return of his own accord, still fast asleep, and lay himself in his bed; at other times he would wander so far away that we had to send in search of him; and sometimes he would be met by the messengers on his way back, either awake or asleep, as it might happen.

"This strange malady had caused us some anxiety, and we had not neglected to seek the best advice we could obtain with respect to its treatment; and at length the remedies applied seemed to have taken effect; the paroxysms became more rare, and the disease so far subsided that it ceased to be a subject of observation amongst us. Several months had elapsed since I had heard anything of the nocturnal excursions of Brother Dominique, when one night that I had some business of importance in hand, instead of going to bed when the rest of the brotherhood retired to their cells, I seated myself at my desk for the purpose of reading and answering certain letters concerning the affair in question. I had been some time thus occupied, and had just finished my work, and had already locked my desk preparatory to going to bed, when I heard the closing of a distant door, and immediately afterwards a foot in the long gallery that separated my room from the cells of the brotherhood. What could be the matter? Somebody was ill, and was coming to seek assistance; and I was confirmed in this persuasion when I perceived that the foot was approaching the door, the key of which I had not turned. In a moment more it opened, and Fra Dominique entered, asleep. His eyes were wide open, but there was evidently no speculation in them; they were fixed and glassy, like the eyes of a corpse. He had nothing on but the tunic which he was in the habit of wearing at night, and in his hand he held a large knife. At this strange apparition I stood transfixed. From the cautious manner in which he had opened the door, and the stealthy pace with which he advanced into the room, I could not doubt that he was bent upon mischief; but aware of the dangerous effects that frequently result from the too sudden awakening of a sleep-walker, I thought it better to watch in silence the acting out of this fearful drama, than venture to disturb him. With all the precautions he would have used not to arouse me had he been awake, he moved towards the bed, and in so doing he had occasion to pass quite close to where I stood, and, as the light of the lamps fell upon his face, I saw that his brows were knit, and his features contracted into an expression of resolute malignity. When he reached the bed he bent over it, felt with his hand in the place where I should have been, and then, apparently satisfied, he lifted up his arm, and struck successively three heavy blows—so heavy that, having pierced the bed-clothes, the blade of the knife entered far into the mattress, or rather into the mat that served me for one. Suddenly, however, whilst his arm was raised for another blow, he started, and turning

round, hastened towards the window, which he opened, and, had it been large enough, I think would have thrown himself out. But finding the aperture too small, he changed his direction. Again he passed close to me, and I felt myself shrink back as he almost touched me with his tunic. The two lamps that stood on my table made no impression on his eyes; he opened and closed the door as before; and I heard him proceed rapidly along the gallery and retire to his own cell. It would be vain to attempt to describe the amazement with which I had witnessed this terrible scene. I had been, as it were, the spectator of my own murder, and I was overcome by the horrors of this visionary assassination. Grateful to Providence for the danger I had escaped, I yet could not brace my nerves to look at it with calmness, and I passed the remainder of the night in a state of painful agitation.

"On the following morning, as soon as breakfast was over, I summoned Fra Dominique to my room. As he entered I saw his eye glance at the bed, which was now, however, covered by other linen, so that there were no traces visible of his nocturnal visit. His countenance was sad, but expressed no confusion, till I enquired what had been the subject of his dreams the preceding night. Then he started, and changed colour.

"Reverend father," said he, "why do you ask me this?"

"Never mind," said I; "I have my reasons."

"I do not like to repeat my dream," returned he, "it was too frightful; and I fear that it must have been Satan himself that inspired it."

We pass over some pages, and alight upon the monk's explanation of his tendency to wander thus murderously at night. He tells the Prior the story of his life—how his sister married a dissolute Italian, named Ripa, who, after squandering their money, quitted them for some months. One night he—then a child—slept with his mother:—

"I suppose I fell asleep directly, for I have no recollection of my mother's coming to bed, nor of anything else, till I was awakened by the pressure of a heavy hand on my breast, and, by the faint light of a lantern which stood on a table, I discovered my brother-in-law, Ripa, the Italian, hanging over me. But it was not at me he was looking, but at my mother, who, fast asleep, was lying on the other side of the bed. An instinctive terror kept me silent and motionless; and presently, having ascertained the position in which his victim was lying, he raised a large knife he held in his hand and struck it repeatedly into her breast. At the third blow my horror and anguish overcame my fears, and I uttered a cry, which seems first to have revealed to him my presence; or, perhaps, he did not know it was me, but was only startled by the sudden noise, for, as his purpose was undoubtedly robbery, I do not see why he should not have despatched so insignificant an obstacle, and fulfilled his intentions. However this may be, he took fright and fled, first to the window,—for he seemed to have lost all presence of mind,—but, finding no egress there, he turned and retreated by the door.

"I was afraid he would return, and, almost dead with terror and grief, I lay still the rest of the night, without courage to rise, or to call the servant who slept in the kitchen. When she entered the room in the morning she found my mother dead, and myself bathed in her blood. Ripa was pursued and taken, my testimony fatal to him, and my poor sister died of a broken heart a few months after he had expiated his crime on the scaffold.

"A long and fearful malady was the consequence to me of this dreadful event, and I have ever since been subject to these dreams!"

"What dreams?" I asked.

"Such as I had last night," he answered; "wherein I feel myself constrained to act over again the frightful scene I witnessed."

"And pray," I enquired, "do you select any particular person as your victim in those dreams?"

"Always."

"And what does this selection depend upon? Is it enmity?"

"No," returned Dominique, "it is a peculiar influence that I cannot explain. Perhaps," added he, after some hesitation, "you may have observed my eyes frequently fixed on you of late?"

"I remembered that I had observed this; and he then told me that whoever he looked at in that manner was the person he dreamt of."

MAZZINI ON ITALY.

Royalty and Republicanism in Italy; or, Notes and Documents relating to the Lombard Insurrection, and to the Royal War of 1818. By Joseph Mazzini. C. Gilpin, 1850.

(Second Notice.)

It was the fear of the Republic, as we have said, which drove Charles Albert across the Ticino, and it was the fear of the Republic which prevented him from conducting the war with that vigour and enthusiasm which must have commanded success. There were men in Italy, as elsewhere, who styled themselves *Moderates*, a word which often serves as a mask to cover impotence and conciliate respect. These men trusted in Charles Albert and distrusted the people. Weak and illogical, they did not see that the first condition of victory was daring, and that to expel invaders, who had occupied the Italian territory for three hundred years, it was necessary that the people, not only of Lombardy, but all Italy should rise, and conquer by main force and the irresistible

impetus of enthusiasm. And the people were ready to rise, the people desired to rise, many thousands among them did rise. But how were they received? All volunteers were treated with disdain, nay, with cruelty. To be a volunteer was to be a possible traitor—to what? to Italy? no, to the royalists. Garibaldi's sword was rejected; Cialdini who, at Mazzini's request, came from Spain, was coldly dismissed. He went to Venice and was wounded in the ranks. The Moderates would persist in saving Italy by the royal arms; and saving Italy meant erecting the phantom kingdom of the north. There was no heartiness in Charles Albert, no heartiness in his officials, no heartiness in the leaders of the Moderates. And the consequences which ensued from this moderate policy, were perfectly natural and inexorably just. Radetski was in earnest! Was Charles Albert? Mazzini has drawn a portrait of the man; he generously abstains from attacking the character of the king—of the king, be it remembered, who once condemned him to death:—

"I speak not of the King; whatever his adulators and the political hypocrites, who are now making the post-humous enthusiasm for Charles Albert an arm of opposition against his successor—may attempt to say, however sincere the people of the kingdom of Piedmont may be in their illusion, that the idea of the war of independence is symbolized in that name; the judgment of posterity will weigh heavily upon the man of 1821, of 1833—of the capitulation of Milan. The nature, the temperament of the individual was such as to exclude all hope of enterprize, on his part, for the Unity of Italy. Genius, love, and faith were wanting in Charles Albert. Of the first, which reveals itself by a life entirely, logically, and resolutely devoted to a great idea, the career of Charles Albert does not offer the least trace; the second was stifled in him by the continual mistrust of men and things, which was awakened by the remembrance of an unhappy past; the last was denied him by his uncertain character, wavering always between good and evil, between to do and not to do, between daring and not daring. In his youth, a thought, not of virtue, but of Italian ambition—the ambition, however, which may be profitable to nations—had passed through his soul like lightning; but he recoiled in affright, and the remembrance of this one brilliant moment of his youth presented itself hourly to him, and tortured him like the incessant throbbing of an old wound, instead of acting upon him as an excitement to a new life. Between the risk of losing, if he failed, the crown of his little kingdom, and the fear of the liberty which the people, after having fought for him, would claim for themselves, he went hesitating on, with this spectre before his eyes, stumbling at every step, without energy to confront these dangers, without the will or power to comprehend that to become King of Italy he must first of all forget that he was King of Piedmont. Despotism from rooted instinct, liberal from self-love and from a presentiment of the future, he submitted alternately to the government of Jesuits and to that of men of progress. A fatal disunion between thought and action, between conception and the facility of execution, showed itself in every act. Most of those who endeavoured to place him at the head of the enterprize were forced to agree to this view of his character. Some of those intimate with him went so far as to whisper that he was threatened with lunacy. He was the Hamlet of Monarchy."

But the blame does not wholly rest on Charles Albert. The Provisional Government of Milan, thinking only of their miserable aristocratic interests, when the fate of Italy was at stake, and soliciting his aid, in preference to an appeal to the people, were far more to blame than he. They, Austrian officials, in part, dominated by old habits and constitutional timidity, had no faith in the Italian cause; and, as Mazzini truly observes, they substituted "a miserable project of political egotism for the grand national idea." The difference is immense. They did not keep faith with the Republican party, as the latter strictly, generously kept faith with them. Instead of adjourning the political question until after the victory, they caused the fusion to be voted in the most unfair manner; and on the 13th of June the act which annexed, on paper, Lombardy with Piedmont was solemnly presented to the King in his camp. Had the Republicans been the anarchists described by the Austrian, French, and English absolutists, they would have overturned the Provisional Government which had violated its pact with the people. The Republicans, faithful to their promises, abstained from all opposition. They simply protested; and, preserving their honour, Mazzini published in the programme of the *Italia del Popolo*, a few days after the decree of the 12th of May, a declaration, that "their first thought should be war; their second, the unity of the country; their last, the form of the institution which would assure its liberty and its mission."

Even the British envoys, even the correspondent of the *Times* in the camp of Charles Albert testified to the good faith of the Republicans and the bad

faith of the Moderates. He told us, in his letter of May 14th, 1848, that the "train was well laid," that Charles Albert was made to appear "quite disinterested" in the proceedings; that before the world it was "the Lombards who sought annexation," but that in reality it was the King.

Thus the war of independence, from the moment when Charles Albert crossed the Ticino, became a dynastic war—a war of conquests, of aggression, and as such it was legitimately treated by the diplomatists. Charles Albert pretended to respect, while he violated, the treaties of 1815. To have succeeded he should have trampled on those treaties, called the people to his standard, and made war on the Austrians without any other aim than their expulsion. But this was too much to expect from a King; and it was an expectation which no one but a Moderate could have entertained.

We pass over the details of the royal war. We have seen that its motive power was fear; its guiding principle, hesitation; and its crowning results, defeat. The whole campaign may be characterized in one sentence. The advance of a brave and excited army, backed by an enthusiastic population, and then the disgraceful retreat of the same army, demoralized by inaction and the cold scepticism of its chiefs, through a betrayed and abandoned population. It was then only that the Republican banner was unfurled. But let Mazzini tell the story of those desolating days:—

"On the night of the 3rd of August, Fanti and Restelli went to Lodi to ask Charles Albert what his intentions were. They did not see him, but they had from General Bava the declaration 'that the King would march to the defence of Milan.' I met Fanti on his return, and I foresaw ruin. He must remember now that I conjured him to prepare plans of defence, 'as if the Piedmontese army were coming only to go away again'; but he, above all a soldier in ideas, as ulterior facts have but too well proved, fascinated by the expectation of the 40,000 soldiers who were to arrive, smiled at my scepticism."

"On the 3rd appeared General Olivieri, furnished with a royal decree, which named him Military Commissary, with the Marquis Montezemolo and the Marquis Strigelli. They came, and in virtue of the fusion, assumed to themselves all executive power. I saw the three; I heard their words to the multitude assembled under the windows of the palace; I saw Fanti again, I ran through the streets of Milan, I studied men's faces and words, and I despaired. The people believed themselves saved, they were then irrevocably lost. I left the city—God alone knows with what grief; and I joined Garibaldi's column at Bergamo."

"The next day Charles Albert entered Milan. How he brought with him the capitulation, and yet promised to defend the city, and ordered all buildings which could serve the enemy to be burnt; how, after having on the 4th taken the oath for himself, his sons, and his soldiers, before a deputation of the National Guard, yet on the 5th, while the people were thrilling with eagerness for the battle, he and his declared that the capitulation of Milan was an accomplished fact; how, at this news, a transport of fury seized upon the population, and menaces were addressed to the King; what scenes occurred at the Greppi Palace, where new verbal and written promises were made by Charles Albert, that he, moved by the people's unanimous wish, would fight to the death—with his secret and cowardly flight immediately ensuing; all these facts, with details which will render the monarchy for ever infamous, may be found recounted in the narrative of the Committee of Defence, and in that terrible chapter of Cattaneo, entitled 'La Consegnà.'"

How Mazzini joined the legion of Garibaldi at Monza is best told in the words of Giacomo Medici, one of the best and bravest of the Italian patriots, who hastened from Monte Video to Italy at the first news of the movement, and who, eleven months after the fall of Milan, so obstinately defended the *Vascello* at Rome:—

"On the morning of the 3rd of August, 1848, Garibaldi, with his division, was just about to quit Bergamo, in order, by forced marches, to reach Monza, when we saw appear amongst us, carbine on shoulder, Mazzini, asking to join our ranks as a simple soldier of the legion I commanded, which was to form the vanguard of the division of Garibaldi. A general acclamation saluted the great Italian, and the legion unanimously confided its banner, which bore the device, 'God and the People,' to his charge."

"As soon as Mazzini's arrival was known at Bergamo, the population ran to see him. They pressed around him, they begged him to speak. All those who heard him must remember his discourse. He recommended raising barricades to defend the town in case of attack, whilst we should march upon Milan; and he conjured them, whatever might arrive, to love Italy always, and never to despair of her redemption. His words were received with enthusiasm, and the column left amid marks of the deepest sympathy."

"The march was very fatiguing—rain fell in torrents, we were drenched to the skin. Although accustomed to a life of study, and little adapted to the violent exercise of forced marches, his constancy and serenity never forsook him for an instant, and, notwithstanding our counsels, for we feared for his physical strength, he would

never stop, nor leave the column. It happened even that seeing one of our youngest volunteers clothed merely in linen, and who, consequently, had no protection against the rain and the sudden cold, he forced him to accept and wear his own cloak."

"Arrived at Monza, we learned the fatal news of the capitulation of Milan, and heard that a numerous body of Austrian cavalry had been sent against us, and was already at the other side, at the gates of Monza."

"Garibaldi, very inferior in forces, not wishing to expose his small body to a complete and useless destruction, gave orders to fall back upon Como; and placed me with my column as rear-guard, in order to cover the retreat."

"For youthful volunteers, whose greatest wish was to fight, the order to retreat was a signal of discouragement, and in the first moments was accompanied with some disorder. Happily, this did not occur in my rear-guard. From Monza to Como, my column, always pursued by the enemy, menaced with destruction at every moment by a very superior force, never wavered, remained compact and united, showing itself always ready to repulse all attack, and kept the enemy in check to the last."

"In this march, full of danger and difficulty, the strength of soul, intrepidity and decision which Mazzini possesses in such a high degree, never failed, and were the admiration of the bravest among us. His presence, his words, the example of his courage animated our young soldiers, who were besides proud of partaking such dangers with him; and all decided, Mazzini amongst the first, in case of an engagement, to perish to the last man for the defence of a faith of which he had been the apostle, and for which he was ready to become the martyr. This resolute determination contributed much to maintain the order and the firm attitude which saved the rest of the division."

That banner, six months later, floated from the Capitol. That banner, as yet, has not been disgraced; we cannot say so much for the tricolor which usurped its place.

The infamous siege of Rome, by a French army, is yet fresh in the memory of us all; but not so the refutation, which this volume affords, of the calumnies emanating from the French and Austrian Embassies, "our foreign Correspondent," and other sources, which were poured through the English press at the time, and which have not yet ceased to flow. We place a few facts side by side. The French proclamation declared that Rome was ruled and defended by foreigners. Let us see. There were only seven men in the Constituent Assembly not Romans, but they were Italians. The *employés*, metropolitan and provincial, were "all Romans." Only "two superior officers were not born Romans." Signior Mazzini asks:—

"Where, then, were the foreigners? Garibaldi and his legion, 800 men; Arcioni and his legion, 300 men; Manara, dead for liberty, and his Lombard Riflemen, 500 men; 200 Poles; the foreign legion, 100 men; the handful of brave men who defended the *Vascello* under Medici. Altogether 2000 men; but not really so many, because Arcioni's legion contained, at least, one-third of Romagnoli, because the little knot of cavalry which formed part of Garibaldi's legion, and which was commanded by Masina of Bologna—dead on the field—were almost all Roman citizens, and because half even of the foot soldiers of Garibaldi belonged to the country."

"The number of 'foreigners' who assisted in the defence of Rome was from 1400 to 1500 men; from 1400 to 1500 men amongst a total of 14,000; for it is well that Italy should know that 14,000 men, a young army without traditions, and improvised under the very fire of the enemy, held in check, for two months, 30,000 soldiers of France. You knew all this, gentlemen, or you could have known it, and therefore you ought to have done so; and, nevertheless, you shamelessly gave out to the Assembly the number of 'foreigners' as 20,000, as a proof that, after all, it was not a Roman idea that you had endeavoured to stifle in blood; and upon this cipher of your own invention depends the greater part of your argument. Foreigners! I entreat pardon of my countrymen for having inscribed the word, after you, upon my page. What! Lombards, Tuscans, Italians, foreigners at Rome! And it is by you, Frenchmen, by you—who, in re-establishing the Pontifical throne, have been supported by Austrians and Spaniards—that this reproach is made! A year ago our provinces sent *élite* of their youth to fight upon the plains of Lombardy, as to a convention of honour; but I do not remember that Radetzky ever called them in his proclamations, foreigners. The absolute denial of Italian nationality has been reserved for the nephew of him who, at St. Helena, uttered these words:—'Unity of manners, of language, of literature show that Italy is destined to form a single country.'"

The accusation of violence, of a reign of terror, and of revolutionary excess, is as easily disposed of. Compare the two following extracts—the first, asserting what the Roman Government did not do; and the second, what the French commander *did* do. The extracts are from the "Letter to MM. de Tocqueville and De Falloux":—

"During nearly five months of Republican Government can you, gentlemen, point out a single condemnation to death for a political offence? A single exile founded upon political suspicions? A single exceptional tribunal instituted in Rome to judge political offences? A single newspaper suspended by order of the Government? A single decree directed to restrain the liberty

of the press anterior to the siege? If so, point them out. Point out the laws originating in a system of terror; point out the ferocious bands of whom you speak; point out the victims of our rule—or resign yourselves to be branded as liars.

"What! your first decree in Rome is to establish the council of war for political offences; on the 5th of July you dissolve the clubs, you forbid all meetings, you threaten exemplary punishments to protect persons having friendly relations with your troops; on the 6th you dissolve the civic guard; on the 7th you command the complete disarming of the citizens; on the 14th you suppress the journals; on the 18th you fulminate threats against any meeting composed of more than five persons."

And in summing up the treacheries of the French Government, Mazzini, with a holy wrath, unusual in him, but grand and just, on such an occasion, with Truth for his warrant, thus writes:—

"Your work is one of destruction, equal to that accomplished by the monarchy in Spain in 1823. Would that you had at least the brutal courage of the monarchy! But, false interpreters of an idea which is not your own, secret enemies to the banner which you have publicly sworn to serve, conspirators rather than ministers, you are condemned to wrap yourselves in hypocritical and premeditated falsehood. Falsehood in your fundamental assertions; falsehood in the particulars; falsehood in yourselves; falsehood in your agents; falsehood—I blush in saying it for France, which you have at length brought so low as to soil her traditional honour—falsehood in the generals of your army. You have conquered by falsehood, and by falsehood you endeavour to justify yourselves. General Oudinot lied, when, in order to deceive the populations, and to smooth for himself the road to Rome, he vilely trafficked in our affections for France by keeping the Italian tricolour, which he knew himself about to overthrow, entwined with the French flag at Civita Vecchia until the 15th of July. He lied impudently by affirming, in his proclamation, that the greater part of the Roman army had fraternized with the French, when the whole staff of the army protested and resigned, when only 800 men (at the present time even they are dissolved) accepted the proposed conditions of service. He lied as a coward, when, after having given his solemn promise in writing not to assault the city before Monday,* the 4th of June, he assaulted it on the night of the Sabbath. The envoy Lesseps lied when, induced by a culpable weakness, partly redeemed by the hope of remedying the evil, he reassured us by continual promises of a conclusive treaty, and conjured us not to attach importance to the movements of the French troops, dictated solely by the necessity of satisfying the soldiers, who were impatient of repose—whilst, in the mean time, you basely took advantage of our good faith to study unmolested our defences, to strengthen yourselves, and to occupy unexpectedly, during an armistice, the strategical point of Monte Mario. M. de Corcelles lied when, in contradiction to the declaration of the Roman Municipality, to that of the foreign consuls, and to the testimony of a whole city, he declared that Rome had never been bombarded. The bombs fell for many nights, and particularly from the 23rd to the 24th, and from the 29th to the 30th, most frequently and injuriously upon the Corso, upon the Piazza de Spagna, upon the Babuino, upon the Colonna Palace, upon the hospital of Santo Spirito, upon that of the Pellegrini, and in other places. You lied, M. de Tocqueville, when, relying upon the ignorance of your majority, you boasted as a solitary fact in history, of the choice of the point towards the Porta San Pancrazio for assaulting the city, for the greater safety of the people and their habitations. Rome offers at the gate of San Paolo, and at the gate of San Giovanni, an open country; whilst the gate of San Pancrazio is surrounded by the people and their houses. The gate of San Pancrazio was chosen because from thence a communication with Civita Vecchia could be kept with less risk; and because, whilst from the other points it would be necessary to descend to a battle with the people and their barricades, which you rightly feared, from that of San Pancrazio the Janiculum dominating Rome offered the opportunity of conquering it, not by a war of men, but of bombs and cannons. You have all lied—from him who is the first amongst you, to the lowest of your agents—to us, to the assembly, to France, and to Europe, when, from the first day of the nefarious undertaking to the last, you gave repeated promises of protection, of brotherhood, and of liberty, which you had already determined to betray."

We refer those who doubt the justice of these charges to Mazzini's volume, where the proofs abound.

The volume closes with a remarkable "Letter to an English Friend," written, after Rome had fallen, with that calmness and fortitude which never desert Mazzini. It contains many truths, and raises many questions upon which Englishmen should ponder. Did we do our duty towards Rome in those sublime lays? Did we even understand our mere material interests as a commercial people? Why did we fail to perceive that the great question of liberty of conscience was at stake at Rome, that *that* also lay at the root of the political insurrection? "The Pope at *facta*," writes Mazzini, "was the theory of absolute inflexible authority exiled from Rome for ever; and exiled from Rome was to be exiled from the world."

* * * The principle of liberty and of free consent,

* * * Letter of the 1st of June to General Roselli: "Only—I refer the attack of the place until Monday morning at least."

elevated by the Constituent Assembly into a living active right, tended rapidly to destroy the absolutist dogma which from Rome aims more than ever to enchain the universe." The events of the last few weeks amply prove this latter assertion. The bitterest opponents of the Roman people in the spring of 1849 are amongst those whose indignation is the fiercest at the introduction of the Papal Bull! This is as it should be. The advocates of diplomatic expediency deserve to be sometimes wounded by their own weapons.

It would be superfluous to speak of the merits of this volume as mere literature. There is no attempt of art. The whole volume pretends to be only "notes," not history; but they are by a master hand. Close, pointed, vigorous; above all, clear and fused together by a sustained tide of enthusiasm from the heart of the writer.

Wherever he may go the hearts of hundreds of Englishmen beat in sympathy with his aspirations, and with the holy cause to which he has devoted his genius and his life.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Two Brothers: or, the Family that live in the first Society. 2 vols. Bentley.

The Two Brothers is a German novel written in a liberal spirit. The title-page does not tell us the author or translator, or if translated from the German. We are left to gather from perusal that the work is German. But in what part of Germany the scene is laid, or of what religion are the persons of the story we are not informed, though we may reasonably infer Protestant of the latter. The social and political relations given of German life, we may suppose to represent all Germany more or less, though the state may be little or great in which the scene of *The Two Brothers* is laid. We here learn that the divisions in society are much greater than in England. In the Germany written of, the court and the army alone constitute good society. Lawyers, clergy, physicians, artists, are excluded from it, and seem to take their place in common with shopkeepers or the bourgeoisie. The aristocracy of the court and army rigidly confine their society to each other. All the offices of state are portioned out amongst them, and it appears that the best places in the theatres are reserved for them. In their schools birth is looked to, and only those who can lay claim to it are noticed by the Government. The manners of society are the same as in England. *Wall-flowers*—gentlemen and ladies who, from timidity or want of attraction, ornament that part of the room—are frequently mentioned. The stiffness of the best society, which with young ladies falls into an invincible phalanx not to be broken by young gentlemen, is described to be in Germany as in England. The indifference of young ladies at table to those whom they do not consider their equals; the disposition to set them down or humiliate them if possible, comes before us as English though in a German dress. As to the education of women, the author thinks that it should be something more manly, more calculated to make them think and reason, rather than be the acquisitions of accomplishments which merely amuse. He thinks, moreover, that they should be more capable of managing the household from practical knowledge of its working; and, particularly, that they should be, above all things, well versed in arithmetic. It is asked by one in the society of the secondary class, what philosophy should be given to young ladies, and the answer is the moral philosophy of Jesus, delivered as it is in appropriate sentiments, short sayings, and examples. The heroine is a younger sister, a sort of Cinderella, who acts as lady's maid to the mama, who is of the nobility, and married to an officer of the army not of inferior birth. The hopes of the mother are placed in an elder daughter, to whom the younger is sacrificed. The elder is betrothed to a noble; and the younger is not allowed to marry with a schoolmaster to whom she is betrothed, lest it should give offence to the noble son-in-law. The younger for the term of six years obeys her parent, and lives in silent suffering and patience, when the elder is jilted by her noble future, and dies broken hearted. The younger is a character to be found in Miss Edgeworth's novels, and has not a word of religion in her mouth. The elder, when all hopes of rising in the world are denied to her by the abandonment of her lover, and every prospect of allying herself with the noblesse is shut out, seeks refuge in the church and the Bible, and dies in a tragic agony of prayer. The moral is, that *her* heart is not affected, whilst the younger is practically pious, and an example of all the Christian virtues from the beginning to the end, without the externals of religion.

The Pacing of the Sentinel; or, the Soul on Duty. C. Gilpin.

A quaint and not very expressive title for a collection of anecdotes respecting illustrious men.

A Collection of Poetry for the Practice of Elocution.

Taylor and Walton.

This collection has been made by Mr. Francis W. Newman for the use of the ladies at the college in Bedford-square, but, of course, will be equally useful in all schools. The selection is made with a view to the real practice of elocution, and therefore begins with the simpler rhythms, gradually ascending to the more complex. There is great variety in the poems, and the volume is a readable volume of poetry quite apart from its educational purpose.

Thoughts on the Nature of Man, the Propagation of Creeds, and the Formation of Human Character. Joseph Clayton.

This is a suggestive little tractate, containing really good thoughts, and an abundance of striking quotations from

a variety of sources, mostly orthodox. The author's object is to show how dependent men are upon the circumstances of their education for the peculiar religious creeds they adopt; how the Mahometan necessarily believes in the Koran, the Catholic in the Pope, the Calvinist in Calvin, and so on. There is nothing new in the position; but the illustrations are very striking, and the general effect of the tractate will be to cultivate an extended tolerance towards all dogmatic creeds.

The Expositor: A Weekly Illustrated Recorder of Inventions, Designs, and Art-Manufactures. Nos. 1 and 2.

J. Clayton, Jun.

A capital idea, well carried out. *The Expositor* is plentifully garnished with woodcuts very carefully executed, and will form an excellent handbook of the Great Exhibition.

The Fourth Commandment not given by God to Moses. A Pamphlet for the People. By a Labourer. J. Watson.

A well-written pamphlet on the Sabbath question.

Masters and Servants: a Dramatic Exposé. In three Acts. By Robert Reynolds, author of the "Professed Cook." Churton.

A Suggestive Manual of the Theory and Practice of Education. By S. C. Freeman. C. H. Law.

Robert Owen's Journal, Explanatory of the Means to Well-place, Well-employ, and Well-educate the whole Population.

A Vindication of Unitarianism, in reply to the Reverend E. Wardlaw, D.D. By James Yates, M.A. Fourth edition, carefully revised, with many additions. E. T. Whitfield.

Penny Maps. Part IV. New South Wales—Victoria and Port Phillip. Chapman and Hall.

The Cyclopaedia of the British Empire. Part V. C. Knight.

Half-Hours with the Best Authors. Part VI. C. Knight.

Pictorial Half-Hours. Part V. C. Knight.

Portsmouth Lyrics. By Alfred Lear Huxford and J. Albert Way.

The British Quarterly Review.

The North British Review.

Fraser's Magazine.

The Rambler.

The Mirror of the Times.

The Looker-On.

The Freethinker's Magazine.

A Letter to the Right Honourable the Earl of Shrewsbury on the Re-establishment of the Hierarchy of the English Catholic Church, and the present posture of Catholic Affairs in Great Britain. By Ambrose Lisle Phillips, Esq., of Grace Dieu Manor. C. Dolman.

Six Compositions from the Life of Christ. Drawn by F. R. Pickersgill, R.A. Chapman and Hall.

REMEDY FOR IRELAND.—The chief impediments to the prosperity of Ireland arise neither from ignorance nor from the perverse character of the people, but from the state of the law. While hundreds of thousands are emigrating to the ends of the earth to cultivate wastes, and boring and scratching for gold in California, there can be no doubt at all that they would tell you, if seriously asked, that they would much prefer toiling and expending their capital at home if they could find land at a fair rent, easily transferable, and leases and customs, or laws, that would enable them to enjoy the fruits of their labour. Feudal and landlord made law has oppressed, and choked, and stifled the land. Till land be freed from the grasp of feudalism, by an easy, cheap, and safe transfer, neither free trade, nor free labour, nor free industry, nor the great agricultural and commercial resources of England can have fair play.—*British Quarterly*, No. 24.

The Arts.

MARSTON'S NEW TRAGEDY.

Angry authors and irritated actors are fond of styling us,—the nobles of the Fourth Estate,—"anonymous scribblers." I don't like this; I won't have it assumed that my fine Roman hand ever could be anonymous; accordingly, from this time forward, I throw aside the veil which modesty dropped over my countenance, and stand forth confessed as the author of all the brilliant criticisms, shameless eulogies, and remorseless "attacks," which may issue from my incomparable judgment, devoted partizanship, and deranged liver. I am prepared for all the "responsibility" of my office. Brother critics may do as they please, but if I am a "hired bravo" I will no longer wear a mask. Managers, authors, actors—*irremble!* VIVIAN is pitiless!

John Westland Marston is a name of hope in the dramatic world, and the name of a prodigiously clever fellow out of it, so that a new play signed by him is a matter of unusual interest. I have watched his progress upwards from the *Patrician's Daughter*, with a friendly pride, certain that the elements of dramatic genius in his mind only needed favourable opportunities to issue finally in striking dramas. *Philip Augustus and Marie de Méranie* is in many respects his best work hitherto; but he will do better yet. The art of the drama is not learned in a day.

Before speaking of this play it will be useful to sketch the facts presented by history to the poet who selects this subject. Philip Augustus, the astute and treacherous companion in arms of our Cœur de Lion, marries Ingeburge, the lovely sister of the Danish King. Her renown preceded her; but suddenly, during the celebration of the ceremony, an inexplicable and unconquerable aversion seizes her bridegroom—probably one of those physical antipathies which animal magnetism may one day explain, but which are now familiar enough as facts.

Philip turns with abhorrence from his bride, and swears he will never again enter her nuptial chamber. He demands a divorce, and seizes on their relationship as a pretext. His willing bishops are easily persuaded to declare the marriage null. Two years afterwards Philip marries Agnes de Méranie, leaving his wife Ingeburge in such destitution that she is forced to sell her very clothes for food. Hearing of the new marriage she again appeals to Rome for succour; this time with more effect. A new Pope—Innocent III.—has succeeded to the Papal chair, and being a man of vigour, courage, and resolution, he annuls the divorce, and threatens the King with an interdict upon all France unless he put aside Agnes. Philip defies him. France is placed under the ban. The people rise. Deserted by the noblesse, the clergy, and the people, Philip tries in vain to force Ingeburge to demand in her own person the divorce: he confines her in a miserable prison, her food is stinted, when ill a physician is refused her, a confessor is refused her, and Philip's minions daily reproach her with causing the miseries of France. But Ingeburge is resolute. In one of her letters to the Pope she says:—"Believe nothing that violence may extort from me: my tongue may yield, my body flinch, but never my soul. I am a legitimate wife, as such I will die, happy to die in defence of the sacred sacrament of marriage." At last, the King finding his defeat inevitable, consents to part with Agnes; and she dies of grief two months afterwards.

Such, if you read history, and particularly the memoir in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (which is not likely!) is the outline of this story, and a finer subject for an historical drama of the Shakspearian or Schillerian order cannot easily be found. See what materials it has in the injured Queen Ingeburge, her patient suffering, her indomitable courage; in the wilful Philip; in the grand supremacy of religious authority controlling the king; in the turbulence of the noblesse, clergy, and people ruined by the king's obstinacy; and in Agnes de Méranie, the loving and deserted woman; it is full of historical movement and of dramatic collisions. But, fertile as it is in materials for historic treatment, it is almost barren in domestic interest. Love should not be the pivot of such a play. Perhaps it requires a Shakspeare to dispense with love. At any rate Marston has not ventured to dispense with it, for, though he has faintly indicated these historic points, his whole force has been thrown into the love passages between a sentimental king and a loving woman. This is not an objection I am making, it is a simple fact which I record. The poet is at perfect liberty to use history for his own purposes, and I will not deny him the right of perverting it just as he thinks fit. All I say is, that Philip is a fiction not a portrait, and that the play might have been a grand historic poem instead of what it is—a love drama.

Marston has thrown Ingeburge entirely into the back-ground. Probably he feared the resemblance between her position and that of Queen Katharine in Henry VIII. But the fear has robbed him of half the wealth of his subject. Ingeburge is the real heroine of the story; but he has given that place to Agnes de Méranie, whom from some unexplained reason he chooses to call Marie (and by way of making it worse, the actors all pronounce that sweet name as if it were *Mary*!) and the collision of his piece is that of affection *versus* the world. When Philip reinstates Ingeburge on the throne, he flies to Marie in the hope that as she is his wife in "the face of heaven;" she will not part from him although Ingeburge bear the name of queen; but Marie, with a respect for convention, which the audience applauds, sets aside the fact of their being married "in the face of heaven" as nothing when opposed to the fact that they are not married "in the face of earth."

Now, although he has grouped round his subject several striking scenes, and produced an effective play, yet to my mind he has missed the real greatness of his subject, and has not compensated us for the loss by the substitution of a good domestic story such as one can easily carry away. In this respect I prefer the *Patrician's Daughter* and *Strathmore*. It is rather a collection of scenes than the evolution of an idea or passion. And I have a technical objection to make against the slowness of its movement; there are too many scenes, and the situations are always too long in preparation. The consequence is, that when you have been fairly roused by a striking situation, the excitement is suffered to cool down again for some time, and in thinking over the play your memory alights upon certain points instead of continuously following the evolution.

I have done with objection. The play was entirely successful, as it deserved to be for its variety, its fine poetry (what a grand image is that where Philip, hastening to his dying Marie, calls for his horse "to outride Death!"), its effective situations, its scenery, and its acting. Helen Faucit made her first appearance these three years, and was welcomed with a hurricane of enthusiasm; she seemed in excellent health, and played Marie as if she were in love with the part. But I must return to this matter of the acting, space being already run out, and after recording that G. V. Brooke, who looked magnificent, reappeared here in the part of Philip, with his voice partially

recovered, but still incapable of doing him justice, and acting better than I have seen him act for some time past, I pass on to a serious critique of

MACREADY'S SHYLOCK.

Perhaps, of all Shakspeare's leading characters, Shylock is the easiest of comprehension: drawn with firm bold strokes, it is more *scolpito* than the rest, and is not perplexed by the same involved complication of motives which renders Macbeth, Hamlet, Othello, Lear, and Leontes so easily misunderstood. Shylock stands as the representative of a persecuted race. Despised and hated by all around him, his religion scorned, his bargains thwarted, his losses mocked at, his friends set against him, his enemies heated, and all because he is a Jew! Even the mild and good Antonio—the pattern man of Venice—likened unto the best of ancient Romans—even he spits upon Shylock's gaberdine, and calls him "misbeliever, cut-throat dog." What is the consequence? Shylock, to hereditary hatred of the Christians, adds his own personal wrongs, and his malignity is the accumulation of years of outrage silently brooding in his soul. Much has he borne "with a patient shrug."

"For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe."

But as a Jew and as a man the incessant insults have made him lust for vengeance. Hence his exultant cry

"If I can catch him once upon the hip,
I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him."

He does catch Antonio on the hip. The man who hates the Jew's "sacred nation," and rails at him for his "usury," has fallen into his power; and so fierce, so relentless is his lust for vengeance that it conquers even his passion of avarice, and he refuses thrice the sum of his bond. Observe, in the great anguish of his heart at the loss of his daughter, the lost ducats hold an almost equal share; yet even his ducats he will lose rather than lose his vengeance on Antonio!

Nothing can, I think, be clearer than the malignity of Shakspeare's Jew, and its justification. We may perfectly acquit Shylock of being a "demon," though we admit the fierceness of his malignity. I put in this clause for a reason which will soon be apparent. I want to keep Shylock's human nature steadily in view.

Does Macready represent the Shylock of Shakspeare? To my apprehension not at all. It is a part in which even staunch thoroughgoing admirers do not applaud him; and the secret of his failure, I take it, lies in a radical misconception of the character; for assuredly so fine an actor could not be feeble in a part he truly seized. His Shylock is flat and ineffective; yet, as his ingenious critic in the *Times* observes, it is a logical carrying out of his conception. There, then, lies the error—*principium et fons*. Macready drops the malignity of the part, and makes Shylock argue the question as if it were a matter of abstract injustice rather than one of personal outrage: hence the flatness of his opening scene—that scene in which Kean was so terrific in sarcasm!—and the strange misconception of the trial scene, where, instead of gloating upon his coming vengeance, instead of eyeing Antonio with exultant vindictiveness, he remains lost in abstraction and is roused from it only into bursts of irritability by the taunts and questions of others, relapsing into reverie as soon as he has answered them. Shylock has caught Antonio on the hip, and here he is in the judgment hall ready to feed fat his ancient grudge, scorning all proffers of money, impatient of all appeals to mercy, his whole being centred in the one fierce passion of hatred about to be satisfied; and in this state Macready represents him as self-occupied, gloomy, irritable! Of course he has a reason for this interpretation; so careful a student of Shakspeare is not likely to have erred except upon consideration—though it is not unlikely that the desire to give a version of the part different from Kean's may have influenced him; but upon what theory of human nature, upon what principles of Shakspearian criticism he was led to his interpretation, I confess myself unable to divine.

Macready's Shylock is an abject, sordid, irritable, argumentative Jew—not a haughty, passionate, and vindictive man whose vengeance is a retribution of wrongs to his sacred nation and to himself; and yet, although the devilish malignity has been suppressed, there is no restitution of the human affections in this Jewish bosom. Kean played Shylock as the personification of vindictiveness; yet in his ruthless bosom I always missed that affection for his child which even a malignant Jew must be supposed to have felt—in some degree, at least. But the absence in Macready's version is less excusable. Kean took what one may call the obvious view of Shylock, representing all that the plain text has given, and not troubling himself about anything lying *involved* in the text; hence, as Shakspeare gives no language of tenderness towards Jessica, Kean represented none. But Macready swerves from the obvious path—drops the ferocious malignity and lust for personal vengeance—yet never seems to have asked himself whether Shylock had the affections of his kind; accordingly, in the single scene with his daughter, he is harsh and irritable, when he might so truly and effectively have thrown in a touch of paternal tenderness. As I said before, we must not keep Shylock's humanity out of view.

Whatever he may do to his oppressors, the Christians, he is a man with a man's affections to his own tribe. He loves the memory of his lost Leah; he loves Jessica. Shakspeare has given the actor an exquisite passage wherein to indicate the husband's tenderness; and I believe that in the scene with Jessica an actor may effectively show paternal tenderness. It is true the actor must *read into* the scene that which is not expressly indicated; but precisely in such interpretations consists the actor's art. I have no hesitation in saying that to omit the paternal tenderness is to alter profoundly the tragic structure of the play; for observe, if Shylock is a savage, blood-thirsty wretch, the whole moral is lost; if his fierceness is *natural* to him, and not brought out by the wrongs of the Christians, all the noble philosophy of the piece is destroyed; and the only way of showing that his fierceness is that of retaliation is to show how to others he is *not* fierce.

It may be objected that when Shylock discovers her flight he raves as much about his daughter as his ducats, which does not speak of great affection on his part. But I do not wish to paint him as an idolizing father,—I wish merely to show that he is not without fatherly affection, and even fond fathers might very well utter such fearful imprecations as those which escape Shylock ("I would my daughter were dead at my feet, the ducats in her coffin," &c.) on discovering that their daughters had not only fled with lovers of a hated race, but added robbery to elopement. As a set off against those angry words, read the sorrowful exclamation in the fourth act, "These be the *Christian* husbands! I had a daughter... would any of the tribe of Barrabas had been her husband rather than a Christian."

Further, the tragedy is heightened if we suppose Shylock to be fond of his child; for then the rebellion of "his own flesh and blood" comes with a tenfold bitterness. To be sure this makes Jessica more odious; but she is odious; and—I dare to say it—Shakspeare has committed a serious blunder in art by the mode in which he has represented Jessica, when he might easily have secured all he wanted by throwing more *truth* into the conception. That a Jewess should love a Christian, for him forsake her home, and abjure her religion, is conceivable; but it was for the poet to show how the overmastering passion of love conquered all the obstacles, how love conquered religion and filial affection, and made her sacrifice *everything* to her passion. Instead of this Shakspeare has made her a heartless, frivolous girl, who robs her father, throws away her mother's turquoise for a monkey, speaks of her father in a tone as shocking as it is gratuitous. Were a modern poet so to outrage nature and art no mercy would be shown him. But I have little doubt that many readers are indignant at my temerity in accusing Shakspeare of such gross errors!

To return, however, to the principal point, I say if Shylock be not represented as having the feelings of our kind, *The Merchant of Venice* becomes a brutal melodrama, not a great tragedy. It is therefore imperative on the actor that he seize every possible occasion to indicate these feelings. No Shylock that I have seen does this; but Macready above all ought to have done so, because his Shylock is less demonic than the others.

That there are some fine touches in his acting you will readily conceive. The bewilderment and rage of the great scene in the third act were admirable; still more so the look with which on his final exit he answers the taunts of Gratiano—first flashing out upon him as if about to turn against his persecutor, and then, overcome with a sense of his helplessness and ruin, sinking his sorrowing head upon his breast he totters off a broken man. Indeed his whole demeanour during the trial scene—viewed according to his conception, which I have said seems to me profoundly erroneous—was that of a great actor. I have been thus minute in criticism because Shylock is a part he rarely plays; indeed I have never seen him play it before, though an old playgoer; and it is for the interest of the drama that we should fully discuss the conceptions of great actors, especially when, as in Macready's case, they are great students of Shakspeare. In all that has been said here I have been simply opposing my individual impressions to what has obviously been the result of careful study on his part, and I assume no more authority for them than what they carry in themselves. I have given my reasons, it is for the reader to weigh them.

VIVIAN.

We have little else to record in the theatrical world. Charles Mathews, who was wounded in the hand during the duel in *My Heart's Idol*, continues incapable of enlivening the Lyceum with his acting, but is announced to reappear on Saturday; on which night also the long-expected play of *The Templar* will be produced at the Princess's, where the old pieces have been played during the last week, varied by a revival of *The Merchant of Venice*, as performed at Windsor. We must leave "Vivian" to sit in judgment thereon, if he think fit, and content ourselves with merely chronicling the fact of revival. At the Haymarket Macready has played to overflowing houses.

Portfolia.

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

ACTION.

"Act! Act!"—FICHTE.

Pause not, nor ponder,
To give thy doubts play;
Or sad will thy night be,
And gloomy thy day:
The sun will his power lose
To gladden thy sight;
And dim, dark, and starless,
Thy heaven at night.
Each hour, as it passeth,
New troubles will bring;
And each lagging moment
Behind leave a sting;
The earth, brightly smiling,
Will smile not for thee;
Her glory and beauty
Thine eye will not see.
But, up and be doing,—
Work, work for thy kind,—
The mist and the darkness
Will pass from thy mind;
The day and its duty
Will beam on thy sight;
And life and its beauty
Become to thee bright.
By action thy pathway
With flowers will be strown;
And thou mayst walk gaily,
Though walking alone.
Thy heart will be throbbing
With hope, love, and joy,
Which dark days may shadow,
But cannot destroy.
Pause not, nor ponder,
To give thy doubts play:
Or sad will thy night be,
And gloomy thy day;
But, up and be doing,—
Work, work for thy kind,—
The mist and the darkness
Will pass from thy mind!

Birmingham.

JOHN ALFRED LANGFORD.

SKETCHES FROM LIFE.

By HARRIET MARTINEAU.

I.—THE OLD GOVERNESS.

THE afternoon was come when the Moreells must go on board. They were going to Canada at last, after having talked about it for several years. There were so many children, that it was with much difficulty they had got on for some years past; and there was no prospect for the lads at home. They had, with extreme difficulty, paid their way; and they had, to a certain extent, educated the children. That, however, was Miss Smith's doing.

"We shall always feel, every one of us," said Mrs. Moreell, with tears, to the elderly homely governess, "that we are under the deepest obligations to you. But for you, the children would have grown up without any education at all. And, for the greatest service you or any one could possibly render us, we have never been able to give you your due,—even as regards the mere money."

"I can only say again," replied the governess, "that you do not look at the whole of the case. You have given me a home, when it is no easy matter for such as I am to earn one, with my old-womanish ways and my old-fashioned knowledge."

"I will not hear any disparagement of your ways and your knowledge," interrupted Mrs. Moreell. "They have been everything to my children: and if you could have gone with us....."

This, however, they all knew to be out of the question. It was not only that Miss Smith was between fifty and sixty, too old to go so far, with little prospect of comfort at the end of the journey; but she was at present disabled for much usefulness by the state of her right hand. It had been hurt by an accident a long time before, and it did not get well. The surgeon had always said it would be a long case; and she had no use whatever of the hand in the meantime. Yet she would not part with the baby till the last moment. She carried him on the left arm, and stood on the wharf with him—the mother at her side—till all the rest were on board, and Mr. Moreell came for his wife. It was no grand steamer they were going in, but a humble vessel belonging to the port, which would carry them cheap.

"Now, my love," said the husband. "Now, Miss Smith," taking the child from her. "Words cannot tell..."

And if words could have told, the tongue could not have uttered them. It was little, too, that his wife could say.

"Write to us. Be sure you write. We shall write as soon as we arrive. Write to us."

Miss Smith glanced at the hand. She said only one word, "Farewell!" but she said it cheerfully.

The steam-tug was in a hurry, and down the river they went. She had

one more appointment to keep with them. She was to wave her handkerchief from the rocks by the fort; and the children were to let her try whether she could see their little handkerchiefs. So she walked quickly over the common to the fort, and sat down on the beach at the top of the rocks.

It was very well that she had something to do. But the plan did not altogether answer. By the time the vessel crossed the bar it was nearly dark, and she was not quite sure, among three, which it was, and she did not suppose the children could see her handkerchief. She waved it, however, according to promise. How little they knew how wet it was!

Then there was the walk home. It was familiar, yet very strange. When she was a child her parents used to bring her here, in the summer time, for sea air and bathing. The haven and the old grey bathing houses, and the fort, and the lighthouse, and the old priory ruins crowning the rocks, were all familiar to her; but the port had so grown up that all else was strange. And how strange now was life to her! Her parents gone, many years back, and her two sisters since; and now the Moreells! She had never had any money to lose, and the retired way in which the Moreells lived had prevented her knowing anybody out of their house. She had not a relation nor a friend, nor even an acquaintance, in England. The Moreells had not been uneasy about her. They left her a little money, and had so high an opinion of her that they did not doubt her being abundantly employed, whenever her hand should get well. They had lived too much to themselves to know that her French, learned during the war, when nobody in England could pronounce French, would not do in these days, nor that her trilling, old-fashioned style of playing on the piano, which they thought so beautiful, would be laughed at now in any boarding school; and that her elegant needleworks were quite out of fashion; and that there were new ways of teaching even reading, spelling, and writing.

She knew these things, and cautioned herself against discontent with the progress of society, because she happened to be left alone behind. She suspected, too, that the hand would not get well. The thing that she was most certain of was that she must not rack her brain with fears and speculations as to what was to become of her. Her business was to wait till she could find something to do, or learn what she was to suffer. She thought she had better wait here. There was no call to any other place. This was more familiar and more pleasant to her than any other—the Moreells' cottage being far away, and out of the question—and here she could live with the utmost possible cheapness. So here she staid.

The hand got well, as far as the pain was concerned, sooner than she had expected. But it was in a different way from what she had expected. It was left wholly useless. And, though the time was not long, it had wrought as time does. It had worn out her clothes; it had emptied her little purse. It had carried away everything she had in the world but the very few clothes she had on. She had been verging towards the resolution she now took for three or four weeks. She took it finally while sitting on the bench near the fort. It was in the dusk; for her gown, though she had done her best to mend it with her left hand, was in no condition to show by daylight. She was alone in the dusk, rather hungry and very cold. The sea was dashing surlily upon the rocks below, and there was too much mist to let any stars shine upon her. It was all dreary enough; yet she was not very miserable, for her mind was made up. She had made up her mind to go into the workhouse the next day. While she was thinking calmly about it a fife began to play a sort of jig in the yard of the fort behind her. Her heart heaved to her throat and the tears gushed from her eyes. In this same spot, fifty years before, she had heard what seemed to her the same fife. Her father was then sitting on the grass, and she was between his knees, helping to tassel the tail of a little kite they were going to fly: and, when the merry fife had struck up, her father had snatched up her gay Harlequin that lay within reach, and made him shake his legs and arms to the music. She heard her own laugh again now, through that long course of fifty years, and in the midst of these tears.

All that night she pondered her purpose: and the more she considered the more sure she was that it was right. "I might," thought she, "get maintained by charity, no doubt: I might call on any of the clergymen of this place, and the rich people. Or I might walk into the shops and tell my story, and I dare say the people would give me food and clothes. And, if it was a temporary distress, I would do so. I should think it right to ask for help, if I had any prospect of work or independence in any way. But I have none: and this, I am convinced, points out my duty. Hopeless cases like mine are those which public charity—legal charity—is intended to meet. My father little dreamed of this, to be sure; and the Moreells little dream of it at this moment. But when do our parents and friends, when do we ourselves, dream of what our lot is really to turn out? Those old notions have nothing to do, if we could but think so, with the event. Nor has my disgust anything to do with my duty. The plain fact is, that I am growing old,—that I am nearly helpless,—that I am cold and hungry, and nearly naked,—that I have no friends within reach, and no prospect whatever. I am, therefore, an object for public charity, and I will ask for what is my due. I am afraid of what I may find in the workhouse;—the vicious people, the dirty people, the diseased people,—and, I suppose, not one among them who can give me any companionship whatever. It is dreadful; but it can't be helped. And the worse the case is about my companions—my fellow-paupers—(for I must learn to bear the word)—the greater are the chances of my finding something to do for them;—something which may prevent my feeling myself utterly useless in the world. This is not being wholly without prospect

after all. I suppose nobody ever is. If it were not so cold now, I could sleep upon mine."

It was too cold for sleep: and when, in the morning, she offered her old shawl in payment for her bed, assuring the poor old woman who let it that she should not want the shawl, because she was going to have other clothes, the woman shook her head sorrowfully,—her lodger looked so wan and chilled. She had no fear that there was any thought of suicide in the case. No one could look in Miss Smith's sensible face, and hear her steady, cheerful voice, and suppose that she would do anything wild or impatient.

"Who is that woman with a book in her hand?" enquired the visiting Commissioner, some months afterwards, of the governor of the workhouse. The governor could only say she was a single woman of the name of Smith, who had no use of her right hand. As to who she was, he could tell no more than this; but his wife had sometimes mentioned her as a different sort of person from those they generally saw there. She could not only read, but she read very well; and she read a great deal aloud to the old people, and in the infirmary. She talked unlike the rest, too. She said little; but her language was good, and always correct. She could not do much on account of her infirmity; but she was always willing to do what could be done with one hand; and she must have been very handy when she had the use of both.

"I should have thought her eyes had been too weak for much reading," observed the Commissioner. "Has the medical officer attended to her?"

The governor called his wife: and the wife called a pauper woman who was told the question. This woman said that it was not exactly a case for the doctor. Nobody that shed so many tears could have good eyes. Ah! the governor might be surprised; because Smith seemed so brisk in the daytime, and cheered the old people so much. But she made up for it at night. Many and many a time she cried the night through.

"How do you know?" asked the Commissioner.

"I sleep in the next bed, Sir. I can't say she disturbs anybody; for she is very quiet. But if anything keeps me awake I hear her sobbing. And you need but feel her pillow in the morning. It is wet almost through."

"And does that happen often?"

"Yes, Sir. Many a time when she has turned her back,—gone into the infirmary, or been reading to the old people,—I have got her pillow and dried it. And I have seen her do it herself, with a smile on her face all the time."

The Commissioner walked away. Before he left the place, the woman Smith was beckoned out by the governor. She went with a beating heart, with some wild idea in her head that the Morells had sent, that some friends had turned up. While still in the passage, however, she said to herself that she might as well look to see her parents risen from the dead.

The Commissioner had, indeed, nothing to tell. He wanted to ask. He did ask, as much as his delicacy would allow. But he learned nothing; except, indeed, what he ought to have considered the most important thing, the state of her mind about being there. About that, she was frank enough. She said over again to him what she had said to herself about this being the right place for one in her circumstances. She considered that it would be an abuse of private charity for her to be maintained in idleness at an expense which might set forward in life some person in a less hopeless position.

"You speak cheerfully, as if you were in earnest," said the Commissioner.

"Of course, I am in earnest," she replied.

And cheerful she remained throughout the conversation. Only once the Commissioner saw her eyes fill and a quiver on her lips. He did not know it; but he had unconsciously called her "Madam."

Would she prefer the children's department of the House? There was no doubt that she could teach them much. Would she change her quarters? No. She was too old now for that. She should not be a good companion now for children; and they would be too much for her. Unless she was wanted...

By no means. She should be where she preferred to be.

She preferred to be where she was. The Commissioner's lady soon after dropped in, and managed to engage Smith in conversation. But there was no result; because Smith did not choose that there should be. Perhaps she was more in the infirmary; and had oftener a warm seat by the fire, and was spoken to with more deference. But this might be solely owing to the way she made with the people by her own acts and manners. The invalids and the infirm grew so fond of her that they poured out to her all their complaints. She was favoured with the knowledge of every painful sensation as it passed, and every uneasy thought as it arose.

"I never thought to die in such a place as this," groaned old Johnny Jacks.

"I wonder at that," said his old wife; "for you never took any care to provide yourself a better—to say nothing of me." And she went on to tell how Johnny had idled and drank his life away, and brought her here at last. Much of Johnny's idling and drinking having been connected with electioneering in an abominably venal city, he was a great talker on politics and the state was made responsible for all his troubles. He said it was a shame that anybody should die in a workhouse; and appealed to his neighbour Smith, who was warming his broth, whether it was not so?

"Which is best?" she answered; "being here, or on a common, or the sea-sands? Because," she added, "there was a time when old people like us were left to die wherever they fell. There are countries now where old people die so. I should not like that."

"You don't mean to say that you or any one likes being here?"

"Oh, no: I don't mean to say that. But things are better than they were once: and they may be better again."

"I shall not live to see that," groaned Johnny.

"No; nor I. But it is something to think of."

"D— it," said Johnny, "I am not the better for any good that does not happen to me, nor to any body I know."

"Are not you?" said neighbour Smith. "Well, now, I am."

And so she was to the end. She died in that infirmary, and not very long after. When the Morell's letter came, it was plain that they had enough to do to take care of themselves. So she did not let them know,—in her reply, written by the hands of the schoolmaster,—where she was. The letter was so cheerful that they are probably far from suspecting, at this moment, how she died and was buried. As "from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," there was so much in her letter as rather surprised them about her hope and expectation that the time would come when hearty work in the vigorous season of life should secure its easy close; and when a greater variety of employment should be opened to women. There was more of this kind of speculation and less news and detail of facts than they would have liked. But it was a household event to have a letter from Miss Smith; and the very little children, forgetting the wide sea they had passed, began shouting for Miss Smith to come to them just (as it happened) when her ear was closing to every human voice.

URIEL.

The Seraph Uriel, as the records tell
That angels write, from his allegiance fell;
And He who rules the worlds beyond the sun—
He in whom love and wisdom are made one—
Did hurl him from his royalty of light,
To dwell amid the souls that wail in night.
Then Uriel felt his beauty fade away,
And a great grief lay on him day by day;
But, as his splendour withered for his sin,
Stronger and brighter grew the love within;
And so in silence, in his fiery jail,
He stood, rejoiced that love could yet prevail.

One day the ancient Gods that howl below
Accosted Uriel:—"Uriel, this great woe
Will never pass; the stars will seek the sun,
The universe shall end as it begun;
But, thro' the endless circle of the years
That angels know, shall neither hopes nor fears
Visit the dwellers in this world of fire.
Therefore, when hate and anguish shall inspire,
Ease your full heart with curses deep as ours;
Your love will never win you Eden's bowers."

Then Uriel answered:—"He who made the night
Crowned it with stars and with the pure delight
Of the clear moon: He who made all things frail
Decrees that sovran beauty shall prevail.
There is no sorrow, friends, but it has still
Some soul of sweetness in it; there's no ill
But comes from Him who made it, and is good
As fruit in season, leaf in budding wood.
But if in this drear world all hope were vain,—
If penance were eternal; if such pain
He could inflict and I endure,—my will
Would be to love, thro' all this cruel ill."

He ended; and the ancient Gods below
Ceast howling, when they saw the sweet, calm glow
That wandered over that good angel's face,
Making a moonlight round them, till the grace
That was in his brave bearing and mild speech
Melted the hatred from the hearts of each;
And they stood up, and thro' the streets of hell
The sound of countless voices rose and fell,
Praising the silent soul that dwells above,
Singing, "We love Thee, Lord, for Thou art Love."

Then the dark dungeon burst its grates and bars,
And light came glowing in from suns and stars,
Lapsing down dreadful rifts; the shapes below
Saw fragments of blue sky above them glow,
Like windows thro' the rents; they felt the air
Cooling their branded foreheads; everywhere
They saw the faces of young angels shine,
And golden fingers point to thrones divine;
While a low whisper murmured like the breeze
That comes and goes on tops of mulberry-trees;
And thus it said:—"O, loving angels, rise,
Borne by strong love thro' the unfolding skies.
There is no sin, no sorrow, and no hell,
But they must cease, where hearts love long and well,
Where lips praise God in anguish and confess
There's love in pain,—that even wrong can bless."

The whisper ceast; and every soul, forgiven
By Love for Love's sweet sake, went up to heaven.
Each stood before his throne—fair, glad, and calm;
And God sat in the midst and heard the psalm
Which joyful angels raised in chorus bland;
And Uriel sat like God, at God's right hand.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK. (From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The return for the week ending last Saturday exhibits a considerable increase on the mortality of previous weeks. In the first three weeks of October the deaths registered were successively 839, 860, and 845; in the last week they rose to 945. In the ten corresponding weeks of 1840-9 they fluctuated between 813 and 1115, and were on the average 959. But this average, if allowance be made for supposed increase of population, becomes 1046; on which the present return shows a decrease of 101. The increase of fever has been already remarked, and the observation is still borne out by the number of fatal cases under this head; the deaths from fever, which in the two previous bills were 54 and 49, rose last week to 65. Scarlatina also appears to make some progress; it was fatal in 41 cases, and seems to prevail in some parts of Walworth and Camberwell. Last week smallpox carried off 7 children and 2 adults; measles, 21 children; whooping-cough, 20, and croup, 8. Erysipelas numbers 7 fatal cases; and of 10 women who died after childbearing 7 sank under puerperal fever. The further decline of diarrhoea and dysentery is shown by the deaths from those complaints in the last three weeks, in which the numbers have been successively 37, 30, and 22, which last is about the average of ten corresponding weeks. Last week 3 deaths from cholera were returned, but none of the cases had assumed the malignant form of the disease.

Diseases of the respiratory organs discover a small increase of mortality—a fact which may be viewed in connection with a fall of the weekly mean temperature from about 50 deg. in the earlier part of October to 42 deg. towards the end of the month. The increase is observed in pneumonia (or inflammation of the lungs) amongst children, and also in bronchitis amongst aged people.

Table with columns: Disease Name, Ten Weeks of 1839-49, Week of 1850. Rows include Zymotic Diseases, Dropsy, Tubercular Diseases, Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Marrow, Nerves, and Senses, etc.

ALLOWANCES TO CLERKS OF THE PEACE.—A return of expenses allowed to clerks of the peace in each county in England and Wales, during the years 1845, 1846, 1847, and 1848, for preparing, printing, and publishing the lists of persons entitled to vote for the election of members of Parliament for counties, has just been printed by order of the House of Commons. The total sum paid within the four years was £56,257; viz., in 1845, £14,167; 1846, £14,282; 1847, £13,931; and 1848, £13,877.

BANKRUPTCY COURTS.—A return has been published relative to the amount of business done in the different bankruptcy courts of England. The gross amount of claims proved has been £11,699,231 and the gross assets realized, £3,794,113. The total charges amounted to £517,352, and the amount ordered to be divided to £553,203. The amount of remuneration received by the several assignees since the date of their appointments has been £207,934, deducting from which the expenses of offices, clerks, &c., amounting to £69,891, the net amount of remuneration remaining is £90,492.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE. SATURDAY.

The increasing belief that, notwithstanding their vast military preparations, the German states have still sufficient prudence not to plunge into war, has caused an improved firmness in the English funds since last Saturday. From 97, which was the opening price on that day, Consols have gradually advanced to 97½, and at one time yesterday they even touched 97¾. But for the dubious nature of the intelligence from Germany, they would probably have gone higher than that. This morning the prevailing impression was, that peace would be maintained, and, therefore, the market opened firmer than it was yesterday afternoon. Subsequently, however, a reaction took place, and Consols closed at 97¾ to 97½.

The fluctuations during the week have been to the following extent:—Consols, 97 to 97½; Three-and-a-Quarter per Cents., 98½ to 98¾; Bank Stock, 212½ to 214½; Exchequer Bills, 65s. to 71s. premium.

In the foreign Stock Market very little business has been done this week, and prices have undergone little alteration. The actual bargains of yesterday comprised—Brazilian, at 89½; the Small, 90; Chilian, 102½ and 103; the Three per Cents., 62½ and 63; Danish Five per Cents., 100½; Granada, 18; Mexican, for account, 31½, 32, and 31¾; Portuguese Three per Cents., 31; Russian Five per Cents., 110½; the Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 97½ and 97¾; the Small, 97½ and 97¾; Spanish Five per Cents., for money, 18½; for the account, 18¾;

Passive, 3½; and Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 58, 57½, 58½, 57½, and 58.

MARK-LANE, FRIDAY, Nov. 8.

The supplies of English and Foreign Grain since Monday are very moderate; there is, however, no increased animation in the trade, and only a moderate amount of business is doing, at precisely the rate of last Monday.

Arrivals from Monday to Friday:—

Table with columns: Grain Type, English, Irish, Foreign, Flour. Rows: Wheat, Barley, Oats.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, the 2d of November, 1850.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Table with columns: £, Government Debt, Other Securities, Gold Coin and Bullion, Silver Bullion. Rows: Notes issued, £29,424,840.

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Table with columns: £, Government Securities, Dead-weight Annuity, Other Securities, Notes, Gold and Silver Coin. Rows: Proprietors' Capital, Rest, Public Deposits, etc.

Dated Nov. 7, 1850. M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

Table with columns: Fund Name, Satur., Mond., Tues., Wedn., Thurs., Frid. Rows: Bank Stock, 3 per Ct. Red, 3 p. C. Con. Ans., etc.

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Table with columns: Fund Name, Price. Rows: Austrian 5 per Cents., Belgian Bds., Brazilian 5 per Cents., etc.

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for the Week ending Friday Evening.

Table with columns: Railway/Bank Name, Price. Rows: Caledonian, Edinburgh and Glasgow, Eastern Counties, etc.

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Nov. 8.

Table with columns: Grain Type, Price. Rows: Wheat, R. New, Fine, Old, White, etc.

FLOUR.

Table with columns: Flour Type, Price. Rows: Town-made, Seconds, Essex and Suffolk, etc.

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.

Table with columns: Grain Type, Price. Rows: Wheat, Barley, Oats, Imperial General Weekly Average, Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 5th day of November, 1850, is 30s. 6½d. per cwt.

BUTCHERS' MEAT.

Table with columns: Meat Type, Price. Rows: Beef, Mutton, Veal, Pork. Includes Newgate and Leadenhall and Smithfield prices.

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Table with columns: Animal Type, Friday, Monday. Rows: Beasts, Sheep, Calves, Pigs.

PROVISIONS.

Table with columns: Provision Name, Price. Rows: Butter, Bacon, Cheese, Hams, Eggs.

HOPS.

Table with columns: Hop Name, Price. Rows: Kent Pockets, Choice ditto, Sussex ditto, Farnham do.

POTATOES.

Table with columns: Potato Name, Price. Rows: York Regents per ton, Wisbech Regents, Scotch Reds, French Whites.

HAY AND STRAW. (Per load of 36 Trusses.)

Table with columns: Hay/Straw Name, Price. Rows: Hay, Good, Inferior, New, Clover, Wheat Straw.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, Nov. 5.

DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.—E. P. Best, Crutchedfriars, and Croom's-hill, Greenwich, wine merchant, third div. of 30l., on Saturday, Nov. 9, and two subsequent Saturdays; Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—H. C. Cawston, Temple-street, Kingsland, grocer, first div. of 7d., on Saturday, Nov. 9, and two subsequent Saturdays; Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—T. Holland, Bury, Lancashire, provision dealer, first div. of 2s. 9d., any Tuesday; Mr. Hobson, Manchester—W. Hulme, Manchester, tailor, first div. of 7s. 8d., any Tuesday; Mr. Hobson, Manchester—W. Ellison, Poplar, builder, first div. of 2s., on Thursday, Nov. 7, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Stansfeld, Basinghall-street—J. Maberly, Bread-street, Cheapside, banker, fourth div. of 3d., on Thursday, Nov. 7, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Stansfeld, Basinghall-street—J. Chisholm, Dorking, and Ludgate-hill, perfumer, first div. of 6s. 8d., (on separate estate), on Thursday, Nov. 7, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Stansfeld, Basinghall-street—A. D. W. Desforges, Alford, Lincolnshire, brickmaker, first div. of 4s. 6d., on Friday, Nov. 8, or any subsequent Friday; Mr. Carrick, Hull.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.—J. Villar, Leekhampton, and Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, maltster.

BANKRUPTS.—A. FRENCH, East Grinstead, Sussex, plumber, to surrender Nov. 19, Dec. 20; solicitors, Messrs. Palmer, France, and Palmer, Bedford-row, and Mr. Kell, Lewes, Sussex; official assignee, Mr. Graham—J. CLARKE, Old Broad-street, coal merchant, Nov. 20, Dec. 20; solicitor, Mr. Lander, St. Mary-at-hill, Thames-street; official assignee, Mr. Graham—W. COLES, Milton-next-Gravesend, pastrycook, Nov. 14, Dec. 21; solicitors, Messrs. Wilkinson, Gurney, and Stevens, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, and Mr. Sharland, Gravesend; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—C. BRADY, Rood-lane, Fenchurch-street, merchant, Nov. 22, Dec. 20; solicitors, Messrs. Crowder and Maynard, Coleman-street; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Birch-lane, Cornhill—J. BEBBY, late of Luton and Dunstable, Bedfordshire, salt merchant, Nov. 15, Dec. 12; solicitors, Messrs. Sole and Turner, Aldermanbury; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings—J. LIVESLEY and J. PIMM, New Lenton, Nottinghamshire, lace makers, Nov. 15, Dec. 13; solicitors, Messrs. Percy and Smith, Nottingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham—R. D. KEEVES and H. H. DAWSON, Liverpool, spirit dealers, Nov. 19, Dec. 10; solicitor, Mr. Yates, Jun., Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool—W. TAYLOR, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, auctioneer, Nov. 14, Dec. 13; solicitors, Messrs. Loveland and Tweed, Lincoln's-inn-fields; Messrs. Swan and Burnup, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and Mr. Joel, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; official assignee, Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—J. GILSTON, Leeds, woollen draper, Nov. 19, Dec. 9; solicitor, Mr. Middleton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Hope, Leeds—A. HOOLEY, Macclesfield, silk manufacturer, Nov. 15, Dec. 6; solicitors, Messrs. Slater and Heelis, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Hobson, Manchester.

DIVIDENDS.—Nov. 27, J. Nash and T. Neale, Reigate and Dorking, bankers—Nov. 29, J. W. Robson and J. Barrow, St. Anne's-place, Limehouse, patent pump manufacturers—Nov. 27, F. Mountford, Greenwich, stationer—Nov. 26, C. L. Swainson and J. Birchwood, Manchester, manufacturers.

CERTIFICATES.—To be granted, unless cause be shown to the contrary on the day of meeting.—Nov. 27, J. Nash and T. Neale, Reigate and Dorking, bankers—Nov. 27, J. Toovey, Walford, innkeeper—Nov. 28, W. T. Hearn, Portsmouth, licensed victualler—Nov. 27, J. La Guerrande, Liverpool, merchant—Nov. 28, J. and T. Jowett, Coventry, grocers—Dec. 2, S. Day, Coventry, riband manufacturer—Nov. 28, W. W. Thompson, Gooch, butcher.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.—J. Sharp, Glasgow, dealer in shares, Nov. 11.

Friday, November 8.

DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.—R. Clifton, Brandon, Suffolk, brewer, second div. of 2d., on Thursday next, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman street—T. S. Cave, Walmer, Kent, merchant, first div. of 1d., on Thursday next, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman street—D. G. Foster, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell, ironmonger, second div. of 8d., on Thursday next, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman street—A. A. Sutterby, Stoke Ferry, Norfolk, grocer, first div. of 10s., on Thursday next, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman street—J. Stead, Melcombe Regis, Dorsetshire, grocer, first div. of 2s. 3d., on Thursday next, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman street—T. Ball, West-street, Soho, licensed victualler, second div. of 3d., on Thursday next, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman street.

BANKRUPTS.—W. COLES, Milton-next-Gravesend, pastrycook, to surrender Nov. 14, Dec. 21; solicitors, Messrs. Wilkinson, Gurney, and Stevens, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street; and Mr. Sharland, Gravesend; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street (and not Mr. Pennell, as before advertised)—G. C. SEARLE, Tyndale-place, Islington, apothecary, Nov. 16, Dec. 21; solicitors, Messrs. Smith, Great James-street, Bedford-row; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—A. BLACK, Wellington-street North, Covent-garden, bookseller, Nov. 27, Dec. 20; solicitors, Messrs. Mardon and Frichard, Newgate-street; official assignee, Mr. Stansfeld—J. ROWBOTHAM, Sutton, near Macclesfield, silk manufacturer, Nov. 22, Dec. 13; solicitor, Mr. Norris, Macclesfield; official assignee, Mr. Mackenzie, Manchester—R. GARTON, Kingston-upon-Hull, boot-maker, Nov. 20, Dec. 18; solicitor, Mr. Sidebottom, Hull; official assignee, Mr. Carrick, Hull.

DIVIDENDS.—Nov. 29, R. Copland, Union-street, Whitechapel, linedraper—Nov. 29, C. Porter, Bocking, Essex, grocer—Nov. 29, W. Walford, Great Winchester-street, merchant—Nov. 29, R. Salkeld, late of Fontmell Magna, Dorsetshire, ship-owner—Nov. 20, J. and J. F. King, Wells-row, Islington, builders—Nov. 29, W. Holmes, Friday-street, Cheapside, silk gauze manufacturer—Dec. 3, A. G. W. Biddulph, J. Wright, H. Robinson, and E. W. Jerningham, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, bankers—Nov. 29, H. Peet, Ludgate-hill and Newgate-street, printer—Dec. 3, A. and W. Prior, Tonbridge-place, New-road, ironmongers—Nov. 29, G. and S. Bauckham, Gravesend, and Barking, Essex, boat builders—Dec. 2, J. Nokes, New Ormond-street, St. George-the-Martyr, builder—Dec. 2, T. Smurwaite, Scarborough, wine-merchant—Nov. 29, J. Walford, Stamford, Lincolnshire, innkeeper—Dec. 6, C. Pretty, Leicester, grocer—Dec. 2, W. Lucan, Preston, Lancashire, innkeeper—Dec. 2, T. T. Cooke, Manchester, bill venter—Dec. 2, T. Bamford, Rochdale, woollen manufacturer—Dec. 10, R. Knight, Lancaster, tea dealer—Nov. 29, H. Clarke and R. Tod, Liverpool, merchants—Nov. 29, W. Briddon, Liverpool, manufacturing chemist—Nov. 29, J. Robinson, Ripon, Yorkshire, surgeon—Nov. 29, J. Eastwood, Almondsbury, Yorkshire, manufacturer.

CERTIFICATES.—To be granted, unless cause be shown to the contrary on the day of meeting.—Nov. 30, J. H. Spicer, Wandswoth, papermaker—Dec. 4, C. M. Wilkinson, Ulverstone, Lancashire, wine merchant—Dec. 4, M. Bakewell, Manchester, size manufacturer—Dec. 2, E. P. Simmonds, Highgate, near Birmingham, commercial traveller—Dec. 2, E. and W. Round, Tipton, Staffordshire, timber merchants—Nov. 28, W. W. Thompson, Goole, butcher—Dec. 3, E. Siddworthy, Modbury, Devonshire, innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.—T. Baigrie, Southside, Edinburgh, farmer, Nov. 12, Dec. 3—A. Baigrie, Southside, Edinburgh, farmer, Nov. 12, Dec. 3.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 2nd of October, at Bombay, the wife of Metcalfe Larken, Esq., civil service, of a son. On the 17th of August, at Lahore, the wife of the Reverend H. Tuson, chaplain, H.E.I.C., of a son. On the 19th of September, at Bombay, Lady Yardley, of a daughter. On the 26th ult., in Derby-street, Argyle-square, the wife of W. E. Brown, Esq., of a daughter. On the 28th ult., in Derby-street, Argyle-square, the wife of Mr. W. C. Squire, of a son. On the 1st inst., at Bocomnoc, Cornwall, Lady Louisa Fortescue, of a son. On the 2nd inst., at Hope-end, Ledbury, the wife of the Reverend G. H. Sumner, of a daughter. On the 2nd inst., in Hyde-park, the wife of R. O. Jones, Esq., of Ponnon Castle, Glamorganshire, of a daughter. On the 3rd inst., at Guildford, Surrey, the wife of the Reverend H. Ayling, of a son. On the 3rd inst., the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel A. G. Hyslop, of a daughter. On the 4th inst., at Heavitree, the lady of the Honourable W. Addington, of a daughter. On the 5th inst., at Chelsea, the wife of the Reverend John Patteson, of a son. On the 6th inst., in Devonshire-place, Lady Anson, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 19th of August, at Sierra Leone, N. J. Watson, Esq., of the medical staff, to Mary Adelle, eldest daughter of Major Soden, commandant of the troops on the western coast of Africa. On the 2nd inst., at North Cray, Kent, John Sims Reeves, Esq., the eminent English tenor, to Charlotte Emma Lucombe, the celebrated soprano. On the 4th inst., at Bedford, the Reverend Frederic Harward, incumbent of Middleton, Derbyshire, to Sophia S. G. Holder, widow of John A. Holder, Esq., and eldest daughter of Colonel Bush, K. H., inspecting field-officer, Leeds. On the 5th inst., at Doncaster, the Reverend J. B. Brodrick, rector of Sneaton and chaplain to the Duchess of Gordon, to Fanny, daughter of the Reverend Dr. Sharpe, vicar of Doncaster and Brodsworth, and canon of York. On the 6th inst., at St. George's, Hanover-square, Villiers La Touche Hatton, Esq., captain in the Grenadier Guards, only son of Rear-Admiral Hatton, to Rosa Mary, only daughter of Sir W. De Bathe, Bart.

DEATHS.

On the 14th of September, at Dinapore, aged 22, Catherine, the wife of Lieutenant and Adjutant E. Norman Perkins, of the Fourteenth Bengal N.I. On the 9th ult., at the Vicarage, Dorking, the Reverend James Joyce, aged 68. On the 26th ult., at Siena, aged 27, H. F. Hallam, Esq., M.A., son of H. Hallam, Esq., of Wilton-crescent. On the 28th ult., at Twickenham, the Right Honourable Lady Anne Murray, widow of the late A. Murray, Esq., of Broughton, Scotland. On the 31st ult., S. Hill, Esq., fourth son of the late Reverend Robert Hill, of Hough, and grandson of Sir Rowland Hill, Bart., of Hawkstone. On the 31st ult., at Aldham Rectory, Janet, widow of the late J. Bannatyne, Esq., of London, aged 68. On the 1st inst., Frances Rebecca, the wife of the Reverend E. Irish, Dartford, Kent, aged 60.

On the 1st inst., S. Gittins, Esq., of Tottenham, Middlesex, aged 85. On the 1st inst., at Gosport, Captain J. P. D. Larcum, R.N., aged 59. On the 2nd inst., in Harley-street, Colonel J. Bogle Delap, of Stoke-park, Surrey. On the 2nd inst., at Woodford, Essex, aged 85, Mary Waller, for more than fifty-five years a faithful servant in the family of the late D. Mildred, Esq. On the 3rd inst., in Baker-street, Portman-square, Lieutenant-Colonel F. A. Daniell, late of the H.E.I.C.'s service, aged 76. On the 4th inst., Emma, the wife of James Fennings, Esq., of Fennings's-wharf. On the 4th inst., at St. John's-wood, Major Bingley Broadhead, aged 47. On the 4th inst., at Cambridge, Ernest F. Fiske, of Emmanuel College, M.A., and son of the late T. Fiske, Esq., of Cambridge. On the 5th inst., in Finsbury-square, James C. Curtis, Esq., of Great St. Helen's, merchant, aged 31. On the 5th inst., at Shropham-hall, H. D'Estele Hemsworth, Esq., deputy-lieutenant for the county of Norfolk. On the 5th inst., in Bell-yard, Lincoln's-inn, aged 17, Valentine Richard, the eldest son of Mr. V. Stevens, law bookseller and publisher.

STAYS SUPERSEDED.—Stiff Stays destroy

natural grace, produce deformity, and implant disease, curvature of the spine, and consumption; and a host of evils arise from their use. A substitute is provided by MARTIN'S ELASTIC BODICE, or Anti-Consumption Corset, which is perfectly elastic, is without whalebone, furnishes a good support, is easy and graceful in wear, will wash, is unaffected by heat or cold; has a simple fastening, obviating the trouble of lacing. Can be sent post-free for a small additional charge. A prospectus and engraving sent on receipt of a stamp for postage.—E. and E. H. MARTIN, Surgical Bandage Makers, 504, Oxford-street, London, near the British Museum.

SASSAFRAS CHOCOLATE.—Dr. DE LA

MOTTE'S nutritive, health-restoring, AROMATIC CHOCOLATE, prepared from the nuts of the Sassafras tree. This Chocolate contains the peculiar virtues of the SASSAFRAS root, which has been long held in great estimation for its purifying and alterative properties. The AROMATIC QUALITY (which is very grateful to the stomach) most invalids require for breakfast and evening repast to PROMOTE DIGESTION, and to a deficiency of this property in the customary breakfast and supper may, in a great measure, be attributed the frequency of cases of INDIGESTION generally termed BILIOUS. It has been found highly beneficial in correcting the state of the digestive organs, &c., from whence arise many diseases, such as eruptions of the skin, gout, rheumatism, and scrofula. In cases of DEBILITY of the STOMACH, and a sluggish state of the liver and intestines, occasioning flatulences, costiveness, &c., and in spasmodic asthma, it is much recommended.

Sold in pound packets, price 4s., by the Patentee, 12, SOUTH-AMPTON-STREET, STRAND, LONDON; by appointed Agents, Chemists, and others. N.B. For a list of Agents, see Bradshaw's Sixpenny Guide.

FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH. Price

1s. 1d. per box. This excellent Family Pill is a Medicine of long-tried efficacy for correcting all disorders of the Stomach and Bowels, the common symptoms of which are Costiveness, Flatulency, Spasms, Loss of Appetite, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Sense of Fulness after meals, Dizziness of the Eyes, Drowsiness, and Pains in the Stomach and Bowels: Indigestion, producing a Torpid State of the Liver, and a consequent inactivity of the Bowels, causing a disorganisation of every function of the frame, will, in this most excellent preparation, by a little perseverance, be effectually removed. Two or three doses will convince the afflicted of its salutary effects. The stomach will speedily regain its strength; a healthy action of the liver, bowels, and kidneys will rapidly take place; and instead of listlessness, heat, pain, and jaundiced appearance, strength, activity, and renewed health will be the quick result of taking this medicine, according to the directions accompanying each box. As a pleasant, safe, easy Aperient, they unite the recommendation of a mild operation with the most successful effect, and require no restraint of diet or confinement during their use; and for Elderly People they will be found to be the most comfortable medicine hitherto prepared.

Sold by T. PROUT, 229, Strand, London. Price 1s. 1d. and 2s. 6d. per box; and by the venders of medicine generally throughout the kingdom. Ask for FRAMPTON'S PILL OF HEALTH, and observe the name and address of "Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London," on the Government Stamp.

CURES FOR THE UNCURED!

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT.—An extraordi-

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

"To Professor HOLLOWAY. "SIR,—My eldest son, when about three years of age, was afflicted with a Glandular Swelling in the neck, which, after a short time, broke out into an Ulcer. An eminent medical man pronounced it as a very bad case of Scrofula, and prescribed for a considerable time without effect. The disease then for four years went on gradually increasing in virulence, when, besides the ulcer in the neck, another formed below the left knee, and a third under the eye, besides seven others on the left arm, with a tumour between the eyes, which was expected to break. During the whole of the time my suffering boy had received the constant advice of the most celebrated medical Gentlemen at Cheltenham, besides being for several months at the General Hospital, where one of the Surgeons said that he would amputate the left arm, but that the blood was so impure that, if that limb were taken off, it would be then even impossible to subdue the disease. In this desperate state I determined to give your Pills and Ointment a trial, and, after two months' perseverance in their use, the tumour gradually began to disappear, and the discharge from all the ulcers perceptibly decreased, and at the expiration of eight months they were perfectly healed, and the boy thoroughly restored to the blessings of health, to the astonishment of a large circle of acquaintances, who could testify to the truth of this miraculous case. Three years have now elapsed without any recurrence to the malady, and the boy is now as healthy as heart can wish. Under these circumstances I consider that I should be truly ungrateful were I not to make you acquainted with this wonderful cure, effected by your medicines, after every other means had failed. (Signed) "J. H. ALLIDAY." Sold by the Proprietor, 244, Strand (near Temple Bar), London, and by all respectable Venders of Patent Medicines throughout the Civilized World, in Pots and Boxes, at 1s. 1d., 2s. 6d., 4s. 6d., 11s., 22s., and 33s., each. There is a very considerable saving in taking the larger sizes. N.B.—Directions for the guidance of Patients are affixed to each Pot or Box.

HUNGARY AND BADEN. THE POLISH LEGION.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE NEW POLISH EMIGRATION TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'LEADER.' "39, Upper Norton-street, Portland-place, 7th September, 1850.

"SIR,—We beg to acknowledge the receipt of £4.13s. 6d., the amount of the subscriptions paid at your office on behalf of the Poles arrived from Hungary, and to return our best thanks to the benevolent donors and to yourself for the generous aid and sympathy evinced to the unfortunate victims of the noble cause. We hope, also, that the following statement will not be uninteresting to your readers.

"The number of Poles arrived from Hungary and Germany, and placed on the Committee's list, amounted to 75. Of these—Left England, 5; employed in different pursuits (so as to be able to earn their subsistence), 25; employed, but still requiring the aid of the Committee, 22; the number of those who could not yet procure any employment amounts to 20; in the hospital, 1; unfit for any employment on account of injuries received, 2.

"The receipts of the Committee from June 30 to Aug. 31 amounted to £87 8 9 Disbursements during the same period..... 87 13 7 Deficit..... 0 4 10

"We remain, Sir, your most obedient servants, "On behalf of the Committee, "J. B. ROLA BARTOGHOWSKI, Captain."

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED:—

| | |
|---|--------|
| Mr. Miles, 5, Theberton-street, Islington | £0 5 0 |
| Mr. Mabbs, Upper-street, Islington | 0 1 0 |
| Miss S. D. C. | 0 4 0 |
| Two Friends of ditto | 0 1 0 |
| From a Friend of ditto | 0 5 0 |
| From a few Working Men, Bond-street | 1 0 0 |
| The Leader Newspaper | 1 1 0 |
| Alfred Peppercorn | 0 2 6 |
| Helen Slatter | 0 2 0 |
| Bessie Burgess | 0 2 0 |
| S. L. | 0 1 0 |
| A German, wishing for the unity and integrity of his country, having no desire to infringe upon the integrity of others | 0 5 0 |
| W. K. | 0 4 0 |
| R. R. | 0 9 0 |
| A Reader of the Leader | 0 10 0 |
| Mr. Terence Bellew M'Manus, per Miss Redman | 1 0 0 |
| Arthur Trevelyan, Esq., per Mr. G. J. Holyoake | 2 0 0 |
| Bradford Committee, per Mr. T. Carr | 5 0 0 |

OCTOBER CIRCULAR, 1850.—We wish to

draw a comparison between the different classes of Tea, viz., the Commonest, which is always subject to extreme fluctuations; the Medium, which maintains a more equitable value, and forms the great bulk of Tea used in this country; and the Finer Sorts, which, owing to their limited use, are (like the commoner) speedily affected in price by a large or insufficient supply. In addressing ourselves to this point, we would remind the public that all Tea, bad or good, the best or the most worthless, pays a uniform duty, of 2s. 2d. per lb., and is necessarily subject to equal charges for freight, portage, wharfage, dock dues, &c. &c.; consequently the commonest is much heavier taxed, in proportion to its real or marketable value, than either the medium or the finest class Teas: thus, whilst at present—

| | |
|--|--|
| The price of Common Congou, in Canton, is 7d. to 8d. per lb. It follows that Common Congou pays, in charges & duty, 400 per cent. | |
| The freight, dock dues, &c. 4d. — | |
| The duty 2s. 2d. — | |
| The price of Middling Congou, in Canton, is 12d. to 15d. per lb. It follows that the Medium Class of Tea pays, in charges and duty 200 per cent. | |
| The freight, dock dues, &c. 4d. — | |
| The duty 2s. 2d. — | |
| The price of Finest Class Tea, in Canton, is 20d. to 2s. 6d. per lb. It follows that the Finest Class of Tea pays, in charges and duty, only 100 per cent. | |
| The freight, dock dues, &c. 4d. — | |
| The duty 2s. 2d. — | |
| So that the Commonest Tea, which costs 7d. per lb. in China, is sold in England at .. 3s. 4d. and 3s. 6d. per pound. | |
| The Middling quality, which costs 15d. per pound in China (or more than double) is sold in England at 3s. 8d. and 4s. per pound. | |
| Whilst the Finest, which costs four times the price of the Commonest, realizes in England only 4s. 4d. to 5s. per pound. | |

It must be thus apparent that, with a fixed charge of 2s. 6d. per lb. upon all Tea, mere price alone is no criterion of either good value or cheapness; and we especially direct the attention of those who are solicitous to economize their expenditure to this fact, and in their determination to purchase at the lowest prices they voluntarily tax themselves double or quadruple what they have any necessity for doing.

SIDNEY, WELLS, and MANDUELL, No. 8, Ludgate-hill, London.

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