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The Leader

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

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News of the Week.

OMNIBUSES no longer wait by the hundred at Prince's-gate, cabs are again scattered; the Exposition is over. The closing ceremony was the least worthy part of the whole summer's spectacle; the end uncrowned the work. The delivery of prizes which had so little of the discriminatory in them as to confound Monti's Eve with a host of works, that will be forgotten, could have in it little to impress the bystander; the delivery of a prayer, the words of which were only to be learned afterwards by the reader of the papers, could not engage the religious feelings of the concourse—you could not share in what you did not know anything about. The most impressive phenomenon was the aspect of the papers next day—flooded with lists of the prize-holders. The public presence in the Exposition ended gloriously on Saturday, with a brilliant day and a full assemblage; the dismal weather and day ceremony of Wednesday formed an anti-climax. But no anti-climax could destroy the work of the Exposition itself.

Kossuth is already the object that eclipses the Crystal Palace in the public regard. The possibility of his arrival has been watched with daily solicitude. In spite of systematic attempts to divert the English people by calumnious stories against him, constructed with laborious painstaking, efforts wearing a studied appearance of carelessness—efforts which find aid in our Ministerial journals—the public continues to manifest the warmest sympathy with his adversity in the past, and his hopes in the future. Provincial towns compete in preparing to send him addresses. The Central Committee continues to receive adhesions that promise for him a truly metropolitan welcome. His brief preliminary stay in this country will show him the spirit of the people; and after his return from America, we believe that he will find the spirit not abated.

But while the Exposition has gloriously ended, and all is eager expectation of Kossuth and his Magyar glory, there is a cloud in the West sad enough to contemplate. A Treasury with the maw of a Polyphemus anxious to swallow up, by a pretended justice, the wrecks of property in the South and West of Ireland. Ratepayers flying fast and far, unable to stand five, six, eight, eleven shillings, and in one union it is said, one pound five in the pound. The question naturally gets itself asked—why worry these unions for immediate repayment of instalments, unless you are prepared for wholesale confiscation? Give us a "bill of particulars," exclaims Lord Lucan, "and postpone your demand." We decline to give a bill of particulars, is the response; the money has been spent, and somebody must refund it. Why, you want to repudiate! What is it to us that out of a population of 500,000 there were 200,000 paupers relieved in the official

year ending April 30, 1851, in ten unions? What is it to us that out of £295,000 expended in these unions, only £172,000 was actually spent to feed, and shelter, and clothe the starving, and the rest expended Heaven knows how? You must pay down on the nail. Such is virtually the language of the Whig Premier. It is unjust, unmerciful, ungenerous, and unwise; true, but it is pure Whiggism!

Turning again nearer home we find some small excitement on the surface respecting the promised Reform Bill. The rumour is that Manchester is to speak out and instruct Lord John Russell in his duty. Is this to be a counter movement or an auxiliary movement to that of the National Reform Association? It is time somebody spoke. At present we are all in the dark; groping among unofficial speculations. The public mind is astray, and no leader comes forward able to guide it.

Apropos of Reform: venerable Joseph Hume has been talking at Edinburgh on the subject, and the Scotsman, looking down loftily upon the member for Montrose, lectures him and all who want to get at a real suffrage. With a great air of superior wisdom, the journal of modern Athens talks disdainfully of those who want to lower the suffrage by merely increasing the numbers. What does this mean? Can the suffrage be lower than it is at St. Alban's and Harwich? The Scotsman would extend—that is the polite word—the suffrage, not lower it. "Convey the wise call it." How will sturdy Scotland like a dilettante constituency, such as that proposed by the pearl-white Liberal Scotsman?

Whilst gentle Whig organs are tunelessly preaching faith in Whig reforms, and household suffrage looms in the horizon of next session, as the reward of our feeble agitations, France awakes from the lethargy of reaction; and her Prince President, seeing the tide of popularity ebbing away, throws himself once more upon the broad waves of Universal Suffrage. Whether they will bear him into the haven of reelection where he would be, is another question. Revision or no revision, reelection or rejection, it matters not. A Democratic assembly elected by Universal Suffrage, will repair the disasters and the disgraces of three wasted years. M. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte has a bold game to play; he can no longer hesitate between the factions and the People. The present Assembly will vote the abrogation; what matters one more stultification to the Party of Order? Who are to form the new Ministry? Any change is better than the last. A Bonapartist Ministry is impracticable, even if the materials exist. Elysian fusions are now scattered to the winds. The two principles of hereditary and national sovereignty are face to face. A broad Ministry of the People, composed of new men, is the necessity of the moment. There is one name which means initiative, independence, strength of will, clearness of purpose, comprehensive measures, the power to grapple with

all problems: energetic practical reforms; fearless extirpation of abuses; reduction of the budget, of the army, of taxation: thorough social reconstruction; generous and enlightened democracy; war to pauperism and ignorance; the only man to conceive and execute this programme is the man of all others the most "impossible"—to the Bourse, to diplomacy, and to the grey beards of political routine. The only man capable of building up a true fabric of order and liberty is Emile de Girardin. He is neither a formalist, nor (that silliest of parodies) a classical Republican. He is not a theoretical, but a practical, Socialist.

Religious liberty was a conquest of the Revolution. In the last few days Walter Scott and Robinson Crusoe have been condemned as pernicious and dangerous books by the Bishop of Luçon. He is one of those men who would clap an extinguisher on the sun, in majorem Dei gloriam. But what is the crime of poor Friday, may be asked? He learned to read his Bible! A grave offence in the sight of Holy Church. Think of this attempt at obscurantism on the very eve of the restoration of universal suffrage!

Russia, and the Diet of Frankfort, have replied to Palmerston's present of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets with a severe rebuke for such an impertinent intrusion. Palmerston has done a bold and a liberal act, and can well afford to pocket the affront! He is such an old offender!

From Naples comes another voice of wailing, from twenty-one priests, starving and rotting in the dungeons of a Christian King. Their crime (a rare one among priests) was a love of freedom.

La Presse has brought a cloud of testimony, to prove how leniently Mr. Gladstone judged the atrocities of the "best of Monarchs."

The important meeting of merchants and persons interested in Eastern trade at the London Tavern, suggests many reflections. It is an event. Anxious as we are for the extension and multiplication of means of transit, and the opening up of new routes for commerce, we cannot witness, without regret, the blind way in which men, generally sagacious, consent to work in the dark. Has it occurred to the leaders of the meeting that no railway extension on the desert of Suez could compensate to England for the destruction of Turkey? Is it not possible that, in seeking railway extension, they may get, as a net result, Russian extension instead?

Two instances of bravery, neither unpleasing, we chronicle this week. Jules Gerard, the indefatigable African Lion Hunter, has at length killed the old lion who so shamelessly ran away from him last year. But a far pleasanter picture is that of brave Mrs. Moore on the wreck of the Owen Glendower, working at the pumps and sustaining her courage within the very jaws of the sea. Graceful, too, is her hearty gratitude. Yes; courage and thankfulness are immortal.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

Attention is again concentrated upon France. The Republic enters upon a new phase of existence. The President, after some irresolution, has played his last card, and is once more committed to the chances of Universal Suffrage. The factions composing the great Party of Order, are all on the alert, preparing for the next Parliamentary campaign. In the mean time, they are endeavouring to agitate the Bourse by alarming reports of *coups d'état*, and of the coming alliance of M. Louis Napoleon with the Democratic Opposition. They declare that society is in danger, and threaten reprisals against the "Personal" Government.

M. Louis Napoleon, if he regain the confidence of the masses, can afford to sacrifice the false alliance of the Burgraves. The masses, once repossessed of the suffrage, will laugh at Royalist intrigues. They will have learned not to put their faith in princes, still less in kings; and in the consolidation of the Democracy, they will work out patiently social emancipation.

E. de Girardin expresses his firm conviction, that the Majority in the Assembly will once more stultify their past votes by assenting to the abrogation of the law of limited suffrage; that the Revision will then be carried. He is engaged in a controversy with the Republican journals, who refuse to vote Revision at any price. They treat him as a secret supporter of the President's reelection. He replies that, with Universal Suffrage, and the will of France represented by a Constituent of 900 members, elected by 10,000,000 of votes, he is content to await all issues. The popular will, which is, after all, the true Republic, will have spoken: he is content to abide by its sovereign decision.

The successors of MM. Léon Faucher, Baroche, and Co., it would be difficult to guess at; it is clear that the President, having thrown himself upon the masses, must choose a ministry of transition: between restrained and universal suffrage; between the present factions and hostile coalitions, and the Democratic Assembly (whether Legislative or Constituent) of '52. It is very significant, that the names of Girardin and Lamartine should have risen to the surface of rumour: the latter means rose-water pacification, and phrases about an "honest and moderate" Republic; the former is too great and too bold a man not to be considered "impossible" at the Bourse. But he is perhaps the only man capable of hewing out the future of France, in the midst of her perplexing problems; and of founding a régime of true order, peaceful progression, and sincere liberty, limited only by the public conscience.

From the date of the abrogation of the law of the 31st of May, all pretence of civil war vanishes. The Revolution resumes its peaceful march. But the game of the factions is up, and they know it.

The old struggles between the Ultramontanes and the Gallicans would seem to be reviving in France. The former has been patronized by the Reaction as expressing the doctrines of passive obedience to authority; the latter are headed by the present Archbishop of Paris, whom we shall call a Christian Socialist—a man of meekness, gentleness, reconciliation, as opposed to intolerance, obscurantism, despotism. His admirable charge to the clergy, enjoining them to keep aloof from politics, may be remembered; and the intemperate opposition to its precepts of the Bishop of Langres, in a letter which was the very essence of the worst form of spiritual despotism and ecclesiastical bile. The Archbishop's Vicar-General resembles his diocesan. A work of his on common law, which has been a text-book in the seminaries, has just been condemned by the *Congregation of the Index* at Rome for heretical tendency. This is the reply of Ultramontanism, now in the ascendant at Rome, to the temperate Gallicanism of the Archbishop. It is the revenge of the good Bishop of Langres. But it is the Bishop of Luçon that has especially distinguished himself by condemning a series of noxious books, including (amongst others equally pernicious) Walter Scott and our old friend Robinson Crusoe! Such is the condition of religious liberty in France in the third year of the second Republic! Such are the blessings of a dominant Church!

From Germany, we have no news worth recording. Young Austria's precipitate retreat from Italy has been well accounted for. It seems that some Hungarian and Italian regiments devoured his Majesty's provisions, and indulged in revolutionary cries; and that the discipline of the troops was completely broken by exposure and fatigue.

He is now gone off to Cracow, to be received with enthusiasm of the same description as the Italian.

It is well known that his Most Sacred Majesty of Naples is the dearest son of his Holiness the Pope, whose affection he has won by his strict performance of the offices of religion, and by the constant practice of ecclesiastical virtues. But we find that even the holy office of the priesthood does not protect true Christian men from the tender mercies of this Royal assassin, whom the Pope absolves. Religion must be the prostituted instrument of murder, and the accomplice of perjury; if he fail in this part of

her mission, she falls under the rod of the temporal Sovereign. Hence this protest, signed by twenty-one Neapolitan priests—three of them canons, three of them doctors of divinity, one of them a doctor of canon law, two of them Ligurian missionaries, and the remainder simple priests, addressed to the Procurator-General of the criminal court of Naples, claiming at his hands that merciful treatment to which every untried prisoner is entitled. These priests, be it understood, are all political prisoners—that is to say, they are men who were, and are, favourable to that constitution which Ferdinand first gave to his people and afterwards perjuriously revoked. They are, and have been for months, lodged in the prison of St. Francis, at Naples, where they lie forgotten—at least, untried. For some time after their incarceration these gentlemen (for some of them are gentlemen by birth, and all by education) were allowed three-halfpence a day of our money to subsist themselves upon! But ever since the 25th of February last they have, by a decision of the Secretary of State, been deprived of this miserable pittance, and have been told they ought to subsist themselves out of the patrimony of the Church. The result is that some of these gentlemen are now lying on the bare flags of the prison floor, without covering, and that they are actually perishing slowly from the pangs of hunger. For months the friends and families of these priests sent them such succour and assistance in money as it could be occasionally conveyed into the prison. But these sums are now exhausted, and they complain they must perish unless they be allowed by the Government, not three halfpence, but three carlini a day. "We are gentlemen and priests," say they, in a touching appeal, "and either bring us to trial, liberate us, or give us wherewith to subsist as gentlemen and men of honour, so that we may not perish of hunger." Divine right divinely exercised!

IS THE KING OF PRUSSIA A PROTESTANT?

Frederic William is charged with being about to become a Roman Catholic. So he says. To speak more plainly, it is rumoured that he has actually turned Papist; and whatever blame is cast on him, it is not founded on the supposition that he has changed his religion, but on the inference that he attempts to deceive his Protestant subjects into the belief that he continues at the head of that Church of which he is thought to be no longer a member. Feeling, apparently, very uneasy about that imputation, he has recourse to the ingenious expedient of declaring the report to be an invention of the democracy in London, the general scapegoat for princely misdeeds. This stratagem does some credit to his cunning, if little to his sense of what is becoming.

We have no positive evidence how far these rumours are well founded. But, accustomed though we are to this monarch's eccentricities, it struck us with some surprise, that he was not ashamed to boast of information, which, if true, he could not have otherwise obtained than from eavesdroppers, or by opening letters. Doubtless many a country parson will believe that royal assertion, or affect to believe it, whether from a blind hatred of democracy, or from a desire to cover an approaching cowardly desertion of their Church with the cloak of an ardent attachment to, and unscrupulous confidence in, the Crown. But there are others interested in knowing whether the first Protestant state on the Continent is ruled by a disguised Papist. His Majesty must not be allowed to escape so easily a suspicion (to say the least) so important in its bearing on the cause of civil and religious liberty throughout the European continent. His Majesty will not take it amiss—and if he does, we cannot help it—that we do not feel quite satisfied with his royal assurance. A man who declares that he seldom drinks anything but water, that he is far from going to enforce a severe Sabbatarianism, that he has no thought of turning Papist—who protests thus in the face of the facts that he has ordered the Sunday to be kept in a rigorous manner, contrary to the wishes and custom of the people—that he has publicly exhibited himself on many occasions in a state not commonly produced by the pure element; such a man, even if his former career were not made up of broken faith, evaded pledges, and histrionic performances, cannot complain of any want of fairness when he finds himself subjected to a strong presumption, not that he is about to become a Papist, but that he already is one.

Let us collect some evidences, widely scattered in time and space—each small in itself, but in combination, important and deserving the most serious attention. The King, to begin with his personal disposition, is a red-hot Romanticist. The so-called Romantic school in Germany was the natural reaction against a period of unbounded scepticism. Richly gifted men, tired of rationalism, despairing of the present, fled to the opposite extreme, plunged into sentimentalism, indulged in uncontrolled imagination, worshipped the past, and cast themselves down in abject prostration before authority. It is clear that this was a course which led directly to Popery, and so it did. The most distinguished Romantic writers went over to Rome.

Until 1840 the mind of the the Crown Prince was influenced by the commonplace orthodoxy and austere Protestantism of his father. Having ascended the throne, he freely indulged in his romantic whims; but, owing to the absence of any very decided convictions, in a tolerably harmless manner, injurious only to the finances, and troublesome to those who were compelled to adopt them. He to those who and steeples built in mediæval style, had castles men of his household and the professors the foot-institutions dressed after the fashion of the in public century, and factory chimneys within the fifteenth of his palace were clothed in Gothic towers. He made the miller of Sans Souci his "vassal," with the injunction to follow him in time of war with not less than six shield-bearers, to be mounted, we presume, on donkeys. He made speeches, and issued orders, studiously modelled after worm-eaten originals. He invented the Brandenburg helmet, and nearly every week a new pattern of military accoutrements. England is indebted to him for being party to that Quixotic undertaking, the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric. Once a week he paraded his glorious army before the Queen "sitting on high balcony," thinking himself a second Cœur de Lion, Abderhaman, or Alexander, according to the fancy of the hour. In short, he behaved like a boy of fourteen, of fervid imagination, but weak understanding, with plenty of money and no control.

But he was to learn a serious lesson. The haughty prince who boasted in March 1847 that he held his crown from God, in March 1848 bowed his head before the corpses of slaughtered workmen. It can easily be imagined how terribly that degradation fell on a mind wholly destitute of firmness, self-control, and principle. Respectable witnesses state that he spoke like a man whose mind wandered. From wanton haughtiness he fell into abject despondency. Two parties attempted to use the opportunity, liberal statesmen and Popish emissaries. For a few days the former gained ascendancy. Henri von Arnim, then ambassador in Paris, a constitutionalist of the school of Stein and Hardenberg, when he was summoned back to Berlin to report on the state of affairs in France, endeavoured to elevate the King's mind and advised him to throw himself on the people. His Majesty yielded at first, and signed memorable proclamations. His heart swelled with emotion at the idea of placing himself at the head of Germany. Images of the Hohenstaufen glittered before his eyes. But he was not the man for such a post. Very soon the more congenial party gained complete possession of his weak mind, carried him away to Potsdam, and isolated him from every popular impulse, from every patriotic inspiration. The priests tried their craft, and it is a well established fact, though never yet published, that in the month of July the Ministers were in daily expectation of learning that the King had become a convert. A mystery still hangs over the history of these days. Certain it is that a Popish plot hatched years before, centred in the Queen. Elizabeth of Prussia is sprung from the house Wittelsbach, notorious for rank Popery, and is sister to King Louis of Bavaria and to that dark and bloodthirsty woman, the Archduchess Sophia of Austria. Of course she was brought up as a Catholic. Before marrying, she turned Protestant. It is a very remarkable circumstance that she left the Romish Church under the explicit permission and sanction of the Archbishop of Munich. Every one versed in the principles of canon law and in ecclesiastical history knows that a Romish prelate cannot allow any one of his flock to change religion, except for the particular benefit of Holy Church, in *majorem Dei gloriam*. Generally speaking, if a Catholic turns Protestant, he leaves the Catholic fold cursed by the priest. When any one takes that step with priestly consent there are some secret pledges and dispensations—some "reservationentalis" at bottom. It is further known from many instances, that Catholics have been allowed to participate in another worship, even to take the Communion after the Protestant form.

The King's secret confessors had an arduous task, but they did it cleverly. Always afraid that he might relapse into his ambitious visions, they laboured incessantly to touch his heart, to depress his spirits, to darken his understanding. There is another fact very little known, but well established—that he sometimes was led into a deserted and sequestered pavilion, there to meet the ghosts of his ancestors, and to consult a somnambulist, the wife of a bootmaker formerly residing at Brussels.

In 1849 another crisis took place, to overcome which the most strenuous efforts of the Austrian and ultramontane parties were required. For these two interests were joint or rather identical. In April, 1849, the Frankfort parliament offered the crown of Germany to Frederic William. The dream of ambition returned; but he hesitated. Then he was carried to a lonely little place, Freienwalde, the seat of a Jesuit mission, where he saw the ghosts of his ancestors, spoke to the bootmaker's wife, and on the following day told the deputies that he had "taken a glance" that made his eye clear and his heart firm, and he could not accept the crown. There is much

reason to believe that on that day he sealed his formal conversion.

But abstaining from speculation we return to facts. They who have not seen Sans Souci and its environs during the last two years, would be struck with its Popish, or, to say the least, its quasi-Popish, air. There is an incessant bell-ringing and tinkling daily for private church services, attendance being obligatory upon all persons connected with the royal household. The new-built Friedens-Kirche is in architecture, interior arrangement, and decoration, half Romish, half Byzantine. You see there immense candlesticks, a gorgeous altar, two diminutive pulpits, and plenty of saints painted and carved. The creation of two cardinals (considered as an insult in England), procured the Pope the most fervid gratitude of a king, who went so far as to entreat his Holiness to "honour him with a constant embassy," intimating at the same time how happy he should be to "receive a true portrait of the venerable head of the Church." On the celebration of the "Ordensfest"—the 18th of January last—the congregation was surprised by six clergymen suddenly coming forward, and assisting the officiating minister by kneeling and bowing; a thing never witnessed in any German Protestant church, and thoroughly incompatible with the Protestant rubric. The spectators, who had hardly recovered from their astonishment, were at a loss whether to believe their own eyes when the King cast himself down on the ground, giving a sign to the Court to follow his example. It was on that occasion that the Princess of Prussia indignantly turned away, muttering—"As for me, I shall never become a Catholic!" The King, being informed of her refusal to kneel, banished her from the Court. Lately passing through Westphalia, on the way to Hohenzollern, he received the Roman Catholic priests with the utmost devotedness, while he reproached the Protestant clergy, that "they had failed to imbue the youth with the doctrine of authority." To another deputation he nodded complacently, at the address of the Catholic priest and counsellor, Engel—we quote the words from our former authority, the *New Prussian Gazette*:—"The King is the representative of God, because he is King by the grace of God. The revolution aimed to eradicate this doctrine from the heart of nations. It stands, however, indelibly written in the Scriptures, and we shall take all possible care to revive it again in the hearts of your subjects; for Church and State, both divine in origin, must live together as heaven-born twins, that the spiritual and the bodily welfare of nations may be insured. The enemies of religion are also the enemies of the State, and Church and State, therefore, have only one enemy. We are infinitely rejoiced to be subjects of a monarch who ventured boldly to trample on the serpent Infidelity at a time when only the most courageous could attempt it, by pronouncing publicly the truly royal words: 'I and my house will serve the Lord.' We are happy to have found in your Majesty so powerful a protector of religion. We feel compelled to express to your majesty our deepest thanks for this protection; and we are, moreover, flattered by the joyful hope that Prussia, on which the eye of the head of our Church looks with so much complacency, and where religion has so august a guardian, will be also in this respect a shining light to the other states of Germany."

The establishment of a Roman bishopric in Hamburg, a city which has not seen an officiating Popish priest since the thirty years' war, is eagerly promoted by Prussia. The Belgian "Directory of the Society of Jesus," which we have had the good luck to inspect, contains addresses for almost every town in North Germany. A well-known Ultramontane Association held its last meeting in Berlin, on the express invitation of the King; and all principal places in Prussia are swarming with monks, friars, and nuns, clothed in all the fopperies of monastic habiliments.

We have not proposed to-day to comment on the general state of religious parties on the Continent. Our business is with Frederic William, King of Prussia, and we have said enough, we think, to justify the prophecy, that a Papist he will die, like Charles II. of England, if Fate should permit him to escape the penalty of the faithlessness of that monarch's father.

G. A. U.

KOSSUTH.

The non-arrival of the Magyar chief has not in the least diminished the intense interest with which his coming is awaited. In all parts of the country, from diverse parties, we have significant adhesions and words of cheering sympathy. Almost every post brings news of public meetings having been held, and resolutions of the most decided character adopted. And what we prize more highly even than the unequivocal expressions of esteem for Kossuth, is that all men clearly comprehend that the demonstration about to be made will be above all things a demonstration against Absolutism and in favour of the oppressed nationalities of Southern and Eastern Europe.

The Mayor of Southampton received a letter from M. Kossuth on Saturday morning, a copy of which is subjoined. It is dated Marseilles, 29th ultimo:—

"Sir,—The Government of the Ottoman Empire gave me asylum and hospitality; and though afterwards it had to yield to the presumptuous arrogance of its mighty enemies, and to convert the asylum into a prison, still it yielded but with regret; it felt deeply the disgrace, and at the first favourable moment shook off in the most dignified manner the disgraceful bonds."

"It was Turkey has acted so."

"The people of England raised its powerful voice to claim the vindication of the rights of humanity, offended in myself and in my associates; and the Government of Great Britannia proved to be a dignified organ of the people of England's generous sentiments."

"In the United States of America the people, the Congress, and the Government shared with equal generosity in the highminded resolution to restore me to freedom, and by freedom to activity. They sent over a steam-frigate to that purpose, and most generously offered the protection of their glorious flag."

"Thus acted England and the United States."

"We stopped at Marseilles. I wished to visit England; the lively sentiment of gratitude pointed out to me as a duty to go there to thank for the highminded sympathy I and the cause I represent were honoured with. So I requested permission to pass through France to England directly, without asking leave to stop in any place (because I know the character of the present Republican French Government), and declaring to be ready to follow every loyal and honourable advice the Government would feel convenient to give me for my rapid passage through France."

"Monsieur Louis Napoleon Bonaparte refused the requested permission to pass through that French Republic which did him the honour to elect him to the high station, where his sacred, sworn duty is to be the chief guardian of the Democratic constitution of his country, which proclaimed to the world to have for principles 'freedom and fraternity.'"

"M. Bonaparte was himself once an exile, and may yet become an exile once more. France was not then a Republic, still it was an asylum to oppressed humanity. I claimed no asylum, I desired only to pass; and the once exile, now the President of a glorious nation's great Republic—refused!"

"It is not I, I hope, to whom before the tribunal of public opinion throughout the world this refusal will prove to be a disgrace."

"I wish that no one should remember it at the time when, perhaps, M. Bonaparte will once more be an exile himself."

"In no case will the refusal of the French Government impede me to fulfil the high felt duty to thank the people of England for its generous sympathy. I am still resolved to land at Southampton, Sir. I will entreat Captain Long, of the Mississippi, to hasten me down to Gibraltar; I wish and hope to find there some means of conveyance to your free and glorious shores, were it but for one hour's stay."

"I felt bound to address to you, honoured Sir, this communication, as a proof of my respect and esteem, having the honour to sign, with the most particular consideration, myself to be,"

"Sir, your most obsequious servant,"

"L. KOSSUTH."

"Mr. Andrews, Mayor of the city of Southampton."

The Central Committee, sitting nightly at 10, Wellington-street, under the presidency of Mr. Thornton Hunt, have resolved to give Kossuth a public reception; to send a deputation to wait on him, and respectfully invite him to a banquet, to be given in one of our largest available rooms—perhaps in Drury-lane Theatre—to levy on the willing public voluntary contributions, the sum total of which to be placed in the hands of Kossuth, for furthering the Hungarian cause.

This banquet, there is every reason to believe, will be really metropolitan, not confined to working men, but comprehending all sections of the people. Westminster, Marylebone, Southwark have spoken out. A writer in the *Daily News* proposes that a body of gentlemen, on horseback, should assemble at the railway station and escort Kossuth to his place of abode.

The charges brought against Kossuth by the *Times* have been successfully confuted by the author of the *Revelations of Russia*, in a letter to the *Daily News*; and by Count Ladislaus Vay, a native of the Comitatus of Zemplin, where the delinquency is stated to have occurred. Count Vay says:—"The facts are briefly these: M. Kossuth, appointed at a very early age the trustee of an orphans' charity, although then as much addicted to the turf as to the bar, was seen on one occasion to play higher and more unfortunately than usual. It was reported (at Austrian instigation) that he had gambled with the trust funds, an investigation was called for, but on preliminary inquiry the fund was found intact, to the confusion of his accusers."

The arrival of the Arno at Liverpool on Thursday caused a great sensation, as it was thought Kossuth might be on board. He will most likely arrive in the Madrid on the 20th, as the captain of the Arno saw him at Gibraltar.

A LETTER FROM JOSEPH MAZZINI TO VICTOR HUGO.

London, September 20, 1851.

SIR,—You have uttered beautiful and touching words upon Rome and Italy. We have gathered them up with love and gratitude. You have since then nobly struggled for France, and through France

for all, against oppression, calling itself republic; against hypocrisy, calling itself religion; against the materialism of the interests of a caste, or of a man usurping the name of a governmental doctrine. You have, into this struggle, devoted two sons worthy of you; and now that they are momentarily *hors de combat*, you replace them on the breach. This is noble, and equal to the height of the great cause. All who suffer and combat for the banner that your sons have sustained, and which you sustain, in order that there be neither the scaffold nor any pretext for the scaffold—neither violation of the right of asylum, nor necessity for asylum—for the holy alliance of the Peoples—for a world to come, where there will be neither anarchy nor castes, neither masters nor slaves, neither persecutors nor persecuted; but God and His law at the summit, the People at the base, genius and virtue, apostles and guiding lights upon the way—will appreciate, as it deserves, the beauty of your conduct. I take advantage of the opportunity afforded me by a fellow countryman, who desires to see you, to tell you this. As a poet I have loved you from my first student years; I admire you to day casting your burning words upon the border of the two camps, between the People and its masters. I have long felt the necessity of expressing this to you, for the satisfaction of my own heart, as a man and as an Italian.

March ever onwards. It is only with us, believe me, Sir, that you will find strong faith, unity of thought and action, devotion, love, and life. On the other side there is only death. Our reason may deceive us, but not our hearts. We desire the good of humanity, they the power of a day. We believe, they calculate. Do not hope to convert them; they are doomed to pass away; contempt and isolation must do the work of justice on them; the People must arise. The pacific relation, which you still invoke, is the last dream of a good man; it will not be realized. The men to whom you make your appeal, have only transactions to offer you. On the 31st of May they lost faith, logic, and all sentiment of the new life which ferments around them. The initiative is no longer with them. To fill up the void which they have created, the People must affirm itself again. Action is the genius of the People, the source of its intuition, its collective revelation. To this field it must be summoned, or France is lost. It is not by partial revisions or transactions, that she can again enter into the European world, into the world of eternal principles, from which tactics have led her astray.

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

IRELAND AND HER DEBTS.

The famine debt question has not made much way since last week. There is a cessation of the corresponding mania, but there is no cessation of the flood of memorials sent from the bankrupt unions to the Treasury. "We have," says the *Dublin Advocate*, "no doubt, that whatever is justly due, nay, whatever can be claimed under the past acts, will be paid to the uttermost farthing; but we very much question the justice of pressing for repayment, through the Board of Guardians, of money expended under other agency, and we deem it nothing short of madness to press, at present, any extra demand on Unions all but bankrupt."

Nowhere is there any attempt, as was at first reported, to repudiate, but to postpone, repayment. It is unfortunate that no sort of temper is displayed in conducting Irish local affairs. At the Ennis Court-house a most unpleasant scene occurred. A resolution was moved, which, in a small degree, gave offence to two Catholic priests present, and they seized hold of it as the pretext for an onslaught against the Irish landlords.

"Resolved,—That we seek for a postponement of any attempt to levy in this county the claims of the Government under the Consolidated Annuities Act. We seek it as a matter of necessity, if it be desirable to abate the alarm which exists among the occupiers of land, and which is leading numbers to dispose of their property and abandon the country in despair."

The resolution having been seconded, a "scene" ensued as follows:—

"The Reverend Mr. Corbett, P.P., here stated that he wished to propose an amendment to that resolution, and asked the chairman if that was the proper time for it?"

"Captain Macnamara suggested that it would be better if Mr. Corbett would allow all the resolutions to be first disposed of, and then he could bring forward any other resolution which he might wish the meeting to adopt."

"The Reverend Mr. Corbett would insist, as a ratepayer, on his right to propose the amendment."

"Mr. P. Creagh advised Mr. Corbett to take Captain Macnamara's suggestion, and bring it forward as a substantive motion."

"Reverend Mr. Corbett: No; I will move as an amendment, that the last clause of that resolution be entirely left out, and that the word 'attempt' in the first clause be also expunged from it. I give as my reason for omitting the last sentence, that it is inconsistent with fact. It appears to me not to be founded on truth. The resolution assigns this increased taxation, called the Consolidated Annuities, as a cause of the frightful tide of emigration. I say that is not the fact."

Before there was any intimation at all that such a demand would be made, the tide of emigration was rapidly progressing. It commenced at an earlier period than could lead it to be supposed that it was even caused by the heavy poor-rates. The tide of emigration commenced from the oppressive conduct of the landlords. (*Confusion.*)

"Captain Macnamara: I, for one, deny it; and I shall always oppose such unwarrantable insinuations as that. (*Great confusion.*)"

"Mr. A. Bulter: I call Mr. Corbett to order. We came here for the purpose of remonstrating and petitioning against this additional taxation, and not to listen to any class of the community being insulted and libelled. (*'Hear, hear,' and uproar.*)"

"Captain Macnamara: Yes, Sir, but we must stand here to be bullied and browbeaten by these men; for they will bully and insult you. That is their custom. (*'Hear, hear,' and great excitement.*)"

"Reverend Mr. Quade, parish priest (vehemently): I deny it. (*Uproar.*)"

"Mr. D. J. Wilson: In the name of our afflicted country—(*hear, hear*)—in the name of Almighty God, are we to be a byword for ever—(*hear, hear*)—to be pointed at with scorn?"

"Reverend Mr. Quade: Yes, you are; and I know who are the cause. (*Increased uproar.*)"

Ultimately, after much confusion and calling of names, the Reverend Mr. Quade calling Lord John Russell a liar, and otherwise exhibiting much passion, the amendment was carried. It was obvious from the speeches that the priests were no advocates for repayment; but that they hated the Minister and the landlords alike.

To show how heavily and how unequally poor-law taxation presses on the unions, we append a few facts.

In Antrim union, the maximum rate is 8d. in the pound, and some electoral divisions are only assessed for 4d. In Gort, a western union, the maximum rate is 11s. 3d.; and, out of the twenty electoral divisions, there is only one in which the rate is as low as 3s. 10d. In some of the Kerry unions, rates, even for the current half-year, often exceed 5s., and in one case a rate of 8s. 3d. is required for ordinary expenditure alone.

On Saturday last the guardians of Coleraine struck a new rate for twelve months, the maximum being 9d. in the pound; but several of the electoral divisions are charged with only 5d., and there are four from which the extremely low rate of 3d. in the pound is required.

In the notification of new rates for Belmullet, Mayo, in which no reference whatever is made even to a contingent provision for the instalment of the Consolidated Annuities, the assessment upon the fifteen electoral divisions (for six months' expenditure apparently) ranges from 5s. to 6s. 3d. in the pound.

In Letterkenny union, county of Donegal (one of the least favourably circumstanced districts of Ulster), the average rating is less than 1s. in the pound; one electoral division is charged with 2s. 3d., but several are limited to 7d., and one division is assessed for 6d. only.

Claremorris union, in Mayo, where there has been a vast decrease in the population, is charged with rates ranging from 4s. down to 1s., and one electoral division, Ballindine, is as low as 10d. in the pound.

In the union of Newcastle, county of Limerick, there are still greater discrepancies in the rating. Two electoral divisions are charged with 3s. 9d.; others with 2s. 9d.; there are some assessed for 5d.; others for 3d.; the division of Danganbeg has the nominal rate of 1d.; and there are three divisions of this formerly deeply embarrassed union, against which no rate whatever is charged!

A great provincial meeting was held at Limerick, on the 15th instant, convened by the "Committee of Consolidated Annuities," to deliberate respecting the repayment of the Government advances. Deputations from twenty-five unions were present. A letter was read from Lord John Russell to Mr. John O'Brien, M.P., intimating that Ministers would attend to statements of distress, but by no means "give any countenance to the doctrine of repudiation." The result of this important meeting was a memorial forwarding accounts of the deplorable state of the country, asking for time, and a correction of erroneous calculations of the liabilities of certain unions.

THE EGYPTIAN RAILWAY AND THE TURKS.

The route to India and China across the Isthmus of Suez is admitted on all hands to be one of the necessities of British commerce. Why that route has not been converted into a railway is one of the mysteries of modern diplomacy. For ten years the rails have been lying in the sands. Mehemet Ali did not make it, though he did many great things. It is thought he would have made it, had there not been some secret opposition. Ibrahim Pacha's reign was too brief for any great enterprise. His successor, Abbas Pacha, has a mind to make the railway; has contracted with Stephenson; everything is ready to begin. The next step? A note from the Porte, forbidding the making of any railway without its authorization. How this comes about we are not able to explain. But so the matter stands. There are some fingers in the pie, some occult influences at

work, not discerned by a credulous public—all gratitude to the rulers of Egypt and to Lord Palmerston. At this stage the "Egyptian Railway question" is taken up in the City, and a public meeting was held at the London Tavern on Tuesday.

The object of the meeting was "to adopt such means as might be thought most advisable, by memorializing the Government or otherwise," in order that "the danger which now menaces the important British interests connected with our colonies and possessions in the East" may be averted. The meeting was numerous and respectfully attended, and among the gentlemen on the platform were Mr. A. Anderson, M.P., Mr. M'Gregor, M.P., Mr. Aglionby, M.P., General Briggs, Mr. S. Gregson, Mr. Larking, Mr. Barton, Mr. Foster, Mr. de Salis, Mr. Briggs, Mr. Ewart, Mr. R. Brooks, Mr. T. Fox, &c.

Mr. Samuel Gregson was voted to the chair, on the motion of Mr. Barton, seconded by Mr. M'Gregor, M.P. The Chairman's statement of the case was as follows:—

"The line of communication to which he had just adverted had been carried on most satisfactorily for more than ten years. It was established by that great ruler of Egypt—that wonderful man, Mehemet Ali, whose penetrating mind foresaw that great prosperity was sure to accrue to his country by making it the highway for all the world. (*Hear, hear.*) Under his successor, Ibrahim Pacha, the state of things continued still to be satisfactory; and, up to the present moment, under his Highness Abbas Pacha, it was not only in a satisfactory state, but the Pacha, emulating the energy of his grandsire, now proposed to improve the communication by introducing into his country the greatest of all modern improvements—a railway across the Desert. (*Cheers.*) The Sultan, however, to the consternation of all parties in this country, had interfered to prohibit the completion of that railway. It was contended, nevertheless, that by the treaty of 1841, guaranteed by all the great Powers of Europe, the Sultan had no longer power to interfere with the internal arrangements of Egypt—(*cheers*)—and it so happened that upon former occasions greater works, if it were possible, had been undertaken without any such interference, such, for example, as the barrage of the Nile, and the fortifications of Alexandria—great works begun and completed without a thought of soliciting the authority of the Porte. (*Cheers.*) With regard to the construction of the railway by the Pacha, upon a question being asked of the noble Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the 5th of August last, he said, 'Undoubtedly, it was the opinion of the Government, which had expressed that opinion to both parties, that the Pacha of Egypt was entitled to make that railway out of his own funds, according to the terms of the firman which was granted to him in 1841. (*Hear, hear.*) It would, therefore, be for the meeting to consider the proposal now to be made, that they should ask the Government immediately to take up this great question. (*Cheers.*) He thought, when they reflected how many more difficult questions the noble lord, the present Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had overcome and settled, that the settlement of this question with our friend and ally the Sultan would be no difficult matter for him—(*cheers*)—and he almost longed to see the time when the Sultan, imitating the example of our most gracious Queen, should visit his own provinces, and most delightful it would be to see him and the Pacha of Egypt and Lord Palmerston present at the opening of this great railway. (*Cheers and laughter.*)"

Mr. Briggs moved the following resolution:—

"That a safe, speedy, commodious, and economical means of transit through Egypt has become essential to the security and good government of our Indian empire, to the extension of commercial intercourse between Europe and the East, to the industrial and social improvement of Egypt; and is opposed neither to the interests nor to the legitimate ambition of any nation on earth."

He had been long connected with Egypt—he might say for fifty years, and witnessed the arrangements for this railway ten years ago:—

"The communication through Egypt had been brought to great perfection under the present ruler of that country. He had already macadamized a part of the road between Cairo and Suez in the Desert. He had increased the number of station-houses in the Desert, and had multiplied greatly the means of conveyance for passengers, both upon the Nile and the canal. (*Cheers.*) He was also willing to undertake, at his own expense, this magnificent railway between Alexandria and Cairo, and to increase by every means in his power the facilities for passing through Egypt, thus cementing more closely, not only the interests of India with England and Egypt, but, in a political point of view, promoting the highest interests of this country as well as Egypt. (*Hear, hear.*) Abbas Pacha had, however, met with great difficulties since he succeeded to his present position, and now the climax of opposition had appeared against this railway."

Looking at the great commercial, social, and political interests involved in conveying the mails and passengers through Egypt, he thought it was not possible to overrate the importance of the question. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Barton, and unanimously adopted.

Mr. A. Anderson, M.P., moved the second resolution, which was as follows:—

"That the interference of the Ottoman Porte in the internal administration of Egypt, as recently manifested by its assumption of the power to prevent the construction of the Egyptian railway, and to divest the Pacha of Egypt of the necessary authority to maintain order in that country, is calculated to injure the important British interests involved in the facility and safety of the

transit through Egypt of the mails, passengers, and goods, to and from the East. That it is, therefore, expedient to press upon her Majesty's Government the necessity of a prompt and active interposition to prevent the Porte from proceeding further in the course which she has in this respect pursued; and that with this view the memorial to the Prime Minister now read be adopted, and put in course of signature."

Mr. Anderson also read a memorial, which was subsequently adopted, to be presented to Lord John Russell. He clearly stated the ostensible grounds of the dispute between the Porte and the Pacha.

"The two points in dispute related to the construction of the railway, and to the introduction into Egypt of what was called the *tanzimat*. The Porte contended that the Pacha had no right to engage in the construction of a work of such great importance as the making of a railway through Egypt, or rather through a part of Egypt; and, because the Pacha had not asked permission of the Porte, the undertaking was threatened with ruin. One could hardly judge in regard to this question without referring in some degree to the terms of the settlement made between the Porte and the Pacha of Egypt, in 1841; and, in order to give a better idea of what was the real state of the case, it would be necessary to take up the question from the beginning, to recur to the period when Mehemet Ali gained the battle of Nezib, when Constantinople might have fallen, and the power of the Sultan was lying at his feet. That was the position of the parties at the time. Four great European Powers interfered between the Porte and what had been the former vassal of the Sultan; for there was nothing short of that interference which could have prevented Mehemet Ali from annihilating the power of the Sultan, and from dictating terms by which he would have been recognized as independent Sovereign of Egypt and Syria. Great Britain and the other great Powers of Europe interfered. Mehemet Ali was compelled ultimately to retire on Egypt. It was finally agreed that the hereditary Government of Egypt should be vested in him and in his family. There was a condition imposed which was easy to be observed; it was required that the Pacha should not levy higher duties than the Porte. The Pacha was to have the surplus revenue of Egypt after paying a fixed sum to the Sultan, namely, 60,000 purses, which was equal to about £300,000 sterling. Surely, under this arrangement, it was competent and continued to be competent for the Pacha with the surplus revenue of Egypt to carry out improvements, and to apply his own revenue to such works as the railway. The Porte said, 'This is so important a work, that we require you, not only to ask our permission, but to send us in all your accounts, to show what is the state of Egypt, lest you should be laying out too much on this railway, and may not be able to pay the tribute to us or may have recourse to a foreign loan.' He (Mr. Anderson) was of opinion that the Porte had no right to insist on the production of accounts. On that part of the subject he did not mean to dwell, for Mr. Briggs had well disposed of it already; and Lord Palmerston, who had made the treaty, and who ought to understand the meaning of it as well as any one, admitted the right of the Pacha to make that railway out of his revenue. The treaty of 1841 was said to be very vaguely expressed. It was vague—like most Oriental documents. But if it was vague on the one side, it was vague on the other. Where was one to look for the best interpretation? For what had been done by these two parties during a period of ten years? During those ten years Mehemet Ali had laid out a large sum, which had been estimated as amounting to £1,000,000 sterling, on the Nile; he had taken what was a much stronger measure, he had fortified Alexandria. There was another instance which bore on the point. In 1841 Mehemet Ali made an agreement with the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, by which he gave them the right of navigating the internal waters of the country, namely the river Nile. He gave them the right of making what communication they thought proper. There was at the same time a transit duty of three per cent. on everything that passed through Egypt. Mehemet Ali did away with that duty of three per cent., and reduced the duty to a half per cent. All these circumstances established the position of the Pacha very clearly, that, all this having taken place, the Sultan could not interfere to prevent the construction of the railway."

The *tanzimat* is a code of laws published by the Porte, concentrating in itself all power of life and death. The Pacha of Egypt says that it is not applicable to Egypt; that the demand to administer the laws is preposterous. And Mr. Anderson stated that if the power over life and death were taken from the Pacha, "it would be impossible to keep Egypt in order, and that country would retrograde to the condition in which it had formerly been when it swarmed with robbers." At the present time life and property were more secure in the passage across the desert than in England. Mr. Anderson briefly alluded to the political part of the subject.

"Lord Palmerston had effected the arrangement of 1841, and statements had appeared which showed that the policy he then acted on was not carried out with the vigour one would have expected, and that the Pacha had been left without the support he ought to have had from England. Abbas Pacha had identified himself with British interests, and, reducing his army and fleet, had turned his attention to agriculture, considering the connection with Great Britain to be far more valuable to him than armies and fleets. (*Cheers.*) He had broken up a number of useless establishments. In doing so he had been obliged, of course, to discharge a great number of French employes, and they no doubt had had some influence in the present intrigues against him at the Porte; and it was evident that at Constantinople it might be thought much more convenient to have Mr. Stephenson making contracts

there for railways, than it was to have him making such contracts in Egypt. It seemed to be but proper that commercial men interested in the subject should express their opinions on it. He thought they were bound in interest and in honour to do what they could to see that this man who had done so much for them should not be crushed—(cheers)—that they ought to give him what moral support they could; and, whatever jealousy other countries might have, it might be hoped that Great Britain had not fallen so low as not to defend interests which were identified with her own. (Cheers.)

Mr. Larking, who has resided sixteen years in Egypt, seconded the resolution. He explained still further the dispute between the Porte and Egypt as regarded the *tanzimat*.

"Now, according to a condition in the firman of investiture, the laws of Turkey were to have equal force in Egypt, but might be modified to adapt them to the local circumstances and social condition of the Egyptians. The Porte, however, had lately put forth a pretension that these laws should be carried into effect in Egypt without reference to the modifying power granted by the firman, and also claimed a right to interfere in their administration. Now, this interference would be a direct violation of the rights ceded to the family of Mehemet Ali, and, if admitted, would nullify the firman. This was certainly not the intention of those who framed and guaranteed the treaty between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali; for, in granting the government of Egypt to the Pacha, it was never intended to take from him the power to govern. (Hear, hear.)

The following resolutions were also moved by Mr. Foster, member of the Council at Port Philip, and Mr. John M'Gregor, M.P., and adopted.

"That a committee, to consist of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, viz.:—Mr. Samuel Gregson, Mr. Arthur Anderson, M.P.; Mr. Samuel Briggs, Mr. H. Lindsay, Mr. T. Larking, Mr. Alexander Matheson, M.P.; Mr. Raikes Currie, M.P.; Mr. J. M'Gregor, M.P.; Mr. J. F. Foster, and Mr. G. G. Barton be appointed, and be requested to act, to procure signatures to the memorial, and to present it when signed; to communicate personally, or otherwise, with her Majesty's Government relative to the subject of it; to invite and promote the co-operation of parties in other parts of the kingdom in the object of it; and that they be requested to convene another public meeting, in order to lay before it a report of their proceedings."

"That this meeting desire to convey to his Highness Abbas Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, the assurance of their sympathy and of their support, by every legitimate means, in the present position of his affairs; a sympathy and support which they consider he has fully earned by the liberal, active, and judicious manner in which he has devoted, and proposes to devote, his resources, to the improvement and security of the transit of the mails, travellers, and property, to and from the East. That a copy of this resolution be transmitted or presented to his Highness, in such manner as the committee before named may think proper."

Mr. M'Gregor said he had been a member of the Board of Trade, when the treaty of 1841 was negotiated, and it was then distinctly understood that the Porte had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Egypt. Chancing to say that he believed the movement did not emanate from the Porte, but from "a source not friendly to British commerce and navigation," a lugubrious voice called out "The Greek and Catholic Church has done it"! a remark followed by loud laughter. General Briggs and Mr. Aglionby afterwards spoke, and the meeting dispersed. It did not appear that any of these gentlemen doubted for one moment but that they would get the railway were the Porte properly coerced. As to how far the railway question may be a pretext for embroiling the Porte with Egypt for the sake of Russia, not a man seemed to think it at all necessary to inquire.

EMMA MARTIN.

In the current discussions on reformations affecting women, the public will learn with regret the decease of one able to have made valuable contributions to such a question. Mrs. Emma Martin, the author of various Essays, Religious, Moral, and Medical, died on Wednesday, October the 8th, at her residence, Finchley Common, in her thirty-ninth year. The funeral took place on Tuesday, at the Highgate Cemetery, in the presence of a private assemblage of friends and relatives. The following words, spoken at the grave by Mr. G. J. Holyoake, convey a part of her strange history; and it will be news to many classes that such things are thought and said in this Metropolis. Mr. Holyoake spoke as follows:—

The few words to be spoken here can add nothing to that known and felt by those who stand around. But sometimes relief comes in sorrow, by telling that to each other which we ourselves do know. Besides, the nature of this occasion lends authenticity to what may be repeated to others caring to know our thoughts at this hour.

The story we have to tell is brief and sad. A life so useful, closed at thirty-nine, is sad—yet the sadness has a joy with it. For "life is as a drama," and, as Mrs. Martin herself used to repeat—"It matters not how long it has been acted, but how well." How well she performed her part we know, and on that ground rejoice. An opening beautiful in energy and passion—followed by a struggle ever

chequered, and the end a tragedy; but the end was an example, and carried with it a noble moral. Such is the history of her from whom we part this day.

A childhood of religious training and secular neglect, alternately distracted and confined a spirit it could not guide, and Emma Martin, endowed with fine powers and with the capacity of free thought, was taught to accept this world as a transitory state, where there awaits each inhabitant a Providence-apportioned human lot—to which is annexed the inexorable condition of a dogmatic and unchangeable creed. Her early writings present the suggestive spectacle common among the higher order of minds, of one theoretically eulogistic of her own captivity, and impulsively escaping from it with unconscious gladness. But her lot no less than her creed was destined to be renounced by her.

Allied to a husband (found in the religious circle in which she was reared in Bristol) whose company it was a humiliation to endure, she ultimately, even when she was the mother of three children, refused to continue to submit to it. This, though afterwards made a reproach to her, was so justifiable, that even her religious friends found no fault with it. Her "Remembrances" of this period are best expressed in her own words at the time:—

"But hours of agony, and years of pain,
Have been my portion in this weary life.
'Tis well the past may ne'er return again,
Whatever be my future care or strife."

After such struggling (such as a mother only can maintain) to support her children unaided, she was united to another husband (Mr. Joshua Hopkins), her former one yet living.

Though no marriage ceremony was performed, or could be performed (such is the moral state of our law, which denies divorce to all who are wronged, if they happen to be also indigent), yet no affection was ever purer, no union ever more honourable to both parties, and the whole range of priest-made marriages never included one to which happiness belonged more surely, and upon which respect could dwell more truly.

Our first knowledge of Mrs. Martin was as an opponent of Socialism, against which she delivered public lectures. But as soon as she saw intellectual truth in it, she paused in her opposition to it. Long and serious was the conflict the change in her convictions caused her; but her native love of truth prevailed, and she came over to the advocacy of that she had so resolutely and ably assailed. And none who ever offered us alliance, rendered us greater service, or did it at greater cost. Beautiful in expression, quick in wit, strong in will, eloquent in speech, coherent in conviction, and of stainless character, she was incomparable among public women. She was one of the few among the early advocates of English Socialism who saw that the conflict against religion could not be confined to an attack on forms of faith—to a mere comparison of creeds; and she attached only secondary importance to the abuses of Christianity, where she saw that the whole was an abuse of history, of reason, and of morality. Thus she was cut from all hope or sympathy from her former connections, and she met with but limited friendships among her new allies. She saw further than any around her what the new Communism would end in. She saw that it would establish the healthy despotism of the affections, in lieu of the factitious tyrannies of custom and Parliament. She embraced the Communist theory, because she saw no licentiousness was included in it; and she drew an austere line between liberty and licence, which made her repulsive to all the vague (a rather large class in all new parties). But what was thoroughly innocent, Mrs. Martin wished to have frankly avowed, and lived out modestly. And here, again, she was almost alone. For those who were unable to see clearly where the line of demarcation lay, were afraid of being drawn too far; for, not understanding themselves, they were naturally alarmed lest they should be misunderstood by others; and Mrs. Martin presented all her life the unusual paradox of being at once the terror of the timid and the bold.

Only those understood her character who came within the sphere of her influence, or discerned it by insight. Over the whole country there are many who will hear of her death as a public calamity, and she had some cherished friendships among those who are only attracted by genius or won by worth; but they were of such persons as could not well be near her, and she died at Finchley Common, comparatively alone, in that retreat which she had sought in her energy and her pride—disdaining that opponents should witness that suffering which they had no wish to alleviate. Able to die in the principles in which she lived, she sunk (just as the first rays of prosperity began to break on her life)—too wise to murmur, and too brave to fear.

The nature of her opinions, which arose in conviction and not in antagonism, will best be seen in two passages from her writings, at two remarkable periods of her life.

In 1835 she wrote in the *Bristol Literary Magazine*, which she edited:—

"Infidelity is the effusion of weak minds, and the resource of guilty ones. Like the desolating Simoon of the desert, it withers everything within its reach; and as soon as it has prostrated the morality of the individual, it invades the civil rights of society."

In 1844, in the Seventh of her Weekly Addresses to the Inhabitants of London, of which it was the thirty-sixth thousand issued, she said:—

"When Christianity arose, it gathered to its standard the polished Greek, the restless Roman, the barbarous Saxon; but it was suited only to the age in which it grew. It had anathemas for the bitter hearted to hurl at those they chose to designate God's enemies. It had promises for the hopeful, cautions for the prudent, charity for the good. It was all things to all men. It became the grand leader of the ascetic to the convent—of the chivalrous to the crusade—of the cruel to the Star Chamber—of the scholar to the secret midnight cell, there to feed on knowledge, but not to impart it. But at length its contentional doctrines bade men look elsewhere for peace—for some less equivocal morality, some clearer doctrines, some surer truth."

In this belief she lived, worked, taught, and in this belief she died.

And in passing to the kingdom of the inscrutable future, whose credentials could she better take than those she had won by her courage and truthfulness? Could she take Pagan, Buddhist, Mahomedan, Christian, or some morose sectarian shade? credentials soiled with age, torn in strifes, stained with blood. On the threshold of the undefined Future, where all who have gone before are afar off and out of sight—where none can accompany us to counsel or inform—where each enters a stranger and alone—what passport can be so authentic as a love of humanity, undarkened by hate—a passion for truth, always pure—the tribute of labour that never rested, and a conscience which cherished no guile?

Will any who calumniate the last hours of Free-thinkers utter the pious fraud over this narrow bed, and the memory of Emma Martin be distorted, as have been those of Voltaire and our own Paine? Does the apparition of these outrages glare upon this grave—outrages too ignoble to notice, too painful to recognize? Heed them not—believe them not. Let not the Christian insult her whom only the grave has vanquished. Let him not utter the word of triumph over the dead, before whom living his coward tongue would falter. Let his manliness teach him truth if his creed has failed to teach him courtesy.

As a worker for human improvement, Mrs. Martin was as indefatigable as efficient. From the time when she published her *Exiles of Piedmont*, to the issue of her essay on *God's Gifts and Man's Duties*, and later still, she wrote with ardour, always manifesting force of personal thought, and what is more unusual in the writings of women—strength and brevity of expression. Her Lectures were always distinguished by the instruction they conveyed, and the earnestness with which they were delivered. In courage of advocacy and thoroughness of view, no woman except Frances Wright is to be compared with her; and only one whose name is an affectionate household word in our land (greater, indeed, in order of power), resembles Mrs. Martin in largeness and sameness of speculation, and the capacity to treat womanly and social questions. Mrs. Martin had a strength of will which rules in all spheres, but ever chastened by womanly feeling. Her affectionate nature as much astonished those who knew her in private, as her resolution often astonished those who knew her in public. Indeed, she was the most womanly woman of all the advocates of "Woman's Rights." Her assertion of her claim to interfere in public affairs was but a means of winning security from outrage for the domestic affections. She would send the mother into the world—not in the desertion of motherly duties, but to learn there what motherly duties are—not to submit in ignorance to suckle slaves, but to learn how to rear free men and intelligent and pure women.

To some our words may sound like the words of eulogy, which admiration utters and friendship believes; but they will be found to bear investigation. Deeming the profession of an accoucheur was properly one for woman, she qualified herself for it with that intellectual conscientiousness which distinguished her. She attended lectures, spent days and nights in the hospitals for months together, and went through a long and patient practice. In all pursuits she united the scholar's conscience with the reformer's emulation.

To her own party she was an inspiration; and had more leisure and means been allotted her, her resources and invention would have added largely to its influence. She would have been our Madame Roland, whom she greatly loved, and much resembled in character, talent, and the ambition of a wise empire.

Yet in that respect in which society owes her most, it is such as its prejudice acknowledges the least. Yet, thanks to her exertions, the reign has been made shorter of that Retaliative Theology, which, like a dark cloud, spreads itself over existence, and obscures the sunlight of human duty. When Death asserts his inexorable dominion, and the anguish of separating affections blench the cheeks of the dying—

when even the dumb brute betrays inarticulate sympathy—in the presence of Death, where the grossest natures are refined, where rude lips spontaneously distil the silvery words of consolation, and the unfeeling volunteer acts of mercy—in that hour when tyranny pauses in the pursuit of vengeance, when the tempest of passion is stilled, and the injured forgive, and hate is subdued to love, and insensibility to affection—can that be the moment chosen by a "God of Love," in which to commence the execution of a purpose which humanity could not conceive without dismay, nor contemplate without horror? Ah, what do we not owe to a woman who takes the heroic side, and teaches us, even in death, the truth of a gentler faith? If we do but pierce beneath the antagonism from which all human development issues, we shall see how, with both the Freethinker and the Christian, the same intention is ever at the bottom. We perceive principle from different points of sight, trace it to different roots, explain it in a different language, maintain it for different reasons, and foresee different conclusions; but the conflict maintained—sometimes darkly, sometimes wildly, is still for *one* morality and for *one* truth; and if there be in the end a Judge who looks with equal eye on all, he will not fail to discern the motive and pardon the means.

We may, therefore, estimate very highly the example Mrs. Martin, set by the opinions she developed, and the firmness with which she maintained them—so unusual in the history of women. Sympathy is the great sustainer of all that is human, and it is the air which woman breathes. To step out of the current of opinion at the call of truth, into the narrow circle of personal conviction, accepting the accidental, perhaps only the posthumous, appreciation of the few, in lieu of the ready regard of millions, is a sacrifice to which few are equal; but it is one which converts life into a poem—it is a tribute which only superior natures make to mankind; but it is one which posterity remembers, and which the freed for all time adore the giver. Mrs. Martin has a place in the calendar of those who have served the People; who in life and death have been teachers. Her last wish was, that none should mourn for her; her last hope, that none would rest in service who stood on the side to which she devoted herself. Let any, then, who would honour her memory, learn the same cheerful courage, and render some like service with like intrepidity.

THE CAPE QUESTION.

Sir Andries Stockenstrom has published a pamphlet on Cape affairs, in the shape of a letter to a friend. It is remarkable for the earnestness of its tone, and the frank firmness of its opinions. Although not personally engaged in the convict struggle, he says the opponents of the Government had his "entire sympathy—to the last extremity." He considers that the peace and safety of the colony depended on the maintenance of perfect good faith, of the prestige of immutable truth and justice, on convincing the Kafirs of our moral superiority by undeviating honour and honesty, and by no other means, so that our physical superiority could never have been questioned. He severely, but justly, condemns the opposite course, the empirical policy of Sir Henry Smith.

"To Lord John Russell I wrote on the 26th of July last as follows:—When the governor complains of the tone and temper of my communications, he should remember that the provocation commenced with himself. When in 1847 he began to boast of his wonderful performances in 1835 and 1836, of the happy state in which he had then left the Kafirs, and talked of the mischief done by those who came after him, it would have been criminal to have allowed the delusion to go abroad, and not to show that he left the frontier in 1836 in the most appalling state of anarchy and danger. When he put his foot on the neck of one chief, dashed a stick at the head of another, made others kiss his foot, and reintroduced into Kafirland the so-called D'Urban system, with all its concomitants of cat-of-nine-tails, cattlepounds, &c.—when he gave the lands of the Bassutos and Tambookies to the colonists, and threatened to hang the Griqua council for daring to desire to adhere to their treaty with the Queen—when he told the emigrant Boers that, unless a majority of four-fifths declared in favour of submission to British rule, they should not be interfered with, and afterwards had to mow them down with grape shot, and caused a man to be put to death, whose guilt and the legality of whose trial are doubtful matters to this moment; with sundry other exhibitions with which I do not wish to swell out this notice—when these things, I say, were transacting, no man of the least knowledge of human nature and local information could help foreseeing that South Africa would soon be in the state in which it is, and passive quiescence would have been little better than treason against the colony and against this country. Since then my predictions have been still more tragically confirmed by our defeat by the Bassutos, who, as late as 1846, were prospering on the road to Christian civilization, and so confident of their interests being bound up with ours that they offered us their whole force in co-operation against the very tribes into whose ranks we have now driven them. Now, with all this the colonists have had nothing to do, except as instruments in systems which they could neither institute nor control."

As to the remedy for the evils already in operation he would speak with diffidence, having the censure of excellent philanthropists before his eyes; but he

ventures to state that by whatever means we have got ourselves into our present predicament we *dare* not make the slightest concession to our barbarous foe before we shall have convinced him that we are the stronger party.

"Such is the double evil of injustice that it often makes justice inexpedient, if not ruinous. But matters are coming to such a pitch that it may soon be doubtful which side shall dictate the terms of peace! When we had the Kafirs and Tambookies to deal with separately, and the Bassutos, Griquas, and Hottentots all on our side, the question was simple enough; but I defy almost any man to decide now what policy ought to be pursued after we shall have subdued our enemies, if we can subdue them. All much depend upon how you subdue them. Since the mandate of 'extermination' has gone forth, all parties think that it is better to exterminate than to be exterminated; and it is questionable which side is likely to be most successful at the game. The prospect is most awful, and I confess myself completely stupefied. But for our faith in Providence, I should begin to consider our case desperate."

"So much, however, I may tell you, that whenever you abandon 'extermination,' you will have to deal with the native tribes, through their chiefs. I cannot, as matters now stand, take upon myself to recommend either the Glenelg system, or the taking in more, or giving back territory; for, as I have just said, all must depend upon how you terminate the war. You cannot deal with the Kafirs either as wolves or as lambs. They are neither irreclaimable savages, nor mild gentle shepherds. They are fierce, warlike barbarians. Vigour is as necessary as justice in your dealings with them; and if you allow them to become masters, you must give up the colony. This much I predict with certainty—you must go on exterminating, or you must restore the power of the chiefs."

Some light is thrown in the following passage on the Kafir Committee and the Blue Book emanating therefrom. Sir Andries objected to volunteer testimony; because he thought that the inquiry, unless conducted at the Cape, would be useless. When summoned he was compelled to attend. He then continues:—

"On the 26th of June I again appeared upon summons, and then found the Blue book of the 23rd of June damp from the press. I opened this book at a letter of Sir G. Napier's. I was directed to read it, so it got inserted in my evidence. At the close of this day's examination, I was asked whether I had any further information to give. Besides my former communications, to which I had already referred the committee, I had nothing more to say, particularly if the inquiry was to be continued at the Cape. But a few days later I purchased the Blue-book of June 23, and on close examination found, not only that Sir G. Napier's letter was not there as it was handed to and read by me, on the 26th—that in fact it was mutilated—but other important documents were there with the most vital passages suppressed, and many others were not there at all, whilst I heard upon good authority that the inquiry was closed, and that the committee was drawing up its report to the House. This stunned me, as it was clear, that from the information which the committee had gathered, and the documents submitted to it, the whole truth could not be collected. I consequently was compelled to address the chairman, which I did on the 7th of July, by letter, which, of course, will appear among the proceedings of the committee, but which, at any rate, you will soon find in the Cape papers, to which I have sent it. Soon after this I was informed that the committee had resumed the inquiry. I was called, and appeared on the 30th of July. Sir Joshua Walmsley showed me a string of questions which he was going to put to me. Most of them were to the point; but I had hardly repeated my declaration, that the measures of Government had caused the war—that its injustice to the Tambookies, particularly the massacre of men, women, and children, at midnight, in Guada's Kraal, living, unsuspecting, under the protection of our diplomatic agent, had exasperated that tribe against us, and that documents which ought to have been before the committee were in Downing-street—when the under-secretary cleared the room, and when the public was readmitted, we found that Sir Joshua was not allowed to continue his interrogatories, and that the general question, 'Have you any further information to give?' was substituted."

The whole pamphlet is damaging to Ministers and honourable the Cape statesman. He has published it before leaving England as an authentic statement of his opinions; and this fact adds to its solemnity, and imparts to it an additional interest.

AMERICA IN EUROPE.

Mr. Corry, an American, presented to the Government of the Swiss Confederation a Colt's revolver pistol, in 1850, at the same time expressing his hope that the invention might be useful in the then crisis, so threatening for Switzerland. The Cantons have returned the compliment, by sending a carabine to the United States. To show the feeling of at least an individual, we quote a portion of Mr. Corry's letter from the *New York Herald*:—

"It struck me that Switzerland, by the aid of Colt's invention alone, might, in a short period, triple her moral and physical force; and, if so, that she could defy all her enemies long enough to spread disaffection among their armies, and destroy them; that Switzerland might, single-handed, emancipate Europe. At all events, the great point was to have the means of resisting several onsets; for even if the invaders kept up their organization, they would be prevented from storming Switzerland

at once, till volunteers from France and the United States, both officers and soldiers, and our private ships, acting under Swiss letters of marque, would so harass them, on sea and land, that they must give over. If not, and the struggle were protracted, I perceived that the people of the United States would force any administration of our Government to take sides with France and Switzerland, for freedom and free institutions. I speak of France as she will be after the elections in May, 1852.

"France, Switzerland, and the United States, are destined to coöperate on principle, system, and compact, for republicanism, against the monstrous alliance of European despots, who are banded for the slaughter, without discrimination of sex or age, of all freemen found in arms. Switzerland will not succumb, but the land of Washington and Jefferson, of Franklin and Madison, cannot allow a feeble people—a handful of men, women, and children—to be hacked to pieces for professing that political faith which has made us so soon the first maritime and agricultural, the most generally intelligent and happy nation on the globe. She was not attacked by her enemies last spring, as her friends expected; but it was their intestine troubles which saved her for a season. The long and painful conferences of Warsaw, Olmutz, and Vienna, were indispensable to the settlement of the designs against Switzerland; and we are advised that it has been further decided by the despots there assembled, to attack even France, if the democracy shall be, as it certainly will be, triumphant at the next elections. Time was necessarily consumed in maturing this nefarious conspiracy; but on the opening of another year, if God permits, the south and east of Europe is to echo to the Cossack's hoof. It is probable that before the rising of the next Congress to sit in December, the execution of republicanism—its extinction throughout the Old World, will be attempted. It is not possible that an American Congress will be deceived by traitors and bad advisers, at home or abroad, nor that they will be derelict in their duty, being at the head of nations, of at once taking part in the government of the family; and by the inauguration, with force if necessary, of the great code of justice among States, establish the rights of man."

THE ROYAL "TENANT FARMER."

Since Saturday, by the addition of a new farm to his already extensive holdings, Prince Albert has become the occupier of upwards of one thousand acres. He has founded an association at Windsor; and the first annual ploughing match and exhibition was held on Monday at the Old Clay Farm, the latest addition to Prince Albert's farming establishment. He personally gave away the prizes, the three first of which we subjoin as a specimen.

"Class 1. To the labourer who has brought up his family in honest, sober, and industrious habits, without parish relief, except in cases of sickness—George Jeanes, nine children, has had fourteen, had parish relief once in case of sickness, all his children been at school, cottage tolerably clean, £1. Thomas Ottaway, has ten children, four now live at home, worked in his present situation eight years, small clean cottage and tidy garden, £1. William Hamlett, has brought up seven children, had fourteen, infirm and sickly wife, never had parish relief, belongs to a benefit club, and children all go to the parish school, 10s.

"The first prize for 'needlework' was awarded to a sturdy young man, a drummer in the Grenadier Guards."

A dinner was given in the evening, over which the jovial and indefatigable General Wemyss presided; but it had no marked feature, except jollity and good humour.

JULES GERARD, THE LION KILLER.

Jules Gerard is an officer in the famous army of Africa, who has a passion for lion killing. He is the Gordon Cumming of France. He follows lions alone; hunts them, like sheep, for miles; sleeps near them; and patiently awaits their coming. His last exploit is sufficiently exciting and incredibly daring. It is told in a letter to a friend, and published in the *Journal des Chasseurs*:—

"My dear Léon,—In my narrative of the month of August, 1850, I spoke of a large old lion which I had not been able to fall in with, and of whose sex and age I had formed a notion from his roarings. On the return of the expeditionary column from Kabylia, I asked permission from General St. Armand to go and explore the fine lairs situated on the northern declivity of Mount Aures, in the environs of Klenchela, where I had left my animal. Instead of a furlough, I received a mission for that country, and accordingly had during two months to shut my ears against the daily reports that were brought to me by the Arabs of the misdeeds of the solitary. In the beginning of September, when my mission was terminated, I proceeded to pitch my tent in the midst of the district haunted by the lion, and set about my investigations round about the *douars* to which he paid the most frequent visits. In this manner I spent many a night beneath the open sky, without any satisfactory result, when, on the 15th, in the morning, after a heavy rain which had lasted till midnight, some natives, who had explored the cover, came and informed me that the lion was ensconced within half a league of my tent. I set out at three o'clock, taking with me an Arab to hold my horse, another carrying my arms, and a third in charge of a goat most decidedly unconscious of the important part it was about to perform. Having alighted at the skirt of the wood, I directed myself towards a glade situated in the midst of the haunt, where I found a shrub to which I could tie the goat, and a tuft or two to sit upon. The

Arabs went and crouched down beneath the cover, at a distance of about 100 paces. I had been there about a quarter of an hour, the goat meanwhile bleating with all its might, when a covey of partridges got up behind me, uttering their usual cry when surprised. I looked about me in every direction, but could see nothing. Meanwhile the goat had ceased crying, and its eyes were intently fixed at me. She made an attempt to break away from the fastening, and then began to tremble in all her limbs. At these symptoms of fright I again turned round, and perceived behind me, about fifteen paces off, the lion stretched out at the foot of a juniper-tree, through the branches of which he was surveying us and making wry faces. In the position I was in it was impossible for me to fire without facing about. I tried to fire from the left shoulder but felt awkward. I turned gently round without rising. I was in a favourable position, and just as I was levelling my piece the lion stood up and began to show me all his teeth, at the same time shaking his head, as much as to say 'What the devil are you doing there?' I did not hesitate a moment, and fired at his mouth. The animal fell on the spot as if struck by lightning. My men ran up at the shot; and as they were eager to lay hands on the lion, I fired a second time between the eyes, in order to secure his lying perfectly still. The first bullet had taken the course of the spine throughout its entire length, passing through the marrow, and had come out at the tail. I had never before fired a shot that penetrated so deeply, and yet I had only loaded with sixty grains. It is true the rifle was one of Devisme's and the bullets steel-pointed. The lion, a black one and among the oldest I have ever shot, supplied the kettles of four companies of infantry who were stationed at Klenchela. Receive, my dear Leon, the assurance of my devoted affection.

"JULES GERARD."

The exploit alluded to as having occurred in 1850 was the chasing of two lions, one of which he killed; the other, supposed to be the one now shot, running away from him and escaping after a vigorous chase of many miles.

JENNY LIND'S GOOD NATURE.

The sentences which follow are of Transatlantic growth. They appear in a late number of the *Buffalo Courier*. It is somewhat too free and colloquial for English tastes; but it is frank, hearty, and manful withal; very honourable to Jenny Lind, and to Margaret Atkinson.

"There are two reasons why we place the following marriage notice out of the place ordinarily allotted to matrimonial announcements:—'Married, in St. Paul's Church, Lewiston, on Sunday, the 11th instant, by the Reverend A. C. Treadway, Miss Margaret Atkinson and Mr. James C. Mason.' One is that Margaret was for a long time a servant of ours, and her uniform fidelity, uprightness, goodnature, intelligence, modesty, and quiet cheerfulness, secured for her a strong feeling of regard from all of our little family. Margaret has withal a handsome face of her own, and a personable figure. She is also neat and tidy in her appearance, and it was, therefore, no matter of surprise to us that Mr. Jimmy Mason, and one or two other good-looking young chaps should have pulled our door bell now and then of an evening, and inquired if 'Miss Margaret' was at home. We had our suspicions of Master Jimmy all along, and his perseverance has at length been crowned with 'great success,' by changing the 'local habitation and name' of Maggie into the more formidable one of Mrs. James Copeland Mason. Last spring, however, for reasons now tolerably plain, she left her home with us to go to the Falls, where J. C. M. was residing. During the summer she has had charge of part of the rooms at the Clifton-house, and it is not unlikely that occasionally, when off duty, her present liege may have found opportunity of communicating his personal 'views' to her in one of those long walks that people sometimes take of a summer evening at fashionable watering-places. Among other rooms under her charge are those occupied by Miss Jenny Lind, whose sterling good sense could scarcely have failed to discover the many good points in Margaret's character. On Saturday last Maggie, in the most strictly private and confidential manner possible, communicated to Miss Lind's maid the fact that on the following day she was to be married, and the maid, as in duty bound, communicated the same to her mistress. No sooner was this done than Miss Lind, with the same kind heartedness that is one of her marked characteristics, and with what we can scarcely fail to attribute to a genuine desire for Maggie's happiness, resolved that she would be mistress of ceremonies on the happy occasion, and immediately took Margaret's part in it under her own supervision. From her the 'fair bride' (and a fair one she is) received presents of beautiful earrings, breast-pin, gloves, fan, the wedding bonnet, &c., and by her she was decked out for the interesting ceremony. This completed, Miss Lind read to her and to her future husband that beautiful chapter of Holy Writ, wherein are set forth the peculiar duties towards each other of those who are about to enter the married state. Miss Lind then ordered her own carriage and taking into it her companion, Miss Armandsen (we don't undertake to say that we've spelled her name correctly), and Miss Maggie, started for Lewiston, followed in another carriage by Mr. Otto Goldsmith and the happy Mr. James Copeland Mason. Arrived at Lewiston, they proceeded to the Episcopal church, entered, walked up to the chancel rail, and there, Miss Lind officiating as bridesmaid and Mr. Otto Goldsmith as groomsman, were united in holy wedlock by our excellent friend the Reverend Mr. Treadway. We have given, perhaps, more space than it deserves, to this little episode in the life of Mlle. Lind; but it struck us as illustrating too fully the simple frank-heartedness of the Nightingale to be passed by."

AN INCIDENT AT SEA.

During the late gales, a little yacht, the Owen Glendowr, which had been cruising round the southern coast of Ireland, was nearly wrecked off the coast of Galway. She had on board the owner, Mr. Moore, his young wife, two friends, and the crew. When, on September 24, the breeze sprang up and threatened to be a gale, the captain wished to run up the mouth of the Shannon, but Mr. Moore insisted on going on to Galway. Mrs. Moore has written an account of the event to the *Cork Constitution*, which we gladly print, as it does her honour. The narrative commences after dinner on the 24th:—

"The breeze now became a gale, and at nine o'clock we retired without tea, and lay in our berths trembling with fear. The storm raged in all its fury, and at eleven o'clock a tremendous crash came, accompanied with groans from the men. We were informed that the mast, sails, &c., had been swept away, and to put on our dresses immediately, for she would go down in ten minutes. In our night dresses we reached the deck. Oh, what a scene met our distracted gaze! Imagination could with difficulty conceive, much less language describe it. The only hope was the boats—but, alas! once glance at the billows rising mountains high, showed us that hope was vain, as they could not live for one moment in such a sea. The wreck was filling fast. To add to our misery, five hands were disabled by the falling of the mast—the jib-boom was thumping against the stern, threatening to knock her to pieces; the sea rushing in so fearfully through two leaks which were there, that we thought every instant she would fill and sink into the yawning waves. In addition to this there were three tons of sails in her stern, a serious obstacle to reaching the leak, and the few hands left us had sufficient to employ them in bailing out the water from the ladies' cabin, which was rushing in from above, the skylight having been knocked out by the fall of the mast. A new entrance had to be made through the wainscot of the ladies' cabin to get to the sails—no instrument could be found suitable to make the breach—all was darkness and confusion. They cried out for a tomahawk—I went into the ammunition-room, and groped about in vain amongst swords, muskets, and pistols—the breach was at length made, a large mirror shivered to atoms, by which an aperture was formed large enough to admit two men, who lay on their hands and knees holding up against the leak the beds and blankets which were given to them for that purpose.

"How we longed for the morning!—hope buoyed us up with the prospect of deliverance, and that success might be afforded from the Arran Lighthouse, which was eight miles north-east of us. We commended ourselves in prayer to Almighty God, and ardently wished for the light of the coming day. In the mean time we were not idle; and as the pump could nowhere be found, we had with the buckets unceasingly to bale out the water, which was now and then, in spite of all our efforts, gaining upon us. Daylight at last dawned, revealing the realities of our perilous position, and confirming our worst apprehensions. To get the jib-boom cut off and overhauled was our first consideration, in the performance of which the strength of the crew was completely exhausted. The labour of those who had been uninjured was so arduous, and with no hope of being saved, it is not astonishing, under these circumstances, that they sat down dejected and totally dispirited. I feel thankful to the God of all mercies that he gave me strength and nerve, hour after hour, to cheer and exhort them. Mr. Moore's presence and encouraging words produced some confidence in their hearts, and by working ourselves we excited them to further exertions. The pump, too, was found of more avail than the bucket in keeping her dry, although it was extremely dangerous to work it, the bulwarks having been carried away.

"The morning had passed away, and to our eyes straining across the foaming tide no object of help presented itself; but now, at eleven o'clock, to our great joy, the man at the pump espied a vessel in the distance, coming, as we thought, to our especial aid, from the Arran Light-house, but alas, light-houses are not provided with any remedy except caution—and this beacon proved to us to be the John of Odessa, taking emigrants out to America, commanded by Captain Hein, a Prussian. He saw us through a telescope fifteen miles off, when resuming his voyage from the Galway roads to New York, he having put back the night before (the 24th) fearing to encounter the gale which wrecked us, and also endangered his ship.

"The wind having changed from N.W. to N.E., it blew, as the sailors say, 'great guns'; the force of the waves had increased, and swept over the wreck with fearful violence. The John of Odessa was bearing down on us under easy sail; but when endeavouring to near us she crowded all canvas, thereby endangering her safety and the lives of the passengers and crew, two hundred in number. Twelve times she sailed round our wreck, striving in vain to near us; we fearing each time would be the last, from the great distance (six miles) she had to tack before she could return to our yacht. Now hope—now fear arising in our minds—the means of succour was in view, but not available—what agonising, what anxious moments were these! As the noble barque approached, all was hope—as she receded from our sight, there arose all the horrors of our situation. This was the moment of prayer; for then it was we prayed in earnest. No earthly hope was ours—our only hope was centered in the God of comfort and of all consolation—the pallid hue of death was visible on each countenance—we importuned Heaven that the violence of the waves might be abated, and the result showed that God heard our prayers. Once more we resumed our exertions below at the pumps, also clearing out a quantity of her iron ballast. We again, and as it were for the last time, tried to cheer and encourage the

men by working ourselves, and entreating them to take, for our sakes, some claret and cider, which was all we had remaining; a drop of chilly water was all I had to quench my dying thirst. Meanwhile the John of Odessa lay to, and the sea became comparatively smooth, which Captain Hein observing, nobly lowered his boat and volunteered to come to our rescue. This the mate, Thomas Larkins (Irishman), opposed, saying the captain's life was too valuable to the passengers to be hazarded, and that he would go in his stead. The cook was the next to volunteer, Thomas Jones (a Welshman), and three others, William Hamilton Gibson, an American; Benjamin Archer, Irishman; Carl Sparkowlsky, a Russian; and George Vintze, a Russian, accompanied the first mate, Thomas Larkins, on this perilous occasion. Nothing could be more praiseworthy than their noble efforts to save the lives of their fellow-creatures. With much difficulty they came alongside of us, and took Mrs. Massy, Miss Lewellyn, Mr. Moore, and myself, and put us safely on board the John of Odessa. Three times did this noble crew return to the wreck to rescue our fifteen souls, and it was not until ten o'clock at night that their arduous, perilous, and humane task was completed, when, thanks be to God, we were all safe and secure within this noble ship, which was our deliverer from a watery grave, after having been exposed to such toil and labour, both of mind and body, for above twenty-four hours. The cabin passengers, Mrs. Tibeaud, her daughter, and nephew, of York-street, Dublin, bestowed every care, kindness, and attention our situation required, for which they have our heartfelt thanks. To reward the captain and crew was our next consideration, and not having been prepared for such an emergency, we could but offer them a very inadequate return, which they at first refused, but ultimately Mr. Moore prevailed on the captain and mate to accept. On the evening of September 26 we landed safely at Kilrush, where we experienced every kindness and attention our unfortunate circumstances required from the hospitable Lady Grace Vandeleur and the neighbouring gentry, for which we feel deeply grateful. We reached our home (Moore-hill) on the 1st of October, after having encountered all the dangers of the sea. Deeply did our people sympathise with us, and loud were their expressions of delight. Bonfires blazed from the hills, and the hearty shouts of joy greeted our ears, as they with ropes attached to our carriage conducted us to our dwelling, where hundreds had assembled to unite with us in returning thanks to God for so wonderfully and miraculously restoring us again to our tenantry and friends. The sounds of music floated on the midnight breeze: all seemed to speak of home, and to say we were welcome. "J. M."

The harvest-home dinner was given at Moore-hill on Friday week, and the annual feast was made a day of rejoicing for the above escape.

PUBLIC OPINION.

The new Reform Bill occupies the provincial press. In the *Liverpool Albion* we find a stirring article. We are all kept in the dark; nothing is known of the bill; nobody will speak having authority:—

"In the mean time, the country is beginning to rouse itself and to express an interest in the subject. The people of Manchester and Bolton have met and spoken out. Leicester, always in the van of any liberal movement, is likewise in the field. And, in a short time, as the period for Parliament reassembling approaches, the agitation will spread from one extremity of the empire to the other. There will be no mistake about the wishes of the people."

"We are on the eve of a most important crisis" (!) exclaims the *Lincolnshire Chronicle*. Lord John is going to bring in a Reform Bill, ostensibly to extend and improve the constituency of the country:—

"Its real objects will be to prolong the Whig tenure of office, to conciliate Lord John Russell's liberal supporters in Parliament, and to perpetuate the mock free-trade system. The means of effecting these ends will be an extension of the right of suffrage in the boroughs, and the popularizing of the county constituencies. The inevitable result of such a scheme, if sanctioned by the British Parliament, will be the destruction of the due influence of property in the elections; and the inevitable consequence of that, at no distant period, will be the virtual overthrow of the British Constitution in Church and State."

"Reform" is at a discount in Edinburgh, says the *Scotsman*. The writer criticises the Parliamentary Reformers, and then informs us of his own specific:—

"What is wanted is, first, extension as distinguished from lowering—not so much a deeper sinking of the shaft, as some better mode of lateral working—some device which will bring in those numerous qualified persons whom the present rough test of house rental passes by. That, however, is a matter requiring a much fuller discussion than the present opportunity permits. In the second place, there should be a merciless dealing with decayed and corrupt constituencies. In the third (we were inclined to say the first) place, there should, for the sake of the old as well of the new constituency, be the protection of the Ballot."

"Depend upon it," says the *Preston Guardian*, "these ex-Protectionists will be the best of Financial Reformers, and the cry of 'cheap government' will wholly supersede that of 'dear corn' in the agricultural districts."

The *Brighton Herald* winds up a very clever paper on the state of the country party with these frank and spirited words:—

"Now, as every body is just now inquiring what the landlords and farmers mean to do since Protection is

infallibly gone for ever, we have ventured to point out a few things which landlords ought to do, and if they do which, they will never want tenants; and we are confident that in many cases they may obtain the same rent as they do now, and in others they may easily obtain increased rents.

"Tithes and rates and taxes must be spoken of by themselves, and these we must defer to another opportunity. To recapitulate, however:—1. The system of entail ought to be abolished. 2. There ought to be an Encumbered Estate Court. 3. Landlords when they let a farm, must abandon the game on the farm to the tenant. 4. Land must be let on improved tenure."

The *Coventry Herald* predicts some happy consequences which will follow the withdrawal of Protection:—

"The fact is, the farmers and their friends, finding it impossible to force back the whole spirit and tendency of the age, will see if they cannot sail into the port of prosperity by floating with the tide. We shall have them Financial and Political Reformers—the promoters of improvements in machinery—Church Reformers, Poor-law Reformers—all because their interests are no longer protected, but placed on a level with those of the rest of the community. Those who sail in the same vessel are all equally interested in having it trimmed and steered with care, economy, and ability."

"The New Reformation" is one of the subjects of the *Nation*—the reformation of hunger.

"We are not the hirelings of sacerdotal authority; we write for no diocese—we think by no man's grace—but as Catholics, we would rather see our old island, with all its relics of sanctity and learning, buried beneath the ocean, than believe that our people are the base wretches whom the *Times* pictures. No, no. God speed education! God speed freedom of opinion for all! But if these gifts can only reach us from the hands that supply purchase-money for apostasy, if they are to be the concomitants of the Achill Reformation, we refuse them. We will not take the "daily bread" for which we pray to God, if it is mixed with arsenic and henbane."

The *Dundee Advertiser* has of late contained some intelligent, but cautious articles on Association, in the way of comments on the progress of associative labour in the United States. At all points we see the question of coöperation is becoming the question of the day.

"WEAK IN HIS INTELLECTS."

Catherine Samson, describing herself as an unfortunate young girl, was placed at the bar before Alderman Sir R. W. Carden, on Tuesday, charged with stealing a gold watch, value £10, from the person of Mr. James Malkie, of Cork.

Mr. Malkie said, I was walking down Chancery-lane last night, between eleven and twelve o'clock, when I met the prisoner, and I lost my watch.

Sir R. W. Carden: And what do you charge the prisoner with?

Mr. Malkie: Why, Sir, with taking my watch.

Sir R. W. Carden: Did you see her take it?

Mr. Malkie: No, Sir; but I know she is the person that took it.

Sir R. W. Carden: Did she speak to you?

Mr. Malkie: Well, Sir, perhaps I had a little drop in my head, for I do not recollect what she said to me. (*Laughter.*)

Sir R. W. Carden: How do you know she took your watch?

Mr. Malkie: I could not swear to it. I know the chain was round my neck, and the swivel gave way.

Sir R. W. Carden: Did you feel any jerk?

Mr. Malkie: Why, of course, I must have felt it.

Sir R. W. Carden: That will not do; did you feel a jerk?

Mr. Malkie: Certainly; but I don't remember it. (*Laughter.*)

Sir R. W. Carden: Did you speak to the girl?

Mr. Malkie: I believe I did.

Sir R. W. Carden: You said that perhaps you had a little in your head—pray what had you been drinking?

Mr. Malkie: *Some oysters (great laughter) and some ale, Sir.*

Sir R. W. Carden: How much ale?

Mr. Malkie: I don't know the name of it, Sir. (*Laughter.*)

Sir R. Carden: I did not ask you for the name. Did the prisoner drink with you?

Mr. Malkie: I am not sure; but she was with me when I was drinking at Pearson's, in Cursitor-street. I can't remember how much I had, for I had been in a public-house in Holborn previously.

Sir R. W. Carden: What had you to drink there?

Mr. Malkie: *Some oysters also (renewed laughter) and some ale, but I can't remember how much.*

Sir R. W. Carden: How many public-houses had you visited before that?

Mr. Malkie: I really can't tell. (*Laughter.*) I had been all about town.

Sir R. W. Carden: Then you do not know anything of the affair at all?

Mr. Malkie: I do not, Sir.

Sir R. W. Carden: Nor the prisoner?

Mr. Malkie: No, Sir. But I know the girl at the bar. (*Laughter.*)

Catherine Samson: Did you not tell the inspector at the station that you had never seen me before?

Mr. Malkie: I did say so.

Sir R. W. Carden: Then what do you mean by swearing here that you know her?

Mr. Malkie: No more I do know the girl; that is, I know her then. (*Great laughter.*)

Sir R. W. Carden: You appear to recollect nothing of what has transpired. Pray, are you sober now?

Mr. Malkie: I believe I am.

Sir R. W. Carden: I suppose you are not sure of that, are you?

Mr. Malkie: No, Sir. (*Roars of Laughter.*)

Sir R. W. Carden: Have you recovered your watch?

Mr. Malkie: No, Sir. I wish I had; I wouldn't be here.

Sir R. W. Carden: And now tell me what you are by trade.

Mr. Malkie: Nothing, Sir. (*Laughter.*)

Sir R. W. Carden: What are you, then?

Mr. Malkie: I am a gentleman, living on my means.

Sir R. W. Carden: Then you ought to know better.

The officer said that he had found the handle of the watch near the spot indicated by Mr. Malkie, who was so intoxicated that he was unable to give any information as to the person who had stolen his watch. He apprehended Samson merely on suspicion. He had made inquiries, and found that Malkie had been drinking at Pearson's, in Cursitor-street; but the landlady positively declared Samson was not with him at all in her house.

Sir R. W. Carden: There is no evidence against the girl, and I must therefore discharge her.

Mr. Malkie: Very well, Sir. I have no objection. (*Laughter.*)

Sir R. W. Carden: And you will loose your watch.

Mr. Malkie: I suppose so.

Sir R. W. Carden: You see, Mr. Malkie, this is all the effects of getting drunk.

Mr. Malkie: I admit it is very improper.

Sir R. W. Carden: It certainly is. However, the loss of your watch is a good penalty for your indiscretion, and I hope it will be a lesson to you, that when you stray again from home you will not forget that you are a gentleman of independent property, and not get drunk. (*Laughter.*)

Samson was then discharged, and Malkie was seen inquiring most anxiously for the reporters, as he was afraid his friends in Cork would hear of him through their means.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Queen Victoria returned from the North, where she had caused so much rejoicing among the trading aristocracy and merchant princes of Liverpool and Manchester, on Saturday. The festivities at the latter city were rounded off by an illumination of great splendour. True to the traditions and characteristics of all trading aristocracies, Manchester displayed an exuberant enthusiasm, and splendid pageantry, as her manifestation of loyalty.

The Queen's passage to Watford was interrupted by an inchoate accident. The engine was obliged to be changed at Wolverton! However, she safely reached Watford, Mr. McConnell driving at tremendous speed, and went thence in her carriage to Windsor Castle. On Monday, she came up to town, to take a last look at "Prince Albert's favourite child," as General Wemyss termed the Exhibition.

Prince Albert went to the Exhibition on Wednesday, as a witty correspondent says, "to put up the shutters of his glass-shop."

A Cabinet Council was held at one o'clock on Tuesday afternoon at the Foreign-office. The Ministers present were Lord John Russell, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Minto, Sir George Grey, Viscount Palmerstone, Earl Grey, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Francis Baring, Lord Broughton, the Right Honourable Henry Labouchere, the Earl of Carlisle, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and the Right Honourable Fox Maule. The Council broke up at four o'clock.

We have good authority for stating that some time in the course of next month it is intended to hold a conference in Manchester of the leading Reformers of Lancashire and the West Riding for the purpose of considering what course should be pursued next session in reference to Lord John Russell's promised Reform Bill. The gathering, we have every reason to believe, will be one of unusual weight and influence.—*Globe.*

Mr. Hume addressed a composite meeting of persons interested in Parliamentary and Financial Reform, on Monday at Edinburgh. The main question ostensibly was Mr. Hume's opinions on the Income Tax; but he soon left that topic, and went at great length into the Reform question. Two sentences we note as containing admissions which may be usefully remembered. First that the whole people ought to "concur" in the appointment of the House of Commons, and secondly, that he, Joseph Hume, did not "wish to give the suffrage to any man as a boon or a favour, but he wished to give it to every man as a right." What is this but universal suffrage?

It is understood that knighthood has been offered to Mr. Paxton, to Mr. Cubitt, the engineer, and to Mr. Fox, the contractor, as some acknowledgment of their eminent services in relation to the Crystal Palace.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton will, it is said, be opposed by Mr. Pullen, of Young's Bury, at the next general election. Herefordshire will therefore have an opportunity of deciding between Protection and Retrogression, and Free Trade and Reform.

Lord Brougham intends, it is said, during the ensuing session of Parliament, to submit to the Government (with a view of improving the system now in force for admitting gentlemen to the bar) a proposition for consolidating the Middle and Inner Temples, Gray's and Lincoln's Inns, into one legal University, to be governed by a Senate and Chancellor, similar to other universities. In this university Professorships are to be established in the different branches of law and equity, who are to lecture as the Professors do at Oxford or Cambridge. It is also proposed to abolish the immense fees which are at present charged for "entering."

Mr. Kindersley, Master in Chancery, and Mr. James Parker, Q.C., will be the new Vice-Chancellors. There never has been any intention of conferring a peerage on Sir J. K. Bruce.—*Globe.*

Dr. Lyon Playfair has been offered the post of Gentleman Usher to Prince Albert, vacant by the appointment of Colonel Reid to the Governorship of Malta.

Mr. Whiteside, member of Parliament for Enniskillen, was entertained by his constituents, on Wednesday "in testimony of their approval of his Parliamentary services, and at the same time as a manifestation of their own steadfast and unalterable adherence to the great principles of which he is the eloquent exponent." Mr. Whiteside was a warm supporter of the obnoxious Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

A public discussion on the merits of the scheme of education propounded by the Lancashire Public School Association, took place on Wednesday, in the Town-hall of Halifax, between Dr. Watts and Mr. Millington. Mr. James Stansfeld, Judge of the County Court, presided. The meeting decided by four to one in favour of national secular education.

A Protectionist meeting was held on Thursday, at the Beaumont Institution, Mile-end. Mr. George Frederick Young came forward in the character of champion of Protection and the People. Mr. Bronterre O'Brien complimented the hero of the Navigation Laws, upon "possessing equal humanity with Ledru Rollin." There was a deal of confusion, and the Chartists present plied the Chairman with political questions. Resolutions were carried against Free-trade.

The Suffolk farmers, who so boldly spoke out at Ipswich some time ago, held a spirited meeting at Bury St. Edmund's on Thursday. Abolition of lay tithes, abolition of game laws, entail and primogeniture were threatened; revision of county expenditure, and an equitable measure of, tenant right; these were the demands which drew forth the cheers of the farmers.

Mr. Nathaniel Henry died at Floyd Court-house, Virginia, on the 6th instant, at the age of sixty years. He was a son of the great orator, Patrick Henry.

Alexis de St. Priest, member of the French Academy, died at Moscow, on the 29th of September.

A number of our literary men held a meeting on Wednesday, the 24th instant, says the *New York Tribune*, in the Library-rooms, City-hall, for the purpose of adopting measures to pay proper regard to the memory of the late J. Fennimore Cooper. Rufus W. Griswold called the meeting to order and stated the object of it. It had been intended to make a more public demonstration of a meeting; but many gentlemen were necessarily absent, Bishop Doane, J. K. Paulding, Henry C. Carey, William C. Bryant, George Bancroft and others were out of town. Consequently he presumed that it would be advisable that this should be a merely preliminary organization, for the purpose of devising means to make a demonstration in which all literary gentlemen in this and other cities might participate. Judge Duer then nominated Washington Irving for President; Fitz-Greene Halleck and Rufus W. Griswold were chosen Secretaries. George W. Hunt then moved that a Committee of Five be appointed to report, at a future meeting, a plan of proceedings to render fitting honour to the memory of Mr. Cooper. The Chair appointed as such Committee, Judge Duer, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Richard Kimball, George Bancroft, and Dr. Francis. Mr. Blunt moved that the President be added as Chairman of the Committee. It was then moved that the meeting adjourn, to be called together by the Committee.

The Queen of Spain celebrated the anniversary of her birthday on the 10th of October.

At Mayence on the 10th instant, the Pious Union or league for promoting the Roman Catholic interests in Germany, held in a public saloon a great meeting at which the Cardinal-Bishop of Cologne and other heads of the Church presided. The galleries were densely crowded with ladies. The cock of a gaspipe having been accidentally too much opened, the flame blazed up a little, and caused some nervous person to cry "fire," when a scene of indescribable confusion ensued, and six ladies were crushed to death in the rush made to escape down the narrow stairs, three others being dangerously hurt. The crowd of anxious relatives who came to the spot when the alarm spread through the town was so great, that two companies of military were obliged to be sent for in order to clear a passage for bearing away the corpses and the wounded sufferers.

On Monday evening, other two ladies of the short robe came publicly forward to advocate woman's rights and Bloomerism. The Waterloo-room, Edinburgh, was filled on the occasion; and though the male sex preponderated amongst the assemblage, there were also a considerable number of young ladies present. After the manifestation of some impatience in the gallery, the Bloomers appeared. The elder of the two was a Mrs. Wilson of alleged celebrity in the cause, considerably past the bloomerism of youth, and with neither grace of figure nor elegance of manner to assist her in the arduous task of expounding the advantages of the new costume. She was attired in a dark red merino dress without variation or relief. Her younger coadjutor was a little plump good-looking girl named Miss Flemming, apparelled in a dark fawn-coloured dress, and who sat as a mute illustration during Mrs. Wilson's prelection. The bulk of the speaking devolved upon the elder female, and she certainly did everything which vulgar mispronunciation, wretched grammar, and frightful elocution could do to ornament the "address" with which she was intrusted, and which occasionally she had no small difficulty in deciphering. At the conclusion, the more blooming advocate of woman's rights gave a brief, well-expressed, and well-delivered peroration to the lecture, and her sonorous voice and gay intrepidity seemed much to please the audience.—*Scotsman.*

An old man was shot by his son in mistake, at Lisson-grove, on Wednesday. The accident arose from leaving loaded firearms on the supper-table.

At the last Sussex assizes John Isaacs, the last captured of the daring gang who committed numerous burglaries

in Sussex and Surrey, and a portion of whom were concerned in the Frimley murder, was sentenced to transportation for life. On Saturday he escaped from the Lewes prison, where he had been since confined, awaiting an order from the Secretary of State for his transfer to the hulks, preparatory to his sentence being carried out; but both he and another convict—a man named Henry Ade, under sentence of transportation for fifteen years—were shortly afterwards retaken.

Mary Hannah Newman, the wife of a carpenter, living at Bermondsey, cut the throat of her child, and afterwards cut her own throat, on Saturday. It was a dreadful tragedy. The child had been out, and on returning ran up stairs, was met at the door by her mother, and rolled down stairs bleeding profusely. The jury returned the following verdict. "That the younger deceased was in law wilfully murdered by her mother, who destroyed her own life, she being at the time in a state of insanity."

A strange murder has been committed near Daventry. An old woman named Pinckard, left alone in her cottage by her husband and son, was found dead by a passer-by. A piece of tape was tied loosely round her neck, and fastened to a small brass hook, used to suspend the looking-glass upon. The evidence, as far as it has gone, implicates the wife of the murdered woman's son; and the motive supposed to have actuated the deed is that a certain sum of money would come to the son after his mother's death.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 8th of October, at Little Grimsby-hall, near Louth, the Lady of Frederick Beauclerk, of a son.

On the 11th, at Charing-cross, Mrs. Henry Compton, of a son.

On the 11th, at Rochester, the Honourable Mrs. Robert Boyle, of a daughter.

On the 11th, at Orton Longueville, the Countess of Aboyne, of a son.

On the 12th, at Windmill-hill, Sussex, the wife of H. M. Curteis, Esq., M.P., of a son.

On the 12th, at Aikenhead-house, Lanarkshire, the Lady Isabella Gordon, of a son.

On the 13th, at Hatherop, Lady Maria Ponsonby, of a son.

On the 13th, at Rufford-hall, the Lady Arabella Hesketh, of a daughter.

On the 14th, at Little Campden-house, Kensington, the wife of John Taylor, jun., Esq., of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 13th of August, at Christ Church, Cawnpore, Captain D. S. Dodgson, Brigade Major, Bengal Army, to Anna Maria, daughter of the late Sir Francis Ford, Baronet.

On the 29th of September, at her Britannic Majesty's Embassy in Paris, and afterwards at the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Rue D'Aguesseau, Charles Marsh Lee, of Salisbury, solicitor, to Helen, daughter of the late Sir John Chetwode, Baronet, M.P., of Chetwode, Bucks, and Oakley, Stafford.

On the 30th, at White Ladies, Aston, the Reverend Charles Pocock, rector of Rouslench, Worcestershire, third son of the late Sir George Pocock, and grandson of Admiral Sir George Pocock, K.B., to Lydia Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Reverend Henry Darnett, incumbent of St. John's, Worcester.

On the 7th of October, at Bromsgrove, the Reverend Edward St. John Parry, eldest son of the Lord Bishop of Barbadoes, to Lucy Susannah, youngest of John Chatfield Tyler, Esq., of the Forelands, near Bromsgrove.

On the 9th, at Herne Church, William Henry Horsley Dakins, Esq., grandson of the late Right Reverend Lord Mansel, Bishop of Bristol, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Anna Maria, second daughter of William Stark, Esq., of Cricklewood, Middlesex, and Herne-bay, Kent.

On the 9th, at Hampton Church, the Reverend William J. Trevennen, M.A., to Anna Maria, eldest daughter of the late Colonel Sir T. Noel Hill, K.C.B., and the Honourable Lady Hill.

On the 9th, at St. Martin's-in-the-fields, London, the Chevalier Letterstedt, his Majesty the King of Sweden's Consul at the Cape of Good Hope, to Lydia, younger daughter of the late William Hooper Boys, Esq., of Elford, Kent, and niece of Sir Edward Meredith, Baronet.

On the 9th, at All Saints', Poplar, Edward Instone, Esq., of Blakes-court, near Chalfont St. Peter, to Ada, youngest daughter of the Reverend R. C. Vaughan, M.A.

On the 11th, at St. John's, Hackney, Gunder Anton Martin Aas, Esq., Mecklenburg Consul of Great Grimsby, to Maria Steward, eldest daughter of Joseph Windle, Esq., of the Grove, Hackney.

On the 14th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, by the Honourable and Very Reverend the Dean of St. Patrick's and Christ Church, the Honourable Fenton John Evans Freke, brother of Lord Carbery, to the Lady Katherine Felicia Pakenham, daughter of the late, and sister of the present, Earl of Longford.

DEATHS.

On the 16th of September, at Bytown, Canada East, the Honourable Mary Frederica, wife of Colonel Dyceley, C.B., Colonel Commanding the Royal Artillery in Canada.

On the 4th of October, at Avignon, in consequence of an accident on board the Rhone steam-boat, Edward, the youngest son of Jules Benedict, Esq., of 2, Manchester-square, in his twelfth year.

On the 7th, at Daneon, in Kent, William M. Smyth, Major, E. I. C. Bengal Engineers, aged forty years.

On the 8th, at the rectory, Segrave, Leicestershire, aged seventy-four, the Reverend Robert Gutch, late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and forty-two years rector of Segrave.

On the 9th, at his residence at Blackheath-park, Captain Richard Browne, R.N., a director of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.

On the 10th, Harry Calvert, second son of Sir Harry Verney, aged eleven years.

On the 11th, in his seventy-first year, George Baker, Esq., of Northampton, author of the history of that county.

On the 12th, Slingsby Duncombe, Esq., youngest and last surviving son of the late Charles Slingsby Duncombe, Esq., of Duncombe-park, Yorkshire, in the seventy-second year of his age.

On the 12th, Anne Rowe, wife of John Taylor, Esq., F.R.S., of Sheffield-house, Kensington, in the seventy-third year of her age.

On the 12th, at St. James's Palace, the Honourable Mrs. George Leigh, in the sixty-ninth year of her age.

On the 12th, in St. Vincent-street, Edinburgh, Miss Ann Arnott.

On the 12th, at the Observatory, Kensington, Dame Ann, wife of Sir James South, and niece of the late Joseph Ellis, Esq., of South Lambeth, in the county of Surrey.

On the 13th, James Loftus Ellington, Esq., late Captain and Lieutenant-Colonel, Goldstream Guards, eldest son of Major Ellington, of the Tower of London.

On the 14th, at Jeamond, aged seventy-two, Armorer Donkin, Esq.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

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

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

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

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, October 18.

The Council of the National Parliamentary Reform Association met last Wednesday, and unanimously adopted the following address to Kossuth:—

TO LOUIS KOSSUTH.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,—The Council of the National Parliamentary Reform Association offer you their sincere and cordial congratulations on your safe arrival in this country. We esteem our nation honoured by your presence. Britain has often sheltered those whom tyranny had proscribed for their virtues; but, in our apprehension, has never received a more illustrious or welcome visitant. Whilst you remain on our shores you will be the PEOPLE'S GUEST; and, when you leave them for that land where a great and generous nation waits to echo the shout of welcome that now ascends from the millions of these islands, you will be followed by our heartfelt aspirations for your happiness amongst our honoured brethren of the Western World.

"We, and the multitudes of British Reformers whom we represent, have watched your career with the liveliest interest; we have rejoiced in your successes, we have lamented your disasters; but, above all, we have admired the integrity, the wisdom, and the fortitude you have undeviatingly displayed through a long and perilous struggle for your country's rights.

"In unison with every friend of justice and civilization, we have been indignant at the cruelty and vindictiveness of the influences which enforced the detention of your person when the conflict was, for the time, decided. But this detention, while it has rendered infamous those at whose instance it was prolonged, has added to the glory of Kossuth, by demonstrating that he knew how to endure as well as to contend for the noblest cause in which man can either combat or suffer.

"Enjoying ourselves a large measure of freedom, we sympathize with all who labour to achieve their just political rights. What our ancestors did you have nobly striven to do. We venerate their memory, and regard you and your brave compatriots as their kindred. The inheritance which those ancestors bequeathed to us is precious; and we are endeavouring to show ourselves worthy of it by pressing on to the full realization of the liberty of which they proclaimed the principle and laid deep the foundation.

"In thus acting our only motive is an earnest desire for human well-being, embracing first our fellow countrymen, but not confined within the narrow boundary of our own land.

"Would you learn the object which, as an association, we have in view? It is to give full scope to a free and authoritative expression of the popular feeling and expression, that our Government may rest upon the intelligence and will of the people.

"In this righteous object we have a firm belief that we shall succeed. When this peaceful triumph shall have been gained, the time will have arrived when the sympathy with which the masses of our people already share the hopes, the fears, the gladness, and the sorrow of their brethren throughout the world will no longer be suppressed in the Legislature or misrepresented by official diplomacy, but will make itself heard in tones that shall neither be misinterpreted nor disregarded.

"At whatever time, and by whatever means it shall please Providence to raise your country from its temporary prostration to the possession of freedom and nationality, we feel confident that a people's gratitude will be yours. We also feel confident that your future fame is sure; and that mankind, tracing the results of your counsels, your exertions, and your sufferings, will consecrate the name of Kossuth, and transmit it to the latest posterity as that of the Liberator of Hungary.

"On behalf of the Council of the Association,
"JOSHUA WALMSLEY, President."

We take this as an earnest that in future the great Liberal party will not be so indifferent on foreign affairs, so easily gulled by liberal speeches, and so completely the dupe of "Official Diplomacy." Louis Kossuth might have been still Governor of an independent Hungary, instead of an exile, had English Liberals done their duty.

The latest news from Southampton, the headquarters of information about Kossuth, is that he will positively arrive in the Madrid, which is due on Friday the 24th, but which will most likely make the port of Southampton on the 23rd. The Indus will leave Gibraltar later than the Madrid, and reach Southampton earlier; so that next week we shall have positive news of Kossuth's departure. Great

indignation is everywhere expressed at the conduct of the *Times* in this matter. It is humiliating to England that her leading journal should be in the hands of men with Austrian hearts, Austrian sympathies, and Austrian opinions. But a Ministerial journal could not be otherwise and remain in harmony with the Foreign-office.

A large and influential meeting was held by the men of Southwark, yesterday, under the presidency of the High Bailiff of the borough, Mr. Pritchard; an address to Kossuth was unanimously adopted, and it was resolved to set on foot a Kossuth Fund.

The Ministerial crisis in France continues. According to the *Constitutionnel*, no one has been sent for, no one consulted, no one solicited to form a Ministry by M. Bonaparte. The course he intends to take is to draw up a message, which will be read at the approaching meeting of the Assembly, laying down the basis of a new policy.

"It is not for us to predict," says the journal of Dr. Véron, "what the message will contain; we nevertheless think that we can give an exact indication on two very important points of the Presidential programme. These two points, to which we shall confine ourselves, are as follows:—First, the President will lay down in very plain terms, as one of the bases of his policy, the complete repeal of the law of May 31. Secondly, he will express with no less firmness his irrevocable resolution to maintain the policy of order, of conservatism, and of authority, inaugurated on the 10th of December, and not to make any concession to anarchical ideas, under whatever standard they may be, and whatever name may authorize them."

The *Presse*, which never forgets Léon Faucher, has the following pointed sentences.

"*Le Président réfléchira et fléchira*—(the President will reflect and give way). Such are the terms in which M. Léon Faucher characterized and summed up the ministerial crisis before going to St. Cloud on Tuesday, where the President showed that *il avait réfléchi et qu'il n'avait pas fléchi*, that he had reflected, but had not given way. Nevertheless M. Léon Faucher again raises his head, and holds the same language; he pretends that, in spite of the lines inserted in the *Moniteur* announcing that the resignations of the Ministers and of M. Carlier had been accepted, the Ministers will be requested by the President to withdraw their resignations. M. Léon Faucher founded this hope on the disturbances which have broken out at Sancerre, the cause of which was the arrest of a discharged mayor of the commune of Précy. The hope which M. Léon Faucher allowed to appear must be a ray of light for democracy, the triumph of which cannot take place but by patience and a scrupulous respect for legality."

The disturbances at Sancerre, in Le Cher, have been rather serious and have lasted two days. The *Moniteur* concludes its exaggerated account of the suppression of disorder in these words, "The Government has wished to dare it to entertain the idea of again raising its head." This is the language of a pedagogue, not a statesman—a rival, not a master.

Mails from the East arrived yesterday with letters, up to the date September 17. The single point of interest in the India news is, that on the 15th of August Soorajool Moolk completed the payment of half the Nizam's debt to the East India Company.

Letters from Alexandria of October 8 state that Abbas Pacha has consented, at the instance of Sir Stratford Canning, to solicit the permission of the Porte to construct the Alexandria and Cairo railway. This being done, sanguine people say that no further opposition will be offered to the undertaking.

Papers dated August 22 have arrived from the Cape. The tidings are most disastrous. Devastations along a line of 300 miles from above Graham's Town to the Orange river; farmsteads burnt, cattle captured, murders committed, disaffection among the Boers—and quiet in British Kaffria. Nothing is said of the movements of the troops. It is understood that Sir Harry Smith is authorized to draw reinforcements from the Mauritius, Bombay, and St. Helena.

Dr. Gutzlaff, a missionary of some renown, died in Hong Kong on the 9th of August, having just completed his 48th year. He was by birth a Pomeranian. For some years he has ceased to call himself a missionary, and he died in office as Chinese secretary to the Superintendency. Still we learn that he continued to give away bibles, and exhort the Chinese to become Christians, to the last. He was a remarkable instance of the union of sincere spiritual disinterestedness with a never-failing eye to the "main chance."

Mr. C. R. Weld has written to the *Times*, dating his letter, "Royal Society, Somerset-house, October 17," to assure the public that Sir John Franklin was not provided with any balloons, and that, consequently, the balloon found in Gloucestershire was sent up by some cruel person bent on hoaxing the public.

It is said the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, at a board held on Thursday, decided on sending another expedition, early in the ensuing year, to make further search for Captain Sir John Franklin, the gallant officers and crews, of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, the missing discovery ships.

"WELCOME TO KOSSUTH."—Poetry by Gerald Massey. The music composed by C. H. R. Marriott. Williams and Co., and H. Tolkien. This song comes at an opportune moment. It is a bold, simple melody, such as the mass can understand; with a chorus, such as a multitude might shout forth. The words, by Gerald Massey, are easy and spirited, and the chorus expressive of the welcome to be given.

The Leader

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1851.

Public Affairs.

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

ENGLISH NATIONALITY MIGRATING TO THE COLONIES.

THE Irish nation is flowing out of Ireland, and the English are gradually, but not slowly, acquiring the propensity to migrate. We have already pointed out this move, and noted its inevitable effect on the relations of trade and industry. It may be said that we are very advanced in our views and speculative; but we find the same views, the same anticipations, in the commercial *Times*. Our contemporary argues against the notion that the Irish drain will be stopped exactly at the point of a just level in wages:—

"In England it has been anticipated by some writers, that when the Irish population should be reduced to a certain low level, the inducements to remain would rise so high that the migration would stop, and the remnant left behind would be contentedly and permanently attached to the soil. The Irish authorities, as we are disposed to think very correctly, do not expect the migration to stop as soon as the population has assumed its proper proportion to the work to be done. The people who have been in the habit of paying 30s. an acre would not now remain on the land if it were reduced to 20s. or 10s., they will have it at no price. Their minds are completely made up to go after their friends—to go home, that home not being 'Ould Ireland,' but the 'Far West!' The stream once set that way, it will not stop till Ireland is absolutely depopulated, and the only question is, when will that be? Twenty years at the present rate would take away the whole of the industrious classes, leaving only the proprietors and their families, members of the learned professions, and those whose age or infirmities keep them at home."

"The Englishman, we are assured, is too much attached to his country and too comfortable at home to cross the Atlantic"; but the *Times* argues to show that

"Geography, union workhouses, ocean mails, and the daily sight of letters arriving in ten days from prosperous emigrants, are fast unrooting the British rustic from the soil, and giving him cosmopolitan ideas. In a very few years the question uppermost in his mind will be *whether he will be better off here or there?*"

Yes, nationality has yielded to that modern test. The sole test of worth, in trade, lies in the question—"will it pay?" In labour, the sole test of home is the workhouse test—"settlement," they call it. To love your country because it is your country, to serve an Englishman because he is an Englishman—these are superstitions which have passed away. Free-trade in commodities, free-trade in labour, free-trade in human muscle, human hopes and fears,—all these forms of free-trade have been followed up by free-trade in nationality. England is, perhaps, the only country in the world of which it may be said that its people are losing their care for it as theirs; nationality being wholly lost in the jealousies of class against class, of party against party. And the retribution approaches in the shape of an immense social change. The prospect, says the *Times*, is far too serious to be neglected:—

"The depopulation of these isles, supposing the Celtic exodus to run out its course, and a British exodus to follow, constitute about as serious a political event as can be conceived; for a change of dynasty or any other political revolution is nothing compared with a change in the people themselves. All the departments of industry, the army, the navy, the cultivation of the fields, the rent of landed property, the profit of trades, the payment of rates and taxes, depend on the people, and without the people there must ensue a general collapse of all our institutions."

One proof of our decayed nationality is the complacency with which the *Globe* reviews this prospect—rejoicing in the migration of "Giles Jolterhead,"—of Socialist, or Chartist, "loafers"—of "those who cannot prosper" or "be content with a modest prosperity." The *Globe* does not grieve over the

departure of Englishmen from the land of their birth, but rather simpers at the prospect of being quit of troublesome spirits.

But *whither* are these Englishmen going? To North America—to the United States, which have broken with England; or the British colonies, which are threatening, every now and then, to break off and to be independent, or to annex themselves to the United States; to the Australias, already leagued against the English Government and its doings; or to the Cape of Good Hope, successful in rebellion, and still sulky.

The Australias are deeply offended. They are made to endure Imperial taxation—the imposition of exorbitant salaries; the very sting which provoked the United States to the war of independence, and which helped to exasperate Canada; to say nothing of similar quarrels with the West Indies. The Australias have been deprived of convictism; and then, when they had learned to appreciate the relief from that curse, it has been forced on them again:—

"The colonies have a point of unity and agreement, and that point is resistance to the indignity and injury which they suffered from Great Britain. Such things are not long in growing to a head."

"It was only in September last year that New South Wales founded her Anti-Convict Association; and this body, after an existence of only six months, has been swallowed up in the League of the four colonies—New South Wales, Port Phillip, Van Diemen's Land, and South Australia—pledged to resist the importation of British criminals into any of them, under whatever designation, and upon whatever terms, to raise funds for the support of the League, and to abstain from employing any convict who shall hereafter be sent out."

"Among the principal supporters of this League are men of well-known moderation and discretion, who have hitherto kept aloof from political agitation, and who have evidently only been drawn into it by the deepest and most heartfelt conviction. That spirit of enthusiasm which has given rise to so many religious wars seems to be revived in this confederacy. They are animated by the feeling that their dearest interests are at stake, and, though measured and respectful in their language, are evidently prepared to carry out their principles, at whatever cost. * * *

"It is sixty years since the first of these was founded, and but fifteen since the last (Port Phillip) assumed a separate name; and yet that which the Government of Lord North forced upon the American colonies after a hundred and fifty years of growth, sixty years has sufficed to teach our Australian children. They also have their Congress, because they also have their common grievances and common fears."

It is not *we* who say this, but the *Times*. The emigrant, alienated from his home, goes forth to strengthen colonies that are beginning to array themselves against the Imperial Government.

See Sir Andries Stockenström's pamphlet, directly accusing the Government of garbling documents, of suppressing vitally necessary passages in published papers; and warning it that it must retrace its policy on the border of the Cape, or carry out the war against the Blacks to "extermination." Sir Andries is a moderate practical man, publicly elected with Mr. Fairbairn as the representative of the colony in this country. The Cape Colonists have some sense of nationality; they can all act together.

Yes; it is in the colonies that the Englishman is driven to learn that nationality which is forgotten at home, and which, by a strange fatality, when it has reached the colony, finds an unyielding enemy in the Government. In the United States the interest of human beings is not accounted subordinate to that of goods, of bureaux, or of "the system." In the United States the Englishman finds that the first care is for *the People*; and in the Colonies he finds the *resolve* to make the People the first care rather than particular cliques or "interests." The trading spirit has made nationality a scoff, and this country is threatened with that Social revolution predicted by the *Times*. The state which has consented to forget its nationality is raising up states hostile to itself, although peopled by its own children. So true is it that mere "self-interest" or mean statesmanship defeats itself. England must recover its nationality, or its colonies will outgrow it, and will take the lead of the world into their own hands.

THE SITUATION IN FRANCE.

EVENTS have been too strong for the Prince President, and, if the recent reports from Paris are to be trusted, he has given in. The resignation of his Ministry is a capitulation; the resolve to repeal

the Law of May 31 is a reform of conduct; and the new Ministry will probably indicate a changed spirit in his administration. We touch upon the subject with reserve, because we desire more complete information from Paris, and because we have no guarantee against a new reaction; but we are aware that many of our readers will desire to know "what we think of it,"—and we will not disappoint them to indulge any pedantic punctilio of journalism.

We think well of it, so far as we can see. The motive of the altered course is plain. We are aware, and, indeed, we stated the fact some time ago, that among the authors of the Law of May 31, abolishing universal suffrage, were those who said that, although passed for a temporary purpose, it would not remain on the statute book until the next election. But, it is evident that the President had recently been taught to rely on the restricted franchise. At last he has found that the game was hopeless. He must have desired to exclude his enemies from the Presidential and Legislative election; but, trusted by no party, he found himself without a chance of making a majority. His only remaining chance is once more to *seem* to throw himself on the People. The People will be to some extent conciliated, and he does, though to a doubtful degree, recover a portion of the chance which his reactionary conduct had thrown away: his adherents will be recruited by this advance of penitence.

But the action of France, once more set free, will be too large to be altogether within management, and the nation will probably be thinking about other things besides the maintenance of M. Bonaparte. That there will be a trial of strength we hold to be beyond doubt; but that the popular interests will, in any event, gain by the recently adopted step of the President we equally believe. According to the new aspect of the political sky, the trial of strength will be peaceably conducted; which is much. Should it be fairly conducted, France will once more resume her place in the ranks of popular nationality against Despot-bureaucracy. Should there be any fresh attempt at reaction, it will be but a fresh impulse to reawakened energies.

We say nothing of particular candidates for Presidency or Ministry. It is idle to speculate, it would be presumptuous to advise. We note with satisfaction the influence which has again been recognized in a national crisis—that of Emile de Girardin,—perhaps the boldest, most sagacious, and most able man in France. We have differed from him in opinion; but we recognize qualities of a greatness that is not likely to waste itself in an idle contest with events. On the contrary, a keen-sighted interpreter of facts, he is likely to borrow his chief strength from them; and if the necessities of the time be but allowed fair play, France, we are assured, will recover her freedom, her vigour, and her glory. We do not regard M. Bonaparte as the right man for President; we think that he should be President who has served his way to that post. But we trouble not ourselves with names or individual pretensions: let him be President who can command the suffrage of the nation; let him be Minister who can give action to the energies of the nation.

NOT "REPUDIATION," BUT POSTPONEMENT.

FOUR years ago certain sums were advanced by the Imperial Treasury to the Irish Unions, secured upon the rates, and, therefore, ultimately upon the land. We saw, in those days of famine, a gigantic scheme of eleemosynary relief carried out; and enormous sums spent in the most unproductive way, in order that a whole People might be rescued from the jaws of starvation. Reproductive works were studiously avoided, lest a timid Ministry should be charged with "Socialism." The money, borrowed mainly upon the national credit, a surplus being a rarity in those days, was literally sown broadcast. Nearly ten millions went so. It was understood that they should be repaid out of the rates, and that the land of Ireland should be mortgaged to that extent. How stands the case now?

The normal condition of Ireland has for years been that of bankruptcy. Few expect a handsome dividend from a bankrupt debtor. But in addition to chronic bankruptcy, or rather as a consequence of bankruptcy, Ireland has sustained an incredible emigration—depopulation is the right word; and besides this, she has been subjected to trying and tremendous social changes, the double action of a stringent Poor Law and the sweeping machinery of an Encumbered Estates Court. The famine was

a calamity; the stringent action of the Poor Law, and the Encumbered Estates Act, are trials which demand indulgence; the exodus of the People, in despair of maintaining existence at home, is the consequence of *misgovernment*, for which those who have governed are responsible. Yet, at the precise time when these agencies and the astounding flight of the People—of the ratepayers—have placed the whole property of some parts of Ireland in jeopardy, when the distress has not ceased, and the whole land throbs with the agonies of social change, in steps the Whig Prime Minister and insists on the immediate repayment of the instalments due upon the advances made in the hour of famine. Speaking abstractedly, Irish landlords in general deserve no pity, no help, no mercy. But is it the part of a statesman to ruin a nation, in exacting the uttermost penalty at the stipulated time, upon the short-sighted pretext of dealing justly, but rigidly, by one offending, but helpless, class?

Lord Lucan is right in asking for postponement; and the Catholic priests are substantially right in denouncing the landlords, and Lord John Russell is in the reverse of right in the course he has taken; because there is no sense, no economy, in pursuing a bankrupt to the verge of ruin—nay, *beyond* it—with the insane notion that you can get a dividend from him when you are depriving him of the means of making one. Unless Ministers are prepared to see a supplemental Encumbered Estates Act in operation in Ireland, and to bring nearly every property to the hammer, they must not insist on present repayment. If they are prepared to sell up Ireland, why not do it frankly, and without circumvention. Unions which can pay, ought to be made to pay; but it is inhuman to press hardly upon unions still swarming with poor, and totally unable to furnish the necessary rates. True economy, and real generosity, lie not in a rigid enforcing of the law, but in a wise adaptation of it to altered times; not for the sake of the Irish landlords, with whom we have no sympathy, but for the sake of the People.

Besides, the question arises, is Ireland an integral portion of this kingdom, or merely a province of the empire? If an integral portion, then in times of dire calamity, like the famous famine, relief and assistance are hers by right; since it is the duty of the body politic to succour the limbs. It is a perfect mockery to talk of a union which exists only on parchment, which is simply political, and, in all other respects, an armed occupation. It is a farce to speak of Ireland as represented in Parliament, and then to treat her as a conquered province. It is not "sisterly." When you lend a friend money in his hour of distress, what is the worth of your friendship if you seek to exact the repayment of the loan *before* he is out of his distress? Yet that is exactly the state of the case between Lord John Russell and Lord Lucan, the Treasury and the South-Western Unions of Ireland. Lord Lucan does not deny the debt; he simply asks for time: he does not desire to repudiate; he demands leave to postpone. His language may be indiscreet, his logic ill applied; but what statesman, worthy to be so called, persecutes an afflicted nation for the ill-chosen words of one man?

Time and help are debts still due to Ireland, from the harsh and misgoverning Government of England—debts larger, and due longer, than the instalments on the famine advances.

THE APOLOGY OF PALMERSTON.

PALMERSTON is an established Article of Faith to your Whig and Liberal believers. We who don't believe in Palmerston, are unorthodox, infidels, iconoclasts.

Week after week we are condemned to register professions of faith, written and real, in our noble Foreign Secretary. Aggressively worded they are not content with "I believe in Palmerston;" but assume the minatory, dogmatic, Athanasian formula, "Whoever believes not in Palmerston is not a true Liberal: let him be anathema."

We are in receipt of a letter from a courteous and "constant" reader, "a lover of freedom and a hater of persecution," severely complaining of our habitual treatment of the object of his admiration. He cannot tell "the why nor the wherefore: it may be a certain, though secret, knowledge of the diplomatic movements of that noble lord, or it may be a personal hatred of the man. If the former, why not put the facts in an intelligible shape before your readers; if the latter, which I will not hastily believe, it is unworthy of a paper professing to be devoted to the principle of fair play."

Our correspondent only does us justice in not hastily adopting the latter suspicion. There is not a writer in the *Leader* that would not sooner throw away his pen and abandon a profession as capable as any of honour and independence, than descend to the possibility of such an imputation. Fair play is not a boast, it is a sacred duty.

In the present case we are not ashamed to confess, we do not say an absence of dislike, but a warm involuntary attraction to the private and personal qualities of the subject of our controversy. We have not the honour of Lord Palmerston's acquaintance. We wish we had; for from all we know of him by authentic testimony, as well as by general estimation, we do not believe our country contains a more finished type of that somewhat faded race of beings the frank, fearless, generous, elegant, amiable, accomplished, high-bred, and high-spirited English gentleman. Blest with a happy and richly gifted organization: a much enjoying, much admiring, and much admired: a strong clear brain, a bright keen eye, a firm will, a cool and composed judgment, a quick discernment, a brilliant vivacity, an easy and refined wit: all the qualities that make a hearty friend, a delightful companion, a hero of uncounted successes, and a victor of enthusiastic attachments: a man whose manner is a spell, and whose address a fascination: in short, who knows not—

"The glass of fashion and the mould of form?"

* * * * *

What a grace is seated on his brow:
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself.
An eye like Mars, to threaten or command.
A station like the herald Mercury,
New lighted on a heaven-kissing hill!
A combination and a form, indeed;
Where every god did seem to set his seal
To give the world assurance of a man."

Such is Palmerston, the English gentleman. But the Foreign Minister, the juvenile-converted Tory, the quasi-revolutionary Whig of some forty years wear and tear. Ah! here he stands at the bar of public opinion, of conscientious appreciation, of inexorable history.

Large have been his professions, infinite the confidence reposed in them. It is difficult to decide whether the attacks of ungrateful Tories, or the boundless faith of too grateful Whigs have served him best.

"It may be a certain though secret knowledge of the diplomatic movements of that noble lord." No: we are not in the secrets of Palmerston. That we have special reasons for our opinion of his diplomatic "successes" we do not deny.

These special reasons, however, as they do not bear any but the most distant allusion, so they are as nothing in the actual formation of our judgment. They may have led us to concentrate a closer scrutiny upon the changing and restless game of his diplomatic exploits. They may have, unconsciously perhaps, sown the first seeds of suspicion; but into what a harvest of conviction has the seed sprung up in the course of a diligent study of this Protean career. In a former article we offered an Explanation of Palmerstonism; for the man has become a system, a system not less fatal to the political liberty, than Jesuitism is to the religious liberty of Europe. We do not care from what point you enter upon the examination of this Minister's policy. From '28 if you will: and you shall find these five phases in regular succession. Profession of liberalism: excessive activity of protests, protocols, and manoeuvres; change or backing out exactly at the crisis; apparent failure; and then all the bearing of a man who has quite succeeded; as he has, in the real, though not, perhaps, in the ostensible object.

To seize upon a few of the more salient peculiarities of this hybrid liberalism, mark well the number and the weight of his official protests, and of his official sympathies. But in a course of policy scattered over so vast a space and time, how can the casual observer trace the system which embraces, and the sequences which connect the more salient acts? We do not get at the facts as they occur, to enable us to form a clear judgment of their wisdom and necessity. It is only in '51 that we get an inkling of the policy of '49, through the garbled pages of a Blue Book full of asterisks. The mischief has been done to the satisfaction of all but the sufferers: we lose the trace of the past in the confusion of present intrigues.

History, indelible history, informs us that Palmerston *protested* against the absorption of Poland, and the infraction of the Treaties of Vienna. France would have moved to her defence, but Palmerston *protested*: and where is Poland now? Palmerston

protested against the incorporation of Cracow, in the teeth of treaties.

Whose is Cracow now?

Palmerston *protested* against Galician massacres. Palmerston *protested* against the attack on Rome, but approved of the restoration of the Pope.

The same Foreign Minister *sympathized* with Poland, with Hungary, with Italy.

Are his sympathies or his protests the more fatal to their objects?

Oh! but what bold things he has done! He set up the neutral kingdom of Belgium?

Well, here we find an "Uncle" supplied with a pleasant little neutral kingdom; and Palmerston supplied with a "royal" mediator in many future mystifications.

He amazed all Europe in the autumn of 1840, by that Syrian war and complete abasement of Mehemet Ali. Very dashing, no doubt: the results problematical to Turkey, to Egypt, and to ourselves.

Remember how he encouraged "the benevolent Pius" in '47, and through Lord Minto shouted Italian independence from Florentine windows!

Remember how he stimulated Sicily, upon the faith of treaties, and in the hour of need left her to the tender mercies of Filangieri.

He did *not* protest against the Russian invasion of Hungary, for one sovereign power has the right to interfere in favour of another; but he held out false hopes to the Hungarian Constitutionalists in case of their success against Austria and Russia. He suggested to Russia to withdraw so soon as her righteous work should be accomplished.

Remember how he struck at Russian influence when he backed Don David Pacifico's little bill with a tremendous fleet.

Yes! and threw Greece into the very bosom of Russian protection.

How boldly he adopted Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets on the Government of Naples.

Yes! and while his own brother is representing us "near the Court of the best of Kings," Palmerston presents a note to whom? to Bomba? to Novarro? to Peccheneda? expressing the horror and indignation of England. Ridiculous notion! He sends a copy of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets to the President of the resurrectionist Diet of Frankfort, composed of thirty-seven delegates of bureaucracy and despotism. He requests this select Diet, representatives of Freedom and Progress, *à la* Warsaw, Berlin, and Vienna—a Diet which has already carried reaction back beyond '14—to appeal to the tender mercies of his Sacred Majesty of Naples! Was not this bold? almost too bold even for so liberal a Minister. He gets a handsome rebuff for his pains; such intervention is unwarrantable. "What a glorious fellow is Palmerston!" say Liberals at home; "but positively his hatred of despotism carries him too far." Ah! yes, indeed, it carries him too far; it carries him where English applause and Russian connivance meet. But ought we not to support our Minister, whom every reactionist journal on the Continent vilifies? Such abuse as that is meat and drink to him. Honest English Liberalism applauds. Nesselrode, Schwarzenberg, Manteuffel, Metternich, wink approval. Diplomacy, Palmerstonism, duplicity (the words are synonymous) flourish. The name and efficacy and office of diplomacy flourish. All who enter into that inner circle "have eaten the lotus and forget their country."

In that estimable fraternity which Nelson judged so truly and well, Palmerston is "perpetual grand." What is wanting to his praise? Has he not promised us a peaceful and tranquil '52? Ay! even to Naples?

Now, who pretends to deny the skill, the tact, the sagacity, the immense official experience in all the mysteries and details of the "office," the practised ambiguity of glance and hand, the familiar ease in the conduct of affairs, and in waiving aside the daring attacks of outward antagonists in the Commons, all which our present Foreign Minister brings into the service of his country? We do not even doubt that he may believe it to be for the good of his country and for the happiness of the world that diplomatic solidarity should be paramount, and bureaucracy the controlling power of Europe. But we do not the less for our part—persist in asserting our conviction, that the system of which Lord Palmerston is the incarnation, is fatal to the development of the free energies of the Continental nations, and tends to make England the sport of Absolutist mystification, and the slave of bureaucratic intrigues. If the test by

which we try the liberalism of the Minister be illegitimate, it is at least the test of plain dealing, of single mindedness, of honesty; the test of professions and results:

THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH.

BRAVE George Anthony Denison has spoken the word, and it is for the Church to make that word the motto of its future work. "A Churchman's success is to do his duty." Yes; set her free, and let her try to do her duty, that duty which for many hundred years she has failed to do. Let the young, and eloquent, and daring, who are content to take duty for success, let these have their way, and make of that Church which they idolize, what they can.

But did it ever occur to Mr. Denison, that the Church has other duties than those which consist in adhering to formal religion, and settling the controversy about preventive grace? Has he pondered on that startling announcement made by the Bishop of Llandaff, to which last week we made brief reference, that the Church of England is not the Church of the People? and has he asked himself why? Because, we expect, that in the answer to that question he would find some of his duties.

The Church has temporal and political duties. When the fetters were to be knocked off from the soul of a nation and thought set free, did the Church assist? When the bread of the people was to be taxed and the toiler starved, did she step in, and, raising her solemn voice, forbid the enormity? No. And when the burden was to be lifted off from the shoulders of the poor, did she help? No. When good men (some of them of this Church of England) cried unto the wealthy and the speculators—You are racking out the lives of the serfs of the plough and the slaves of the loom upon starvation wages,—what said the Church?—"There shall always be poor in the land." When the Game Laws are to be enforced, who most rigidly carry out the law?—Ministers of the Church. Charitable? Yes; members of the Church have been charitable; but justice, not charity, is what a noble people demand. Alms are an evasion of justice; and this, too, is why the Church of England is not the Church of the People.

We have no enmity to the Church of England. It is the hope of thousands. It has a mission of holiness; but it has no faith in that mission.

A Church which has ceased to see that Divine laws are obeyed, has ceased to be a Church, has abdicated its highest function, and ought to vanish in very shame. We ask Mr. Denison whether that is not the condition of the Church of England?

We demand for the Church of England what that Church would not demand for us—justice. We demand that it may be set free. It is full time. When from his high state, deliberately, a Bishop confesses that his Church is not the Church of the People; when he bewails the existence of wide-spread dissent, and what he calls infidelity; when he laments the density of ignorance and the decay of morality, and this after his Church has been professedly working for three hundred years to remove those evils; then, indeed, it is time to rise from the luxurious bed of parliamentary patronage, to tear off the purple robe, to put away the stately demeanour, and, unfettered, do what it can to save, not tithes, and dear bread, and lofty state, but the souls of men. When that is done, *perhaps*, the Church of England may become the Church of the People.

THE EGYPTIAN RAILWAY AND THE PORTE.

WE are all agreed about the essential importance of a free and secure communication with India by way of the Isthmus of Suez. Nobody disputes the advantages, social, political, and commercial, which any scheme for shortening the present tedious and expensive journey, and obviating the necessity of an endless transfer from canal to river and from river to desert-omnibus, would confer on Oriental travellers. Speed, safety, and economy would be alike secured by the substitution of a railway for the old mode of conveying by Camels the Mails and Treasure which pass fortnightly between India and England.

The attention of the late sagacious Mehemet Ali was turned to this subject some years ago. Preparations were made for the formation of a Railway, and the rails and some portion of the plant

were ordered in this country, and actually arrived in Egypt. The execution of this project was, however, delayed through the influence of the French officials by whom the Pacha was served, acting of course under orders from home; France having certain claims on the adhesion of the Pacha, from the amount of support afforded to him against Turkey and Lord Palmerston in 1841. This opposition, arising from jealousy of England, and the consequent desire to hinder her more rapid communication with her Eastern possessions, was not directed, in appearance at least, against all improvement of the means of transit. That would have been too transparent a manoeuvre; and a ship-canal was recommended, the advantages of which were continually dwelt upon, as if its advocates were really anxious for its construction; and though engineering difficulties, and the nature of the coasts both of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean rendered the execution of the project impossible, still it served its purpose, that of unsettling the decision of the Pacha; and, during his lifetime, it prevented the construction of the Railway.

Since the accession of the present Ruler of Egypt, Abbas Pacha, French influence has declined in that country. The councils of England have prevailed, as her interest in the tranquillity and prosperity of the territory through which runs the highway to the East is naturally greater than that of any other nation. Continual improvements, at the instance of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, have been made in the transit arrangements; the Pacha has at last found himself in a position to commence the undertaking projected by his predecessor; and a contract for the execution of the Railway has been entered into with an eminent English engineer.

To this enterprise a fresh obstacle has been raised by French intrigues. The scene of opposition has, however, been transferred from Cairo to Constantinople; and the Sultan's jealousy of his principal vassal has been excited to bring some powers, claimed through the treaty of 1841, to bear against the execution of this plan. Austrian influence has also been enlisted on the side of France; the old project of the ship-canal has been revived, and the Masters of Venice and Trieste have been led to look, through its formation, for a revival of those palmy days of commercial prosperity which preceded the discovery of the Cape route by Vasco di Gama.

Kossuth's release, and the ill-will consequent thereupon, are too recent to permit much apprehension to exist of effectual results arising from Austrian negotiations with Turkey; but while the Government of France is in the hands of the present dominant faction, French diplomacy will do all it can to embroil Egypt and Turkey, by mystifying the latter and egging on the former.

Advantageous, in fact, as is the construction of a railway in Egypt for us, it behoves England to act with extreme caution, and English merchants to beware how, in helping the astute politicians of the North to humble Turkey, they do not lose their railway altogether. The avowed object of France is to make Egypt "independent," and after that to convert Egypt into "a province of France." There is not much fear of this, it is true; but it is not exactly a project to be furthered. The avowed ambition of Russia is to break up the Ottoman Empire, and plant the standard of the dynasty of Peter the Great, spread to "Panslavonian" extent, upon the shores of the Hellespont. It is our interest, and the interest of civilization, to arrest the advance of Russia in the East, and secure the highways of commerce for the world.

But, why have all these intrigues of Austrian and French diplomacy so strong an influence with the Porte? What necessity is there for all this talk about coercing the Sultan and supporting this potentate against that? It is dust in the eyes. Not a whit nearer to the completion of the railway are we by so much pother about this "influence" or the other. The plain fact is, that we want direct, open, straightforward negotiation. Let a man be sent to Constantinople and represent frankly the state of things to the Porte, and the object would be achieved. It is absurd to suppose that English influence is really small at Constantinople. All that is required is frankness. Is our Ambassador at the Porte really in earnest? Rather, is there not good reason to suppose that his exertions are doubtful, duplex—in one word *diplomatic*, having a purpose beyond the reach of the gaze even of the intelligent and unsuspecting gentlemen who met at the London Tavern on Tuesday? Consul

General Murray is not a diplomatist, but a frank English gentleman; and if we had his double at Constantinople little difficulty would remain. We are confident that plain speech and sincere intentions at the Court of the Sultan *on our part*, would be by far the most effectual, in fact the only certain way of getting permission to make the projected railway through the territories.

Can any one answer these two questions for us: By whom was the City meeting primarily set on foot? Had the gentleman or gentlemen any direct or indirect communication with the Foreign-office?

KOSSUTH AND THE HIRELINGS OF AUSTRIA.

IN the outrageous attack on the personal and public character of Kossuth, which found its way from the gutters of Austrian chanceries into the ready columns of our leading journal, there is not in the midst of a heap of insult and malevolence a single specific assertion which is not literally and strictly a deliberate falsehood. The English journal must have been deceived: the intelligence is not only untrue; it is not even "exclusive."

The veracity of the Jesuit organ of the King of Naples, *L'Univers*, is well known. The *Times* and *L'Univers*, and the Government journals at Vienna, publish almost word for word the same calumnies against the Hungarian patriot for whom the English people are preparing a more than Royal welcome. Foul streams spring from one foul source. What a new honour to our leading journal to be found in company with the defender of Bomba, insulting misfortune, trampling on the vanquished, hunting down the exile!

We shall not descend to qualify the delicacy and generosity of the allusion to "his Turkish prison," where he was in continual peril of his life from the dagger and the poison of Austrian emissaries; nor the exquisite taste and refined feeling of the pretence that he had been "consigned to Barnum;" nor the fine sense of generosity in calling an appeal to English sympathy a gross delusion. Why should we take exception to this genuine Austrian manufacture, except it be to regret that the chief of the English press should be prostituted to such a service? But we notice how artfully constructed is the fabric of calumny. Just as in the old tirades against Mazzini, his name was always dragged into proximity with that of Rossi; so here we find the pure and bloodless name of Kossuth associated in a long sentence with the murders of Lamberg and Latour. Is not the odious insinuation of complicity with deeds of violence done miles and months apart, evident enough?

But we hasten to notice three passages in this article containing distinct falsehoods, a thousand times repeated it is true, and a thousand times refuted; but as calumny is ever hydraheaded, we will once more set the truth, the exact truth of these transactions before our readers; and we defy all the instruments of Austrian vengeance to gainsay or refute our statements:—

"The revolutionary character of his opinions, the self-seeking and arbitrary spirit of his administration, the enormity of many of his actions, and the extraordinary impostures he practised with success on a credulous and enthusiastic people, were the principal causes, not only of the frightful contest which desolated Hungary, but of the intervention of foreign armies in the war, and of the ultimate subversion of the ancient Constitution of the land. That constitution was, in fact, annihilated from the time when Kossuth took a prominent part in the Government; and the Assembly of his creatures which sat at Debreczin no more resembled the Diet of Hungary than the Barebones Parliament resembled the Legislature of the British Constitution."

It is notorious to all who have observed history elsewhere than in the foreign articles of the *Times*, that Hungary has been compelled to sustain an incessant struggle for her constitutional liberties for the last three centuries, ever since the accession of the House of Hapsburg. The chartered and constitutional liberties of Hungary have been incessantly threatened by the bloodthirsty treachery of this royal House of Hapsburg; so that, from time to time, no other expedient has remained to Hungarian patriots, but to rise up to defend their civil and religious liberties by force of arms. Six patriotic names concentrate in themselves the history of Hungary since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Zapolya, Boizkay, Bethlen, Sököly, Rakoczy, and Kossuth. Kossuth was not, as the *Times* and *L'Univers* affirm, the cause of the subversion of the ancient constitution of the land. This constitution had been sworn to by fourteen Austrian emperors at Presburg; it had

been, as we have seen, repeatedly infringed by treachery and threatened with a violent subversion. We return now to the events of the last revolution.

The decree of October 3, 1848, by Ferdinand I., as *Emperor of Austria*, and not as King of Hungary—a decree which was *illegally* countersigned by a court tool, Count Reczey, for the consideration of money of £1200—dissolved the Hungarian Diet, annulled all its acts, made Jellachich Commander-in-Chief of all Hungary, placed the whole of Hungary under martial law, suspended all the institutions of local self-government, gave absolute, irresponsible power to Jellachich in every matter, ordered all ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities to obey him, and announced that measures would be immediately taken for annihilating Hungary for ever, by merging into one monarchy all the countries and Peoples under the Imperial Crown. This decree, which was “the ultimate subversion of the ancient constitution of the land,” was enacted when the legal Batthyany Ministry, of which Kossuth was a member as Minister of Finance, had ceased to exist in September, 1848. The Hungarian constitution was, therefore, not annihilated from the time when Kossuth took a prominent part in the Government, but six months after the royal nomination of the Batthyany Ministry (March 30, 1848), and again, six months before the Hapsburg dynasty was dethroned by the Hungarian Diet in virtue of an old law, which provides that, “in case any King attempts to divide the country, or to incorporate it with his foreign possessions, he may be dethroned by the Diet,” and before Kossuth was legally proclaimed the Protector or Regent of the kingdom during the interregnum (April 14, 1849). The annihilation of the ancient constitution of Hungary was, moreover, maintained and confirmed by the mock constitution of March 4, 1849, which subjected the Hungarians to Viennese bureaucracy, and which swamped their Parliament, without the pretence of law, by the mere stroke of Count Stadion’s pen, among a host of foreigners, incapable of legislating well for them. This constitution was again abolished by an Imperial decree of August 20, 1851, declared as it was by Prince Schwarzenberg himself, in his official notification to the Austrian envoys and ambassadors, to have been a mere fiction, and Hungary still groans under the naked rule of gibbets and of bayonets, now full two years since Görgey’s treacherous surrender near Vilagos, and since Kossuth has ceased in a Turkish prison “to take a prominent part in the Government of Hungary.” (August 13, ’49.) As to the *Times* calling the legally elected Diet of Hungary “an Assembly of the Creatures of Kossuth,” we shall correct this mere lapse of the pen by an official quotation. The before-mentioned decree of the 3rd of October, ’48, commences with the following words:—“We, Ferdinand I., Emperor of Austria, send our salutation and grace to the barons, ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries, magnates and deputies assembled in the Diet convoked by us in the Royal free town of Pesth.” The Emperor of Austria recognizes, therefore, himself, the legal election of the deputies, and the legal capacity of the hereditary legislators of that Diet; and it must be a matter of curiosity, by what magic a private individual, poor and humble like Kossuth, should have succeeded in transferring the hereditary Lords, and the elected Commons, of a population of about sixteen millions of men, into his creatures. These *selfsame* men, magnates and deputies, proceeded to Debreczin, when Pesth was occupied by the Imperialists under Windischgrätz, in January, ’49 and they deposed at a later period the Hapsburg dynasty, by a legal majority. Is the *Times* more Austrian than an Emperor of Austria?

“He became the leader of the extreme Radical party in Hungary, which was undoubtedly prepared for action even before the occurrence of those events, in the spring, 1848, which proved so favourable to their designs.”

It is an established fact that the Prime Minister, Count Louis Batthyany, a great patriot but a timid leader, wasted his time with barren negotiations at the Court in behalf of the constitutional party, and, never ceasing to trust the false promises and delusive assurances of that Court, he refused every purchase of arms in the spring 1848, while it could be done safely and on a large scale. Thus he ruined his country unconsciously. The port of Fiume was occupied on September 1, 1848, by Jellachich, to prevent any effectual smuggle of muskets; on the 9th of the same month, Jellachich passed the Drave, advancing into the heart of the kingdom, and poor Hungary, pressed on all sides by Wallachs, Serbians, Croats, and the regular

Imperial army, was surprised *weaponless*, and destined to be crushed, unless she could force a passage by unparalleled valour. She forced it, but the Russian intervention and Goergey’s treachery, accomplished her definitive subjection, and thus far the Austrian Court carried out the great point of its scheme, that only a few muskets could be smuggled at an extraordinary sacrifice through the surrounding armies. Could, however, the Austrian Court even with the aid of Russia have conquered Hungary, if her brave sons had been prepared for action so far back as before the year 1848? Only 200,000 muskets would have enabled her to stand the invasion of both the Austrian and the Russian despots, Europe would be free, and the *Times* without orders to write for Austria.

“Before three months had elapsed Kossuth had gradually undermined all his colleagues and subverted those who had brought him into power. They all successively retired in dismay.”

The whole Batthyany Ministry was definitely put aside, as we have seen, by the above-mentioned decree of the 3rd of October, 1848. Two of its members, Szemere and Meszaros, continued to act with Kossuth till the fatal end of the War of Independence, the former as President of the Ministry under Kossuth, the latter in the war department. As for Count Louis Batthyany, this noble patriot took an active share, and was even wounded, in the War of Independence, a short time before his imprisonment, against the laws of God and man, as a deputy of peace, sent by the town of Pesth into the camp of Windischgrätz. His ultimate appreciation of the wrongs of his country and of the legitimate conduct of Kossuth may be found, however, in his last letter to his wife, written only a few hours before his execution.

“Leave the country, do not accept of one tittle of an indemnification, if Austria should ever feel inclined to offer it for the confiscation of my property; conceal from our children the cause and manner of my death, as long as they are under age; educate them, however, in the love for their native country and in the hatred against the Hapsburg dynasty, and when they are of age enjoin them to revenge the death of their father.”

These are last words of a man whom the *Times* wants to represent as having taken an unfavourable view of the rising of Kossuth and of his country against tyranny:—

“No one can examine these events dispassionately without arriving at the conviction that the true interest of Hungary and of Austria was to terminate the struggle by an equitable negotiation, preserving the rights of Sovereign and of people; but that Kossuth, chiefly with a view to the maintenance of his own supremacy, in and by the revolution, forced matters on to the last extremity, until he arrived at the catastrophe which has ruined and enslaved his unhappy country.”

Why enslaved? If it was the true interest of Austria to terminate the struggle by an equitable negotiation, why has she not offered and effected it, vanquished as she was, before she called in the Russians? Why does she persevere in this avowed subjection, which will never terminate, and sooner or later engender a new outbreak of the struggle? Was not, perhaps, Kossuth farsighted enough to foresee that this slavery would have been imposed upon his country with or without a struggle, and that a glorious downfall of Hungary, if such was inevitable, was at least an inalienable inheritance to her children, and an earnest of a glorious resurrection? Have not a thousand facts borne out the truth of this policy? Was there no attempt of enslaving Hungary before the struggle? Was not Jellachich declared rebel by the Emperor Ferdinand himself on the 10th of June, 1848? Was he not confirmed by the same Emperor in full powers on the 4th of September of the same year, because Radetzky was again victorious in Italy; and was he not declared by the same decree to have proved his unalterable fidelity to the House of Austria? And the decree of the 3rd of October, 1848, was the crowning act of a long course of bloodthirsty treachery, which compelled Kossuth and the Hungarian Diet, if not traitors to law, order, and their country, to take up arms for the defence of sacred rights, prescriptive and statutable. Here we leave the *Times* for the present. The facts we have mentioned absolutely defy refutation.

The “Society of the Friends of Italy” has done good service in reducing to shame and silence the falsehoods of the reactionist press. The friends of Hungary embrace all that is good and true and generous and national in the English People. If we cannot silence falsehood, we can proclaim the truth, even in the teeth of the hirelings of despotism. The *Times* sneers at that portion of the

press which has placed itself in the hands of the exiles. We would rather as Englishmen defend the cause of the exile than pander to the cruelties and perjuries of Despotism.

ASSOCIATION APPLIED TO MIRACLES.

Poor Rose Tamisier, approved by sceptical doctor, and mere official sous-préfet, is repudiated by the Bishop of Avignon, who having been so long behind the scenes is blasé to the machinery, and doubts the strength of the illusion to an audience of young Voltaires. But mark the fruitfulness of the Associative principle applied to miracles. We extract the following particulars from *La République*. *L’Univers* as usual has pretended to answer them by mere ecclesiastical abuse. The Virgin is said to have appeared (without witnesses) to a novice, and to have ordered a medal to be struck in honour of her visitation. The medal is struck, to the tune of 18,000,000 in copper; 2,000,000 in gold and silver are sold at one halfpenny profit on each. Then comes an historical notice by an anonymous priest relating 111 miracles worked by the said medal: of this “notice” 130,000 copies are sold. The net result of the medals and the notice, is £48,000 translated from the pockets of the faithful into the coffers of the miracle-mongers and medal historiographers. The Associative principle is here in full work. An intriguing woman, accomplice to any common speculator, or a visionary prompted by a knave, declares she has seen the Virgin, and so on: her word becomes an article of faith to extract cash from believers—for the good of their souls.

CAPTAIN MACONCHIE.

BIRMINGHAM acquired much credit to itself by the appointment of Captain Maconchie to be the governor of its gaol; it has resolved to cancel that credit and undo its own renown.

Captain Maconchie is the author of the only rational system of correctional discipline now before the public. To put his idea (very inadequately) into a sentence, it is this: fixed sentences for criminal offences fail to call forth any reformatory motives; by sentencing the criminal to earn his release you call into play the wholesome reformatory influences of atonement, hope, and industry. The author of this plan, which has, we believe, obtained the sanction of almost all thinkers on the subject of prison discipline, was appointed to be Governor of the gaol at Birmingham; a place already distinguished by possessing an enlightened law reformer in its Recorder, Matthew Hill. It soon turned out, however, that Captain Maconchie was not to carry out his own system. Never mind; the reformer had secured a post at which he might usefully and worthily continue his observations; and Birmingham had at least the honour of offering a worthy home to the practical philosopher.

But Birmingham is tired of its honourable distinction. Captain Maconchie has had his congé, without reason assigned. The local papers allude to the matter as a “job,” and we hear in society many references to particular persons who are to be served by the removal of the truly good public servant; among them the Deputy-Governor. On these points we await further enlightenment; only conscious, in the mean time, that a very clear explanation is due from those who have brought upon Birmingham the disgrace of retracting an honourable tribute to public worth.

SOCIAL REFORM.

“NOTES OF A SOCIAL ECONOMIST.”

THE COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS OF ENGLAND.
V.

“Lex est summa ratio insita a naturâ que jubet ea, quæ faciunda sunt, prohibet quæ contraria.”—CICERO.

At the end of the Anti-Jacobin War in 1801, the NATIONAL DEBT of England amounted to £579,931,447; the TAXES to £61,278,081. In 1809, the DEBT had increased to £811,898,082, the TAXES to £82,027,288. 5s. 1½d. Thus the WAR policy of George William had been pursued with fatal obstinacy and success, followed by taxation, pauperism, ignorance, and crime; when, in 1815, the intolerable sufferings of the labouring classes were increased, in a geometrical ratio, to starvation pitch, by a heavy TAX upon foreign Corn: low rents and high taxes being ruinous to the land-owners. This was the condition of the English People when Robert Owen, the founder of modern “Socialism,” or the Science, or Rational System, of Society, first laid a Report (“New View of Society”) before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor’s Laws, accompanied by “A plan to relieve the country from its present distress; to re-moralize the Lower Orders; to reduce the Poor’s Rate; and to gradually abolish Pauperism, with all its degrading and injurious consequences.” Starvation, the workhouse, the gaol, and the hangman (Protection?), was the “Plan” adopted by the land-monopolists.

The five fundamental facts upon which the rational, or scientific, system of society is founded, are these:—

“1. That man is a compound being, whose character is formed of his constitution or organization at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it from birth to death; such original organization and external influences continually acting and reacting each upon the other.

"2. That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his *feelings* and his *convictions* independently of his *will*.

"3. That his *feelings* and his *convictions*, or both of them united, create the motive to action called the *will*, which stimulates him to act, and decides his actions.

"4. That the organization of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth; nor can art subsequently form any two individuals, from infancy to maturity, to be precisely similar.

"5. That, nevertheless, the constitution of every infant, except in case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a *very inferior* or *very superior* being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence that constitution from birth."

Human nature, therefore, is a compound of animal propensities, intellectual faculties, and moral qualities, united in different proportions in each individual, by a power unknown to him, and consequently without his consent. He comes into existence within certain external circumstances; and the influence of these external circumstances is modified, in a particular manner, by his peculiar, individual organization. He may be made to receive either true ideas, derived from a knowledge of facts, or false notions, derived from the imagination, in opposition to facts: he may be trained to acquire injurious or beneficial habits, or a mixture of both.

Now, for the first time in the progress of human affairs a direct and open conflict has commenced, between moral falsehood and truth; between false and real virtue; between force, fraud, and oppression, and kindness, honesty, and justice; between individual riches and luxury, and great poverty and destitution; between WAR and PEACE; between the superstitious prostration of the mental faculties and mental liberty; in fine, between misery and happiness; and a period of universal virtue and happiness shall arrive, when knowledge shall make charity and love extend over the earth, and peace shall be universal.

Now, a small portion of the population, with the aid of scientific power, can supply the wants of a very large population; and this is the first step towards the attainment of the promised "Millennium." For, by the aid of this new power, a superabundant provision for all the wants of man, without slavery, or servitude, may be provided; the only inequality of condition to be the natural one of age and experience, which will preserve order and harmony in society.

The second preparatory step is, the improvement of the character of the human race; which can be effected only by an entire change in the formation of the character of each individual from birth through life. "At present, there is not one educational establishment known, that is calculated to train individuals from birth to become rational men and women." But, the science of human nature "has been discovered," and must lead to the practice of forming a superior moral, physical, mental, and practical character for every individual.

The third step can be attained only by the "Science of Society," which will enable man to dissect it into its elementary parts; to separate them; to ascertain their past and present incongruities; and to know how to recombine them in their proper proportions, so as to form a new and more perfect state of society.

The fourth step is, the gradual ceasing of the necessity for any of the professions. Peace on earth can never be attained:—

1st. So long as priests teach their opposing doctrines of faith and mysteries as opposed to a belief based solely upon demonstrable facts.

2nd. So long as any necessity shall exist for the profession of the law; human law as opposed to Nature's everlasting law.

3rd. So long as physical and mental disease shall exist. The discovery of the means, and the adoption of the practice, to prevent disease of body and mind, are necessary: the means have been already discovered, to a great extent. The proper mode of preventing disease is to exercise, at the proper period of life, all the natural faculties, propensities, and powers, up to the point of TEMPERANCE. The causes of disease being chiefly five: religious perplexities; disappointment of the affections; pecuniary difficulties; anxiety for our offspring; INTemperance.

The fifth step, is the abandonment of the principles which lead to WAR. The talk of WAR and morality—WAR and religion—WAR and justice—

or WAR and peace and goodwill to mankind—existing at the same time in the mind and conduct of the same individual, is a proof how irrational men are.

The sixth step will be the destruction of the immoral system of buying cheap and selling dear, for a money profit*; a practice by which characters are formed in an inferior mould.

The seventh step will be the abandonment of paying money wages by one part of society to another, for their mental or physical services (science having also rendered severe and unhealthy human labour unnecessary)—a practice which has led to greater injustice, degradation, crime, and misery, than when slavery was general. For it was the interest of the owner that his slave should not be overworked, but be healthy and in good working condition. "But the lowest stage of humanity is experienced when the individual must labour for a small pittance of wages; when he is not suffered to have land, from which, by his own labour, he may produce the necessities of life; and when he must find employment, even to obtain this small pittance, or be degraded to a workhouse, or steal, or murder, or starve."

The eighth step will be to terminate idleness and uselessness. It being impossible to calculate the extent of evil that men and women, who are maintained in idleness, inflict upon the population within their influence. The temperate exercise of the physical and mental faculties being a continual source of health and enjoyment.

The ninth step will be to form the external arrangements around every one, from birth; to insure to him the best physical, moral, and intellectual education, that his constitution, or natural faculties, when born, will admit.

The tenth step will be to terminate the distinction of rich and poor. The existence of great wealth and extreme poverty, within the same nation or district. For one family to be wallowing in luxury to such an extent as to cause loss of health and real enjoyment, while a neighbouring family is suffering every privation until its members pine away and are gradually starved to death, and that without exciting feelings of horror and astonishment, indicates a degraded state of human existence, which cannot much longer be permitted to continue upon the earth, to disgrace the conduct of human beings having the presumption to call themselves rational and religious.

The eleventh step will be to infuse into each heart and mind the genuine spirit of charity for the varied opinions, feelings, and conduct of the human race, until all shall think, feel, and act as much alike upon all matters essential to the permanent happiness of mankind, as those well instructed in the science of mathematics now think, feel, and act alike on all things appertaining to that science.

The twelfth and last step, the chief cornerstone of the social edifice, is the abandonment of the principles from which all falsehood proceeds, and the adoption of principles that will establish truth from birth to death, in the word, look, and action of every individual: the declining reverence for the priesthood over the world; their dissensions in opposition to each other, and their presumption over their more enlightened fellow-men; the progress of the TEMPERANCE societies in Great Britain and America; the advance of scientific discoveries; the passion for educating the masses; the disinclination for WAR even among warlike nations; the easy and rapid communication between the most distant countries; the adoption of scientific power to supersede severe or injurious manual service, slavery; the friendly union of hitherto hostile Governments; with many other events; indicate with certainty that a great change is coming over the nations of the earth; and that man shall now be put in the right path, to become good, and wise, and happy; "and every obstacle in the way of his progress to this advent of his existence (the victory of rational over irrational principles) shall prove unavailing and powerless."

"A rational Government will attend solely to the happiness of the governed."

It will ascertain what are the laws of human organization and existence, from birth to death; what is necessary for the happiness of a being so formed; and what are the best means for securing them permanently.

Every one shall have equal and full liberty

* Legitimate profit is the fair wage (or *gage*) paid for the labour, talent, and capital employed in commerce, and in the business of distribution.—W.C.

of conscience on religious and all other subjects. No one shall have any other power than fair argument to control the opinions of others. No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded for any opinions or belief. But all, of every religion, shall have equal right to express their opinions respecting the Power which moves the atom and controls the universe, and to worship that Power in any manner agreeable to their consciences, and not interfering with the equal rights of others.

Every one shall be educated from infancy to maturity, in the best manner known, and pass through the same general routine of education. All children from their birth shall be under the especial care of the community; their parents to have free access to them at all times. Both sexes shall have equal education, rights, privileges and personal liberty; and their marriages will arise from the general sympathies of their nature, uninfluenced by artificial distinctions.

Society shall then be composed of communities, or associations, of men, women, and children, in the usual proportions, from 300 to 2000.* Each community shall possess, around it, land sufficient for the support of its members.

Each community shall be governed in its home department by a general council, composed of all its members between the ages of thirty and forty; and in its foreign department by all its members from forty to sixty years of age.

CONCLUSIONS.

That the period for introducing the Rational System of society is near at hand (?); and that no human power can resist the change.

That the Governments (the Peoples?) of the world will soon be compelled, in self defence to adopt this system, to prevent their being involved in anarchy, war, and ruin; and that this change will destroy the old vicious system of ignorance, poverty, and individual competition. But that there must be a sufficient number of individuals imbued with the spirit of genuine charity, affection, and philanthropy, and instructed in the best mode of applying it to practice: they must, likewise, possess patience and perseverance, to overcome all obstacles; and, above all, they must be united, have full confidence in each other, and be directed by one heart and one mind.

Under the past and pre-ent Irrational System—devised in opposition to Nature—nineteen out of twenty of the external circumstances formed by man around society, are of an inferior and vicious character; under the Rational System now proposed, all the circumstances under human control will be of a superior and virtuous character.

Under the existing religious, political, commercial, and domestic arrangements of Great Britain, 250 individuals cannot be supported in comfort on a square mile of land; while under the proposed system, with less labour and capital than are now employed, 500 may be supported in abundance.

Such is the difference between a Rational system,† formed in accordance with Nature, and an Irrational system founded in opposition to it.

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

* Estimate of the Cost of one of the superior Home Colonies, or Family Clubs:—

Two thousand acres of average land, at £70 per acre (including timber)	£140,000
Seventy-two dwelling houses, at £35,000 each	252,000
Four colleges for education, at £4000 . . .	16,000
Four central buildings, one on each side of square, for adults, at £8000 each . . .	32,000
Four culinary and refectory arrangements, at £6000 each . . .	24,000
Furnishing houses, colleges, public buildings, &c. . .	60,000
Water, gas, and heating apparatus, for public and private buildings . . .	60,000
Four farmhouses and farms of 800 acres each, &c., at £4000 each . . .	16,000
Stocking the above, at £4000 each . . .	16,000
Baths, gymnasias, and cloisters for each side of square, £6000 each . . .	24,000
Drainage, laying out square and terrace . . .	20,000
Four towers for chimneys and other purposes, at £5000 each . . .	20,000
Contingencies . . .	20,000
	£700,000

£700,000 at 5 per cent. 35,000
Annual repairs 10,000

Annual cost £45,000

A provisional form of government to be adopted in the first, or transition, state.

† "I consider the virtue of an action to consist in its being in harmony with the dictates of all the faculties acting in harmonious combination, and duly enlightened."—*The Duties of Man*, by GEORGE COOMBE.

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 first indications of an active "season" arrest attention now, after so long a period of flatness; whether any great books are in gestation it is for Time to prove; enough for us, as *littérateurs*, that there are new books forthcoming. Already our table is becoming inconveniently crowded, and the dear old books which had crept stealthily from the shelves taking advantage of rare leisure, are now huddled back unread, or unreads, till that indefinite "some other time," *ces années qu'on ajourne toujours et qui ne viendront jamais!*

A new Review is a matter of some interest, and a new Review we are to have in December, taking the name of the *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly*, which it replaces, while continuing. Miserably low had that Review sunk in general estimation, although scarcely a number came out which did not contain at least one first-rate article to keep it from utter extinction. It has now passed into new and energetic hands, with capital to back it, with great talents to animate it, and with high purpose to consecrate it. We may be sure of seeing it a Review which will do honour, as it did of old, to the Liberal Party. Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN, the publisher, to whom Free Thought owes such substantial services, has become the proprietor of the Review; but we rely too much on his sagacity to entertain the fear, not unfrequently expressed, of his making the Review over theological, which would be its ruin. We have already commented on Mr. CHAPMAN's efforts to extend his publications into the more extensive departments of general Literature, and we take it the *Westminster Review* is only a symptom of the same tendency. A passage from the Prospectus will best explain its purpose:—

"The Editors design the review as an instrument for the development and guidance of earnest thought on politics, social philosophy, religion, and general literature; and to this end they will seek to render it the organ of the most able and independent minds of the day.

"The fundamental principle of the work will be the recognition of the Law of Progress. In conformity with the principle, and with the consequent conviction that attempts at reform—though modified by the experience of the past and the conditions of the present—should be directed and animated by an advancing ideal, the Editors will maintain a steady comparison of the actual with the possible, as the most powerful stimulus to improvement. Nevertheless, in the deliberate advocacy of organic changes, it will not be forgotten, that the institutions of man, no less than the products of nature, are strong and durable in proportion as they are the results of a gradual development, and that the most salutary and permanent reforms are those, which, while embodying the wisdom of the time, yet sustain such a relation to the moral and intellectual condition of the people, as to insure their support.

"In contradistinction to the practical infidelity and essentially destructive policy which would ignore the existence of wide-spread doubts in relation to established creeds and systems, and would stifle all inquiry dangerous to prescriptive claims, the Review will exhibit that untimorizing expression of opinion, and that fearlessness of investigation and criticism which are the results of a consistent faith in the ultimate prevalence of truth.

"Aware that the same fundamental truths are apprehended under a variety of forms, and that, therefore, opposing systems may in the end prove complements of each other, the Editors will endeavour to institute such a radical and comprehensive treatment of those controverted questions which are practically momentous, as may aid in the conciliation of divergent views. In furtherance of this object, they have determined to set apart a limited portion of the work, under the head of 'Independent Contributions,'—for the reception of articles ably setting forth opinions which, though not discrepant with the general spirit of the Review, may be at variance with the particular ideas or measures it will advocate. The contributions to this department will not necessarily be confined to articles in the ordinary form of review, but may, at the discretion of the Editors, consist of Essays, Translations, or even Letters, when of sufficient importance; the primary object being to facilitate the expression of opinion by men of high mental power and culture who, while they are zealous

friends of freedom and progress, yet differ widely on special points of great practical concern, both from the Editors and from each other.

"The Review will give especial attention to that wide range of topics which may be included under the term Social Philosophy. It will endeavour to form a dispassionate estimate of the diverse theories on these subjects, to give a definite and intelligible form to the chaotic mass of thought now prevalent concerning them, and to ascertain both in what degree the popular efforts after a more perfect social state are countenanced by the teachings of politico-economical science, and how far they may be sustained and promoted by the actual character and culture of the people."

This is very well; but there is one essential point Mr. CHAPMAN must not lose sight of—he must give us an *amusing* Review. Unless it be amusing it has no chance; all the philosophy in the world will be unavailing: wing your arrows with the light feathers of wit, fiction, biography, and they will carry far, as we see in the *Quarterly*, the most amusing and popular of Reviews. Very sad, does the reflection make you? Sad, or the reverse, it is the stern plain truth.

How adroit the *Quarterly* is in this respect! and what disreputable politics it makes us overlook! For one adherent it has twenty opponents among its readers. Look at the last number. Besides its proper modicum of politics and religion, see how it gilds the pill, and lures various classes by an entertaining paper on "*Widow burning*" (surely a very estimable practice!); a biography of Bishop KEN; a first-rate scientific article, on which we expatiate elsewhere; and a long tirade against *Revolutionary Literature*, very animated, very foolish, very amusing—written by an unmitigable hand.

We are sorry to say the *Edinburgh* has no such varied entertainment for its readers, although the pleasant picturesque article on the *Dukes of Urbino*, is of the right kind, and the energetic paper on *Neapolitan Justice* will make *King Bomba* and his satellites pale with rage. Certainly a free press is a great thing. Naples may be the scene of iniquities; but flagellated by a GLADSTONE, by the *Edinburgh Review*, and by the *Times*, the whole world is called to be spectator of the infamy. Since tyranny commenced, it has had no such punishment as that inflicted on it by the English Press!

The French are inimitable in Memoirs. Where shall we look for such prodigality of wit, character, anecdote, and subtle observation as in the varied Memoirs they offer us? In St. SIMON we have the whole seventeenth century; in GRIMM and Madame d'EPINAY, the eighteenth. Nay, this talent for writing Memoirs has exercised itself in extensive fabrications of Memoirs; those of Cardinal DUBOIS, Madame DE MAINTENON, POMPADOUR, CREQUI, and DUBARRI, those of FOUCHÉ and ROBESPIERRE, have all been proved fabrications, and are not the less read on that account. We now see announced the *Causeries et Confidences de Mlle. MARS*, the incomparable actress, but with a name attached to them which does not inspire confidence, ROGER DE BEAUVOIR. But we shall keep an eye upon them, and our readers shall be duly informed if the Memoirs turn out amusing. Except a new story by ALEXANDRE DUMAS, the younger, *Revenants*, and a reprint of Major FRIDOLIN's story, *La Retraite des Dix-Mille*, from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, we have nothing to chronicle.

All over Europe, Reaction displays its haughty and inveterate imbecility, playing the game of Revolution, by enlisting the sympathies of even moderate men against its foolish and wicked tyranny. PASCAL long ago announced that there was no stability between the two extremes, Tyranny and Freedom, Force and Thought; and DONOSO CORTES, as we saw recently, proclaims the conviction so incessantly proclaimed in these columns, that the real battle of the world lies between Catholicism and Socialism—a proposition upon which the whole history of the last three centuries is a commentary. Look where we will, out of England,

at this moment, and we see the most vexatious and systematic prosecution of the Press. *La Tribuna del Pueblo*, which so recently we welcomed as a comrade in Spain, informs us that four prosecutions already hang over its head (and it has only reached twenty-four numbers); and we read in the *Times* that the editor has been sentenced to a fine of thirty thousand reals. In Germany no man dares "say his soul is own"—indeed, the desire to say so implies a very preposterous ambition; what should he do with it? In France, we know where the republican writers are lodged.

The most promising symptom is that the Catholic and Absolute party throws off disguise, scorns Jesuitical adroitness, and expresses, with unequivocal directness, what its aims are. The Inquisition is loudly demanded. The *Holy Inquisition!* M. BLANC Sr. BONNET, the hope of his party, formally demands the suppression of every species of free thought: Books, he says, are Poisons. The simile is ancient, but inexact. Poisons have no respect for persons; and, as EUGENE PELLETAN says in the brilliant feuilleton from which we draw this, "How comes it that M. BLANC Sr. BONNET's writings do not poison me, nor my writings him?"

There is M. BARBEY D'AUREVILLY, too, who has published a work, *Les Prophètes du Passé*, which, as we learn from EUGENE PELLETAN, declares that the evil corrupting society is the pest Liberty:—the Church made a fatal error in not burning LUTHER in lieu of burning his books; and he concludes that the Inquisition is a "logical necessity" in every well-constituted state. He says this with a grace worthy of notice:—"LUTHER burned! Does this startle you? But I do not absolutely insist upon the auto-da-fé (*mais je ne tiens pas essentiellement au fagot!*) provided error be suppressed in the man who professes it, and call it truth."

M. D'AUREVILLY is an intrepid logician; he presses onwards daunted by no conclusion, alarmed at no absurdity; nay, rather caressing it as a pet child; and in this mood he concludes that the only three veritable sovereigns now living are the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Austria, and *Bomba*; yes, "*ce glorieux Bomba au surnom écrit par la foudre aux lèvres de ses ennemis!*" What think you, Reader, of a system which is based upon the negation of liberty, which denies Reason (considering it, we presume, as a faculty bestowed by God on man to lead him into error!), and which ends in proposing *Bomba* as an ideal? We are fairly warned. The *Holy Inquisition* is to be re-established if the Absolutist party gain the victory. It is well to know what to expect. If the party *ne tient pas essentiellement au fagot*, at any rate it only waives that as a matter of grace.

The Baroness VON BECK case still excites much attention. Mr. BENTLEY has issued a pamphlet which proves that, were the Baroness an impostor or not, his transactions with her were straightforward and generous. But no one ever supposed otherwise. On the main question—that, namely, of her being a spy—a cloud of obscurity rests, which might easily be cleared up if people would only say distinctly *all* they know. Meanwhile suspicion goes all round; everybody suspects everybody. We are vehemently urged by separate parties to take separate positions; each party, too, of a kind that commands our highest respect. Each wishes us to believe *its* account the true one, and to stigmatize the other. We cannot do so. We are as anxious as any can be for the full and explicit statement of the truth, and we declare ourselves willing to take all risks in the publication of it; but we must have *positive* evidence; we cannot take up a cause on suspicious and half-reserved statements. The question is more extensive in its reachings than any uninitiated reader can imagine: it touches high personages, involves the reputation of important people. It is not the truth we shrink from—it is the *ex parte* statement. We have *not* dropped the subject.

LYELL AND OWEN ON DEVELOPMENT.

Anniversary Address to the Geological Society, February, 1851.
By Sir Charles Lyell, President. Murray.
The Quarterly Review. No. CLXXVIII. Art. VII. Murray.

In proportion as any branch of inquiry rises out of mere details into the higher generalizations which alone constitute Science, we find our scientific men, with rare exceptions, pitifully incompetent. Division of labour here, as elsewhere, seems to have narrowed their minds to petty segments, and rendered them incapable of embracing circles. All the sarcasms which Auguste Comte heaps upon the "men of specialties," are deserved. The man whose life is spent in making the pin's head, never rises into the philosophy of manufactures. Indeed, we say it without any sarcastic intention, all over Europe scientific men are for the most part Hodmen who mistake themselves for Architects. Because they amass "facts," they call themselves inductive philosophers; forgetting that "facts" are but stepping stones to philosophy,—forgetting that the object of knowledge is not facts, not even things, but *processes*,—laws,—causation.

Among the glaring instances of the poverty we allude to, the discussions elicited by the *Vestiges of Creation* are among the most recent and notorious. There are faults in that delightful work; errors both of fact and philosophy; but compared with the answers it provoked, we cannot help regarding it as a masterpiece. The history of that controversy will hereafter form an amusing chapter illustrative of the essentially superficial and unphilosophic training of our scientific men—if, indeed, greater proofs were needed than the immense reputation of two such mediocrities as Whewell and Sedgwick! In the opposition which the "development theory" has met with, there is unquestionably a considerably leaven of terrified Orthodoxy. We may pity the ineffectual struggles of Orthodoxy to keep a bold front against the irresistible march of science (the story of Galileo is incessantly repeated on a smaller scale), but we can understand the motive; our astonishment is, not that the Development Theory should be assailed, but that it should be assailed in so ludicrous and illogical a manner. To anticipate misconception we may add that the Theory laid down in the *Vestiges* appears to us inadmissible—even unphilosophical in one of its fundamental positions—the author not keeping distinctly in mind the cardinal fact that Organization is the resultant of *two* factors—the organism and the external conditions.

But we must not wander from our purpose, which is to draw attention to the triumphant demolition of Sir Charles Lyell's attack upon the doctrine of a gradual development in the scale of being, both animal and vegetable, from the earliest periods to our own time, by Professor Owen (the article can only be by him), in the last *Quarterly Review*. Lyell is a great name; and Geology owes much to him if Philosophy owes little. In a country like ours, where Authority is so weighty, the position of a man like Lyell in a question so important as that of development, is one to coerce attention. We cannot but rejoice that the refutation has appeared in a popular organ like the *Quarterly*, and not been hidden from the public in some scientific journal. The refutation is complete, and such as any one superficially acquainted with geology can easily apprehend. Not one word escapes the reviewer respecting the *Vestiges*. He confines himself to proving that, according to the present state of our geological knowledge, there has been a successive and progressive development—which is the position assailed by Lyell.

To us it appears that, owing to the want of precise notions about Life, geological induction is vitiated. Once supply the metaphysical conception of *development* in a chain of being according to some *plan*, by the more abstract and scientific conception of a *law of progressive adaptation*—once perceive that the existence of an organism implies the existence of such external conditions as must respond to it—must permit it to exist—and geological facts, however astounding, will range themselves quietly in the series, and in no way alter the truth of what is dimly set forth in the *Vestiges* of a progressive advance from the simpler to the more complex forms of organization. Suppose the fossils of *Troglodytes*, or even of man, should be discovered in the tertiary formation, what would it prove? It would prove that the conditions to which human organisms are adapted were *present* in that epoch *as well as in our own*; and in so far it would revolutionize geology, but it would not in the slightest degree affect the fundamental proposition, viz., *Nature uniformly*

proceeds from the simple to the complex, from the more general to the more specific organization. No facts can invalidate a position so perfectly established as that; yet that, and that only, is the proposition underlying the theory of development. Geological discoveries may alter our views of the great lapses of time which occurred between the various stages of development; but they cannot alter the fundamental law of development, which is a process from the simple to the complex. Professor Owen shows that all the sound generalizations we have of geological facts point to the same conclusion:—

"All that we at present know of the vegetation of the globe, at the period of the earliest known fossiliferous deposits, is, that it was of that more simple or less developed kind which characterizes the tribes growing in the sea. No doubt the lowest strata which we have hitherto found happen to be marine; but it helps us very little forward in the solution of the great question of stationary or progressive creation, to suggest that the contemporaneous silurian land may very probably have been inhabited by plants more highly organized; because those plants may also, with some probability, have been lichens, mosses, ferns, or forms at least of a kindred grade of organization. We do not know what they were, and our hypotheses must wait until we do."

He alludes also to the indisputable fact that Cryptogamia, Phænogamia, Gymnosperms, and Dicotyledonous Angiosperms constitute a *progressive* series; and this series is precisely that in which our present collection of facts compels us to arrange the records of ancient vegetation. New facts may possibly be discovered to modify or subvert that order; but what philosopher rejects the generalization of actual facts in favour of some *possibility* that subversive facts may be one day discovered?

We have already indicated the Metaphysical (and consequently vicious) nature of the ordinary conception of the Development hypothesis, which treats organization as if it were in some sort *independent* of external conditions, and not the resultant of *two* factors—Life and Circumstance (to use broad familiar terms). The influence of that error may be traced in this sentence, which Lyell believes a crushing argument:—

"Fifthly, in regard to the animal kingdom, the lowest silurian strata contain highly developed representatives of the three great divisions of radiata, articulata, and mollusca, showing that the marine invertebrate animals were *as perfect then as in the existing seas.*"

The answer is so simple we are almost ashamed to make it: if the marine invertebrata which existed then, exist now, it only proves that the conditions to which those forms of life were adapted are still found in our seas; nothing more! Who ever disputed that? Lyell's argument may be paralleled thus:—John Jones, the wealthy citizen, did *not* rise gradually to his opulence, *because* evidence exists that at the time of his greatest poverty he ate wheaten bread of a quality as fine as that which he eats now with venison, stewed eels, and *pâte de foie gras*. If he eats bread now when he can command cake, it is because bread fulfils all the conditions he requires of it. On our planet there are conditions which suffice for the infinite varieties of life ranging from the plant up to man; but if we know anything of those conditions, we know that the conditions which will suffice for the lower will *not* suffice for the higher forms.

A word on the "question-begging phrase" of *highly developed* representatives: to talk of the high development of invertebrate animals is to throw dust in the eyes of the world: no invertebrate is highly developed, except in comparison with the rudimentary forms of animal life. Lyell makes use of the same question-begging language in this sentence:—

"In the carboniferous fauna there have been recently discovered several skeletons of reptiles of by no means low or simple organization."

Upon which Owen properly remarks:—"But no reptile has an organization that can properly be called simple or low—no fish even; for the vertebrated type is the highest of all. The question is—whether the carboniferous fauna has yielded any evidence of a reptile which presents a high and complex organization compared to the rest of its class." He further says:—

"Every fish and every reptile was doubtless as perfectly adapted to the circumstances under which it lived at the remotest of the geological periods, as any fish or reptile at the present day: in that respect it was *as fully developed.*" Palæontology, however, has made us acquainted with different races of fishes in different formations, to which those races re-

spectively are peculiar, and of which they are consequently characteristic; and as those formations succeeded each other in point of time, so we infer that the different races of fishes were successively developed. But what Sir Charles Lyell appears to be contending for is, that the forms of animal life that succeeded each other did not differ in the grade of their organization; man, of course, always excepted.

"No doubt every fish is alike perfect in relation to its sphere of existence; but a gradation of complexity of organization is traceable throughout the class, as we now know it, and the lancelet and lamprey are, in this comparison, pronounced by naturalists to be inferior to, or less fully developed than, the tunny or the shark. There is, however, but a short range of gradation within the limits of this class as compared with that which extends from the fish to the mammal, or from the invertebrate to the vertebrate series; and in the class of fishes it is seen that when a species overpasses another in certain organs, as, *e. g.*, in the brain or the parts of generation, the advance is usually counterbalanced by a less full development of some other system, as, *e. g.*, the respiratory and osseous. In no shark or cestracion, *e. g.*, are the gills free, or is there any rudiment of the lungs, such as the air-bladder of most osseous fishes presents; and the lower grade of the skeleton of the sharks is indicated by the position in the so-called 'cartilaginous' order of fishes. When once the skeleton becomes ossified in the class of fishes, little, if anything, can be distinctly predicated of the grade of organization or of development of the fish, as such: in the rest of their organization they are much alike. * * *

Probably, therefore, the conditions of the seas in which the primeval placoids and ganoids existed, were such as to dispense with that state of the backbone which is required at its highest stage of development. In relation to the circumstances in which they lived, palæozoic fishes were as perfect as their successors; but, in comparison with these successors, they were 'less fully developed,' and the state of their world may be inferred to have differed pro tanto from the state of ours. We cannot shut out this evidence of a different order of things. Not any of the arguments which Sir Charles Lyell has endeavoured to apply in explanation of the non-discovery of terrestrial mammalia in the marine strata of the old world will apply to the remains of sea fishes. Palæontology demonstrates that there has been, not only a successive development in this class, but, as regards their vertebrate skeleton, a progressive one."

Elsewhere summing up evidence, he says:—

"We cannot contrast the total absence of cetacean mammalia in the deposits of the palæozoic and secondary seas with the abundance of ganoid fishes in the same deposits, and the analogous abundance of marine cetacea with the total absence of imbricated ganoids in the seas of the present day, without the conviction that there must have been some difference in the conditions suited to animal life associated with such evidence of successive development."

Indeed, Sir Charles Lyell's obstinate persistence in his objection to the Development Theory is evidence of the force of prejudices (we will not say prejudices) in determining convictions; but after the absurd attempts to reconcile Geology and Astronomy with Scripture nothing in that way is incredible. As a scientific question the root of the error lies, we believe, in the false conception of life. Professor Owen, who has a clearer conception of the essential functions of external conditions (and whose accurate extensive knowledge of geology we so gladly avail ourselves of, to give to our position an authority which our own very inadequate knowledge would disclaim), insists duly upon this aspect of the question. To those passages already quoted let us add this:—

"That the forms of animal life now are very different from what they were in the secondary and palæozoic periods, is shown not merely by the non-discovery of existing forms and classes in those ancient rocks, but by the non-existence now of the creatures that then lived in no mean numbers. The ingenious reasons assigned by Sir Charles to account for the non-discovery of mammals and birds in the Silurian and other less ancient marine formations do not apply to the non-discovery of Megalichthyans and Enaliosaurs in the present seas. No naturalist dreams that the air-breathing ichthyosaurs still 'tempest the ocean,' and have only escaped notice by the slenderness of their snouts, which they are compelled to protrude to inhale the atmosphere. Their lungs and the decomposing flesh would have floated into view their dead bodies, which, like those of all existing air-breathing sea-monsters, would have been occasionally cast on shore. No event in natural history would create greater astonishment than the discovery of a living Trilobite, Ammonite, Pterichthys, or Ichthyosaur! And why? Because of the fixed, and, we will add, well-grounded conviction in the law of the successive development of animal forms on this planet. Did it never occur to Sir Charles that the absence of a mammal and a bird

in palæozoic periods may be a phenomenon of the same order as the absence of palæozoic forms in our present world?"

In conclusion, we should observe that while demolishing the arguments of Lyell against progressive development, Owen is not to be counted as an advocate of the form of the hypothesis set forth in the *Vestiges*—a form we ourselves regard as imperfect and too metaphysical. But the differences are reconcilable between all forms of the development hypothesis directly we substitute for it the more abstract and comprehensive formula of the Law of Progressive Adaptation.

PROUDHON ON GOVERNMENT.

Idee Générale de la Révolution au XIX Siècle. Par P. J. Proudhon. W. Jeffs.

(Fourth Notice.)

OUR survey of this powerful and interesting book now brings us to one of Proudhon's most startling positions—the absolute and unequivocal denial of all Government. Perhaps, after his famous onslaught upon Property, nothing equals in its audacity and destructive vehemence this negation of the principle of Authority. It is no new outburst. In his first Memoir on Property it is as emphatically announced as in this his last work. What he means by it we shall endeavour to show, if we can disengage his meaning from the envelope of polemical and dialectical subtleties.

There has been lately, in France, considerable discussion on the principles of Government—discussion which has resulted in angry separation of the republican party into opposite camps; Rittinghausen, Considérant, Ledru Rollin, and Girardin having been severally aiming at the destruction of representative government, and the erection of *Direct Legislation*—a scheme which Louis Blanc, in two pamphlets, *Plus ds Girondins* and *La République Une et Indivisible*, has flagellated with vigour. Proudhon, after flagellating them, turns upon Louis Blanc, and is pitiless. Not only to them, but to the two great democratic idols, Rousseau and Robespierre, is Proudhon pitiless. Their admirers will read with indignation the fierce denunciations and sarcastic epithets Proudhon heaps upon the two tribuns; and their enemies will chuckle, especially at the Carlylian epithets applied to Robespierre, "the bastard of Loyola, and *tartufe de l'Etre suprême!*" Take away from these pages the bilious vehemence of their polemic, and we may consider with profit their criticism of Rousseau's Social Contract and Robespierre's democratic tyranny.

Government under all its forms he attacks as false in principle and vicious in effect. He believes neither in Absolute Monarchy, in Constitutional Monarchy, nor in Democracy; he admits no Divine Right, no Legal Right, no Right of Majorities. He only believes in the Right of Justice—in the Empire of Reason. The principle of Authority he rejects in Politics as in Religion; he will admit only Liberty—Reason. The purest, sincerest form of Government is Absolutism—between that and Anarchy he sees only transitional compromises. Absolutism is the initiatory state of Humanity, the final state is Anarchy. We caution the reader against a natural misapprehension of the word Anarchy, which is not used as synonymous with *disorder*; but simply what the Greek word implies, viz., absence of Government—absolute Liberty.

Wherefore do all governments pretend to control the actions of men? To secure order. So completely is the idea of order connected with that of government, that anarchy irresistibly calls up the idea of disorder—the two become synonyms. "But," he asks, "what proves that the true order of society is that which it pleases our governors to assign to us?" A question, indeed, which is implied in all political agitation. He answers it by saying, that true order must repose upon perfect Liberty, whereas Force (Government—laws) is a perpetual negation of Liberty.

Universal Suffrage, or any other mode of Representation, he regards with pity. What! he exclaims, in a question of that which is nearest and dearest to me my liberty, my labour, the subsistence of my wife and children, I am to accept Representation in lieu of a direct compact! When I wish to form a contract, you interpose, and insist upon my electing arbiters, who, without knowing me, without hearing what I have to say, pronounce for or against me, and I must act as they determine, not as I determine! What is the relation between such a congress and me? What guarantee does it offer? Wherefore should I submit to its decisions respecting my interests? And when this congress after a wordy

debate, of which I understand no syllable, presents its decision in the shape of a law which it holds out to me on the point of a bayonet, I beg to know what becomes of my sovereignty if it be true that I am one of the sovereign people? Oh! I have elected honourable M.P.'s—the wisdom and probity of the Nation—the representatives of the Nation; and by so doing I have delegated my sovereignty. But why must these wise and honest gentlemen necessarily know more than I do myself what my own interest is? My labour, my subsistence, my whole activity, are to be settled according to their wisdom. If I am stupid enough not to see that they know better what is good for me than I know myself—there is the police and the County Gaol to enlighten me!

Hereupon follows a chapter on Universal Suffrage which Carlyle might have dictated. The conclusion is that neither the Divine right of bayonets, nor the wisdom of Delegates chosen by Universal Suffrage, can do anything more than impose Force upon Society—both are tyrannies which Liberty protests against.

There is much that is true, much also that is sophistical and confused, in Proudhon's attacks upon Government, especially where he directs them against the principle of all Government which he rightly names Authority. We hold it to be quite certain that Government, as external Coercion, will finally disappear. Herbert Spencer in his *Social Statics* has placed this point in so clear a light that we need only refer to his reasonings. But neither Herbert Spencer nor Proudhon take sufficient care to represent this condition as one indefinitely distant—as the goal of social development, not a condition practicable in our times; above all, neither Spencer nor Proudhon has with sufficient distinctness brought forward the internal Coercion (so to speak), the Spiritual Authority which will replace the external or purely Physical force of Governments. Both have seen this principle, but neither has given it sufficient emphasis.

To us it is incontestible that in the Governmental, as in the Religious question, the principle of Liberty, as commonly understood, is a destructive, vicious principle. Auguste Comte has luminously shown the anarchical nature of this pretended Liberty, while admitting its importance and absolute necessity as a destructive and transitional principle. He truly says that liberty of private judgment is absurd in astronomy or physics—no man is free to doubt their demonstrated truths, unless he aspire to the freedom of a lunatic asylum; and this omnipotence of the Authority of Reason in matters of Science will be accompanied by an equal omnipotence in matters of Social life, when *Social life has its Science*. The anarchy of Liberty is only the transition to Faith. No man rebels against the tyranny of Science—no man rejects the inward coercion of his convictions; but until that Faith is established, until the Empire of Reason is founded, the Empire of Force must prevail.

Proudhon had some glimmering of this when, in his first Memoir on Property, he said that the science of government belongs by right to one of the sections of the *Academy of the Sciences* of which the *secrétaire perpétuel* (President) becomes the prime minister; and inasmuch as every citizen may address a paper to that Academy, every citizen is a legislator; but as no one's opinion counts for more than it is worth, is only acceptable in as far as it is demonstrated, nobody can substitute his will in the place of Reason—no one is King.

But we are speaking of a future so distant, that "practical politicians" will impatiently shrug their shoulders. To them we will address a few words more immediate in their bearing.

That Government, like Religion, like Property, and some other "Sacred Institutions," has undergone throughout the slow march of History a gradual *disintegration*, is a position demonstrable to every open mind. That it is no longer the Power it once was is patent to every understanding. No longer do the Nations believe that, "If the King but knew what misery they suffered, he would remedy it;" no longer do they look to kings or kaisers for succour. Divine Right is so utterly discredited that the phrase which escaped Thiers at the foot of the tribune, "The King reigns, but does not govern," flew over Europe as the formula of the universal conviction. But if the King does not govern, who does? Have we, as Proudhon says, discredited Royalty to believe in the Royalty of the National Guard? And if we believe in them, upon what basis rests their authority?

The most important and far reaching change in

modern Europe is the change from a feudal and military condition to an *Industrial* condition. The Crystal Palace is our Agincourt and Waterloo! The rise of the Third Estate—the gigantic development of Commerce and Industry—have altered for ever the aspect of society. What a revolution is contained in that name—*A Cotton Lord!* a revolution beside which all the other revolutions that have agitated Europe, are but as the street quarrels of a few turbulent men: a Cotton Lord—a chief, a legislator, once himself, perhaps, a miserable drudge at the loom, now sent up from the mills of Lancashire to influence the destinies of the world!

It requires but a modicum of logic to perceive that in a society which has seen changes so vast, there must have been coextensive changes in the principles of Government; and these changes we sum up in the "Safeguards of our Constitution"—and we express them when we say the King reigns, but does not govern. The Government that is to come must be an *Organization of Industry*, precisely because the social state which we are approaching must be preëminently industrial.

The *Leader*, therefore, in advocating the principles it does, is only leading the age in the very direction which it has inevitably entered on. And when we protest against any of the Socialist schemes, as premature and incomplete, we do so because they seem to us to violate one of the essential conditions of the social problem, and ignore the existence of much of the old leaven. Society is assuredly Industrial and not Military, if we consider it in its dominant aspect; but the Industrial Phasis is far from complete, universal; remnants of Feudalism, of Military feelings, thoughts, impulses, still powerfully operate, and find their expression in facts and institutions. These you cannot eradicate by a coup de main; these cannot be suppressed by an edict.

KNIGHT'S LAST SHAKSPERE.

The National Edition of Shakspeare. Comedies Vol II. Edited by Charles Knight. C. Knight and Co.

WITH Shakspeare, Goethe, and Comte, a thoughtful man has a magnificent library: there he may find food for endless meditation on humanity in all its complex and multiple manifestations, and on science in its encyclopædical grandeur.

Probably Charles Knight, in his unwearied enthusiasm, would declare that Shakspeare was alone a library. No man has worked so incessantly, none half so effectively, to get Shakspeare a comfortable niche in every house. Pictorial editions have tempted the craving eye of many; library editions have graced the shelves of others; pocket editions and one volume editions have risen up to claim their separate usefulness; and here we have a sort of eclectic edition—the National Edition—uniting something of almost all the others. It is a book for the study or the drawing-room; but is too bulky for the portmanteau (an edition is announced for that purpose), and no pocket pretends to hold it. But on the table or desk it is handsome, useful, desirable. The text is printed across the page in fair type, not in double columns. The loving vigilance and erudite care with which that text is composed are known to all students. If we sometimes openly rebel against his emendations and new readings, we always feel that he is guided by the earnest desire to settle what Shakspeare actually wrote, and not by the poor desire of passing off his ingenuity; in other words, we are constrained to differ from him—but always with respect. The principles upon which his text is founded have our entire concurrence; but our poetical sense cannot be coerced by ten thousand manuscripts into accepting such a reading as Charles Knight has ventured on in *King John*. All the world knows and marvels at the sublime passage:—

"Here I and Sorrow sit."

Here is my throne; bid Kings come bow to it." This without a word of explanation, but doubtless following the first folio, he prints:—

"Here I and sorrows sit!"

Thus not only introducing a hissing difficulty into the verse, but destroying the grand personification of Sorrow seated by the wretched Queen. But did Shakspeare write Sorrow? Is not sorrows the word he wrote? Nobody can decisively settle such a point; but poetic Justice insists upon the doubt being in favour of the author. Otherwise, what right have we to Theobald's glorious reading of Falstaff's babbling of green fields; or of that change from "dedicate her beauty to the same" into

"And dedicate her beauty to the sun."

It is a delicate question, no doubt; and Charles Knight has earned the praise of having fulfilled his editorial task with a success which is not much affected by a few errors.

NEW MUSIC.

I am Free. Written by W. H. Bellamy, Esq. Music by C. F. Desanges.

Mr. and Mrs. Bell. Duet. Written by Edward G. Gill. Composed by S. Nelson.

I do not mourn o'er vanished years. Ballad. Words by J. F. Slingsley, Esq. Music by Robert P. Stewart, Mus. D.

Thou art near me again. Ballad. By the Composer of *Thou art gone from my gaze.*

The Primrose Polka. By L. Geronimo.

Chant des Batailliers Russes. Arranged for the Pianoforte by Ignace Gibsone. Addition and Hollier.

I am Free is the song of an escaped bird, exceedingly pretty, and not particularly difficult for warblers of ordinary capabilities.

Mr. and Mrs. Bell is a matrimonial squabble, cleverly arranged, though the last movement is musically disagreeable. Mr. Frank Bodda singing with Miss Poole, Miss Messent, and Miss Eliza Nelson, has rendered duets of this class popular. In the last verse Mr. Bell is made to say, "you once was my love," showing that his grammar is somewhat less refined than his sentiment.

I do not mourn o'er vanished years is a remarkably innocent composition. It bears so great a resemblance to Wallace's tenor ballad in *Mari-tana*, that the first eight bars of accompaniment might serve for either. When we see Mus. D. in a titlepage, we naturally expect a melody classically treated. Young ladies need not be alarmed at the science, in the present instance. The ballad will just suit them, being smooth, symmetrical, easy, and unambitious.

Thou art near me again is intended as a joyous celebration of the return of those whom young ladies were whilom lamenting as having "gone from their gaze." It appears the fashion to publish companion ballads; but, though the boudoir absorbs eagerly all Mr. Linley can write, surely he should make some little difference in the style and phrasing of loss and return.

The Primrose possesses all that is necessary for a good polka. A nice variety of key is introduced, while the principal theme is light and sparkling, and the time well marked.

The *Chant* has its character well preserved, and is varied by an agreeable change of key. It is arranged easily, and forms a pleasing piece, the time being very distinct, as is the case with all Russian and Polish airs. The arpeggios in pages two and six are scarcely in keeping with the practicability of the remainder of the morceau. The employment of the double notes on the first and third quavers of the bar, instead of on the semi-quavers, would have facilitated the execution materially, without destroying the effect.

THE CHURCH IN DANGER.—Almost every day, it may now be fairly said, or at least every moon, brings forth some fresh assailant on the bulwarks of Christianity; discloses some insidious plot to undermine, or some daring and open attempt to escalate, or some weak intention to surrender, those really impregnable walls which guard the city of God, the fortress of Divine revelation. Now a Coleridge—eloquent, spiritually minded, devotional, reverential even, but unhappily mystical, and partially unreal, comes before us with the avowal and assertion that the inspiration of Holy Scripture can no longer be defended as of old. Now an Arnold—bold, vigorous, ardent, earnest-hearted, steps forward to denounce, in the name of the Christian faith, the very fundamental conditions of a Church polity. Now a Carlyle—passionate, picturesque, impulsive, mighty in words, possessing a singular power of fascination for his contemporaries, revels in a stormy mysticism, half German, half his own, suggestive of most weighty truths, unknown, but yet assuredly in store for us; which, once revealed, cannot fail to convert all our present possessions into bare shadows of reality, types and images of the coming glory. Now a Newman—keen, searching, subtle, bitterly sarcastic. Orick's Newman of olden time, denounces our whole social and political being, as a Church and nation, as reared upon the, in his eyes, false assumption, that the state should be a Christian power. Now a Froude—imaginative, eloquent, and audacious;—now an Emerson—arrogant and paradoxical;—now a Foxton—denounces old and orthodox Christianity as something antiquated, and altogether out of date, or even adverse to the progress of humanity.—*From the English Review for October.*

Portfolio.

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

LAST SCENE OF THE EXHIBITION.

On Wednesday, the fifteenth, the Exhibition finally closed, with a ceremony as poor and prosaic as the most active imagination could have devised. It was pitiable. Where, Henry Cole, was thy restless invention?—where, Owen Jones, was thy fine taste? The closing scene of such a splendid existence ought at least to have equalled in emotional grandeur the opening scene. It was the most insignificant day of all. The very heavens declared against it, and poured down steady torrents, which sent us into the Palace, chill, irritable, dreary, damp. I declare I never sat out a more tedious affair; and yet it was lucky I did sit, not stand.

Elbowing my way through the rush of damp Exhibitors, much bewildered by umbrellas, I found myself in the left aisle, amidst a tolerable crowd standing about; the early-arrived seated upon tables and ledges, the others wandering in aimless despair; very diminutive pudgy men making ineffectual springs in the air, to look over the heads of men more fortunate in longitudinal development. The galleries were full. A seat was not to be had; to see anything except the Exhibitors, was clearly impossible—and I found nothing unusually alluring in their aspect. Suddenly it was remarked to me that there surely must be a place set apart for the Fourth Estate. Impossible that Prince Albert should think of Vivian at present, and not comfortably placed! Only native modesty prevented my jumping to that conclusion myself; no sooner was it shown me, than I set off in quest of my rightful place.

Alas! no such forethought had possessed the committee; what indeed *did* they think of? Nevertheless I got a seat in the transept, not far from the platform (*how* I got there is unimportant), and had an excellent view of the whole ceremony—pitiable ceremony, I repeat!

About twelve o'clock the Prince arrived, and passed down the transept to the platform, accompanied by the Executive Committee and the Bishop of London; but more nobly accompanied by the National Anthem, which was sung by the Sacred Harmonic Society: this noble burst of music, and the cheers which saluted the Prince, raised the only emotion excited during the ceremony. As soon as the Prince was seated on that splendid ivory throne, Viscount Canning rose and read the Report of the Juries, to which the Prince replied; but, as may be imagined, in a space like that of the Crystal Palace, only an occasional word was audible, and the whole might as well have been transacted in dumb show. The Bishop of London then mumbled a prayer, which could only have been heard by those on the platform, and they, I noticed, were in no very devotional mood, and not particularly attentive: the ivory throne was minutely inspected by some; their boots by others. What a meagre thing this prayer seemed! how little representing what was in the hearts of the multitude. But it was read by a Bishop, and so must have been "all that could be expected!"* To my mind, a hymn

* Vivian, with his usual recklessness, thus treats the prayer of a Bishop. Vivian, damp and disdainful, the gay, the elegant, the gallant Vivian, wedged among pudgy little men, and even when urged by his restless audacity into the seats of the Pharisees, still out of ear-shot, how could he otherwise treat the Bishop and the ceremony? But, as our readers in general have no such feelings, for their especial behoof we reprint the Bishop's prayer, so that they may judge for themselves.

"O Almighty and most Merciful God, Father of all mankind, Who hast made of one blood all nations of men, to serve and worship Thee, and by their words and works to glorify Thy holy name; Who didst send Thine only Son into the world to reconcile it unto Thee, and to unite all men in one brotherhood of holiness and love, we, Thine unworthy servants, most humbly beseech Thee to accept our offering of prayer and praise. From Thee alone proceed all good counsels and all useful works; and by Thee alone are they conducted to a prosperous end.

"We acknowledge with all humility and thankfulness the gracious answer which Thou hast vouchsafed to the prayers of our Queen and her people, in blessing with a wonderful measure of success an undertaking designed to exhibit the glories of Thy creation, to promote the useful exercise of those faculties which Thou hast im-

bursting forth from the crowd in choral grandeur, accompanied by the stormy harmonies of organs answering from aisle to aisle—that would have been the fit translation of the crowd's inarticulate thoughts. Instead of that we were all looking about us, nodding to acquaintances, or making *sotto voce* criticisms.

The prayer over, the organ and chorus gave us the splendid "Hallelujah" of Handel, and amid some not very tumultuous, and by no means universal, cheering, the Prince and Committee retired—the scene closed—and the crowd issued once more into the vortex of umbrellas, omnibusses, cabs. I wended my way slowly home, reflective and damp.

As a symbol this Exhibition is of immense significance; to those who regard the Industrial Epoch as a necessary and most important transitional phasis in the life of Humanity, it suggests—

"Thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls."

Turn your eyes from the mere glitter and gewgaw of this Exhibition, and there is much of it,—cease to regard the marvels or no marvels of industrial ingenuity—call it if you like, with a celebrated Philosopher of our times, "The Great Windustry of all Nations"—and think only of what the mere fact represents, and you will see how immense it is. I remember as a boy being much struck with the remark in Cicero, that an *enemy* and a *stranger* were expressed by the same word, because at first all strangers were enemies. Does not the dog rush out upon you till you have ceased to be a stranger to him? Well, now view in the far retrospect of Time the slow and yet immense progression from such a conception of the stranger to one wherein All Nations are invited to friendly congress, friendly rivalry, friendly intercourse, as in this World's Fair! The Crystal Palace is the Industrial expression of the idea of that Brotherhood of Nations which modern writers christen *solidarity*; and as such an expression it has a grand significance.

But it would lead me too far to enter upon the suggestions of such a theme. I have narrated briefly the eminently unimposing "ceremony" which closed this Exhibition, and that was all I proposed.

VIVIAN.

planted in the sons of men, and to encourage the growth of peace and brotherly love.

"We humbly thank Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast graciously prospered the counsels of him who conceived, and of those who have carried out that great design; and that Thou hast mercifully protected from harm the multitudes who have thronged this building. We acknowledge it to be of Thy goodness, that a spirit of order and mutual kindness, of loyalty to our Sovereign, of obedience to the laws, and of respect for the sanctity of Thy Sabbaths, has been manifested by the people of this country, in the sight of those who have been here gathered together from all parts of the world.

"We thank Thee, also, that Thou hast disposed the hearts of many nations to enter upon a generous and peaceful competition in those arts which, by Thy merciful appointment, minister to the comfort of man, and redound to Thy glory, as the giver of every good and perfect gift.

"We devoutly pray, that all may be led to acknowledge Thy power, wisdom, and goodness, in the achievements of man's industry and skill; and may depart to their several homes to 'speak in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.' Continue to them, we beseech Thee, Thy favour and protection; let thy good Providence conduct them in safety to their native land; and bless them with prosperity and peace. Grant, O Lord, that this gathering of Thy servants from every nation may be the token and pledge of a continued intercourse of mutual kindness between the different branches of Thy universal family. May it contribute to the growth of Christian love, and hasten the coming of that blessed reign of peace, when 'nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'

"Lastly, we pray Thee with Thy favour to behold our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, the Prince Albert, Albert Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family; to continue to this nation the manifold gifts which Thy goodness has so long abundantly showered upon it; to save and defend all Christian kings, princes, and governors, and to bless thy people committed to their charge. Give them grace, that they may in all things seek Thy honour and glory; and be diligent in the heavenly work of enlightening and purifying mankind; of diffusing through the world the blessings of peace; and of extending the Kingdom of Thy dear Son; who has taught us to approach Thee as our common parent, and to say

"Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all evermore. Amen.

Organizations of the People, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION.

It was stated at the meeting of the Executive, that Mr. Watson, of Queen's Head-passage, has presented the Association with 2000 copies of a tract, entitled, "What is a Chartist?" to be sold for the benefit of the Charter Fund.

The following letters have arrived from Mr. G. J. Holyoake and Mr. Julian Harney.

Stockport, October 8, 1851.

DEAR ARNOTT,—Absence in the provinces has prevented me taking part in your Wednesday Councils, of late, and for some short time longer it may be so. Perhaps, by way of compensation, I may regard myself as a species of free Missionary of Chartism, as means of serving it occur in my journeyings; but I would rather join in the meetings of my colleagues, especially at this season.

The necessity of making such an "appeal" (for so it will be regarded) as that just published in reference to our funds, or, rather, want of funds, argues an unsatisfactory state of Chartist ideas, respecting the maintenance of their views and position. Will our friends never learn that if their principles are worth holding they are worth maintaining? If we are to answer for Chartism, we must be enabled to support it: we must not beset up as so many ciphers to represent a bottomless Exchequer and a stranded party. Where are all the deputations who wait upon us time after time, and all the localities who stand up for the entire Charter? Is not their enthusiasm worth a few pence? If they would subscribe an "entire" shilling each, we should be able to move. But your statement speaks of "liabilities." What have been incurred must be met, but I can be no party to incurring more. I would go some lengths to serve Chartism; I would serve it at the expense of liberty, perhaps of life; but I will not go into debt to serve it; for the sufficient reason that Chartism cannot be served in that way. A movement that attempts to live after that fashion, does not deserve to live. Let us give up our secretary, relinquish our office, rather than justify this suspicion.

When a Congress was about to assemble in London some two years ago, I asked a gentleman in Manchester what would be the best test that could be proposed to try the fitness of members of it, so as to secure their influence out of doors. "Simply that they should believe in their tradesmen's bills," was the brief reply; and there is truth in it. There can be no lasting political influence that is not based on some moral character. And so small a proof as this of political sincerity is the least we can give. Therefore, one of two things must take place. Either the Chartists must take care (and that without twice soliciting) that we are supplied with funds to meet all liabilities—or we must take care that there are none. In my absence, therefore, understand me to vote for the liquidation of all existing claims, and against every proposition which shall in any way imply a new one. But I need not argue a point upon which there will be, probably, no difference of opinion among us.

A course so severe as this will indeed restrict some of our operations, but it will the better entitle us to the co-operation of men of business and character. All men who love a self-sustaining course will be disposed to work with us.

It has been a source of pleasure to me to see that Thomas Cooper has for some time been working for us; and I hope soon to find him working with us. In filling up any vacancy occurring in the Executive, our intelligent coworkers in the localities will not forget one so able to advance our common cause—one who is indeed the greatest missionary we have. Were I not a member of the Executive, I should take some means of communicating to the Chartists on this subject. So practical an ally as Mr. C. F. Nicholls is proving himself would be desirable as vacancies occur. I do not allude to Mr. Robert le Blond; one who is our treasurer, and who so constantly sustains Chartism by his tongue, and his pen, and his purse, is not likely to be out of the thoughts of any of us.

Mr. Arthur Trevelyan, whose name is familiar to the friends of every progressive cause, instructs me to pay you 40s. as the subscription from him.

Yours faithfully,
G. J. HOLYOAKE.

Temple-hill, Troon, Ayrshire, October 14, 1851.

MY DEAR ARNOTT,—I am glad to see that in response to the Executive's late address, certain localities and individuals have forwarded their contributions towards discharging the debt of £34. It is to be hoped that what a few have already done will be imitated by the party in general, and that a handsome balance will remain to hand to the treasurer after payment of the debt. Should this hope not be realized, it will become a serious question for the members of the Executive as to whether they will continue the thankless task of serving on the committee. For myself, asking nothing of the association, I am not willing to make shipwreck of my honour—personal and political—in acting as the officer of a body, impotent for everything but that of getting into debt. Each member of the committee will determine his course. I have said enough to indicate that which circumstances may not unlikely determine me to take.

The present nothingness of Chartism is greatly to be deplored. The game of political humbug will, as heretofore, be successfully played by sham reformers, through the want of a body powerful enough to spoil that game. As to Lord John's bill, it is enough to say that no good thing can possibly come out of the Nazareth of Whiggery. When the skies fall, we shall catch larks; and some such unnatural phenomenon will be sure to trans-

pire ere Lord John will set his seal to a measure of real reform.

I observe with sorrow a disposition on the part of some of our friends—even members of the Committee—to glorify the "Parliamentary Reformers" for their enlarged liberalism! In the *Leader* of the 4th instant, our friend "Ion," trumpets the late Manchester meeting, and tells as that, "the points of the new Parliamentary Charter are so comprehensive as to merit the description of being the largest practicable measure of reform the people can ask of the House of Commons."

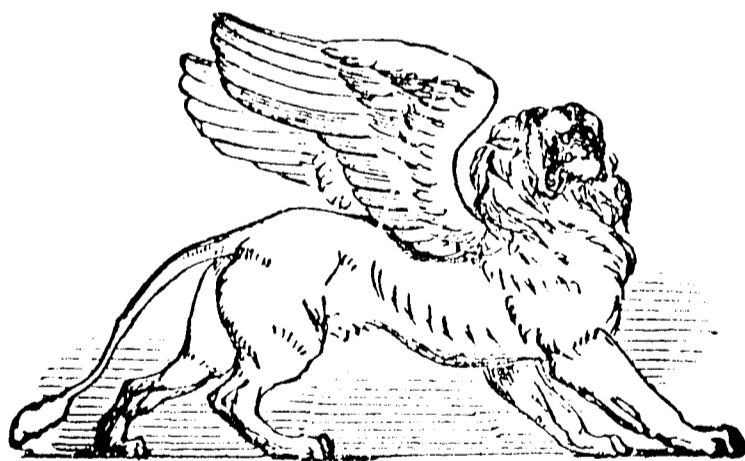
If such is "Ion's" conviction, I do not see how he can consistently continue a member of the Executive, of a body existing to obtain what he must hold to be an impracticable measure. He approves of Sir Joshua Walmsley's fling at "untractable ultra-liberalism"; that is to say Chartism. The talk about "great concessions made to the people" is an insult. By what right do Sir Joshua and Co. assume the authority to withhold or concede rights at their pleasure? It is not true that the "the overtures now made are generous and truthful." The Editor of the *Leader*, too, asserts that "that which the Parliamentary Reformers now stand for is 'Universal Suffrage'—the representation of the whole people," &c. &c. "The Extension of the Suffrage to every occupier of a tenement, or portion of a tenement," sounds very fair; but there must be some system of registration. Will the Editor of the *Leader* tell us whether we are to have Charter registration, or the registration always hitherto set forth by the little Charter men, namely, "for which the occupier shall be rated, or shall have claimed to be rated to the relief of the poor." Has this rate-paying qualification been thrown overboard? If so, how is it the Parliamentary Reformers have kept a matter of so much importance to themselves? Moreover, let me ask what system of registration do they now favour? They hold fast by *Triennial Parliaments*, for the working of which see France. They shirk *Payment of Members*, clearly to keep working men out of the House of Commons; while the abolition of the Property Qualification would enable them to secure the return of their own paid, needy, and unscrupulous hirelings.

As to the "honest tone," "boldness of speech," "broadness of sympathy," "vigorous" and "warmer spirit," old birds understand this kind of chaff. Let them give *bold measures, broad principles, and details strictly according therewith*, and then I will trust them; but until then I will trust them not.

I might have said much more, but I will not trespass on the time of the Committee.

Health and Fraternity,
G. JULIAN HARNEY.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—At the meeting held on Wednesday, October 8, the whole of the laws for the co-operative store were passed, and the following persons, with the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer of the Redemption Society, were appointed managers of the store:—Messrs. J. Ramsden, W. Ramsden, J. Ruddock, J. Grasham, R. Jones, R. O. Cameron, W. Laycock, and J. T. Wilson. Auditors: Messrs. J. Ardill and T. Jones. Moneys received for the week:—Leeds, £1. 4s. 11d.; Edinburgh, per Mr. Renton, 2s.; Etruria, per Mr. Wilbraham, 6s. 6d. Building Fund:—Leeds, 5s. 6d.; Edinburgh, 6d. Propagandist Fund:—2s. 6d.—J. HENDERSON, Secretary.



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 profit by reading controversy, 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.

IS POLAND STILL REVOLUTIONARY?

"Every handful of your earth is a relic of martyrs."

September 23, 1851.

SIR,—Men who have studied Poland only from books, or from articles of newspapers, continue to speak, write, and print that Poland must have ceased to be revolutionary, nay, has ceased to wish for independence, since she did not seriously join the universal enthusiasm which in 1848 and 1849 prevailed throughout Europe.

As a Pole, may I be allowed, through the medium of your valuable paper, to investigate whether those men,—some of whom, doubtless, entertain the best feelings towards my country,—are right in such assertion? and whether Poland's three despotic

spoliators and oppressors have really succeeded, either in rendering their tyrannical sway supportable to my countrymen, or in crushing and denationalizing them so that they have ceased to be Revolutionists and Poles?

Before coming to the justification of Poland for her not having joined the universal enthusiasm prevailing throughout Europe in the years 1848 and 1849, or rather—to be nearer the truth—for her not having made in her turn, as did some other Peoples, an isolated movement, let us first draw the attention of the reader to the series of bitter lessons and disappointments she has experienced ever since 1793; how often she has risen to shake off her thralldom, and how those lessons and disappointments have taught her to wait till it be meet for her again to take up arms, knowing, as she does, that she must reckon only on her own resources, which are all in the hands of the three foreign despots.

When, in 1793 (after Poland's two previous partitions, she was menaced by a third one, by which her surrounding hostile neighbours could erase her from the list of independent nations, she resolved to rise, to prevent that deadly blow), Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who bravely fought for the American independence, put himself at the head of the national movement. He read the decrees of the French convention of November the 15th and December 18th, 1792, and in them the following significant sentences:—

"Wherever she (France) enters, she ought frankly to declare herself a revolutionary power, to be undisguised, and ring the alarm-bell. If she neglects to do so, if, instead of acts she gives but words, the peoples will not have the strength to break their fetters."

And further,

"Let us encourage those invaded peoples, let us give them a solemn declaration that we will never treat with their tyrants. Should there be some of the peoples which would be base enough to treat with tyranny, France will say to them, 'From that moment you are my enemies!' and she will treat them as such."

Such words encouraged Kosciuszko in his sacred enterprise, and knowing, as he did, the exhausted state of his country, brought on by a continuance of sanguinary resistance against foreign invasion and oppression, as well as the miserable state of the military forces, which the late King of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus, agreeably to the wishes of Catherine II., had purposely neglected and moreover, seeing the foreign invaders already in the land watching every movement of the nation, he sent an envoy to the Government of the French republic, asking for a succour of 10,000 men. The envoy, having obtained the permission to appear before the two committees, viz., that of public safety and that of general security, then constituting one deliberating body, in order to receive the message, and to take a decision *ad hoc* thus addressed the assembly:—

"From the shores of the Seine to those of the Vistula, the voice of Liberty has resounded. The alarm-bell is being rung in Poland. The insurgents have sworn to restore liberty to their unfortunate country; their first steps have already led them to victory, but the torrent of our enemies is daily swelling, and although thousands of Polish patriots come out as if from the bowels of the earth, General Kosciuszko sees not without apprehension the country inundated by a deluge of Prussian and Muscovite troops. Fathers of the French Republic! Poland is also your daughter. Scarcely out of her cradle she stand in need of your assistance. I come to ask you in the name of the pupil of Washington, for 10,000 of those heroes, whom victory and liberty never cease to accompany."

But, alas! the "Fathers of the French Republic," following the advice of St. Just and Billaud Varennes, unanimously refused all assistance, on the unjustifiable ground, or rather pretext, that Kosciuszko committed the unpardonable crime of having been born a nobleman: "that after all, his appeal was not that of a whole nation, but merely that of an individual, and that individual a nobleman, not legally constituted." They entirely forgot, or pretended to have forgotten, that at that moment the Polish nation was prevented from expressing its collective will by Russian and Prussian bayonets, hence, unable to make any other appeal but through one man only, and that it was absurd to require this man to be legally constituted. If there was anybody in Poland legally constituted, it was the King, by the grace of Catherine II. Would they have treated with him? Was not the struggle in which the whole Polish nation was then engaged, a sufficient and the most eloquent appeal for help? Had words more value in the eyes of those great French Republicans than deeds?

The result of that ungrounded refusal was, that the Polish Republic, after a most sanguinary struggle of nearly two years against the combined armies of Russia and Prussia, and the loss of the whole population of Praga, amounting to nearly 18,000 souls, massacred in a few hours by the savage Suvaroff—the Haynau and the Windischgraetz of that time, —was overthrown and blotted out of the map of Europe.

Such was the first disappointment which the Polish nation met with, and which I date my investigations from; and it cannot be denied that it was a most bitter one, coming as it did from a republican

people, and followed as it was by the entire extinction of Poland's political existence.

For thirteen years, from the beginning of 1794 to the close of 1806, Poland endured the thrall of the three rapacious black eagles; but her sons left their homes, and though deluded and abandoned by the French nation—namely, by their “legal” representatives—acting with its consent, they by thousands entered the Franco-Polish Legion formed in Italy, and fought against the enemies of the French Republic, hoping that those misled Republicans would at last be brought back to better sentiments towards their sister-republic, when they would see that it was not one individual, but thousands of the élite of the nation who were victims of the refusal of their assistance; an assistance which they promised “to all nations wanting to recover their liberty.” Does history furnish another such example of so many sons of a deceived, abandoned nation, sacrificing their lives to assist that very nation which refused, on absurd and frivolous grounds, help to their country in its utmost distress.

When Napoleon came to Poland, after his having in a few months (1806) crushed with his broad hand the whole Prussian empire, the Polish nation again rose, and in no time thousands of its children, organized in regiments, joined the French army, and helped it to gain victories over the then combined armies of Prussia and Russia.

And what was the result of these new efforts of the Polish nation, of this newly spilt blood? The chief of the French Republic* instead of restoring at the conclusion of peace at Tilsit (July 9, 1807), the Polish Republic in its ancient limits, patched up a small part of the territory as a duchy, and gave its rule to a foreigner, the King of Saxony. Disappointment No. 2.

The beginning of 1809 saw Poland, after a short respite of two years, again in trouble. The duchy of Warsaw, without any previous declaration of war, was invaded by an Austrian army of about 40,000 men, under the command of the Archduke Ferdinand. We then were scarcely able to muster 10,000 men to meet the invading army, and, nevertheless, we not only succeeded to repulse the enemy from the territory of the duchy, but to reconquer the whole of what was called New Galicia, from Warsaw up to Sodorze, ten miles beyond Cracow, an extent of 220 English miles. Our troops fought in this campaign several pitched battles, and took two fortresses by storm. Here also the Polish nation was again doomed to meet a disappointment; for after a complete triumph, gained by a fresh sacrifice of human life, at the conclusion of peace between France and Austria (October 14, 1809), a great portion, almost the half of reconquered Galicia, together with the rich salt mines Wieliczka, was restored to Austria. But the disappointment, or rather injury, does not end here; for, in the same year, Napoleon detached from the duchy a whole palatinate, that of Bialystock, and presented it to—Russia.

Three years afterwards came 1813, and with it the famous and disastrous campaign to which Poland furnished a contingent of 80,000 men, who all perished with the exception of a few thousands. The whole territory, one single palatinate, viz., that of Cracow, excepted, fell at one swoop into the hands of the Muscovites. No time was to be lost in reorganizing a Polish army; but, being limited to one palatinate, scarcely 18,000 men could be gathered and armed. However small that army was, still it rendered the greatest service to the French army in the two following campaigns, viz., that of 1813 in Germany, and that of 1814 in France. Thus out of the eight years' existence of the Duchy of Warsaw our nation enjoyed but four years of peace.

Now followed sixteen years of terrible peace under the Russian knout, a peace which drove the Polish nation, in 1830, to arms. It fought against the whole military forces of the Northern Colossus, the noble guards of St. Petersburg included, during ten entire months, thus saving France from a new invasion, which was then in contemplation, and in which the Polish army was to take an active part, having for that object already been put on a footing of war. And what did France do whilst Poland was waging that desperate struggle? Why, the perfidious Government of Louis Philippe, anxious to help the Autocrat, treacherously withheld our chiefs from energetically carrying out the war, under the specious pretext that all would be settled by diplomatic negotiations between the two Cabinets, and without any further bloodshed. Our chiefs having been simple enough to believe in those promises, neglected everything, abandoned their advantageous positions, and allowed the Russian army to unmolestedly cross the Vistula; the result of which was, of course, that the reign of the knout was restored in Poland, which restoration the French Minister Sebastiani unblushingly proclaimed from the parliamentary tribune “*the sign of order in Warsaw*.”

Russian oppression now began to weigh more heavily than ever upon our unfortunate country. No

Polish army, in fact not even one soldier, was left; thousands of Polish citizens were dragged to Siberia or to the Transcaucasian army; thousands of Polish families were driven into the depths of Russia, and replaced by Muscovites; even children of the male sex were wrested by thousands from the bosom of their parents, and transported to Russia; the whole country was so disarmed that not even one fowling-piece was left in the hands of a Pole to kill the wolves; the axes, even, were taken from the peasants, and only one left for fourteen houses; it was the same with every other sharp instrument. The country was constantly occupied by an enormous Russian army, and the spy system so extended that there was hardly a house without a spy in it.

A new effort to rise was made by Poland in 1846, in Galicia and the Duchy of Posen; but it was unexpectedly prevented in the first province by the wholesale massacre, by Austrian hired assassins, of all the principal and influential patriots; and in the second, by the early imprisonment of all the leaders. Thus the insurrection, crushed in its very embryo, could not spread throughout the whole of Poland. Does it not go far to prove that the revolutionary spirit of Poland was not extinct when such a revolutionary endeavour was made—when all Europe was plunged in a deep apathetic sleep?

This new symptom of Poland's unabated desire to shake off her foreign yoke rendered her enemies still more vigilant, and led them to aggravate the already horrible state of the country, which I have but cursorily touched upon.

Such was the state of Poland when the revolution of 1848 broke out in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin;—in consequence of which the already numerous army of occupation was almost doubled in Poland, thus rendering her condition still more critical. Meanwhile the frightened Governments of Prussia and Austria made fine promises to their Polish populations of the Duchy of Posen and Galicia, going so far even as to allow them to organize their national forces; but such pretended concessions were merely made to prevent them from seriously rising, and to gain time for the reaction to acquire strength. This once acquired, their superior forces of regular troops, unexpectedly and treacherously rushed upon the yet unarmed and unorganized Poles, massacring them, and mercilessly bombarding their chief towns.

I now appeal to the conscience of every honest and impartial man, and ask him whether there ever was a nation more diabolically deluded and ensnared than the Polish people? And moreover, was there ever a country, exhausted as it was by a series of so many unsuccessful efforts and wars, without ever being able to recover its strength, as do those countries whose independence is left to them,—was there ever, I repeat, a country more disabled to undertake a revolutionary movement than Poland? But let us suppose for a moment that she had been in another position: that her populations had not been deprived of their fowling pieces, axes, and scythes, and that she had never before been deluded and deceived by other nations,—what had the Polish nation in those two years to encourage her to begin a desperate struggle against the hundreds of thousands of Russian, Prussian, and Austrian soldiers, occupying every corner of its soil? It was certainly not that shuffling manifesto of Lamartine, which, if it was intended to have any effect at all, it was rather to discourage than otherwise. Nor was it the revolution of Berlin which left things in statu quo, soon after showing hostile feelings against Poland, and a rapacious yearning to preserve the infamously robbed Polish provinces, a yearning which was supported by the whole of Germany. Was it perchance the movement of the Viennese, who repeatedly implored their run-away tyrant to return to his capital? Or was it, perhaps, Hungary of 1848? But did she not likewise beg her foreign despot to come and reign over her?

Besides, Rome had shown in 1849, whether up to this moment any French manifesto, any motto, any placarded Fraternity, any Republican Constitution, acknowledging the sacredness of other nations, independence was to be trusted; and when we consider that in the ranks of the French army sent to crush a sister-nation, a Republic provoked by the consequences of Louis Philippe's sudden flight—when we consider, I repeat, that there was in those ranks not one man, man enough to feel the stigma thus cast upon the national colours, to break his fratricidal sword and throw his epaulettes at the feet of his commander, it is really almost impossible to entertain the slightest confidence in that nation even for the future.

In 1849 Hungary rose and valiantly fought against her enemy, but unfortunately, like France in 1848, she did not adopt the only sound policy, viz., to extend the revolutionary movement as soon as possible over the frontier. Poland, as a matter of course, expected Hungary to do so; but, alas! no; she feared thus to provoke Russian interference, which, as her statesmen ought to have foreseen, could not have been withheld, as soon as the Austrian Government had called for it. This, again, was a new disappointment for Poland; still, as the war in Hungary was waged against a common enemy, she sent her

contingence of youths, who by hundreds crossed the frontier at the peril of their lives, and entered the contending Hungarian army, where they bravely fought, as did their brethren in Rome and in Baden, thus proving by deeds that they understood the principle of solidarity amongst nations, afterwards proclaimed by the Central Committee of European Democracy.

My object in writing this statement is to endeavour to show, and I trust I have succeeded:—

1. That there is no nation in Europe, whose difficulties to rise are in any degree whatever to be compared to those of Poland; and

2. That there was never in the history of mankind a People so unceasingly disappointed and betrayed, as was the Polish nation.

Consequently, can any one, I ask, conscientiously accuse Poland of impassivity, or of having entirely lost her revolutionary character? Will he not rather find in her continually renewed endeavours to shake off the foreign yoke, a guarantee that Poland has always willed to do so, “willed strongly and unceasingly—in every limb and at every hour of the day—willed in love, sacrifice, and constancy”? Taking into consideration all I have recorded, I think that no earnest and truth-loving man will deny, that in the years 1848 and 1849, Poland did, as much as she could, her duty towards the then contending nations, so much so, that the enemies of all nations, that the reactionists hate and persecute the sons of Poland, when and wherever they can, for having done so; and is it not strange that it is only the hatred of our enemies, which in this respect, renders us justice, whilst the love of our friends refuses it to us? It is very easy, especially for a Frenchman, to say, Why did not Poland rise? But he forgets that in that unhappy country a revolutionary movement does not terminate so smoothly as in France, in three days in the streets of Paris, where there is not one single foreign enemy, but, on the contrary, a formidable national army approaching 400,000 men, besides a million and upwards of armed National Guards; whilst in Poland there does not exist one armed Pole in the whole country, but is overspread by hundreds of thousands of foreign enemies: and even in 1830 and 1831, when she had an army, the revolution could not terminate in three days; but after the struggle in the streets, pitched and sanguinary battles were to be fought,—a whole campaign to go through against the strongest European power!

Yes, my sincere conviction is, that even in 1848 and 1849, Poland did her duty, as much as circumstances allowed her to do; for, in the application of the salutary principle of solidarity, she helped the struggling nations by sending them her sons. Now what did, for instance, France do during that time? Did she not excite all the other nations to rally under the banner on which glittered the words Liberty, Equality, Brotherhood, promising them aid and protection; and then, instead of protection and aid, did she not send her soldiery to crush those who ventured to believe her signal to be sincerely given?

I think if my readers will calmly compare the deeds of the two nations during that eventful epoch, they will have no difficulty to arrive at a conclusion favourable to my country—that they will find the actions redound with honour upon the one and disgrace upon the other; they will likewise be able to determine whether there is any doubt of Poland's being revolutionary.

The Polish nation alone is competent to judge the opportune time to rise. Rise it will, and rush, were it even empty-handed, upon the numerous armed hordes, and, whether preceded or not by others, fight the last desperate battle between absolutism and liberty, destined to decide, not only its own fate, but also that of all Europe. And indeed as long as Europe does not form a barrier between the northern Colossus and the rest of Europe, the other Continental powers being, without any interposition, backed by the Autocrat, will continue to be despotic, and will become in a very short time the subaltern Cossacks of their chief Attaman residing in St. Petersburg.

In conclusion, my earnest hope is, that my countrymen at home will—if they have not yet done so—in spite of those enormous difficulties no other people has to contend with, speedily organize their elements so necessary for an efficient accomplishment of their sacred duty towards their own country and humanity at large; and that in their “love” for other nations, whether Slavonic or otherwise, they will again, as they did in 1831, inscribe on their revolutionary banners—“For our and your Liberty!”

A POLISH REVOLUTIONIST.

THE GOSPEL OF TEMPERANCE.

Barton-by-Lincoln, October 13, 1851.

DEAR SIR,—Though I do not think more highly of Mr. R. Cruikshank's logic than do the writers of the articles on “the Gospel of Temperance” and “the London Temperance League,” in your number of the 11th instant, I do think that justice is not rendered to his self-denying zeal in the cause of absti-

* Though with an Emperor at her head, France was then still a Republic. She only ceased to be called so in 1809.

nence, nor to that of the many persons who conscientiously practise and recommend it, as the means of elevating the character of the great body of the people. Such men are objects of admiration rather than of pity, choosing as they do "total" abstinence rather than "moderation," not so much on their own account as on that of others, to whom, as experience tells them, the latter brings temptation, while the former removes it. The tone of the articles argues a want of acquaintance with the feelings and habits of men who are constant and devoted workers in the cause of political, social, and religious reform; and who see that a people must be temperate to be wise, educated, and powerful.

It is the urgency of the case that has led them to the extreme of total abstinence. They see, or think they see, that participation in strong drink has been, for some years, made the means of the corruption of the People, by parties interested in their demoralization and consequent subjection; and even if we hesitate to join in their choice of a remedy, we are bound to do justice to their honesty in recommending it, and not dismiss, with a sneer, exertions based on long and painfully acquired convictions. It must be remembered, also, that an appeal to Scriptural texts in support of the use of wine is met by temperance advocates by an endeavour to show that unfermented wine is spoken of in those texts. Whether they are successful or not in this endeavour, it should not be ignored as it has been by the writers of your articles. I could wish that the question were argued, in all cases, on the grounds of physiology and expediency; but if men, on either side, think fit to connect it with their religious belief, it becomes us the more to conduct the discussion with gravity and earnestness.

Yours most faithfully,

EDMUND R. LARKEN.

TEMPERANCE LOGIC.

11, Russell-place, October 13, 1851.

SIR,—Mr. Cruikshank's reply to his interrogator was a gross specimen of temperance logic, and you made very excellent use of the occasion. But your report was taken from the *Times*, and it was minus a very important word which Mr. Cruikshank used. That word was "intoxicating," and is symbolical in the Temperance vocabulary of a theory which is of the last importance in the controversy. But even with the addition of this word, Mr. Cruikshank's answer may still be said to be evasive, as it is no reply to the question, "Did not Our Saviour make wine at the marriage feast at Cana?" to retort, "Do you believe that he ever drank intoxicating wine?" It would, however, have been quite pertinent to have rejoined, "Do you believe He ever made intoxicating wine?" If I were asked that question, I should unhesitatingly reply, I do not believe it, and for these conclusive reasons:—First. The English word wine, as the symbol of the eastern article or thing does not necessarily imply an intoxicating liquor. The intoxicating property is not essential to constitute it wine. You are quite aware of this fact. It was evidently present to your mind when you wrote, "The Gospel of Temperance, according to Cruikshank," as in two important passages you use the words, "the fruit of the vine" and "the juice of the vine;" to which the temperance theorist has not the shadow of an objection. If you consult the old authors, you will find abundant evidence in support of this view. The Greek historians, philosophers, and poets, not only refer to the fact, but give also particulars of the ways and means which were adopted to preserve the juice of the grape from fermentation; the nutrition from being changed into a noxious property—the blessing into a curse. It is also important that we should note what is signified by the term intoxicating. This word is of Greek origin, and is from the verb *toxico*, to poison. If, therefore, language is to be regarded as of any use in conveying a definite idea of the properties of things, which it undoubtedly is, and this is especially true of ancient words, the phrases "intoxicating liquor" and "poisonous liquor" are synonymous. Thus the conclusion is inevitable; if our Saviour made an intoxicating, He made a poisonous wine.

There is also satisfactory evidence in support of the view that on the festive occasions to which you refer, when wine was used, probably by the Saviour himself, that it was not of the poisonous kind.

Intoxicating wine is the result or product of fermentation; and at the feast of the Passover all leaven, or ferment, was carefully excluded from the dwellings of the Jews. This is, I believe, incontestably true as touching the Jews of Palestine in the days of our Saviour, and is still regarded as of importance, even at this remote period among the more pious sons of Abraham. The wine of the Passover is often to this day neither port, sherry, nor champagne, but simply raisin water. Englishmen, however, have a notion that nothing is wine, except it be potent to flush the cheek and fire the brain, to stimulate the blood and drive away care; but this notion is purely a Saxon vulgarism, — a popular fallacy, which is as unsupported by evidence as the reply of Mr. Cruikshank was evasive and unsatisfactory.

Fearing to trespass on your space in the discussion of what you may perhaps consider a trivial question, I content myself with having given this birdseye view of the argument, and remain

AN ADMIRER OF THE LEADER.

MODERN PRIESTS.—The true priests of every age are they who lead its intellect and touch its heart; but at the present time it is the press alone that guides and instructs, whilst the clergy are content to trade in the superstitions of the people. Sooner or later a priesthood must and will be regarded simply and solely as the moral teachers of mankind, and their spiritual power over the souls of men will be commensurate with the depth of their personal inspiration.—*From Westminster Review for October.*

FIGHT WITH A GRIZZLY BEAR.—I now took a long farewell of the horses, and turned northward, selecting a line close in by the base of the hills, going along at an improved pace, with a view of reaching the trading-post the same night; but, stopping in a gully to look for water, I found a little pool, evidently scratched out by a bear, as there were footprints and claw-marks about it; and I was aware instinct prompts that brute where water is nearest the surface, when he scratches until he comes to it. This was one of very large size, the footmark behind the toes being full nine inches; and although I had my misgivings about the prudence of a tête-à-tête with a great grizzly bear, still the "better part of valour" was overcome, as it often is, by the anticipated honour and glory of a single combat, and conquest of such a ferocious beast. I was well armed, too, with my favourite rifle, a Colt's revolver, that never disappointed me, and a nondescript weapon, a sort of cross betwixt a claymore and a bowie-knife; so, after capping afresh, hanging the bridle on the horn of the saddle, and staking my mule, I followed the trail up a gully, and much sooner than I expected came within view and good shooting distance of Bruin, who was seated erect, with his side towards me, in front of a manzanita bush, making a repast on his favourite berry. The sharp click of the cock causing him to turn quickly round, left little time for deliberation; so, taking a ready good aim at the region of the heart, I let drive, the ball (as I subsequently found) glancing along the ribs, entering the armpit, and shattering smartly some of the shoulder bones. I exulted as I saw him stagger and come to his side; the next glance, however, revealed him, to my dismay, on all fours, in direct pursuit, but going lame; so I bolted for the mule, sadly encumbered with a huge pair of Mexican spurs, the nervous noise of the crushing brush close in my rear convincing me he was fast gaining on me; I therefore dropped my rifle, putting on fresh steam, and reaching the rope, pulled up the picket-pin, and, springing into the saddle with merely a hold of the lariat, plunged the spurs into the mule, which, much to my affright, produced a kick and a retrograde movement; but in the exertion, having got a glimpse of my pursuer, uttering a snort of terror, he went off at a pace I did not think him capable of, soon widening the distance betwixt us and the bear; but having no means of guiding his motions, he brought me violently in contact with the arm of a tree, which unhorsed and stunned me exceedingly. Scrambling to my feet as well as I could, I saw my relentless enemy close at hand, leaving me the only alternative of ascending a tree; but in my hurried and nervous efforts, I had scarcely my feet above his reach, when he was right under, evidently enfeebled by the loss of blood, as the exertion made it well out copiously. After a moment's pause, and a fierce glare upwards from his bloodshot eyes, he clasped the trunk; but I saw his endeavours to climb were crippled by the wounded shoulder. However, by the aid of his jaws, he just succeeded in reaching the first branch with his sound arm, and was working convulsively to bring up the body, when, with a well-directed blow from my cutlass, I completely severed the tendons of the foot, and he instantly fell, with a dreadful souse and horrid growl, the blood spouting up as if impelled from a jet; he arose again somewhat tardily, and limping round the tree with up-turned eyes, kept tearing off the bark with his tusks. However, watching my opportunity, and leaning downwards, I sent a ball from my revolver with such good effect immediately behind the head, that he dropped; and my nerves being now rather more composed, I leisurely distributed the remaining five balls in the most vulnerable parts of his carcass. By this time I saw the muscular system totally relaxed, so I descended with confidence, and found him quite dead, and myself not a little enervated with the excitement and the effects of my wound, which bled profusely from the temple; so much so, that I thought an artery was ruptured. I bound up my head as well as I could, loaded my revolver anew, and returned for my rifle; but as evening was approaching, and my mule gone, I had little time to survey the dimensions of my fallen foe, and no means of packing much of his flesh. I therefore hastily hacked off a few steaks from his thigh, and hewing off one of his hindfeet as a sure trophy of victory, I set out towards the trading-post, which I reached about midnight, my friend and my truant mule being there before me, but no horses.—*Kelly's California.*

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

Nine hundred and fifty-three deaths were registered in London in the week ending last Saturday. The average of ten corresponding weeks in 1841-50 was 922; but as population increased during the ten years and up to the present time, the average, to be rendered comparable with last week's mortality, must be raised in proportion to the increase. The average thus corrected may be stated as 1014, on which the deaths of last week show a decrease of 61. The zymotic or epidemic class of diseases produced 242 deaths, or more than a fourth of the total amount, while the corrected average is 278. The number of fatal cases ascribed to smallpox is 18, all of which occurred to children, and in none it is stated that the patients had been previously vaccinated. The neglect of vaccination is repeatedly noticed by the registrars, and their observations on this subject deserve attention.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE

SATURDAY.

On Monday, Consols closed at 96½; on Tuesday, they touched at 97, and left off at 96½, remaining at that quotation until Thursday, when they advanced to 97½. The closing price yesterday was, Consols, 97 to ½.

The fluctuations of the week have been—Consols, from 96½ to 97½; Bank Stock, from 211 to 212½; Exchequer Bills, from 48s. to 51s. premium.

In the official list the bargains in Foreign Stocks comprised—Chilian Three per Cents., 65 and 66; Mexican, for money, 27 and 26½; Spanish Five per Cents., for money, 20½ and ½; for the account, 20½ and ½; Spanish Three per Cents., 38; Venezuela, for account, 32½ and 32; and Dutch Four per Cent. Certificates, 90½ and 90.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Saturday, October 11, 1851.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

	£		£
Notes issued	28,454,780	Government Debt, 11,015,100	
		Other Securities ..	2,984,900
		Gold Coin and Bullion	14,421,406
		Silver Bullion	33,375
	£28,454,780		£28,454,780

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

	£		£
Proprietors' Capital, 14,553,000		Government Securities (including Dead-weight Annuity)	12,464,216
Reserve	3,102,791	Other Securities ..	14,337,386
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings' Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) ..	9,728,421	Notes	8,883,160
Other Deposits	8,683,515	Gold and Silver Coin	595,813
Seven-day and other Bills	1,212,848		
	£37,280,575		£37,280,575

Dated October 11, 1851.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	211½	212½	212½	212½	212½	212½
3 per Ct. Red ..	96	96	96	96	96	96
3 p. C. Con. Ans.	97½	96½	96½	96½	97½	97
3 p. C. An. 1726.						
3 p. Ct. Con. Ac.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	97
3½ p. Cent. An.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 5 per Cts.				7	6	7
Long Ans., 1860.			6½			
Ind. St. 10½ p. ct.	260	262		262		
Ditto Bonds	55 p	57 p	51 p	57 p	54 p	59 p
Ex. Bills, 1000l.	48 p	51 p	46 p	51 p	52 p	54 p
Ditto, 500l.	49 p	49 p	44 p	51 p	52 p	51 p
Ditto, Small	48 p	50 p	47 p	51 p	52 p	51 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	—	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc. 26½	
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct. 94½		Small ..	26½
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	87	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	48	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	87½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	104	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	—
Danish 5 per Cents.	102½	4 per Cts.	32½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	59½	Annuities ..	—
4 per Cents.	90	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts. 101½	
Ecuador Bonds	3½	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts. 20½	
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris 91.80		Passive ..	5½
3 p. Cts., July 11, 55.70		Deferred ..	—

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.		BANKS.	
Aberdeen ..	9½	Australasian ..	—
Bristol and Exeter ..	—	British North American ..	45
Caledonian ..	11½	Colonial ..	—
Eastern Counties ..	6½	Commercial of London ..	—
Edinburgh and Glasgow ..	—	London and Westminster ..	30
Great Northern ..	15½	London Joint Stock ..	18½
Great S. & W. (Ireland) ..	—	National of Ireland ..	—
Great Western ..	81½	National Provincial ..	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire ..	55	Provincial of Ireland ..	—
Lancaster and Carlisle ..	—	Union of Australia ..	35½
London, Brighton, & S. Coast 94½		Union of London ..	14½
London and Blackwall ..	6½		
London and N.-Western ..	115		
Midland ..	47½		
North British ..	—		
South-Eastern and Dover ..	—		
South-Western ..	—		
York, Newcastle, & Berwick 18½			
York and North Midland 19½			
DOCKS.		MISCELLANEOUS.	
East and West India ..	142	Australian Agricultural ..	15
London ..	114½	Canada ..	49½
St. Katharine ..	79	General Steam ..	27½
		Penins. & Oriental Steam ..	67½
		Royal Mail Steam ..	88
		South Australian ..	23½

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, October 17.—Prices much the same as last week.

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Oct. 17.			
Wheat, R. New	33s. to 36s.	Naple	30s. to 31s.
Fine	36 — 38	White	27 — 29
Old	36 — 40	Boilers	30 — 32
White	36 — 38	Beans, Ticks	23 — 24
Fine	38 — 40	Old	27 — 28
Superior New	40 — 46	Indian Corn	27 — 29
Rye	28 — 30	Oats, Feed	16 — 17
Barley	22 — 23	Fine	17 — 18
Malt	24 — 26	Poland	18 — 19
Malt, Ord.	46 — 48	Fine	19 — 20
Fine	50 — 52	Potato	18 — 19
Peas, Hog	27 — 28	Fine	20 — 21

FLOUR.

Town-made	per sack	37s. to 40s.
Seconds		35 — 38
Essex and Suffolk, on board ship		33 — 36
Norfolk and Stockton		31 — 34
American	per barrel	19 — 22
Canadian		19 — 22
Wheaten Bread, 7d. the 4lb. loaf.	Households, 5d.	

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.
WEEK ENDING Oct. 11.

Imperial General Weekly Average.			
Wheat	35s. 6d.	Rye	25s. 0d.
Barley	25 2	Beans	27 8
Oats	17 3	Peas	26 2
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.			
Wheat	37s. 1d.	Rye	26s 4
Barley	25 6	Beans	28 7
Oats	18 7	Peas	27 0

BUTCHERS' MEAT.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.*			
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef	2 0 to 3 0		2 2 to 3 6
Mutton	2 6 — 3 6		3 2 — 4 2
Veal	2 4 — 3 8		2 6 — 4 0
Pork	3 0 — 4 4		3 8 — 4 4

* To sink the offal, per 8 lb.

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Friday.	Monday.
Beasts	720	460
Sheep	3930	28,270
Calves	322	230
Pigs	510	580

PROVISIONS.

Butter—Best Fresh, 12s. 0d. to 12s. per doz.	
Carlow, £3 16s. to £3 19s. per cwt.	
Bacon, Irish	per cwt. 50s. to 51s.
Cheese, Cheshire	42 — 70
Derby, Plain	46 — 50
Hams, York	56 — 64
Eggs, French, per 120, 6s. 0d. to 6s. 9d.	

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, October 14.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.—J. HARVEY, Gravesend, timber-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.—J. and E. LEACH, Waterbeach, Cambridge-shire, builders, to surrender, October 24, November 21; solicitors, Messrs. Pickering, Smith, and Co., Stone-buildings, Lincoln's-inn; and Mr. Archer, Ely; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street.—E. RUTHERFORD, Mill-wall, Poplar, ship-builder, October 24, November 18; solicitors, Messrs. Lindsay and Mason, Gresham-street; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street.—J. M. WILSON, Eton, bookseller, October 28, November 25; solicitor, Mr. Kinsey, Bloomsbury-square; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street.—E. JONES, Church-street, Blackfriars-road, currier, October 23, November 21; solicitor, Mr. Hepburn, Copthall-court; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings.—S. SHERLOCK, Liverpool, wine-merchant, October 23, November 27; solicitors, Mr. Yates, jun., Liverpool; and Mr. Dearden, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Bird, Liverpool.—J. REID, Huddersfield, merchant, October 27, November 24; solicitors, Messrs. Courtenay and Compton, Leeds; and Messrs. Clough and Bantoft, Huddersfield; official assignee, Mr. Hope, Leeds.—W. WILLIAMS, W. WILLIAMS, jun., and T. H. WILLIAMS, Newport, Monmouthshire, bankers, November 4, December 3; solicitors, Mr. Bevan, Bristol; and Mr. Hall, Newport, Monmouthshire; official assignee, Mr. Aclaman, Bristol.

Friday, October 17.

BANKRUPTS.—G. F. NALBOUR, Slough, Buckinghamshire, music seller, to surrender October 23, November 24; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street.—J. MAQUOTT, Gracechurch-street, oil and Italian warehouseman, October 25, November 27; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Charlotte-row, Mansion-house; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings.—G. LAWS, Waltham-abbey, linendraper, October 29, November 25; solicitor, Mr. Chambers, Tokenhouse-yard, Lothbury; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street.—J. WHITAKER and J. CROWTHER, Buslingthorpe, Yorkshire, stuff dyers, November 3, December 1; solicitors, Mr. Courtenay, Lincoln's-inn-fields; Mr. Sutcliffe, Sowerby-bridge, near Halifax; and Messrs. Courtenay and Compton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Hope, Leeds.—W. T. ADCOCK, Manchester, hotel-keeper, November 7, 24; solicitors, Messrs. Cooper and Son, and Mr. Street, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Mackenzie, Manchester.

OFFICE FOR PATENTS, BRITISH AND FOREIGN, AND REGISTRATION OF DESIGNS.—Conducted by Mr. J. G. WILSON, C. E., 18, Great George-street (opposite the Abbey), Westminster. Every description of business connected with Patents transacted daily. Inventors assisted in ascertaining the novelty of their inventions and with a Patent Office. Office hours, Ten to Four o'clock.

ENAMELLED DAGUERRETYPES, by Mr. BEARD, 85, KING WILLIAM-STREET, CITY; 20, PARLIAMENT-STREET; and the ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION, REGENT-STREET; also 31, CHURCH-STREET, LIVERPOOL. Mr. BEARD has recently introduced an important improvement in the Daguerreotype Miniatures are enamelled, which renders them so susceptible to tarnish and become discoloured, which all others are liable to; the colours are of great brilliancy, depth of tone, and permanency of an

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

A SOIREE, introductory to the Winter operations of the Association, will be held at the LONDON TAVERN, on MONDAY, the 27th of October.

Tickets of admission—single, 1s. 6d.; double, 2s. 6d.—may be had at the Offices; Mr. Gilpin's, 5, Bishopsgate-street Without; Mr. Elt's, Bookseller, 18, Hedge-row, High-street, Islington; and Mr. Mudie's Library, 28, Upper King-street, Bloomsbury. Tea, Coffee, &c., on table at half-past five o'clock; Chair to be taken at half-past six.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.

Offices, 41, Ludgate-hill.

APPLICATIONS OF GUTTA PERCHA.—

DOMESTIC, &c.—Soles for Boots and Shoes, Lining for Cisterns, &c., Picture Frames, Looking-glass Frames, Ornamental Mouldings, Bowls, Drinking Cups, Jars, Soap Dishes, Vases, Ornamental Ink-stands, Noiseless Curtain Rings, Card, Fruit, Pin, and Pen Trays, Tooth-brush Trays, Shaving-brush Trays, Window-blind Cord, Clothes' Line, Drain and Soil Pipes, Tubing for Watering Gardens, &c., Lining for Bonnets, Watch Stands, Shells, and Lighter Stands. SURGICAL—Splints, Thin Sheet for Bandages, Stethoscopes, Ear Trumpets, Bed Straps, and Bedpans for Invalids. CHEMICAL—Carboys, Vessels for Acids, &c., Siphons, Tubing for conveying Oils, Acids, Alkalis, &c., Flasks, Bottles, Lining for Tanks and Funnels. MANUFACTURING—Buckets, Mill Bands, Pump Buckets, Felt Edging, Bosses, Shuttle Beds, Washers, Round Bands and Cord, Breasts for Water-wheels. FOR OFFICES, &c.—Wafer Holders, Ink-stands, Ink-cups, Pen Trays, Cash Bowls, Washing Basins, &c., Tubes for Conveying Messages, Canvas for covering Books, &c., and Plan Cases. AGRICULTURAL—Tubing for Liquid Manure, Lining for Manure Tanks, Traces, and Whips. ELECTRICAL, &c.—Covering for Electric Telegraph Wire, Insulating Stools, Battery Cells, and Electrotypes Moulds. ORNAMENTAL—Medallions, Brackets, Cornices, Mouldings in imitation of Carved Oak, Rosewood, &c., and Picture Frames. USES ON SHIPBOARD—Life Buoys, Buckets, Pump Buckets, Hand Speaking Trumpets, Drinking Cups, Waterproof Canvas, Life Boat Cells, Tubes for Pumping Water from the Hold to the Deck, Round and Twisted Cords, Lining for Boxes. MISCELLANEOUS—Suction Pipes for Fire Engines, Buckets, Communion Trays, Tubing for Ventilation, Hearing Apparatus for Deaf Persons, Balls, Police Staves, Life Preservers, Railway Conversation Tubes, Miners' Caps, Thread, &c., Official Seals, &c., Powder Flasks, &c. &c. The Gutta Percha Company, Patentees, 18, Wharf-road, City-road.

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

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

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY,

INSTITUTED UNDER TRUST, TO COUNTERACT THE SYSTEM OF ADULTERATION AND FRAUD NOW PREVAILING IN THE TRADE, AND TO PROMOTE THE PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Trustees—Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. (Founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq. (one of the Contributors). Commercial Firm—Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co. Central Establishment—76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq., London. Branch Establishments—35, Great Marylebone-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester. The Agency is instituted for a period of 100 years.

Its objects are to counteract the system of adulteration and fraud now prevailing in the trade; to deal as agents for the consumers in purchasing the articles for their consumption, and for the producers in selling their produce; to promote the progress of the principle of Association; to find employment for coöperative associations by the collection of orders to be executed under special guarantee to the customers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Particulars of the nature and objects of the Central Coöperative Agency, with a Digest of the Deed of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the Central Office of the Agency. To be sent by post to parties forwarding four stamps.

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

Particulars, Rules, List, and Catalogue will be forwarded immediately on receipt of ten postage stamps. All communications to be addressed to MM. Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co., at the Central-office, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

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

METROPOLITAN COUNTIES and GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 27, Regent-street, Waterloo-place, London.

DIRECTORS.

Samuel Driver, Esq. Thomas Littledale, Esq.
John Griffith Frith, Esq. Edward Lomax, Esq.
Henry Peter Fuller, Esq. Samuel Miller, Esq.
John Palk Griffin, Esq. Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq.
Peter Hood, Esq. Sir Thomas N. Reeve.
Capt. Hon. G. F. Hotham, R.N. William Studley, Esq.

Life Assurances, Annuities, and Endowments. Three-fourths of profits divided amongst the assured.—Prospectuses, post free, on application. F. FERGUSON CAMROUX, Manager.

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

Every description of Life Assurance business transacted. Loans granted on personal and other securities.

Detailed Prospectuses, containing the names and addresses of nearly seven hundred shareholders, rates of premium, an explanation of the system now originated, together with useful information and statistics respecting Life Assurance, may be had on application at the offices.

Parties desirous of becoming Agents or Medical Referees are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

By order of the Board, THOMAS H. BAYLIS.
Offices; 40, Pall-mall, London.

IMPORTANT TO LIFE ASSURERS.

NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Completely Registered and Incorporated.

Capital £50,000 in 10,000 shares of £5 each.

Deposit £1 per share.

Offices, 34, Moorgate-street, Bank, London.

TRUSTEES.

John Hinde Palmer, Esq. Thomas Winkworth, Esq.
William Anthony Purnell, Esq. John Poole, Esq.

Persons assured in this Office to the extent of £300 and upwards on the participating scale, or holders of five shares and upwards will be entitled to nominate scholars to the endowed schools of the Society.

Every description of Life Assurance business transacted. Prospectuses and every information may be obtained at the Offices of the Society.

Applications for agencies requested.

By order of the Board, J. W. SPRAGUE, Manager.

RECIPROCAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY,

32, Great Cornam-street, Russell-square.

Capital—£100,000, in 20,000 Shares of £5 each.

Deposit, 10s. per Share.

One-tenth of the profits of the Company will form a fund for the relief of aged and distressed Shareholders and Members, their Widows and Orphans.

TRUSTEES.

T. A. Knight, Esq. J. Moseley, Esq., B.C.L.
R. Marshall, Esq., M.A. Reverend C. Owen, M.A.
F. C. Skey, Esq., F.R.S.

This Company is established for the purpose of bringing the benefits of Life Assurance within the reach of all classes, and with this view its details have been most carefully considered, so as to afford every facility and advantage consistent with safety. Three-fifths of the Profits being annually divided among those members who have paid five annual premiums.

The Business of the Company embraces Assurances, Annuities, and Endowments of every kind; also Annuities payable During Sickness; Assurances of Leaseholds, Copyholds, and other Terminable Interests; and Guarantee Assurances for the Fidelity of persons in places of Trust.

SPECIAL ADVANTAGES TO ASSURERS.

Policies will be granted for any sum as low as £5. No Policy Stamp, Entrance Fee, or other charge, except the Premium.

Policies indisputable, except in cases of actual fraud. Diseased and Declined Lives assured at equitable and moderate rates.

Premiums may be paid Quarterly or Monthly if desired. Half the Premium, for the first seven years, may remain unpaid.

Every further information may be had on application to the Actuary and Resident Director.

EAGLE INSURANCE COMPANY,

Established by Act of Parliament 53 Geo. III., and Regulated by Deed Enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, 5, Crescent, New Bridge-street, Blackfriars.

DIRECTORS.

The Honourable John Chetwynd Talbot, Q.C., Chairman.
Walter Anderson Peacock, Esq., Deputy Chairman.
Charles Bischoff, Esq. Charles Thos. Holcombe, Esq.
Thomas Boddington, Esq. Richard Harman Lloyd, Esq.
Thomas Devas, Esq. Joshua Lockwood, Esq.
Nathaniel Gould, Esq. Ralph Charles Price, Esq.
Robert Alexander Gray, Esq. William Wybrow, Esq.

AUDITORS.

James Gascoigne Lynde, Esq. Thos. Godfrey Sambrooke, Esq.

PHYSICIAN.

George Leith Roupell, M.D., F.R.S., 15, Welbeck-street.

SURGEONS.

James Saner, Esq., M.D., Finsbury-square.
William Cooke, Esq., M.D., 39, Trinity-square, Tower-hill.

Actuary and Secretary—Charles Jellicoe, Esq.

The Assured have received from this Company, in satisfaction of their claims, upwards of £1,220,000.

The Amount at present Assured is £3,600,000 nearly, and the income of the Company is about £125,600.

At the last Division of Surplus about £100,000 was added to the sums assured under policies for the whole term of life.

The Division is Quinquennial, and the whole Surplus, less 20 per cent. only, is distributed amongst the assured.

The lives assured are permitted in time of peace to reside in any country, or to pass by sea (not being seafaring persons by profession) between any two parts of the same hemisphere distant more than 33 degrees from the equator, without extra charge.

Deeds assigning policies are registered at the office, and assignments may be effected on forms supplied therefrom.

The business of the Company is conducted on just and liberal principles, and the interests of the assured in all particulars are carefully consulted.

The Annual Reports of the Company's state and progress, prospectuses and forms, may be had, or will be sent post free on application.

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCE ASSOCIATION. (LEGALLY ESTABLISHED.)

Conducted by a committee of gentlemen of high standing in society (including two members of the legal profession of great eminence) on principles of equity and honour with inviolable secrecy to both sexes.

The system of introduction adopted by this Society is free from the many objections all other associations possess, and is alike applicable to all classes of society, from the peer to the peasant.

This Association has been many years in operation, and from the great success attending it the managers decided at their last quarterly meeting to extend its publicity through the medium of the press.

The confidential secretaries, being in daily communication with persons of both sexes in all positions of society, can guarantee a speedy arrangement to the satisfaction of every applicant.

The prospectus containing every instruction with printed form of application, &c., will be forwarded, post free, to any address (either real or fictitious in the first instance) on receipt of 12 postage stamps, by the chief secretary GREGORY THOMSON, Esq., 10, Chichester-place, Kings-cross, London.

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

WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

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

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

"Jucunde Vivere."

ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, AND HÆMORRHOIDS; their Obviation and Removal.

Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row; Mann, 39, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyll-place, Regent-street: consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

A NEW MEDICINE.

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

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

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

FRANKS'S SPECIFIC SOLUTION OF COPAIBA.

TESTIMONIALS.

From Joseph Henry Green, Esq., F.R.S., President of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital; and Professor of Surgery in King's College, London.

"I have made trial of Mr. Franks's Solution of Copaiba, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in a variety of cases, and the results warrant my stating, that it is an efficacious remedy, and one which does not produce the usual unpleasant effects of Copaiba. (Signed) "JOSEPH HENRY GREEN, "Lincoln's-inn Fields, April 15, 1835."

From Bransby Cooper, Esq., F.R.S., one of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; Senior Surgeon to Guy's Hospital; and Lecturer on Anatomy, &c.

"Mr. Bransby Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. George Franks, and has great pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficacy of his Solution of Copaiba. Mr. Cooper has prescribed the Solution in ten or twelve cases with perfect success. "New-street, April 13, 1835."

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

DO YOU WANT LUXURIANT AND BEAUTIFUL HAIR, WHISKERS, MOUSTACHIOS, EYEBROWS, &c.?—Of all the Preparations that have been introduced for reproducing, nourishing, beautifying, and preserving the human Hair, none have gained such a world-wide celebrity and immense sale as MISS DEAN'S CRINILONE. It is guaranteed to produce Whiskers, Moustachios, Eyebrows, &c., in three or four weeks, with the utmost certainty; and will be found eminently successful in nourishing, curling, and beautifying the hair, and checking greyness in all its stages, strengthening weak hair, preventing its falling off, &c. &c. For the reproduction of hair in baldness, from whatever cause, and at whatever age, it stands unrivalled, never having failed. For Children it is indispensable, forming the basis of a beautiful head of hair. One trial is solicited to prove the fact. It is an elegantly scented preparation, and will be sent (post-free) on receipt of Twenty-four Postage Stamps, by Miss DEAN, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London.

CAUTION.—Beware of imitations, under French and other ridiculous names.

Genuine Testimonials (which, with hundreds of others, may be seen at the establishment).—"It restored my hair, which I had lost from a severe illness." Miss Elton, Norwich.—"Your Crinilone has produced a luxuriant pair of whiskers. Accept my thanks." Mr. Henry Moir, Cambridge.—"I believe your Crinilone to be the best preparation extant for the nursery, and I constantly recommend it." Dr. Hodgkin, Edgware-road.—"Your Crinilone has quite restored my hair, which I had lost in patches for several years." John Merritt.

PURE LIQUID HAIR DYE.—MISS DEAN'S TEINTNOIR is the only pure and efficient Dye ever discovered, and has received the approbation of several eminent chemists as being free from all injurious properties. It is a pure liquid that changes any coloured hair in three minutes to any shade required, from light auburn to jet black, so beautifully natural as to defy detection; it does not stain the skin, is most easily applied, and is free from any objectionable quality. It needs only to be used once, producing a permanent dye. Price 3s. 6d. per bottle, sent post free by Miss Dean, on receipt of 48 postage-stamps. Address—Miss Emily Dean, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London.—"I have tried every dye hitherto advertised, and find them all useless. Your Teintnoir is really perfect. Mrs. Neil, Rugby.—"Your dye is beautiful, and must command an immense sale. Mrs. Kerey, Wakefield."

CAUTION.—Beware of imitations, under French and other ridiculous names.

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Specimens of the various Seams of Coal from the Forest of Dean have been sent to the Exhibition in Hyde-park by Mr. Atkinson, one of her Majesty's Deputy Gavers of the Forest.

The nature and capabilities of this Coal Field have long been known, and, in the immediate neighbourhood, made available. Hitherto, the want of Railway Communication has kept the productions of this Field out of the London Market. The difficulty of transport is now obviated; a Branch of the Great Western Railway, six miles in extent, is about to be carried through this very Coal Field, and will pass close to the intended Pit's Mouth.

This Company will, therefore, be able to afford the means of supplying with the best fuel, and at a cheaper rate than ever yet offered, not only London, with its Foundries, Gas Works, and Steam Mills, but also the Towns and Villages on the line of the Great Western Railway. Amongst the places which can be so supplied may be named, Gloucester, Cheltenham, Stonehouse, Stroud, Brinscombe, Cirencester, Tetbury, Swindon, Farringdon, Wantage, Abingdon, Oxford, Woodstock, Wallingford, Newbury, Goring, Pangbourne, Basingstoke, Reading, High Wycombe, Great Marlow, Maidenhead, Egham, Windsor, Slough, Uxbridge, Colnbrook, and the Port of Southampton with its large fleet of ocean steamers.

Prospectuses may be obtained of, and application for the remaining shares addressed to the Secretary, at the offices, as above; or to the Solicitors to the Company, Messrs. Coombe and Nicoll; Messrs. Lind and Rickard, stockbrokers, 3, Bank Chambers, Lothbury; and of the following agents:—Bristol: Henry Dayrell, Esq., stockbroker, 6, Clare-street.—Gloucester: G. P. Wilkes, Esq., solicitor.—Liverpool: Messrs. Lowe and Sons, stockbrokers.—Plymouth: J. B. Wilcocks, Esq., Barbican.—Windsor: Henry Darvill, Esq., solicitor.

By order of the Directors,
 Sept. 25, 1851. HENRY CAPPER, Secretary.

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

One of the Company's first-class steamers will also be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria, as an extra ship, on the 3rd of November next, in combination with an extra steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about the 20th of October. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY.—The Company will likewise despatch from Bombay, about the 1st of November next, and of every alternate month thereafter, a first-class steam-ship for Aden, to meet there the Company's ships between Calcutta and Suez; and at Alexandria one of the Company's steam-ships will receive the passengers, parcels, and goods, and convey them to Southampton, calling at Malta and Gibraltar.

But passengers, parcels, and goods for BOMBAY and WESTERN INDIA will be conveyed throughout from Southampton in the mail steamers, leaving Southampton on the 20th of October, and the corresponding vessels from Suez to Aden, at which latter port a steam-ship of the Company will be in waiting to embark and convey them to Bombay.

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

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA.—On the 20th and 29th of every month. Constantinople—On the 29th of the month. Alexandria—On the 26th of the month.

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

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

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

THE "FAVOURITE" HAVANNAH sent in boxes 1 lb. 13s. 6d., & 1 lb. 7s. Connoisseurs are requested to give this beautifully flavoured cigar one trial.
 London: Geoffrey and Co., 29, Ashley-crescent, City-road, forwarded free at the above price to all parts of England.

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