

# 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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SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

THE General Election has been going on for four or five days, and a considerable sample of the next House of Commons has by this time been duly elected. If the bulk answer to sample it will not be distinguished amongst Parliaments, either for abilities or for strong convictions. It will be essentially a Parliament representing the middle class. Not only do extreme opinions find no favour, but shining abilities are not appreciated, and popularity, in the broadest sense of the word, is a disqualification. To be distinguished for something has proved to be a dangerous advantage, and the candidate chosen by a show of hands has mostly been rejected by the poll.

Spirited contests have been waged nearly everywhere, and in some places with very remarkable results. In the City, Mr. Masterman, Peelite, supported by all the Liberals, reaches the head of the poll; Lord John coming in second. Here high respectability was the recommendation. At Liverpool, bigotry defeats Cardwell and Ewart, and elects a Forbes Mackenzie, Orangeman, Derbyite, Protectionist, and Mr. Turner, a staunch Free-trader, but nevertheless a Derbyite and Anti-Catholic. The Tories crow mightily over this election. Perhaps the recent Acts for checking Bribery and Corruption may give the right of crowing to the other party. In Greenwich, Government put on the screw at high pressure, and carried Peter Rolt, ousting Admiral Stewart, and placing Alderman Salomons lowest on the Poll. By the same influence Sir John Romilly was supplanted at Devonport, and Sir G. Clerk at Dover. As a per contra, Scarborough rejects the notorious George Frederick Young; Hull returns Mr. Clay and Lord Goderich; Kidderminster, Robert Lowe; Aylesbury, Mr. Layard and Mr. Bethell; Halifax rescues its name from disgrace as a Tory borough by electing Mr. Frank Crossley as a colleague of Sir Charles Wood; Carlisle returns Sir James Graham at the head of the poll; Leicester is true to Walmsley and Gardner; Manchester adheres to Mr. Milner Gibson and John Bright; Reading selects Keating in the place of Stanford; and Sheffield carries triumphantly Roebuck and Hadfield.

These are notable events enough. But there are some still more notable behind. Lambeth ousts the veteran Whig Radical D'Eyncourt, and replaces him, at a few days' notice, by Mr. Arthur Wilkinson, who reaches the top of the

[TOWN EDITION.]

poll by dint of the mid-day votes of the working-men. So far this is a gain. But mark the contrast on the other side of the river. Mr. William Coningham, the Radical candidate for Westminster, decidedly the popular candidate, is defeated; even a Lord Maidstone brings more voters to the poll. The men, like those who carried Mr. Wilkinson's election, in Westminster, were tricked out of their votes by one of the most dastardly of electioneering rascalities. At the time when the working-men were coming up, the committee of General Evans and Sir John Shelley put out a placard, stating that Mr. Coningham had resigned, and that he "urged his supporters to poll" for these two immaculate gentlemen. The statement was the reverse of the truth, but it answered its purpose: before it could be refuted the men had returned to their work! But this was not the sole instance of the rejection of the man chosen by the non-electors, supposing all those who crowd to the nomination to be non-electors. William Newton, candidate for the Tower Hamlets, was supported by thousands of hands and defeated by thousands of votes. Mr. George Thompson and Mr. Ayrton share his fate, and a gentleman noted for his bigotted antagonism to Maynooth heads the poll. In Southwark and Finsbury, it is true, the old members, Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Duncombe are elected; but at Bradford Colonel Thompson, another popular candidate, is driven out by a Free-trade Derbyite; Oldham ousts Fox, and Brighton rejects Trelawny. So much for the value of the constituencies as an index to the will of the people.

As far as the borough elections have gone they tell in favour of Free-trade and Whiggery—but in favour of nothing else. The Liberals at present have absolutely gained a few seats.

Meanwhile, the investigation into the origin of the Stockport riots has been suspended; the evidence at present produced telling rather against the Protestants, and not telling at all in favour of the Catholics. The latter, however, have not disgraced themselves by the publication of any such insulting placards as have issued from the other side.

The political atmosphere in France grows more unwholesome, if not more perturbed and threatening, week by week. The land seems mined with conspiracy, and to meet these secret machinations, the Government of professed experts in conspiracy, invents plots against its own safety; and out of a few broken gas-pipes, and a few yards of canvass, carefully stuffed by the police with bullets, forges infernal machines against society. And to

save society, once more endangered, the Empire is again announced by petitions, which the chief duty of the prefects consists in organizing. And so the gigantic falsehood waxes, and so, slowly but most surely, it wanes. As to the President, demoralized and morose, he betakes himself away to the retreat of royalty dethroned and dispossessed, and already aching with lassitude, if not with satiety, begins to find that, in the success of ambition, care outruns content. The dispersed deputies are venting abroad the disaffection they are compelled to stifle in the chamber. The attitude of the army inspires grave anxieties in those who feel that the instrument may become the arbiter; that a two-edged sword cuts both ways, and that the bayonets that gave can take away. And to secure the devotion of that army for whom the souvenirs of a Name suffice not, the Emperor in *petto* contemplates a razzia in Algeria upon Arab women and cattle. But in Africa he will be arrested by the exploits of Lamoricière, as in Europe he is paralyzed by the name of Napoleon. And it is not through such an arch of triumph that he can hope to "reach the stars." Altogether, Louis Napoleon's prospects are not cheering.

News has come from Kafirland and the United States. General Cathcart pursues the tactics of Sir Henry Smith, to some extent. Military promenades continue, with similar successes and reverses. But General Cathcart continues to refuse to treat, until every hostile Kafir is beyond the Kei. He also vigorously threatens hanging. The gist of the whole is, that the war is not yet ended, nor does such a consummation seem likely to happen for some time.

From the United States we learn that the Whig convention, has, as we expected, made choice of General Winfield Scott as the Presidential candidate for the party. The Whigs have not managed so cleverly as their antagonists, the Democrats. Like the Whigs, the Democrats had several candidates, all of them men commanding a considerable degree of public favour, but each of them possessing the favour more especially of a particular section, a fact rendering it somewhat difficult to concentrate the votes of the whole party upon any one of the three.

In this respect, the position of the two parties was exactly alike—President Fillmore, General Scott, and Daniel Webster, each occupying a prominent place in the public esteem, but being viewed with strong favour, or with strong objection by several sections of the party. The Democrats

agreed to waive the candidates of their several sections, and in General Pierce they found one who had been removed from recent dissensions, and was yet illustrious in the esteem of his countrymen. It would appear, that the Whig party was not possessed of an illustrious retired so suitable for the purpose in question; and it has, therefore, necessarily been content with the ordinary process of putting its candidates to the vote. Of Mr. Webster's abilities no one entertains the slightest doubt; but the vote has proved that, as a candidate for the Presidency, he had not the confidence of any large proportion of his countrymen. President Fillmore might have enjoyed the compliment of re-election, had it not been necessary for the party to put forth a candidate able, if possible, to secure all the Whig votes, and a few more. General Scott's military achievements have rendered him popular with those ardent citizens, who already see the Republic of the West rivalling in vastness and power the republic of the seven hills. The contest now lies between General Scott, with Whig support and military popularity, and General Franklin Pierce, with a great civil as well as military reputation. But even the Whig supporters of General Scott are not quite in accord amongst themselves, and some members of the defeated sections still talk of voting independently of the decision of the convention.

### THE GENERAL ELECTION.

THE notes of preparation which have so long sounded, have been silenced in the boroughs this week by the commencement of an active campaign, and the real work of choosing members. Among the first in the field was

#### THE CITY.

As our readers are aware, a section of independent Liberals, distrustful of the nominees of the Reform Association, Lord John Russell, Baron Rothschild, and Sir James Duke, brought forward Mr. Crawford. Various meetings of his supporters were held, and negotiations carried on with him. The result of this was, that he resolved not to act either directly or indirectly in advancing his own cause, but at the same time intimating that if elected he would serve. On Monday a large meeting of the chiefs among the Liberal party, was held at the London Tavern, and after a great deal of talk, they resolved to send for Mr. Crawford, and ask him to retire. But he was not to be found, and matters remained in this state until Tuesday the

#### NOMINATION DAY.

Early in the morning there were crowds in the open courtyard, facing the entrance to the Guildhall; at 10 o'clock the candidates arrived; the doors were thrown open, and the large hall was instantly filled with people. Among the notables present were three of the sons of Louis Philippe—the Duc D'Aumale, the Duc de Nemours, and the Duc de Montpensier. Lady John Russell also was there to encourage her husband by her presence, and witness his success or defeat.

Mr. Hankey, the Governor of the Bank of England, proposed Lord John Russell as a fit and proper person to represent the city in Parliament. He laid it down that the present election turned upon the question of Free-trade or Protection. One part of his speech is remarkable for the originality of the illustrations it affords of one of the points in dispute between the contending parties. He said:—

"It was well known that one of the most alarming prophecies of the Protectionists was, that under a system of Free-trade the first evidence of its full development would be a drain of all the gold from the Bank of England. Now, as this was a point on which he might be supposed to be somewhat familiar ('hear,' and a laugh), he begged to tell them that, at the present moment, there was gold enough in the vaults of the Bank of England to cover with a very nice sheathing of gold an ordinary-sized road all round the equator, and he was not very sure that they had not enough to gild the whole world. Perhaps it was to the vaults of the Bank of England that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was alluding when he said that he saw something 'looming in the distance.' He could tell him that if he would apply his telescopic instrument in the direction of those vaults, he would see a sight that would make a very pretty object for his glass. (Cheers and laughter.) But he must beg at the same time to remind him that all that gold had been purchased with the results of British industry, and the greater part of it under a system of Free trade. (Hear.) And he would, moreover, venture to predict, that all the unusual supply of gold now in those vaults could be as readily parted with as it had been accumulated, and without the smallest disturbance of the ordinary functions of the Bank, whenever the demands

of the people of this country showed that they were desirous of exchanging that gold, now merely placed there in temporary deposit, for articles produced elsewhere, and which might be considered of more immediate and essential use in this country. (Loud cries of 'Hear, hear.')

Such being the case, said he, do not endanger the maintenance of Free-trade by a single vote, and support Lord John Russell, and trust to his pilotage.

Mr. John Dillon seconded the nomination on the same grounds, adding that Lord John represented the principle of reform in England.

Mr. Prescott proposed Baron Rothschild, and supported his nomination on the ground that it was of the greatest importance that the City should continue to vindicate the principle—that religious opinion should be no bar to the exercise of political rights.

For the same reason, Mr. Alderman Wire seconded his nomination.

Saluted by groans, hisses, and cries of "No Protection," Mr. Masterman was proposed by Mr. Ellis, and seconded by Mr. Heath.

A similar reception was given to Mr. Martineau and Alderman Lawrence, the proposer and seconder of Sir James Duke. These both attacked the supporters of Mr. Crawford, and urged the claims of Sir James, on the ground that he was a tried and known advocate of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. Crawford was proposed by Mr. W. J. Hall, and seconded by Mr. Bateman. Mr. Hall bitterly attacked Lord John, and declared that all his measures were shams; while Mr. Bateman, who for a long time could not obtain a hearing, wound up by asserting that "Lord John was used up."

Here the nominations ended, and Lord John Russell made his speech to the multitude. He ran through the usual stock subjects of his hustings speeches, telling them how he had brought about the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts; supported Free-trade; carried the Reform Bill; and acted with consistency and success. At one period of these remarks, the well-known chorus of "For he's a jolly good fellow," followed a burst of applause.

"Now as to the future. With respect to religious liberty, the measure of religious liberty was not yet complete, because there was a class of their fellow-subjects, faithful and loyal subjects of Her Majesty, who were excluded from office, and from seats in Parliament, on account of their religion. (Hear, hear.) He had done his best to remove that disability, but let him tell them that that was a question which did not depend on him, or any one advocate of that cause,—it depended on the people of England to settle that question. (Loud cheers.) And he felt assured that, if the people of England sent a large majority to the House of Commons to remove all religious disabilities, there would be found no obstacle to the consummation of their wishes. (Applause.) With respect to Free Trade, there was not one of the late members of the city of London, nor one of the present candidates, who wished to represent the city, that was not favourable to Free Trade. But, more than that, throughout the country the Protectionists were ready to give up that battle, and, like the garrison of a besieged place, were only about to muster their forces for the purpose of laying down their arms. (Cheers and laughter.) He was aware that it was proposed to make some sort of capitulation before those arms were piled; but the terms of that capitulation must be narrowly looked at, and he said for himself that he should vote for no relief to a particular class, but if the revenue could afford relief he thought it should be given to the community at large. (Loud applause.) His belief was, that that great class of their fellow-countrymen, a most deserving and respectable class, who were engaged in the pursuits of agriculture, would find their best advantage in that which was to the benefit of the community at large; and this was not a mere theory or a mere sentiment, because they all knew that the agriculturists were employed in raising food; and that the more people there were who could eat that food, and the more people there were who had money to buy that food, the better it would be for those who raised it. (Cheers.) He believed, therefore, that no person would come forward in the new Parliament to say that the people were suffering from the cheapness of bread, and that they had got a plan to add something to the price of the loaf. (Laughter and applause.) He doubted very much whether any one would even propose to make sugar dearer, but, if such a proposition were made, he did not think that those who liked to have sugar with their tea would be apt to countenance and support it. (Renewed laughter and applause.) Then he came to another question, to which he had already alluded—namely, the question of Reform in Parliament. He now declared in that hall his opinion, which he had before declared in the House of Commons, that there ought to be an extension of the suffrage. (Cheers.) He believed likewise that in proposing the Reform Bill, as he and the Ministers at the time did, in a great emergency, there were defects that required to be amended in that measure, and he, for his part, should be ready to consider every proposition for that purpose, with the view to give the people a more complete representation. (Cheering, and a cry of 'What about the ballot?')

As to his errors no doubt he had committed many, for he was fallible; but what he had done for good they all knew, and he trusted they would pardon his mistakes and give him credit for his good will.

"His object, if elected to the new Parliament, would be to remove remaining religious disabilities; and to take care that the oath, which members of Parliament were obliged

to take, should be one and simple—the same for persons of all religious faiths; that religious faith should no longer be any disqualification, and that, as there should be no longer an oath kept up for the purpose of excluding the Jews, so neither should an oath be maintained which in many of its parts insulted and injured the Roman Catholics. (Applause.) He was for men of all religions having equal rights to serve their country. (Cheers; a cry of 'No Popery!') He heard some one call out 'No Popery!' His principle upon that subject was very clear. He never would allow any interference with the supremacy and independence of the Crown and of the nation; but, on the other hand, he would never punish any man for his religious opinions. (Loud cheers.)"

Being asked by Mr. Bennoch how far he would extend the suffrage and shorten Parliaments, he replied by asking them to trust him, and if they trusted him to leave those matters in his hands! As to the Ballot he was quite opposed to it.

Next in order came Baron Rothschild, who was received with groans, cheers, and hisses. His speech mainly turned upon the advocacy of his own cause. Towards the end, however, the Baron, who is, remember, the Consul General of Austria, got upon another theme.

"He would now refer to a circumstance which had been made use of against him on this occasion,—he referred to the loan which had been contracted with his firm (hisses and cheers); and in doing so he did not wish that it should be considered that he was in any way making an excuse for the manner in which he, the representative, had been acting. But he wished to take advantage of that opportunity to state, that in Austria the Jews now enjoyed the same privileges and rights enjoyed by all other religious persuasions. At present there were two Jews who had very high situations in the Austrian Government. As regarded, therefore, civil and religious liberty, Austria was already in advance of this country. (Hear, hear.)"

Mr. Masterman followed. His address was very short. As regarded Protection, he thought he might say that he had voted for all the relaxations that had been proposed in our commercial tariff; and that, if a renewal of the duties on corn should ever be proposed he, for one, would never give his consent to it in any way. (Cheers.)

Upon other subjects he pleaded that in his votes he had the good of the country at heart.

Sir James Duke, hissed and cheered, put in the same plea, and contended that he had acted out his principles in the most straightforward and honourable manner. He complained that some one had issued a forged letter declaring that he had resigned.

Mr. Crawford made a brief speech, stating that he felt bound by every regard to consistency, honour, and to those conclusions which he came to on a careful consideration of all the circumstances, not to present himself there to them as a candidate. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, he was bound not altogether to ignore the spontaneous exhibition of feeling which had been manifested towards him, humble as he was, within the last few days. (Cheers and some confusion.) So he remained neutral.

After this, Mr. Bennoch and Mr. Dakin commented on the various candidates. The former standing up for Crawford, the latter defending Sir James Duke.

When the show of hands was taken, it was declared in favour of Mr. Masterman, Lord John Russell, Baron Rothschild, and Mr. Crawford. Sir James Duke demanded a poll. Mr. Crawford begged of his supporters not to take his name to the poll, but he did not succeed.

The next day, amid great excitement, the electors proceeded to the poll.

The Sheriff announced the state of the poll on Thursday to be as follows:—

Mr. Masterman . . . . .	6195
Lord John Russell . . . . .	5537
Sir James Duke . . . . .	5270
Baron Rothschild . . . . .	4748
Mr. Crawford . . . . .	3765

#### FINSBURY.

The nomination took place on Wednesday, on Clerkenwell-green. The candidates who came to the scratch were Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Wyld, and Mr. Alderman Challis.

Mr. Duncombe, who was unanimously and loudly cheered, came to the ground in a quiet carriage and pair; Alderman Challis sporting four greys.

Mr. Duncombe's opinions are too well known to need recapitulation in our columns. Besides a statement of his political principles, he stated his own personal position as opposed by two gentlemen who had come into the field before Mr. Wakley resigned, and therefore, he presumed, hostile to him.

"He confessed that he wished this struggle had not been a contest of Liberal against Liberal. It would have been more creditable to their cause, and more satisfactory, he thought, to the constituency of Finsbury; but, as it was, he had, acting on the defensive, been obliged to unfurl the old blue and buff now waving on the breeze. (Applause.) Those colours had never been defeated yet—(A voice, "Nor sullied")—and they would not be defeated now. (Loud cheers.) He therefore claimed their

confidence and asked for their support in vindication of those principles he ever had advocated, and in which, if a man knew himself, he should, be it soon or be it late, close his political career. (Great cheering.)

Mr. Wyld then rose, but a great row commenced, and he was with difficulty heard. He was understood to profess the political doctrines of Mr. Hume, and to attack Lord Derby.

Mr. Alderman Challis vindicated himself from the charge of dividing the Liberal interest. He then delivered what reads like an essay on the sublime spectacle of a people choosing their future government, but making no profession of principles less vaguely than in the words that he made "truth the basis of his decision, and the happiness of the people his object."

A show of hands was then taken, and the returning officer declared that it was in favour of Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Alderman Challis. The show of hands in favour of Mr. Duncombe appeared to be universal.

The result of the poll was as follows:—

Challis . . . . .	7315
Duncombe . . . . .	6683
Wyld . . . . .	1984

LAMBETH.

Mr. HARVEY'S resignation did not prevent the reformers who are dissatisfied with Mr. D'Eyncourt, from bringing forward another man. According, on Tuesday,

THE NOMINATION DAY,

Mr. Wilkinson, a well-known reformer, was, in due course, put in nomination. Mr. D'Eyncourt was proposed by Mr. Corry, and seconded by Mr. Knott; Mr. William Williams was proposed by Mr. J. Doulton, and seconded by Mr. Lyon; and Mr. A. Wilkinson was proposed by Mr. Brotherton, and seconded by Mr. Sewell. The whole of the opposition was directed against Mr. D'Eyncourt; who, when he attempted to address the electors, could not get a hearing, until Mr. Wilkinson begged one for him. His whole speech, however, amounted simply to a defence, on the ground that he had been a very long time their representative; that his age—he is seventy-four—was no hindrance to the exercise of his judgment and his tongue; and that as he had faithfully served them, they ought not to reject him.

He was followed by Mr. William Williams, who, loudly applauded, asked the electors and non-electors where they would find the man who had done more than he had to raise them up to the enjoyment of the rights of Englishmen? He then gave a lengthy recital of his great services. He declared that he had not said anything against Mr. Harvey, and he thought Mr. Wilkinson had better have gone elsewhere.

Mr. Wilkinson was most warmly received. He made no statement of his political views, but commented mainly on the peculiar fact, that as there was no difference of opinion between the candidates, it was one simply of the fitness of the men—in short, a personal contest. For his part, he only came forward to give the electors a choice of representatives which they required.

When the show of hands was taken, Mr. D'Eyncourt had very few, Mr. William Williams a large number, but a perfect forest of hands followed the name of Wilkinson. A poll was demanded by Mr. D'Eyncourt; and on Wednesday the poll was taken.

The Returning Officer declared the state of the poll on Thursday to be as follows:—

Wilkinson . . . . .	4732
Williams . . . . .	4022
D'Eyncourt . . . . .	3829

Up to twelve o'clock Mr. Wilkinson was last on the list, but between twelve and one the workmen came up, and in overwhelming numbers voted for Wilkinson.

MARYLEBONE.

Escorted by a great crowd, headed by flags, banners, and music, Lord Dudley Stuart and Sir Benjamin Hall, reached the hustings, on Tuesday, erected at the head of Portland Place. Here they were nominated, and, as there was no opposition, declared by the returning officer duly elected. Both the Honourable Gentlemen then addressed their constituents. Lord Dudley made some pertinent remarks on foreign affairs.

"With reference to other countries, his desire was that England should cultivate relations of peace with all the world, but at the same time he hoped that the sympathies of the Government of this great and free country—the only country that remained free now in Europe—would always be for those who were in favour of freedom throughout the world, and that their sympathies and predilections would never be exhibited on the side of despotism. (Cheers.) This country by all means ought to maintain peace with other nations, and the first country with which we ought to endeavour to ally ourselves more and more in the bonds of friendship was the free republic of the United States. (Cheers.) He hoped there would always be a good understanding with our noble brethren on the other side of the Atlantic. (Cheers.) Let us also, by all means, maintain peace with our neighbours in France. That people took very different views of what was right for their country

from those which actuated the people of England. There existed at the present moment a state of things there which, thank God, we could not bear for a moment in this country. (Cheers.) But if the French people preferred a despotism under the name of a republic—if that was their taste, however much we might wonder at it, and however much we might suppose it was a state of things that could not last long—still we must not dictate to them as to the mode in which they chose to be governed. (Hear, hear.) He wanted to see national independence; but when he looked round Europe he saw Russia ruling over Poland, though the people of Poland had never acquiesced in the iron rule of the Russian autocrat. (Hear, hear.) Did the people of Hungary acquiesce in the rule of Austria? Did the people of Italy contentedly submit to be governed by Germans, with foreign customs and habits imported from the other side of the Alps? (Hear, hear.) These things were against the laws of nations, and though he did not wish this country to interfere or engage in war with other powers, the sympathies of England would ever be with the oppressed, and her curses and execrations would ever be upon the despots who opposed them. (Hear.) Let there be no unworthy concessions to foreign Governments with regard to refugees in this country; and when an Englishman was oppressed in any part of the world let them not tolerate a Government like the present, with Lord Malmesbury at the head of foreign affairs, who was unable or unwilling to vindicate his claims—who could see an inoffensive youth cut down by the sword of a cowardly and brutal Austrian officer at the head of his troops, and who did not insist upon proper reparation. (Cheers.) Or who could see ministers of the Gospel pursuing their pious undertaking of preaching the Gospel in Hungary, ruthlessly, and in the midst of winter, turned out of the country at the hazard of health, if not of life, and yet no interposition made to obtain sufficient redress? (Hear, hear.) When Lord Palmerston was at the head of foreign affairs Englishmen were protected all over the world. (Cheers.) But so soon as he left it, there was a marked alteration in the tone of foreign Governments. (Hear, hear.) He had heard some doubts expressed as to whether Lord Palmerston was Liberal in so far as regarded the internal affairs of this country; but he could not believe that a man whose sympathies were in favour of liberty abroad was not true to the heart as a friend of liberty in his own country. (Hear, hear.) If, however, he was not a true Liberal, then, of course, he was not the man to be a Minister in England.

The proceedings finished with the usual vote of thanks to the Returning Officer.

SOUTHWARK.

The contest here was between Sir William Molesworth, Mr. Apsley Pellatt, and Mr. Scovell, who were nominated in the Townhall on Wednesday.

Sir William Molesworth, who was universally cheered, spoke of his past services, and gave that general exposition of his views with which the readers of the *Leader* must be already familiar. He was a staunch Radical—an advocate of Free-trade, national education, financial reform, religious equality, colonial self-government and the abolition of the taxes on knowledge.

Mr. Apsley Pellatt was fervently received. He is a liberal of much the same stamp as Sir William, but an untried man. He put forward his exertions on behalf of Mr. Charles Pearson's system of prison discipline, his antagonism to the ecclesiastical courts, and his views on the separation of Church and State, among his other claims for support.

Mr. Scovell was well received. Southwark seemed to like all its candidates, and to behave respectfully to each. Mr. Scovell was not for universal suffrage, but for Mr. Hume's motion for the boroughs, and Mr. Locke King's for the counties. He was for a revision of taxation, and the abolition of taxes on knowledge; but he was opposed to a severance of Church and State, and was not willing to disturb the grant to Maynooth.

A show of hands was then taken, which was declared to be in favour of Sir W. Molesworth and Mr. Apsley Pellatt, and a poll having been demanded on behalf of Mr. Scovell, and a vote of thanks passed to the high bailiff, the proceedings terminated.

The poll was as fatal to Mr. Scovell as the show of hands.

Pellatt . . . . .	3893
Molesworth . . . . .	3835
Scovell . . . . .	2765

TOWER HAMLETS.

"The largest constituency in England" is the wood of five candidates, and the result of the proceedings on Tuesday,

THE NOMINATION DAY,

must have astonished some of them. On that day, a multitude comprising some 7000, assembled on Stepney-green, under that scorching sun which has prevailed during the week. The scene here was one of the most exciting which has occurred anywhere. Mr. George Thompson was proposed and seconded by Mr. F. Clarke and Mr. Poore, (great cheering;) Sir William Clay, at the mention of whose name great was the uproar, found a proposer in Mr. Simpson, and a seconder in Mr. C. Buxton, neither of whom were heard by anybody. Mr. Ayrton was proposed by Mr. W. Hows, and supported by the Reverend Mr. Chipchase, amid applause. When Mr. Butler's name was put forward by Mr. J. Tyssen,

and seconded by Mr. Hammack, there was huge uproar; but, at the mere uttering of the name of William Newton, by Mr. Ambrose, such tremendous and hearty cheers gushed forth as have been seldom heard even on Stepney-green. He was seconded by Mr. Bloomfield.

Mr. George Thompson spoke first, but he was heard only by a few near him. Sir William Clay was positively unheard by anybody, so stunning was the row. However, he adopted a novel expedient; he ran along the hustings to the far-off box wherein the reporters were confined, and spoke at them, amid a perfect hurricane of all kinds of noises. His reported speech we find to have been a long essay on the Catholic question, and a declaration pendant to it in favour of the Maynooth grant. While he was speaking, there were constant cries of "Time," when Sir William, grandly waving his hand to the mob, shouted, "I am not speaking to you." Then he wound up by declaring that he would no longer waste his time by talking to men whom he did not consider a fair specimen of the men of the Tower Hamlets.

Mr. Ayrton spoke, unheard by the reporters, not because of any uproar, but by reason of the distance between the candidate and their box. The cheers which greeted the speaker, alone formed some index to the popular nature of the speech.

But he was followed by Mr. Butler, who shouted and gesticulated in vain for a long time. Not a word was heard. At length, he attempted to follow the example of Sir William Clay, and speak to the reporters. In vain; only from time to time, as the storm of noisy-dislike fell into a comparative calm, he launched sentences over the intervening distance, and they were caught by the quick ears of the reporters. From these flying sentences, we learn that Mr. Butler believes himself to be "a Reformer in all senses of the word; but he has not freedom on his lips and insurrection in his heart." He was for economy, against the Militia Bill, Protection, the Maynooth grant, but in favour of full religious equality. After a gallant and protracted struggle, with confusion and clamour, he gave way. That he is a fair-spoken man, here are a few of the fugitive sentences testifying to the honour of an opponent whom all are but too prone to calumniate:—

"I believe I have now had a fair innings. (Laughter.) It will now be for you to hear Mr. Newton. (Great cheering.) I wish to give that gentleman my meed of praise for the gentlemanly way in which he has conducted his canvass. I have seen Mr. Newton to-day for the first time; I have asked to have the pleasure of shaking hands with that gentleman, for he has borne himself in a fair and proper manner. He has put forth no calumnious placards, but has comforted himself in a respectable and honourable way." (Cheers.)

Mr. William Newton next came to the front of the hustings, and was received with vociferous cheering and waving of hats, followed by a general round of applause. He said:—

Four candidates had addressed them, all of whom expressed themselves confident that they would be placed first on the poll. Not one had said he should be second. Now, he was indifferent for his part whether he was first or second (a laugh), and he was glad he had no competitor for the second place. (Cheers and laughter.) A share in the representation was all that the working classes wanted. They did not dictate to the electors as to whom they should elect for his (Mr. Newton's) colleague. That they left to the consciences of the electors. But he begged of them to remember that there were 60,000 non-electors in the borough. (Cheers.) Would the electors have no consideration for them, and were they to remain as much misrepresented as they had been? Was it sufficient to have men to represent them whom they never saw in the borough except when they came to be re-elected, and who, when they were asked to attend meetings in the borough, pleaded pre-engagement, indisposition, and other excuses? What the working-classes wanted was men to attend to the interests of the people, who would mix with the people, who would condescend to attend meetings and listen to their complaints, and who would assist them to destroy those huge monopolies of different kinds which now oppressed them. The Commissioners of Trusts, for example, took away from the borough a great amount of money; but there was no one in the House of Commons to look to those matters. The great interests of labour must be represented in that House, and he asked them to send him to represent them. (Loud cheers.) They had made a good deal of noise that day, no doubt, but it was a good-humoured noise, which had nothing vindictive in it. (Laughter.) "My views (continued Mr. Newton) are, that a responsibility should rest upon the Legislature of this country to find employment for the people." (Loud cheers.) He believed that the people of this country would enforce these views upon the Government, not by noisy clamour, but by the announcement of their views at meetings like the present, and by the orderly conduct of the people. It was said at first that he (Mr. Newton) had been paid by the Carlton Club to continue this contest; then it was said he was paid by a nobleman; and, lastly, that he had received money from Mr. Butler to split up the Liberal interest. They were now all face to face, and let any one who dared now repeat these statements, and he would show them that he challenged his accusers to the strictest scrutiny. He believed that to-morrow night would place him in the position of one of their representatives, and that when the news of that victory was sent

to the industrious lives of the north, the working people there would thank the electors of the Tower Hamlets for having given them a representative of their interests. (Loud cheers.) He would raise his voice in behalf of the working man whenever he was oppressed. Property was sufficiently protected and represented. (Cheers.) There were hon. baronets and lawyers enough in the House of Commons. (Laughter.) But the interests of labour were not represented in that House. The non-electors of the borough had not resorted to exclusive dealing to influence the electors, but had used nothing but argument and reason to induce them to vote for him. They had found the electors willing to give to labour a representative in the House of Commons, and he felt confident that, by the united exertions of electors and non-electors, he should stand to-morrow night in the proud position of their representative. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Onslow, the returning officer, then called for a show of hands. For Mr. G. Thompson a very large majority of hands were held up, and the demonstration elicited great cheering. For Sir W. Clay hardly thirty hands were held up, and most of these belonged to persons in carriages at the outskirts of the meeting. For Mr. Ayrton there was a more numerous show than was anticipated, although it fell far short of the demonstration in favour of Mr. G. Thompson. For Mr. Butler about as many hands were held up as for Sir W. Clay; but for Mr. Newton an extraordinary demonstration was made, and it really seemed as if every hand in the densely-packed assembly were raised in his favour. The delight of the crowd broke out in irrepressible shouts and enthusiastic waving of hats. When order was restored, the returning officer declared that the choice of the electors, as evinced by the show of hands, had fallen upon Mr. W. Newton (tremendous cheering) and Mr. G. Thompson. Here the cheering was renewed, but not so enthusiastically as that which greeted William Newton.

Wednesday was fixed for the poll.

Mr. Child announced the numbers of the votes for each candidate on Thursday, which were as follows:—

Clay . . . . .	7728
Butler . . . . .	7718
Thompson . . . . .	4568
Ayrton . . . . .	2792
Newton . . . . .	1095

WESTMINSTER.

Covent Garden Market, the scene of so many proud triumphs of the people of Westminster, was occupied on Wednesday by the rival candidates and their supporters. A hustings was erected in front of St. Paul's Church, extending the length of the portico, and upon it were standing the gentlemen who were to be put in nomination. It was a fine specimen of a popular election. Sir John Shelley and his friends occupied the extreme left, looking from the hustings, and facing the west entrance to the market. He is a man with a good presence, genial countenance, with a high, bald forehead. Next him stood General Evans, dark, louring, and cloudy, with an anxious, imperious expression of face. When he spoke, he put on the forced Parliamentary smile, so different from the broad, generous, honest look of his ally, Sir John. In the centre sat the high bailiff, Mr. Smedley, an astute, good-natured looking man, who bore the uproar with that placid aspect which years of experience gives a strong man in office. On his right hand, leaning against one of the uprights of the building, stood the tall, knightly figure of William Coningham. He is upwards of six feet high; his face is dark, his hair black, his bearing manly, yet unassuming; and the expression of his features was one of great soul-felt earnestness. Next to him stood Lord Maidstone, the Prophet of "the Deluge"—a weak looking gentleman, with grey hair and an imperial. He was surrounded by a set of lords and gentlemen, who seemed to relish the fun. The crowd below was a genuine Westminster mob—heartly, good-humoured, and noisy; and for the most part composed of artisans and workmen.

When the preliminaries of the nomination had been gone through, Mr. Smedley called on General Evans. Up rose the dark General, and opened his lips. This was the signal for the greatest uproar—whistling, yelling, cries of all kinds, rendering the candidate inaudible, except by the reporters. What he said to them consisted of self-laudations, uttered with an apparent good humour and a good deal of suppressed passion. At length he gave up; and was succeeded by Sir John Shelley, who was greeted with a good deal of applause. He was heard, there being no uproar, and he having a good voice. He declared himself a Free-trader of long standing; in favour of an extension of the franchise, vote by ballot, and civil and religious liberty—

"The noble lord (Maidstone) had one serious thing to answer for. In order that he might be strongly supported, some of the beauty and elegance of London had been going about in this extreme weather destroying their complexions and the roses on their cheeks. (Laughter.) The noble lord would agree with him that it was lucky there was no Protectionist duty on Rowland's Ka-

lydor, Circassian cream, and other articles that were deemed good for female complexions. (Laughter.) There was, however, a moral in all this. He did not believe that these fair ladies, when they went about among their tradesmen and tried to get them to vote against their consciences, were aware what they were doing. Why, they were impressing more strongly on the minds of the people than all the efforts of Reformers could do, the necessity for the ballot (cheers), and he thanked them for having so warmly espoused a cause which was thought by many to be necessarily connected with the free expression of opinion in returning members to Parliament." (Cheers.)

As to the "Deluge," there were other men quite as able as Lord Derby to conduct public affairs, and among others he might name Lord Palmerston.

Lord Maidstone then rose, and took off his hat, but such a furious uproar commenced, that nothing he said could be heard. He contented himself with making a private speech to the reporter of the *Morning Herald*, who stood quite close to his lordship, and whose head his lordship seemed constantly to aim at, as he clenched his fist, and thrust it from him towards the crowd. At length he, too, gave up; and when

William Coningham bowed to the people, a storm of applause of ringing, hearty "hurrahs!" burst from the crowd, such as is only to be heard at an election, and on the battle-field.

He assured the electors of Westminster that he had not come forward to divide, but to conquer (cheers), and he felt confident that their suffrages would place him triumphantly at the head of the poll. Lord Maidstone had told them that after Lord Derby the deluge. But he said that after Lord Derby, if they did not take care, they would have the Whig happy family back again. (Cheers.) He wished to rescue Westminster from the grasp of a small section of the constituents, who had too long held it in domination. It was his wish to emancipate them, and he came forward as the liberator of the ancient city of Westminster. Look back to the history of the past. (Hear, hear.) Look at the long list of illustrious names who have represented your ancient city in Parliament. You will see then how much you have degenerated from your forefathers. Remember the Whig—the Whig who was worth fighting for, Charles James Fox. (Cheers.) Remember that he, unlike the *pseudo* reformers of the present day, did not come forward merely to emancipate bricks and mortar, but that he came forward to represent the principle of manhood suffrage. (Cheers.) He stood before them that day as an advocate of the same principles. It was because he wished to represent the manhood of Westminster that he came forward upon the present occasion. (Cheers.) There had been an attempt to blast his character, but he had lived over the storm. Although an humble and an unknown soldier, as the standard of freedom had fallen into his hands, it should never be disgraced by him. (Cheers.) Upon that banner were inscribed the principles of civil and religious and commercial freedom. He upheld the principle that the suffrage should be extended, and that it should be exercised according to the conscientious opinions of the voter. (Hear, hear.) He laughed to scorn the ridiculous objection that the ballot was an un-English practice. At the city election yesterday, when a question was put to Lord John Russell, in order to test him, and when he was asked whether he was prepared to protect the tenant-farmers in the exercise of their electoral rights, he met the question with an evasive reply. (Hear, hear, hear.) He was certainly therefore not fit to be a leader of the people. Manhood suffrage was the principle that must be laid down, and if they did him the honour of returning him as their representative, he would make the walls of Parliament ring with that question. He would never act as an obstructor of any practical reform measure which might be brought before the House. He was in favour of annual parliaments; but he would not object to triennial, as that was a question of detail. He supported equal electoral districts, where every man should have one vote and no more. He told Sir John Shelley that he was equally a Free-trader with him. He was not a Free-trader in corn only—he was a Free-trader in money. First came the loaf, then came money. The great question of Free-trade was not merely an English one. It involved the interests of every country upon the face of the globe. His excellent friend, Mr. Walker, the Secretary for the Treasury in the United States, who took an active part in the great question of commercial freedom, had informed him that in the approaching struggle in the States, the democratic interest, which was in favour of Free-trade, was certain to prevail. (Cheers.) With regard to France, she had unfortunately relapsed into despotism. If the principle of universal suffrage had been adhered to by the Assembly, he was convinced that the *coup-d'état* would never have been accomplished. It was not until after that *coup* was successful that Louis Napoleon re-established universal suffrage. (Hear, hear.) Last year, at the Manchester Conference, when Mr. Bright's Reform Bill was discussed, he was the only man who protested against it, and told them that the only good thing in that bill was the vote by ballot.

The show of hands was then taken. For Sir D. L. Evans not more than a couple of dozens were raised aloft; Sir J. Shelley had a very fair display; Lord Maidstone was less fortunate, and not more than 40 or 50 were held up for him, but thousands were flourished aloft in the air for Mr. Coningham, and the high bailiff, amid much cheering, declared the latter gentleman and Sir J. Shelley to be elected.

But the poll was fatal to the popular candidate.

Shelley . . . . .	4284
Evans . . . . .	3758
Maidstone . . . . .	3341
Coningham . . . . .	1717

About five o'clock on Thursday, the candidates, with the exception of Lord Maidstone, made their appearance upon the hustings. Sir John Shelley and Sir De Lacy Evans attempted vainly to make themselves heard. Mr. Coningham's supporters had however mustered too strong, and notwithstanding his urgent entreaties a storm of hisses and groans was the only reception which the successful candidates received.

Mr. Coningham, who was received with loud cheers, said:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I have been beaten in the battle which has just taken place. But it was a fair up-stand fight upon my part. (Cheers.) I have coalesced with no party. I have stood independent of the Whig Rump, as well as of the Tory party. (Cheers.) Although I have conducted my contest in a fair and honourable manner, I cannot say so much of my Whig adversaries. (Cries of 'shame.') I have been attacked, not merely after an electioneering fashion; anonymous libels of the basest description have been issued from the Whig central committee. When they found that their accusations fell harmless to the ground, these pretended advocates of civil and religious liberty have attempted to raise a bigoted no-Popery cry against me. (Loud cheers.) For an honest no-Popery cry I have a certain degree of respect. But when a man comes forward on the broad principles of civil and religious liberty, and then raises a no-Popery cry to serve his personal interest, that man is a traitor to his country. (Cheers.) Therefore, I say, Sir De Lacy Evans is an unfit man to represent the constituency of Westminster—(cheers)—therefore, I say, Sir John Shelley is not true to his colours when he allowed them to be united with those of a traitor to the cause of freedom. (Loud cheers.) This question is not a personal one. The question which I have raised is whether the people of England are to be governed by aristocratic authority, or whether the democrats of England are to assert their social rights. (Cheers.) I have hoisted the flag of democracy in the second city of the empire (cheers)—I have flung it abroad, not only to the people of England, but to the people of the world. You will see that the people of France and America will respond to the cry which I have raised. The question is whether you are to have an Anglo-American and French alliance, or whether you are to have an alliance with the despots of the North, with Russia, and with Austria (loud cheers). Whether we are to have Lord Palmerston for a foreign minister, or the minion of the Austrian Court. (Down with Malmesbury.) I have been accused of being a communist as well as an anarchist. I am neither. I want to carry my views by peaceful means. I do not want to put the musket into every man's hands; I only want to put the vote. The cry of manhood suffrage which I have raised will be re-echoed throughout the country. (Cheers.) Let me, above all things, warn you against Whiggery. The Whigs are traitors to the popular cause. I have not coalesced with the Tory. I refused to coalesce with any one. Let me tell you, however, that an honest Tory is better than a traitorous Whig. (Loud cheers.) The fact of it is, the Whigs are frightened out of their wits. They wish to retain power, and the Radical party go too far for them. When a deputation of the coalitionists came to me to-day, and asked me to resign, I stated that I stood upon my own ground, and that I would leave the Tory No-Popery man and the Whig No-Popery man to fight it out between them. I came forward to fight your battle, and it was not for me to resign the contest. (Loud cheers.)

ENGLAND AND WALES.

ABINGDON.—General Caulfield (Liberal) in the room of Sir F. Thesiger.

ANGLESEA.—Lord George Paget, unopposed.

ARUNDEL.—Lord Edward Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk, elected without opposition.

ASHBURN.—Mr. George Moffat was elected without a contest.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.—Mr. Charles Hindley, unopposed.

AYLESBURY, which has within this ten years become decidedly Liberal, declared, by show of hands on Tuesday, in favour of Mr. Layard, the Nineveh excavator, and Mr. Bethell, famous in the Court of Chancery. These two are opposed by Captain West, of the Grenadier Guards, and Dr. Bayford, well known in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the contest, began in the canvass, and carried out on the hustings, was fought on Wednesday in the polling booth, and ended in the election of \_\_\_\_\_, and at the head of the poll. The numbers were—

Layard . . . . .	558
Bethell . . . . .	525
Bayford . . . . .	447
West . . . . .	435

BEDFORD.—Mr. Henry Stuart, late of Newark, was the Tory candidate here. His Liberal opponents were Mr. Chisholm Anstey and Mr. Whitbread. Mr. Stuart and Mr. Anstey had the show of hands on St. Peter's Green. A poll was called for.

Stuart . . . . .	518
Whitbread . . . . .	430
Anstey . . . . .	252

BERWICK returns Mr. M. Forster and Mr. Stapleton, two Liberals.

BEVERLEY.—The Honourable B. Lawley and Mr. Wells carried the show of hands, and the poll.

Lawley . . . . .	611
Wells . . . . .	588
Glover . . . . .	498

**BEWDLEY.**—A strong party contest has raged here between Sir Thomas Winnington, Liberal, and Mr. Sandars, Tory, and late member for Yarmouth. Sandars obtaining the show of hands, and Winnington demanding a poll.

Winnington . . . . .	169
Sandars . . . . .	151

**BIRMINGHAM.**—Mr. Muntz and Mr. W. Scholefield were elected without opposition.

**BLACKBURN.**—Mr. Hornby, a Derbyite, opposed Mr. Pilkington and Mr. Eccles, Free-traders. At the poll the numbers stood—

Pilkington . . . . .	846
Eccles . . . . .	580
Hornby . . . . .	509

**BOLTON.**—The market-place contained a crowd of many thousands, all alive with excitement and strong party feeling. Mr. Blair came forward for re-election. He is a Conservative Free-trader. Mr. Peter Ainsworth, Mr. Crook, and Mr. Barnes, Liberals and Free-traders, were the other candidates. The show of hands was in favour of Barnes and Crook. The polling took place on Thursday.

Barnes . . . . .	733
Crook . . . . .	716
Blair . . . . .	708
Ainsworth . . . . .	343

**BRADFORD.**—Colonel Thompson was proposed on Tuesday by Mr. W. E. Forster, and seconded by Mr. Kenion. Mr. Lister nominated, and Mr. Titus Salt seconded, Mr. Milligan. These were the former Radical members. They were opposed by Mr. Wickham, a Derbyite free-trader, and Mr. Julian Harney. The latter did not intend to go to the poll. The show of hands was in favour of Colonel Thompson and Mr. Milligan. The polling took place the next day, and resulted as follows:—

Milligan . . . . .	1252
Wickham . . . . .	1173
Thompson . . . . .	1153

**BRIDGWATER.**—Five gentlemen were equally anxious to represent this city. There were three Liberals, Colonel Tynte, Lord Henley, and Mr. [Eöthen] Kinglake. The names of the Tories were Mansell and Follett. All had abandoned Protection. Colonel Tynte and Lord Henley had the show of hands, but all five went to the poll on Wednesday. In consequence of which the numbers stood—

Tynte . . . . .	271
Follett . . . . .	243
Mansell . . . . .	177
Henley . . . . .	149
Kinglake . . . . .	101

**BRIDPORT.**—Two Liberals, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Murrongh, elected by a large majority over a Tory opponent.

**BRIGHTON.**—At the nomination, on Wednesday, the popular favourite was Mr. Trelawny.

Sir G. Pechell characterised the present Ministry as a set of men who had swallowed every principle on which they had acted for the last ten or twelve years. They must oppose every man who professed to support Lord Derby. He thought that the vote by ballot would have placed in the House of Commons a very different set of gentlemen from those whom he had seen sitting opposite to him. He disapproved of the foreign policy of the present Government; and hoped good results from an extension of the suffrage. His address was received with much applause.

Lord A. Hervey professed himself a mild reformer, and a supporter of Sir Robert Peel's policy. He would not offer factious opposition to any Government.

Mr. Ffooks attempted to speak, but could not make himself heard. He seemed to profess himself an advocate of the further extension of Free-trade, and a determined opponent of the Maynooth grant and Papal aggression.

Mr. Trelawny's turn came next and last. He was evidently the popular candidate. After alluding to the recent Whig Reform Bill, he expressed an opinion that before another election took place a large extension of the suffrage would have admitted a large portion of the existing non-electors within the pale of the constitution. Mr. Trelawny devoted a considerable portion of his speech to showing that he was in the field before Mr. Ffooks, and that the latter was not justified, either by his introduction to Brighton, his reception there, or by the result of his canvass, in splitting the Liberal interest; but that as a true Liberal, loving the cause rather than himself, it was his duty to retire. (The details of this argument were devoid of interest beyond the locality.) Lord Alfred Hervey, it was true, was a Free-trader; but other questions would soon come before Parliament, and how would the noble lord vote on them? How would he vote on the ballot? How on church-rates? How relative to the proceedings at Frome? He (Mr. Trelawny) protested against any

man remaining in the Church of England who held words in a "non-natural sense," and countenanced the doctrines of one church while he professed to belong to another. (Applause.) Here, then, were three questions on which it was probable that his Lordship would not vote in accordance with the decidedly Liberal feelings of the electors of the borough. The two great questions of this day were Free-trade and progressive reform; and upon them all Liberals ought to be united. Mr. Trelawny concluded by saying, that if he had the honour of being elected to represent the borough, he should exert every energy he possessed to discharge his duty with honour to himself, and, he hoped, to the satisfaction of the elector.

A Voter.—How far would you extend the suffrage?  
Mr. Trelawny.—Household.  
The show of hands was declared in favour of Mr. Trelawny and Sir G. Pechell.

Pechell . . . . .	1936
Hervey . . . . .	1434
Trelawny . . . . .	1177
Ffooks . . . . .	120

**CALNE.**—The Earl of Shelburne. This is Lord Lansdowne's pocket borough. The Earl is a very mild Whig and Free-trader.

**CAMBRIDGE.**—Mr. Adair and Mr. Mowatt, Liberals, are opposed by Mr. Astell and Mr. Macaulay, Tories.

Macauley . . . . .	821
Astell . . . . .	804
Adair . . . . .	737
Mowatt . . . . .	673

**CANTERBURY.**—The duellists, Colonel Romilly and Mr. Smyth, went down for re-election, but found small favour on the nomination day; when their Tory opponents, Mr. Gipps and the Honourable Butler Johnstone, had the show of hands. A poll on behalf of Sir William Somerville, the fifth candidate, and Colonel Romilly, was demanded.

**CARDIFF.**—Mr. Coffin, Liberal, and Dr. Nicholl, Peelite, were the candidates.

Coffin . . . . .	399
Nicholl . . . . .	202

**CARLISLE.**—Sir James Graham and Mr. Ferguson carried the show of hands at the nomination. Mr. Hodgson demanded a poll. The numbers were—

Graham . . . . .	509
Ferguson . . . . .	494
Hodgson . . . . .	417

**CHATHAM.**—Admiral Stirling, Liberal, contested the borough with Sir F. Smith, Derbyite. They went to a poll, which ended as follows:—

Smith . . . . .	636
Stirling . . . . .	482

**CHESTER.**—Mr. Samuel Holmes retired, and Lord Grosvenor and Mr. W. O. Stanley, were declared duly elected.

**CHICHESTER.**—Mr. John Abel Smith, Liberal, and Lord Henry Lennox, Derbyite, unopposed.

**CHIPPENHAM.**—Mr. Neeld and Captain Boldero, late members, returned unopposed. Neither exactly prepared to re-impose the corn-laws.

**CHRISTCHURCH.**—Captain Walcott, without opposition. He is a Derbyite.

**CIRENCESTER.**—Viscount Villiers, Free-trade Derbyite, and Mr. Ponsonby, Free-trade Whig, were elected by a show of hands. But Mr. Mullings demanded a poll. Curiously enough Mr. Mullings denies that he is a Protectionist.

Mullings . . . . .	235
Ponsonby . . . . .	218
Lord Villiers . . . . .	214

**CLITHEROE.**—Mr. Matthew Wilson, Liberal, was opposed by Mr. Aspinall, Conservative. Mr. Wilson carried the populace with him on Tuesday, the nomination day. And on Wednesday, the polling day, there were—

Wilson . . . . .	221
Aspinall . . . . .	187

**COVENTRY.**—The former members, Mr. Edward Ellice and Mr. Geach, have been returned without a contest.

**DERBY.**—The old and tried members, Mr. Bass and Mr. Heyworth, Liberals, had to encounter a fair specimen from Liverpool of the Free-trade Derbyite school, known to the world as Mr. Horsfall. They beat on the nomination day, but at the polling booth next day the numbers were—

Bass . . . . .	1352
Horsfall . . . . .	1025
Heyworth . . . . .	1018

A Tory agent was cleverly caught in a dark room, with piles of money before him. He was arrested instantly.

**DEVIZES.**—The late members, Mr. Heneage, and Captain Gladstone, both accepting Free-trade, but both Derbyites, were elected.

**DEVONPORT.**—Admiral Berkeley and Sir J. H. Maxwell, Tories, were elected by show of hands on Tuesday; but Mr. Tuffnell and Sir John Romilly, Liberals, demanded a poll.

Tuffnell . . . . .	1079
Berkeley . . . . .	1056
Romilly . . . . .	1046
Maxwell . . . . .	1032

**DORCHESTER.**—Mr. Brinsley Sheridan, Liberal, came forward to contest the seat with the late members, Colonel Damer and Mr. Sturt, Free-trade Conservatives. Mr. Sheridan and Colonel Damer, won on nomination day; but on the polling day the numbers stood thus—

Sheridan . . . . .	152
Sturt . . . . .	123
Damer . . . . .	98

**DOVER.**—The candidates were Lord Chelsea (Derbyite), Mr. Rice (Whig), and Sir George Clerk (Peelite).

Lord Chelsea . . . . .	1092
Rice . . . . .	900
Clerk . . . . .	776

The Government screw and bribery have done it.

**DROITWICH.**—Sir John Pakington, unopposed.

**DUDLEY.**—The nomination was on Wednesday. The candidates were Mr. Benbow, a Derbyite, who, it was expected, would be unopposed, and Mr. Alderman James Baldwin, of Birmingham, a Free-trader and Radical. The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Baldwin; but the poll for Mr. Benbow.

**EAST RETFORD.**—Lord Galway and the Honourable W. E. Duncombe, Derbyites, returned unopposed.

**EVESHAM.**—Lord Marcus Hill having retired, two Liberals, Mr. Grenville Berkeley, late of Cheltenham, and Mr. Sergeant Wilkins, professing Radicalism, came forward. The other candidate was Sir Henry Willoughby, Liberal Conservative, capable of becoming Derbyite. Sir Henry spoke up for "steady and useful," as opposed to "galvanic" reform. Mr. Grenville Berkeley made a Free-trade and Whig-Radical oration. Mr. Sergeant Wilkins said he was a Radical. The show of hands went for Sir Henry and the Sergeant. The polling took place on Wednesday.

Willoughby . . . . .	189
Berkeley . . . . .	170
Wilkins . . . . .	87

**EXETER.** has returned Mr. Divett and Sir John Duckworth, throwing out the Protectionist, Buck.

**FROME.**—Colonel Boyle elected without opposition.

**GLOUCESTER.**—Price (Liberal), 826; Berkeley (Liberal), 782; Hope (Conservative) 755. Two first elected.

**GRANTHAM.**—The sitting members, Mr. G. E. Welby and the Honourable F. J. Tollemache, and Lord Graham, a Conservative, were nominated as candidates on Wednesday.

Welby . . . . .	483
Tollemache . . . . .	379
Graham . . . . .	375

**GREENWICH.**—There were five candidates asking for the suffrages of the "free and independent" electors of this semi-government borough: Mr. Alderman Salomons, Mr. Montague Chambers, and Admiral Stewart, Liberal and Free-traders; Mr. Peter Rolt, Tory, and Mr. Knight, Chartist. These having been duly proposed and seconded, essayed, with more or less of good fortune, to address the constituency.

Mr. Alderman Salomons was the first to speak. He dilated on the old and well-worn topic of Sir Robert Peel's commercial policy, and then proceeded to the question of Jewish emancipation.

"The constituencies throughout the kingdom had to give to the new Parliament the impress of the present age and times. But in his case, if the electors of this borough registered their votes in his favour, they would be expressing their opinion, besides, in favour of religious equality and civil liberty. The electors would have to say to the new Parliament that their opinion on this subject was the same now as last year. There was no liberty so valuable as religious liberty. Every one felt that the privilege of worshipping God according to his conscience, without being liable to penalty or to civil disability, was the greatest blessing man could enjoy, and no civil liberty could really exist unless religious liberty existed also. Should the electors return him to the House of Commons, he promised to struggle again for his seat; he promised to go in and vote for the Speaker, and to do his utmost to sit and vote altogether as their member. (Cheers.) The new House of Commons was not bound by any acts of the old Parliament. We began now afresh, and we should have to open up a new score in the new House. (Laughter.) He believed that he had redeemed every pledge he had made on the subject of his seat. (Hear, and cries of "No, no!") A small minority here was pleased to say he had not, but what was the fact? He had made a pledge to the electors to go in and vote in the House of Commons, and the question was then brought before the judges of the Court of Exchequer, who were, as everybody knew, divided in opinion as to whether he had or had not complied with the law—two and a half, if he might say so, being with him, and one and a half against him. That

question was still under the consideration of the judges, and could not be tested at the earliest until the month of November. In the meantime what did he do? He came down to Greenwich, and, notwithstanding the impending dissolution of Parliament, he called meetings, and offered to resign, but there was never in any one case more than half a dozen gentlemen who held up their hands for his resignation, so that, under those circumstances, he should not have been doing justice to the general body of the electors had he vacated his seat. (Cheers and counter-cheering.) He relied upon the electors to return him to Parliament again. He had honestly discharged his duty to them, and in the cause of religious liberty a partial, if not a complete, triumph had been achieved through their means. They knew that an act of Parliament had received the Royal assent by which the penalties hitherto existing had been removed, and those of outlawry attaching to the offence of voting in the House of Commons had been abolished. He hoped the electors would struggle on and continue to aid him in his efforts to put an end altogether to the disabilities which remained, and which attached to himself and his religionists." (Loud applause.)

Admiral Stewart fired away upon the Free-trade topic also, frankly professing his admiration for Lord Derby, but declining to leave the carrying out of Free-trade in his hands. He urged the electors to prove that the charge of Government influence having been used at the last election to obtain his return was unfounded, unjust, and untrue.

Mr. Montague Chambers did not attempt to explain his political opinions because, he said, they were well known, but exhorted his hearers to vote for "Chambers and the independence of the borough."

Mr. Rolt, the Tory, in vain attempted to make himself heard; but a better fate attended Mr. Knight, the Chartist, who expatiated upon the five points at great length, but declined to go to the poll.

The show of hands went for Rolt and Chambers, the polling commenced on Wednesday, and terminated as follows:—

Mr. Rolt . . . . .	2415
Mr. Chambers . . . . .	2360
Admiral Stewart . . . . .	2026
Alderman Salomons . . . . .	1102

GRIMSBY.—Amesley, 341; Heneage, 283.

GUILDFORD.—Four candidates have besieged this borough, whose principles seem to differ very slightly. If we regard their expression of them they are all liberal. They are Mr. Mangles, former representative, Free-trader, and Whig-radical; Mr. Currie, the other late member, not quite a Whig, but for Free-trade, who afterwards withdrew; Mr. Thurlow, a strange species of candidate, without definite opinions, and, poor man, "willing to give Free-trade a fair trial;" and Mr. Bell, a Whig-radical, like Mr. Mangles. The two latter obtained the majority of hands in their favour; but a poll was demanded, and the next day the numbers were—

Mangles . . . . .	370
Bell . . . . .	251
Thurlow . . . . .	244

HALIFAX.—Four candidates, Sir Charles Wood and Mr. Frank Crossley, Liberal; and Mr. Edwards, Tory, and Mr. Ernest Jones, Chartist, in league with the Tories. The former carried the nomination and the poll.

Wood . . . . .	596
Crossley . . . . .	573
Edwards . . . . .	520
Jones . . . . .	38

HARWICH.—For the favours of this polluted place, four gentlemen offered themselves. Mr. Bagshaw, Whig; Mr. Waddington, Derbyite; Mr. Montague Peacock, Derbyite; and Captain Warburton, Free-trader. Each of these gentlemen addressed the immaculate electors before them; and the show of hands went in favour of Mr. Waddington and Mr. Peacock,

Peacock . . . . .	135
Waddington . . . . .	134
Bagshaw . . . . .	125
Warburton . . . . .	110

HAVERFORDWEST.—Phillips (Protectionist), 443; Evans (Liberal), 350. Majority, 93.

HEREFORD.—The candidates were, Sir Robert Price, Radical; Colonel Clifford, not a Derbyite; and Captain Meyrick.

Sir R. Price . . . . .	458
Colonel Clifford . . . . .	452
Captain Meyrick . . . . .	292

HERTFORD.—On the day of nomination, Mr. Dimsdale, Derbyite, and Mr. T. Chambers, Liberal, were elected; but Lord Mahon and Mr. Cowper, the late members, demanded a poll.

Cowper . . . . .	302
Chambers . . . . .	237
Mahon . . . . .	210
Dimsdale . . . . .	182

HIGH WYCOMBE.—The nomination for this borough took place yesterday. The three Liberal candidates, Sir G. Dashwood, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Simpson, were proposed with the usual formalities, and the show of

hands was declared in favour of Sir G. Dashwood and Mr. Simpson.

Sir G. Dashwood . . . . .	262
Smith . . . . .	208
Simpson . . . . .	116

HONITON.—Sir James Weir Hogg and Mr. Locke were elected on the nomination day. But as the other candidate, Mr. Gard, did not think his chance desperate, he went to the poll; and at the close on Wednesday the numbers stood—

Locke . . . . .	166
Hogg . . . . .	151
Gard . . . . .	123

HORSHAM.—Mr. Fitzgerald, a Derbyite, who is prepared to accept Free-trade, was returned on Tuesday, without a contest.

HUDDERSFIELD.—Mr. Stansfield was opposed, by Mr. Williams, a local merchant. Both are Free-traders and Liberals. At the poll, the popular candidate was defeated.

Stansfield . . . . .	625
Williams . . . . .	590

HULL.—Mr. James Clay and Lord Goderich, Liberals; Mr. Bransley Moore and Mr. Butler, Derbyites. Lord Goderich said he was strongly in favour of free trade, an extension of the franchise, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments. Mr. Clay and Lord Goderich carried the show of hands. At the poll next day, the numbers were for

Clay . . . . .	2264
Goderich . . . . .	2258
Moore . . . . .	1831
Butler . . . . .	1646

HUNTINGDON has returned its old members, Colonel Peel and Mr. Thomas Baring, without a contest.

HYTHE.—The Liberal, Mr. Brockman, is elected by a vast majority over Mr. Shandish Matte.

IPSWICH.—Mr. Cobbold and Mr. Bateson, Derbyites, and Mr. Adair and Mr. Hobhouse, Liberals, were nominated on Wednesday. The show of hands was in favour of the Free-trade candidates.

Cobbold . . . . .	809
Adair . . . . .	782
Bateson . . . . .	725
Hobhouse . . . . .	725

KIDDERMINSTER.—The contest here was remarkable on account of the candidature of Mr. Robert Lowe, one of the most able advocates of the true interests of the colonies. It is also understood that he writes the admirable colonial articles in the *Times*. His opponent was Mr. Best, the late member, a declared Derbyite; while Mr. Lowe is a Liberal and Free-trader. The nomination took place on Tuesday.

Lowe . . . . .	246
Best . . . . .	152

LAUNCESTON.—The Honourable Joscelyn Percy.

LEEDS.—Sir James Goodman and Mr. Baines were elected by large majorities.

LEICESTER.—It was a matter of course that Sir Joshua Walmsley and Mr. Richard Gardiner, both staunch Radicals, should carry, by a tremendous majority, the show of hands against the Tories, Wilde and Palmer. The latter demanded a poll, which took place on Thursday.

The polling has resulted in the triumphant return of Walmsley and Gardner. The numbers at the close of the poll at four o'clock were—

Sir J. Walmsley . . . . .	1650
Gardner . . . . .	1650
Wilde . . . . .	1090
Palmer . . . . .	1000

LEOMINSTER.—Three candidates entered the field: the late member, Mr. George Arkwright; a Liberal and Free-trader, Mr. J. G. Phillimore; and a supporter of Lord Derby, Mr. Willoughby. The show of hands on Tuesday was in favour of the latter gentleman. Mr. Arkwright demanded a poll, which took place on Wednesday.

Arkwright . . . . .	260
Phillimore . . . . .	206
Willoughby . . . . .	190

LEWES.—The late member, Mr. Fitzroy, Peelite, and famous for his County Courts Bill, was elected, with the Honourable Henry Brand, son of Lord Ducre of Glyde, on Tuesday. Both are Free-traders, and Mr. Brand is a Liberal in addition.

LICHFIELD.—The show of hands on Wednesday was in favour of Viscount Anson and Lord Alfred Paget; but a poll was demanded on behalf of their opponent, Mr. Follett.

Anson . . . . .	370
Paget . . . . .	325
Follett . . . . .	224

LINCOLN.—Colonel Sibthorp and Mr. Charles Seeley Free-trader, were nominated by a show of hands on Tuesday; but Mr. Heneage, Derbyite, demanded a poll.

Sibthorp . . . . .	840
Heneage . . . . .	661
Seeley . . . . .	478

LIVERPOOL.—The nomination came off here on Tuesday. The town has been in a state of intense excitement, increased on Monday by the report that a large quantity of pike handles, ordered by an alderman of Orange principles, had been seized; and somewhat allayed by the counter movement on the part of the authorities, who ordered all the firemen to be on duty, in order that popular passion might be cooled down with copious streams of water in case of a riot. It was wildly announced that the Tories meant to "win, tie, or bring it to a wrangle." On Tuesday the supporters of the Government candidates made a great demonstration as far as flags and banners, orange and red ribands, and coloured paper, were concerned, but the Free-traders were not foolish enough to follow their childish example. The friends of "Cardwell and Ewart" contented themselves with a few blue and white flags, the greater part of which belonged to operative societies. Of course the "big loaf" could not be dispensed with, and it was surmounted by a contented and jolly looking face. The disguised Protectionists also exhibited two loaves—the "Radical loaf," labelled "14 lb., 1s. and no employment;" and the "Mackenzie loaf, 10 lb., 1s., and lots of employment."

The Orangemen and other societies joined the Derby procession, and never was there such a miscellaneous collection of banners, flags, emblems, and colours. Messrs. Mackenzie and Turner came up to the hustings in a carriage drawn by four grey horses, with the jockeys "rigged out" in most dazzling splendour.

Having been duly nominated and seconded, the candidates addressed the electors.

Mr. Cardwell made a long and eloquent speech, in which he mainly directed his remarks to prove that free trade in corn and the repeal of the navigation laws had been completely successful. He made the present contest turn on the Free-trade question, and he deprecated religious animosity, persecution, and conflicts on that ground. The Derbyite cry about Maynooth was only a cloak for the attainment of a concealed object.

Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, on the contrary, after declaring himself utterly and entirely against the last alteration of the navigation laws, which he said had caused great injury to the British shipowner, said that the whole question between them did not lie there. And then he commenced and continued a furious and bigoted attack on the Roman Catholics, declaring himself in every sense of the word a Protestant, and one who preferred that the Queen should reign over him rather than the Pope.

Mr. Turner and Mr. Ewart then spoke—both Free-traders. All four candidates were vehemently cheered.

A scene of considerable confusion then occurred, arising from the attempt of an elector on the platform to address a question to Mr. Mackenzie. The noise and confusion was so great, arising from the enthusiastic force of the Kentish-fire and "Derry stamping," that the gentleman (Mr. Daniel Neilson) could not make himself heard by Mr. Mackenzie. By an extraordinary exertion he caused the following question to reach the hon. candidate's ears:—"Are you prepared to oppose every Government grant in which Roman Catholics are interested?"

Mr. Mackenzie.—I don't think the question is fairly put. If you will interrogate me with respect to any particular grant, I will give you an answer. (Confusion.)

Mr. Neilson.—How did you vote for the Government educational grant last year?

Mr. Mackenzie (shouting through his hands to make himself heard).—I don't know. (Loud and prolonged laughter.)

The answer not being understood by a great body of gentlemen on the platform, Mr. Neilson, with considerable animation, exclaimed several times, amidst great laughter, "He don't know."

In reply to another elector, whether, if no one else in the House proposed the repeal of the grant to Maynooth, he would do so, Mr. Mackenzie equivocally replied, "That he knew some one else would propose it." The answer created considerable hubbub, which rendered it impossible for further questions to be put.

The Mayor demanded a show of hands, which he declared to be in favour of Messrs. Cardwell and Ewart, an announcement which was received with the greatest enthusiasm.

Mr. James Tyrer demanded a poll on behalf of Messrs. Mackenzie and Turner.

A vote of thanks to the Mayor, moved by Mr. Cardwell and seconded by Mr. Mackenzie, terminated the proceedings, and the assemblage broke up, the processions taking different routes. A number of enthusiastic workmen were about to take the horses from Messrs. Cardwell and Ewart's carriage, when they were for-

bidden by the former gentleman, with the exclamation—  
"Let them alone; let horses do horses' work."

The official declaration was as follows:—

Turner . . . . .	6563
Mackenzie . . . . .	6263
Cardwell . . . . .	5234
Ewart . . . . .	4913

LUDLOW.—Three candidates were nominated on Wednesday—Colonel Salwey, the late Radical member; Mr. Clive, a Tory and Protectionist, son of the member for South Shropshire; and Lord William Vane Powell, a Derbyite Protectionist. The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Clive and Colonel Salwey.

The poll at 2 o'clock stood

Clive . . . . .	222
Powlett . . . . .	195
Salwey . . . . .	122

From the limited nature of the constituency, it is impossible for Colonel Salwey to retrieve the ground he has lost.

LYMINGTON was invaded by two Derbyites, named respectively Hutchins and Carnac, and the gentleman known as Mr. George Hudson. The Liberal candidate was Mr. Mackinnon, famous for attempting to make everybody consume his own smoke. When the show of hands was taken it was found in favour of Hutchins and Carnac. Mr. George Hudson then resigned, and Mr. Mackinnon demanded a poll. The electors voted on Wednesday, when there were—

Carnac . . . . .	201
Hutchins . . . . .	158
Mackinnon . . . . .	139

LYNN.—The nomination was on Wednesday. Viscount Jocelyn first presented himself, and based his claim to the support of the electors upon his past conduct. He went into the history of the late commercial measures, and gave his reasons for his votes. He had voted for the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, as the only protest that was offered against the arrogance of the Pope. He would not bind himself to any particular course in regard to the Maynooth grant. He then explained his reasons for supporting the Militia Bill. He detested the electoral ballot. In reply to questions put to him, he hoped to see some improvement in the mode of levying Church-rates; he could not admit the inherent right of man to the suffrage.

Lord Stanley next appeared. He believed that there was no great difference between his views and those of Lord Jocelyn. Lord Stanley said that the real question involved was whether the agricultural or commercial class should have the preponderance of power, and thinking that the commercial class had now the advantage, he believed a return to Protection utterly impossible, but was conscious of the depression of the agricultural class, and thought it the duty of the Government to take measures for their relief.

Mr. PASHLEY, Q.C., believed that if the electors were left to themselves, there was not one in twenty that would not support him. He was a Radical. The show of hands was declared in favour of Mr. Pashley and Lord Stanley.

Jocelyn . . . . .	627
Stanley . . . . .	551
Pashley . . . . .	383

MACCLESFIELD.—Mr. John Williams, Radical, Mr. Brocklehurst, Free-trader; and Mr. Egerton, Derbyite, were the candidates. Mr. Egerton could scarcely obtain a hearing from the twelve or fifteen thousand people. Finally he retired abruptly. A show of hands decided in favour of the two former, but the latter demanded a poll.

Brocklehurst . . . . .	628
Egerton . . . . .	530
Williams . . . . .	460

MAIDSTONE.—The nomination for this borough took place on Tuesday, and, contrary to anticipation, a second Liberal candidate was proposed in the person of Mr. Lee, a gentleman residing near Maidstone. The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Whatman and Mr. Lee, the two Liberal candidates.

A poll was demanded on behalf of Mr. Dodd, the Conservative candidate, which took place on Wednesday, and ended as follows:—

Whatman . . . . .	848
Dodd . . . . .	709
Lee . . . . .	584

MALMESBURY was contested by Mr. Lovell, Derbyite, and Mr. Luce, Liberal. The former carried the show of hands.

Luce . . . . .	133
Lovell . . . . .	129

MALTON.—Mr. John Evelyn Denison and Mr. Fitzwilliam, unopposed.

MANCHESTER.—Mr. Milner Gibson and Mr. Bright were opposed by two gentlemen professing Liberalism, Mr. Lock and Captain Denman. The gentlemen who

nominated and seconded the former were well-known supporters of the Anti-Corn-law League—Mr. Alderman Watkins, Sir E. Armitage, Mr. Mark Phillips, and Mr. George Wilson.

The opposition was carried to extremes. When Mr. Gibson rose to speak he was met by cheers and groans; but he succeeded in obtaining a hearing, and spoke for some time with great effect upon the topics familiarly known to our readers. He considered that Free-trade was not safe, and he made the election turn on that.

Mr. Bright, who was suffering from a severe cold, was most enthusiastically received. He met frankly every charge of his opponents, and stood boldly to those popular principles which have gained him an honourable fame.

Mr. Lock succeeded to Mr. Bright, but owing to the uproar not a word of his speech was heard; but he persisted, and written reports were forwarded to the journals. He did not profess to be more than a Whig and Free-trader. The main of his address was a party attack on Mr. Bright for having opposed Lord John Russell. Mr. Lock is also one of the bigotted anti-Catholics.

Captain Denman, a frank sailorlike man, was in high favour, and his speech was listened to. He denied that he was a Tory or a Protectionist; he was, on the contrary, in favour of extending the suffrage and Free-trade. He was for the Ten Hours Bill. As Mr. Lock had attacked Mr. Bright, so Captain Denman fastened on Mr. Gibson, accusing him of inconsistency, and citing portions of a Tory speech delivered by him in 1839. He was also anti-Catholic, and made an onslaught upon the League, calling it a Jacobite (? Jacobin) club. He denied that Free-trade was in danger; and if it were, he declared that Mr. Bright and Mr. Gibson had placed it in danger by opposing Lord John Russell.

Dr. Watts then subjected Mr. Lock to a severe examination. When asked whether he would give the men below the franchise, he shook his head contemptuously, and replied, "No, not those men." He would not vote for the repeal of the rate-paying clauses; he would not abolish church-rates; he was opposed to the ballot; on education he preferred the principle of the local bill to the secular bill, but he would vote for neither.

Mr. Gibson and Mr. Bright were elected by a tremendous majority on a show of hands, but a poll was demanded, which took place on Thursday.

Gibson . . . . .	5792
Bright . . . . .	5494
Loch . . . . .	4363
Denman . . . . .	3955

MARLBOROUGH has returned Lord Ernest Bruce and Mr. Henry Baring, Free-traders, without opposition.

MERTHYR.—Sir John Guest, elected without opposition.

MONMOUTH BURGH.—Mr. Crawshay Bailey, Free-trade Derbyite, returned without opposition.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE has returned the old members, both Liberals.

Blackett . . . . .	2418
Headlam . . . . .	2172
Watson . . . . .	1795

NORTHALLERTON.—Mr. Wrighton unopposed.

NORTHAMPTON.—The late members, both Liberals and Free-traders, Mr. Vernon Smith and Mr. Raikes Currie, were opposed by Mr. Lockhart, a staunch Radical, and Mr. Hunt, "a supporter of Lord Derby." The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Lockhart and Mr. Hunt. At the poll next day the candidates stood as follows:—

Smith . . . . .	855
Currie . . . . .	825
Hunt . . . . .	745
Lockhart . . . . .	106

NORWICH.—This famous borough was sought by Mr. Peto, the Marquis of Douro, Colonel Dickson, and Mr. Warner. Mr. Peto and Mr. Warner, Liberals, beat their opponents on the hustings on Wednesday. Next day a poll was taken.

NOTTINGHAM.—At the last hour Mr. Gisborne was compelled to resign, thus leaving the Whigs with only Mr. Strutt, the Tories with the Free-trader, Mr. Walter, of the *Times*, and the Radicals with Mr. Sturgeon. The nomination took place on Tuesday. Most of the speeches were of merely local importance, but were spoken with a great deal of spirit. Mr. Walter is, as he was, a Conservative Free-trader, unpledged to any party; Mr. Strutt attacked the Derbyites, and rested his claims on his Free-trade advocacy, and general Whig opinions. Mr. Sturgeon came forward as a champion of manhood suffrage, the payment of members, the ballot, free toleration in religious matters, and the reformation of all abuses in church and state. He was loudly cheered upon retiring.

The show of hands was in favour of Mr. Walter and

Mr. Sturgeon; but Mr. Strutt demanded a poll. This was taken on Wednesday, and resulted as follows:—

Strutt . . . . .	1960
Walter . . . . .	1863
Sturgeon . . . . .	512

The Tories deserted the Chartists, and voted for the Whig; while the Whigs concentrated upon Strutt, and gave no votes to Sturgeon. This is a lesson for Chartists who would coalesce with Tories.

OLDHAM.—Being rather a riotous place special constables were sworn in to maintain the peace. The candidates were Mr. J. Fox, Radical, Mr. Duncuft, Free-trade Derbyite, and Mr. Cobbett, son of William Cobbett. There was a coalition between the latter, and they carried the show of hands. The polling took place on Thursday.

Cobbett . . . . .	904
Duncuft . . . . .	801
Fox . . . . .	694

OXFORD (CITY).—Mr. Langston, Whig, and Sir W. Page Wood, Whig-Radical, both Free-traders, were returned, unopposed, on Tuesday. This is astounding, the Oxford Tories, so imperious of old, must be undergoing "sweet adversity," and we hope they will profit by their humiliation.

PETERBOROUGH.—Earl Fitzwilliam generally sends a nominee to represent this city. The present election forms no exception, for he has two candidates, Liberals of course, in the field—the Honourable G. W. Fitzwilliam and the Honourable R. Watson. To oppose these nominees, all the other sections united in support of Mr. Clifton, a Free-trade Derbyite. So strongly did they muster on Tuesday, that the show of hands in favour of Clifton was very much larger than his opponents. A poll on behalf of Mr. Watson was demanded, and on Wednesday, at its close, there were—

Fitzwilliam . . . . .	263
Watson . . . . .	230
Clifton . . . . .	210

PETERSFIELD.—Sir William Jolliffe elected without opposition: Derbyite.

PONTEFRAC elected Mr. Moncton Milnes and Mr. B. Oliveira, Liberals, by show of hands; but the other candidate, Mr. Lewis, Tory, demanded a poll.

Milnes . . . . .	415
Oliveira . . . . .	335
Lewis . . . . .	308

POOLE.—Mr. Franklin and Mr. Seymour were elected without opposition.

PORTSMOUTH.—The only two candidates, Sir F. Baring, Whig, and Viscount Monck, Peelite, were elected on Tuesday without a contest.

PRESTON.—The contest here was illustrative of the bad habit of dividing the Liberal party for personal ambition. Sir George Strickland was a tolerably good member, and Mr. Grenfell not amiss. But with a very high opinion of his merits, a gentleman named German, who thinks living in the neighbourhood gives a man a claim on the next constituency, came forward, and was followed by Mr. Parker, also a resident, or "native," as they say at Colchester, and a Derbyite to boot. The show of hands, on Tuesday, was in favour of Sir George and Mr. German. On Wednesday they all went to the poll, when there were—

Parker . . . . .	1316
Strickland . . . . .	1245
Grenfell . . . . .	1114
German . . . . .	699

READING.—Two Liberals, Mr. Francis Pigott and Mr. Keating, were returned on Tuesday. An opposition was got up, and a Mr. Dickson nominated, but the show of hands went against him.

Pigott . . . . .	748
Keating . . . . .	635
Dickson . . . . .	509

Election conducted with great excitement and much fighting.

REIGATE.—A sudden opposition to Mr. Cocks, Free-trade Derbyite, sprung up at the last moment. Major Parrett, a Liberal, came forward, and went to the poll, but was beaten by 100 to 70.

RICHMOND.—The two former members, Mr. Rich and Mr. Wyvill, were re-elected on Tuesday, unopposed.

RIPON, contested for once by Mr. Newton, the League candidate, has had not only its nomination, but its polling day. Mr. Newton's opponents were the Honourable Edwin Lascelles, Free Trade Derbyite, and Mr. Beckett, Free Trader. These two carried the show of hands.

Beckett . . . . .	266
Lascelles . . . . .	202
Newton . . . . .	75

SALFORD.—Mr. Brotherton has been again returned without a contest.

SCARBOROUGH.—Sir John Johnstone and Mr. G. F. Young, Derbyites, were opposed by Lord Mulgrave.

The show of hands went against Mr. Young, and the polling also.

**SHEFFIELD.**—On Tuesday, the day of nomination, some fifteen thousand persons met the four candidates. After the nomination in form, Mr. Parker, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Hadfield, and Mr. Overend, addressed the electors. Mr. Roebuck made a characteristic speech, full of pluck and point, but wholly local and apropos of nothing but the election. The show of hands went in favour of the Radicals, Roebuck and Hadfield; and the next day they carried the poll.

Roebuck . . . . .	2092
Hadfield . . . . .	1853
Parker . . . . .	1580
Overend . . . . .	1180

**SHOREHAM.**—Lord A. Lennox and Sir C. Burrell elected.

**SHREWSBURY** is contested by three gentlemen, Mr. Baldoch, Tory; Mr. Tomline, Conservative Free-Trader; and Mr. Robinson, Radical. The two latter obtained the show of hands, but a poll was demanded when there were—

Tomline . . . . .	1159
Baldoch . . . . .	749
Robinson . . . . .	439

**SOUTHAMPTON.**—The nomination of candidates for this borough took place on Wednesday, amid great disturbance. Sir A. Cockburn and Mr. Wilcox, the Liberal candidates, were the favourites. Mr. Baillie Cochrane and Mr. A. Vansittart were Derbyite candidates.

Sir A. Cockburn was received with great cheering. He thought the present a most momentous crisis in the history of the empire, and maintained that Free-trade was the great question to be settled by this election. He urged that Lord Derby had not changed his opinion on the subject of protection, and that he would reimpose a duty on corn if he could get a sufficient majority. He referred to Parliamentary reform and the importance of extending the suffrage and protecting the voter from corrupt influence. He had, in the present canvass, met many honest men who declared they would vote for him if they dared. He was in favour of state education where other educational means failed, but thought that the system should be free from all sectarian domination. The time had come when Dissenters should be relieved from church-rates. He considered the proposition for a militia had originated in a panic, and disapproved of the bill of last session. He believed that his honourable opponent was an upholder of the despotic Governments of Europe. He thought that England should not interfere among continental nations with an armed force.

Mr. Wilcox reminded the electors that he had always been a Free-trader and a supporter of the principles of civil and religious liberty.

Mr. B. Cochrane denied that he was an upholder of the tyranny of Naples, and referred to a book that he had written on the prisons of that city. He asserted that 200 or 300 prisoners had been released from the representations he had made. He had told Lord Derby that he should feel bound to vote against a five shilling duty, if such were proposed. He disapproved of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, holding the principle of non-intervention. He would maintain the union of church and state.

Mr. Vansittart, amongst occasional uproar, declared himself in favour of every practicable extension of the suffrage, but opposed to sudden changes. He was utterly opposed to the ballot. He would not be bound to support Lord Derby in every measure, and, if returned, would not go to Parliament with the slightest intention of putting a duty on corn.

The show of hands was in favour of Sir A. Cockburn and Mr. Wilcox, the other candidates having few hands held up in their favour.

Wilcox . . . . .	1062
Cockburn . . . . .	1017
Cochrane . . . . .	797
Vansittart . . . . .	767

**SOUTH SHIELDS.**—Mr. Ingham was opposed by Mr. Liddell, who was beaten.

Ingham . . . . .	430
Liddell . . . . .	249

**STAFFORD.** Two Liberal, Mr. Otway and Mr. Wise, after a contest.

**STROUD.**—Four candidates contest the borough. Mr. Poulett Scrope, whose opinions are well known, and Mr. John Norton, a Radical, were the popular favourites. Mr. Baker, a Free-trade Derbyite, and Lord Moreton, a Free-trade Whig, demanded a poll.

Scrope . . . . .	565
Moreton . . . . .	528
Baker . . . . .	488
Norton . . . . .	316

**SUNDERLAND.**—Mr. George Hudson, Derbyite, and Mr. Seymour, Whig, are returned.

**SWANSEA.**—Mr. J. H. Vivian unopposed.

**TAMWORTH.**—The late members, Sir Robert Peel and Captain Townshend, are again returned. Both are Free-traders.

**TAUNTON.**—The nomination took place on Wednesday. Mr. Labouchere would give no pledges, but desired to go to Parliament entirely free. He referred to his past parliamentary life, and his services in the cause of Free-trade. He declared himself firmly attached to the Church of England, but would never consent to raise the "No Popery" cry. He thought Lord Derby was more pledged to support the Maynooth grant than any one else. No statesman, out of Bedlam, would propose a wanton insult to his Roman-catholic fellow-countrymen. He could hardly be expected to feel any confidence in the present Ministry, for they seemed to have no confidence in themselves.

Sir T. Colebrooke declared himself deeply attached to Protestantism. He had voted against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. He thought it idle to suppose that such a measure could stop attacks on faith. Though Lord Derby might coquet with the subject of Maynooth, yet, as a statesman, he would not propose its repeal. The real question at issue was that of confidence in the present Administration. He would never extend the franchise to the poor man without enabling him to exercise it without interference.

Mr. Mills avowed himself a Conservative and a supporter of freedom in general, not wishing for a return to Protection. He talked of the oppression of the poor by the manufacturers, and of relieving the distress of the agriculturists, and argued at great length against the continuance of the grant to Maynooth.

Mr. Mills and Mr. Labouchere had the show of hands.

Labouchere . . . . .	430
Mills . . . . .	361
Colebrooke . . . . .	358

**TEWKESBURY.**—The old members, Mr. Martin, Whig, and Mr. Humphrey Brown, Radical, had an opponent in Mr. Cox.

Brown . . . . .	205
Martin . . . . .	189
Cox . . . . .	147

**THIRSK.**—Sir W. Payne Galway, Derbyite, re-elected.

**TIVERTON.**—Mr. Heathcoat and Lord Palmerston were elected on Wednesday without opposition. Lord Palmerston prefaced his speech with the usual thanks and compliments, and made merry at the expense of some of the electors, who had said they would bring forward a candidate of "independent principles." He then turned to protection, which he said was founded upon injustice and mistake, and he hoped the present election would seal its doom for ever. He was in favour of progressive improvement. They met with resistance at every step, it was true, but he rather liked that, as discussion and opposition improved all measures. He then amused his auditors with some illustrations of a national characteristic.

"A love and affection for ancient practices and institutions is an honourable and peculiar characteristic of the people of this country (hear, hear) and I am the last man to wish to see such an honourable sentiment discarded from their minds. There are some nations on the continent more volatile and more apt to change, and the national character is often evinced by circumstances apparently trifling in themselves. Now, in many parts of the continent, if an innkeeper wishes to recommend his establishment he will hang up in his sign, 'The New White Horse,' or 'The New Golden Cross.' The last novelty is that which is considered the most attractive. But in this country the contrary course is pursued, and if a country alehouse-keeper wishes to draw custom, he will hang up the sign of 'The Old Plough,' newly revived. In a village called Hanwell, not far from London, there is an inn to which gentlemen fond of pigeon-shooting used to resort to try their skill. Now, what was the sign of that inn? Why, 'The Old Huts;' not that it was supposed anybody would prefer an old hat to a new one, but that they would come to 'The Old Huts' in preference to 'The New Huts.' (Laughter.) A rival inn was established, and what was the sign of that inn? 'The Old Huts,' (laughter) and much it profited by that superlative designation. As I came down by the train, I found an announcement in the advertisement appended to the time-tables, recommending 'The Old King's Head,' in the Poultry; and in order that it might combine the attraction of natural feeling with the attractions arising from the indulgence of good living, it is described as the oldest turtle-house in London. (Laughter.) Long may the people of this country, when they wish to express their attachment to the land they live in, call it with affectionate endearment Old England. (Cheers.) But that does not prevent us from repairing what may have gone into decay, from improving and embellishing that which is still good, but which may be made better. (Cheers.)

"For the rest, there were two other topics to which he must refer—the Militia Bill and Maynooth. When he mentioned the former, there were some cries of disapproval, and in his blandest manner he said, You see, gentlemen, I take the bull by the horns. (Laughter.) He then argued that a militia bill was necessary, and not the less because danger was not obvious to all.

"There is no man who has an English heart in his bosom who does not feel that England is worth defending, and that he ought to make any sacrifice rather than allow his country to be conquered. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, the country is the heart of civil and political liberty, and the conquest of England would not only be one of the greatest calamities to its inhabitants themselves, but would be a misfortune to the whole of the civilized world. (Cheers.) Campbell, in describing the fate of Poland, said,—

"Hope for a season bade the world farewell,  
And freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell."

But hope would indeed bid adieu to the world, and freedom would not shriek, but die, if England were ever to be conquered. (Cheers.)

"But, he said, I may be told that these appeals were made to the fanciful fears of the country, simply for the purpose of adding to the public expenditure. Why, gentlemen, that reminds me of the story which I have heard of an elderly lady who lived near Henley-on-Thames, and who, when an invasion was expected under Napoleon Bonaparte, said she did not believe he would ever come. And why? She said she had been told in her youth that the Pretender was coming, but he never came to Henley-on-Thames, and she believed that Napoleon Bonaparte would never come there either. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, I do not relate this anecdote for the purpose of throwing any reflection upon the intelligence of the elderly portion of the fairer sex, because I remember also having heard of a smart retort made by the Duchess of Gordon, in the time of Mr. Pitt. An elderly statesman, having been told that he had acted unwisely in a certain respect, said to her ladyship, 'Really, madam, I feel that I am growing an old woman;' to which her ladyship very properly and promptly replied, 'I am very glad to hear that that is all, for I really thought you were growing an old man, and that is a much worse thing.' (Laughter.) Now, gentlemen, I say that those men who tell you that because you have had no invasion since the Norman conquest, you never will have one, and need not guard against it, are old men. Although they are not old in years, they are old in imbecility of intellect. (Cheers.)

"As to the Maynooth Grant, he could not vote against that, as the good faith of England was pledged to it, and on grounds of political policy he should always vote for it."

A Mr. Rowcliff asked several questions, to which Lord Palmerston replied.

"My good friend, Mr. Rowcliff, has reproached me for not coming often enough among you. I must say that he does not appear disposed to make my visits here particularly agreeable to me. (Laughter and cheers.) I cannot say that the manner in which he receives me affords much encouragement to cultivate the society of persons of his way of thinking. (Renewed laughter.) Whether Mr. Rowcliff is a Radical, a Chartist, or a Tory, I really cannot say. I believe that all parties may have some reason or other for claiming him. (A laugh.) Mr. Rowcliff says that I only told you of the good that governments and parliaments have done, and that I have myself done, and that I have not told you of the bad. Why, God bless me, it was quite unnecessary for me to do that when he was here. (Loud laughter.) If there was a bad thing to be recorded, to be invented, or to be imagined, I am quite sure Mr. Rowcliff would be the first man to tell you of it. (Laughter, which was increased when Mr. Rowcliff called out 'Question!') Well, Mr. Rowcliff is impatient under this castigation. I will hit lower or higher, just as he pleases, (renewed laughter) but he must allow me to hit somewhere. Mr. Rowcliff has asked me what government I mean to join. Now, that is a question that must depend upon the future, (a laugh) but I will tell him what government I do not mean to join. I can assure you and him that I never will join a government called a Rowcliff Administration. (Great laughter and cheering.) Now, gentlemen, don't you imagine, because you deem it very absurd that there should be such an administration, that my friend Mr. Rowcliff is at all of that way of thinking; for I believe I am not far mistaken in the opinion that he will consider everything going wrong in this world, and in this country, until the Rowcliff Administration shall govern the land. (Loud laughter.)

As to the militia, he praised the voluntary system, and said:—

"I do not think so ill of the young men of England as to believe that they will be afraid of twenty-one days' service during the year in the militia. (Hear, hear.) I commanded a regiment of local militia, which used to assemble for twenty-eight days' training, and I knew only one instance of a man who wished to go home before the twenty-eight days were over. He was one of the privates, who came to me and said, 'My lord, I wish you would let me go home.' I replied, 'Why? You have only a week to serve, now?' 'Well,' said he, 'the fact is, that before I came here I promised a young woman in my parish that I'd marry her, if so be as I survived the campaign.' (Great laughter.) I replied, 'Heaven forbid that the young woman should be disappointed. (A laugh.) Go home and marry her, and tell her the campaign has not been so dangerous as she may have thought it.' (Laughter.) I am convinced that the young men of England won't be afraid of three weeks' campaign in a militia regiment.' (Cheers.)

For the rest, he was opposed to short parliaments and vote by ballot. He was not a chartist, and was too old to become one. At the wind up, three cheers were given for Lord Palmerston and the Mayor, and the meeting separated.

**TOTNES.** Seymour (Liberal), 258; Mills (Liberal), 152; Baldwin (Tory), 140.

**WAKEFIELD.**—Mr. George Sanders, Free-Trader, Derbyite, and Mr. Leatham, Liberal, were the candidates.

Sanders . . . . .	359
Leatham . . . . .	326

WALLINGFORD.—Mr. Blackstone, so long member for this sturdy little agricultural borough, retired before Tuesday, the nomination day. He left behind him Mr. Alfred Morrison, son of Mr. James Morrison, of the city firm of Morrison and Dillon, Liberal and Free-trader; and Mr. Malins, a Protectionist. The nomination resulted in favour of Mr. Malins, and a poll was demanded on behalf of Mr. Morrison.

Malins . . . . . 174  
Morrison . . . . . 168

Immense excitement.

WARRINGTON.—Gilbert Greenall, Liberal and Free-Trader, is elected without opposition.

WARWICK.—Driven from St. Albans, Mr. Repton went down to Warwick. He is a Derbyite, and stood in conjunction with Mr. E. Greaves, a Conservative banker of the town. Their common enemy was Mr. Mellor, Q.C., a Whig-radical. Of course Mr. Mellor gained the day as far as a show of hands went, and Mr. Repton stood second. A poll was demanded for Mr. Greaves. The result on Wednesday was—

Repton . . . . . 383  
Greaves . . . . . 348  
Mellor . . . . . 327

WENLOCK.—The old members, both Derbyites, the Right Honourable Cecil Forester and Mr. Gaskell, were returned without opposition.

WHITEHAVEN.—Mr. Hildyard unopposed.

WESTBURY.—Mr. Wilson, of the *Economist*, has been elected by a majority of seven over the Tory nominee Lopez.

WIGAN.—Colonel Lindsay, Mr. Thicknesse, and Mr. Powell were the candidates in nomination on Tuesday. The two former carried the show of hands.

Thicknesse . . . . . 366  
Lindsay . . . . . 356  
Powell . . . . . 324

WINCHESTER.—There were three candidates for this city: Sir James East, Conservative; Mr. Bonham Carter, Whig; and Mr. Bulpitt, Whig. The Liberals won the show of hands.

Carter . . . . . 369  
East . . . . . 367  
Bulpitt . . . . . 287

WINDSOR.—The four candidates went through the ordeal of nomination on Tuesday. Mr. Grenfell, the lately elected, was very well received by the electors; but they saluted Lord Charles Wellesley with all kinds of unpleasant noises, and for some time he could not be heard. The same lot befel Mr. Ricardo and Captain Bulkeley. Grenfell and Ricardo are Liberals and Free-traders; Lord Charles Wellesley is a Derbyite Free-trader; and Captain Bulkeley declared himself neither one thing nor another, but independent. The show of hands went in favour of Mr. Grenfell and Lord Charles Wellesley; but a poll was demanded.

Wellesley . . . . . 360  
Grenfell . . . . . 320  
Ricardo . . . . . 289  
Bulkeley . . . . . 163

WOODSTOCK.—The Marquis of Blandford, elected without a contest.

WORCESTER.—Ricardo, 1165; Laslett, 1208; Huddleston, 660.

YARMOUTH.—Three candidates were nominated on Wednesday—Mr. Rumbold and Sir E. Lacon, Derbyites; Sir C. Napier and Mr. J. McCullagh, Liberals.

Lacon . . . . . 616  
Rumbold . . . . . 554  
McCullagh . . . . . 524  
Napier . . . . . 487

YORK.—Mr. Smythe, Tory and Free-trader. Mr. Milner, Whig; and Mr. Henry Vincent, Radical, were duly proposed, on Tuesday—Mr. Milner and Mr. Vincent gaining the show of hands. Mr. Smythe demanded a poll, which was taken on Wednesday.

Smythe . . . . . 1871  
Milner . . . . . 1841  
Vincent . . . . . 887

SCOTLAND.

DUNDEE.—Mr. Duncan unopposed.

GLASGOW.—Mr. McGregor, Mr. Hastie, and Lord Melgund (Whig-Radicals), and Mr. Blackburn (a Liberal Conservative), were the candidates.

THE ELECTORAL ADDRESS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

The Society of the Friends of Italy have issued an Address on the duty of electors, from which we extract the following questions, which they consider may be usefully put to candidates:—

1. *The topic of England's duty with regard to those cases in which there is a distinct interference of one power to put down a spontaneous movement of liberty in another and independent country.* The most notorious recent examples of this, are the interference of the Absolutist power of Russia to crush the liberties of Hungary, and the dastardly interference of France to restore the Pope and

put down the Roman Republic. But there is no doubt that we shall have more examples of the same thing before long. Russia, France, and Austria are now jointly the masters of Europe, Russia holding the supreme place; and there is no doubt that, whenever it seems desirable, these powers, or any one of them, or any two of them, will interfere with the internal politics of any other European country, without the least scruple. No respect for the so-called principle of non-interference, which we talk about in this country, restrains such a power as Russia. Absolutism tends to conquest and interference, and it is the known belief of the Emperor Nicholas with respect to himself, that his mission is to put down constitutional Government, by his diplomacy or by his armies, over Western Europe. Such being the case, it becomes the Government of this country to have a clear and definite understanding as to what line of procedure they will adopt in the case of a repetition by Russia or any other Absolutist power of the wrong perpetuated against Hungary. It becomes electors, too, to elicit from candidates an expression of opinion on this point; and without going into too abstract a discussion of the whole principle of non-interference, to compel them to give an answer to such a question as this:—“*In the case of Russia or any other despotic state interfering to put down a spontaneous movement of liberty in another and independent state, as was done by Russia in the case of Hungary, would you use your utmost endeavours to induce the Government of this country to protest against the interference, to employ all the influence of England as a nation to prevent or defeat it, and to take the independence of the country attacked under efficient protection?*”

2. *The topic of England's duty in those cases where a people by the independent exercise of its own energies upon its own Government, frees itself from domestic thralldom, and establishes a new Government by a revolution.* Rome is here also an example in point; but more special still is the case of Sicily. The relations between this country and Sicily have always been very intimate; and if there is any people who have particular claims on British support, it is the Italians. There could be no better case than that of Sicily, therefore, to cite in connexion with such a question as this at election meetings:—“*Will you maintain the independent right of every people to order its own internal government as it thinks fit? and will you, as a consequence, insist upon the duty on the part of our Government, of instantly and unreservedly recognising, by official acts, a popular Government set up by internal revolution in any country, even though that Government should be of a republican form?*”

3. *The topic of England's past conduct and probable future procedure in the matter of Rome, the French occupation, and the Temporal Papacy.*—Although the case of Rome fails to be considered under the two previous heads, it is so important and peculiar that it may well have a distinct head to itself. We are convinced that the country at large is profoundly ignorant of the extent to which Great Britain is implicated in the iniquity of restoring the Papal Government at Rome; and we beg the earnest attention of electors while we quote a brief sentence which will throw a new light on this point. The following are the very words in which our Whig ambassador at the French court (Lord Normanby), at the time of the negotiations for French interference to put down the Roman republic and restore the Pope—that is, on the 19th of April, 1849—expressed the wishes and the policy of the Government of Great Britain in that scandalous affair. The words, as quoted from the correspondence laid before Parliament, are these:—“*I (Lord Normanby) told M. Drouye de Lhuys (the French Foreign Minister) that the object which the French Government professed to have in view—the restoration of the Pope under an improved form of Government—was precisely that which, I had always been instructed to state, was also that of her Majesty's Government; though, for reasons which I had then explained to him, we had not wished to take any active share in the negotiations.*” This passage, we repeat, ought incessantly and everywhere, on all occasions, to be quoted; it ought to be learnt by heart by all citizens of Great Britain; it ought to be engraven, as a sentence of shame, on a pillar of brass in Downing-street; for it represents the crime of our land against Italy, and it reveals, in one glimpse, that depth of bad statesmanship, from which the official and parliamentary mind, even of our Whig administrators, has to be brought up, before England and Italy shall stand in their proper relations to each other. And to bring up the official mind of a country from such a depth, is not the work of a day or a year. The Papal policy, with regard to our own country, and the spectacle of the horrors consequent on that very restoration of the Pope in which we so hypocritically implicated ourselves, have indeed contributed to open many eyes; perhaps there is, even now, a touch of remorse in the official heart, and, at any rate, it is not likely that a Whig Ambassador would again write such a passage as the foregoing were the same circumstances repeated now. Still we are far from any promise of such a Parliamentary or ministerial policy with regard to Italy as would answer the demands of sterling justice—a policy to which we could trust for the expiation, on a fitting occasion, of the fearful blunder indicated in that Normanby despatch, and for the indemnification to Italy of the wrong so done, by nobler conduct towards her at any similar juncture that may yet arise. It is for the electors to do their best to point the way to such a policy; and for this purpose let such questions as this figure prominently at all election meetings:—“*Do you disclaim the part which our Government acted in the affair of the Roman Republic, and will you do your utmost to make our Government indemnify to the Romans the wrong then done them, by protesting against the continued occupation of Rome by the French, and seizing every opportunity for bringing about the departure of these troops from the Roman soil, so that the Romans may again deal with the Secular Papacy at their own will and pleasure?*”

\* Correspondence respecting the affairs of Rome, 1849, Document No. 12.

4. *The Refugee Question.* If there is any way in which England, at the least expense of thought or trouble to herself, can serve the cause of continental freedom, it is by affording the right of asylum to political refugees—to men like Kossuth, Mazzini, and those who have been associated with them in the contest for liberty. To deny this right of asylum, or to restrict it by conditions and limitations, would be the last act of self-degradation on the part of Great Britain. Yet we know that even this right has been put in jeopardy. Foreign courts and cabinets, and especially those of France and Austria, have had communications with our Government in regard to the refugees; and whoever will study the language of Lord Derby on this point, in his opening speech as Premier, or will call to mind Lord Malmesbury and his rejected Extradition of Criminals Bill, will see that, notwithstanding general assurances about “breathing the free air of England,” and the like, which no British minister could avoid, there is and will be a considerable disposition on the part of a Derby Government, or any other Government similarly constituted, to play into the hands of foreign despotic courts, in the matter of the refugees. Let such a question, as the following, therefore, figure at the election meetings:—“*Will you do your best to maintain intact the right of this country to afford an asylum to political refugees? and will you oppose any attempt on the part of our Government, whether by letter-opening or espionage, or in the case of an Extradition of Criminals' Bill, to restrict or impair this right?*”

5. *The duty of England in regard to the protection of her subjects abroad.* The cases of Mather and Murray ought not to be forgotten at election meetings, and a question to this effect ought to be put to candidates:—“*Will you do your utmost to induce, on the part of our Government, a decided and peremptory course of action, whenever a British subject is treated with insult by the authorities of a despotic country?*”

THE REVENUE.

No. I.—AN ABSTRACT OF THE NET PRODUCE OF THE REVENUE OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN THE YEARS AND QUARTERS ENDED JULY 5, 1851, AND JULY 5, 1852, SHOWING THE INCREASE OR DECREASE THEREOF.

	Years ended July 5.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1851.	1852.		
Customs.....	18,715,072	19,011,774	296,702	...
Excise .....	13,219,609	13,206,404	...	13,205
Stamps .....	6,040,249	6,002,860	...	37,389
Taxes .....	4,322,681	3,149,702	...	1,172,979
Property Tax .....	5,353,425	5,363,910	10,485	...
Post Office .....	891,000	1,041,000	150,000	...
Crown Lands .....	150,000	220,000	70,000	...
Miscellaneous .....	162,333	302,948	140,615	...
Total Ord. Rev....	48,854,369	48,298,598	667,802	1,223,573
Imprest and other Moneys .....	655,396	595,004	...	60,392
Repayments of Advances.....	694,246	842,886	148,640	...
Total income.....	50,204,011	49,736,488	816,442	1,283,965
Deduct Increase.....	...	...	...	816,442
Decrease on the Year .....	...	...	...	467,523

	Quarters ended July 5.		Increase.	Decrease.
	1851.	1852.		
Customs.....	4,318,218	4,502,164	183,946	...
Excise .....	3,419,810	3,443,516	23,706	...
Stamps .....	1,525,492	1,626,826	101,334	...
Taxes .....	2,045,231	1,503,707	...	541,524
Property Tax .....	976,881	1,056,991	80,110	...
Post Office .....	240,000	230,000	...	10,000
Crown Lands .....	30,000	60,000	30,000	...
Miscellaneous .....	91,241	202,189	110,948	...
Total Ord. Rev....	12,646,873	12,625,393	530,044	551,524
Imprest and other Moneys .....	139,770	212,688	72,918	...
Repayments of Advances.....	123,409	216,652	93,243	...
Total Income .....	12,910,052	13,054,733	696,205	551,524
Deduct Decrease.....	...	...	...	551,524
Increase on the Quarter.....	...	...	...	144,681

No. II.—THE INCOME AND CHARGE OF THE CONSOLIDATED FUND, IN THE QUARTERS ENDED JULY 5, 1851 AND 1852.

	Quarters ended July 5.	
	1851.	1852.
INCOME.		
Customs .....	4,338,275	4,522,251
Excise .....	3,430,074	3,452,902
Stamps .....	1,525,492	1,626,826
Taxes .....	2,045,231	1,503,707
Property Tax .....	976,881	1,056,991
Post Office .....	240,000	230,000
Crown Lands .....	30,000	60,000
Miscellaneous .....	91,241	202,189
Imprest and other Moneys .....	34,054	54,518
Produce of the Sale of Old Stores .....	105,716	158,160
Repayments of Advances .....	123,409	216,652
	12,940,373	13,084,205
CHARGE.		
Permanent Debt .....	5,769,010	5,745,836
Terminable Annuities .....	567,587	568,087
Interest on Exchequer-bills, issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund.....	...	456
Sinking Fund .....	731,545	544,249
The Civil List .....	49,035	99,176
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund....	379,488	287,878
For Advances.....	304,748	326,343
Total Charge.....	7,011,413	7,572,025
The Surplus.....	5,028,960	5,711,680
	12,940,373	13,284,205

## LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER XXVIII.

Paris, Tuesday Evening, July 6th, 1852.

THE Legislative Corps have not dispersed without taking a signal revenge for all the humiliations they have been compelled to undergo. The deputies, as they returned to their constituents, shot a Parthian arrow at their haughty master. They secretly resolved to draw up a Report of the results of their session for the perusal of the electors. This Report it was impossible to print; but, in manuscript, it has been in active circulation in Paris, and every independent deputy undertook to distribute it throughout his department. This Report is very severe in its terms. It nakedly accuses Louis Bonaparte of opposing every obstacle to the execution of their mandate: it criticises unsparingly the Administrative innovations, and does not even spare the Constitution itself. It proceeds to state, that the financial condition had seemed grave enough to demand a serious scrutiny: that, unfortunately, the trifling economies consented to by the Commission on the Budget, and refused by the Council of State, had not been realized: that to have raised a conflict with the Executive would have disturbed the commercial interests of the country; in obedience to which they had preferred to accept the Government measures, even the railway concessions, of which they were far from understanding the nature or the extent; but that next year they promised to be far more severe in the execution of the trust committed to them by their constituents. This Report (*compte-rendu*) has created a great sensation in Paris, and, doubtless, in the departments. The Elysée was bitterly incensed. In order to soften the blow, the adherents of the President were anxious to bring the deputies together at a farewell banquet. This banquet was a gloomy affair. No speeches; and only one toast, proposed by the chairman, M. Billault, President of the Legislative—"To Louis Napoleon;" a toast received in icy silence, broken only by a few *claqueurs*, to make the silence more emphatic!

Louis Bonaparte is now regularly settled for the summer at St. Cloud. Debauchery and excesses of all kinds have marvellously changed the man: he is said to be quite out of health; and his doctors tell him decidedly, that if he will not change his manner of living they will not answer for his life. He is also said to be worn down with anxiety and work, dejected, and demoralized. He feels the falseness of his position and the difficulty of escape. Meantime his *fidèles* are working for him.

Persigny has despatched orders to all the prefects to resume more actively than ever the agitation for the Empire, abruptly broken off before the 10th of May, on account of the threats of the Czar; so that, for the last few days—since, in fact, the Legislative Corps has disappeared, and the Senate has been left alone to complete its session, petitions have showered upon the Senate, which, as you remember, according to our present Constitution, has the sole power of modifying the form of government. The Decembrist army, composed of 6000 stipendiaries at Paris, and 20,000 in the provinces, has taken the field again.

These bagmen of a new description are busy enough in obtaining orders for their new article—the Emperor. Among all the Prefects the most conspicuous for his imperialist zeal is M. de Bouville, ex-journalist, and Prefect of the Basses-Alpes—the department which maintained a resistance to the usurpation for twenty-four days after the 2nd of December. M. de Bouville has undertaken to effect the wholesale conversion of this department; and in the very communes where the entire male population took arms to defend the cause of the Republic, M. de Bouville now pretends to find petitioners for the Empire. I will tell you the very simple process he employs for that purpose. The mayor of every commune is made responsible for so many signatures, according to the population of the village. If he omit to find the given number, he is threatened with transportation to Lambessa. Such is the operation in every village, and so the signatures flow in.

This recrudescence of imperialist agitation has given rise to the report that the intimates of the Elysée are determined to make Louis Bonaparte take the last spring; and the Empire is again the order of the day. As it is, the President lives, and moves, and acts like a sovereign. A decree is announced to appear shortly, reviving all the dignitaries of the former imperialist court—such as Chamberlain, Grand Chancellor, Grand Equerry, Master of the Ceremonies, &c. All these functionaries are already named, and the decree of their appointment will appear independently of the Empire.

A ridiculous conspiracy, of genuine police fabrication, has been "discovered" this week. Society has

been once more saved, and boobies are once more reassured. The police have "made a descent" upon a house behind the *Jardin des Plantes*, where they found some gas-pipe ends, about a foot long each, crammed with bullets, and covered over with canvas. The two men in whose room these pipe-ends were found were arrested, of course; but the police, not content with this capture, seized every person in the house, even women and children! As in all the houses in Paris, these people were utter strangers to each other. In this case there were two women and one little girl; and so the number of *fourteen* conspirators, pompously announced by the *Patrie*, is made up; and the gas-pipe ends, covered with canvas, are the murderous machines with which "the democrats of Paris, in league with their brothers in London," were to effect a revolution. This pretended conspiracy, which the Parisians immediately christened "The Flue Conspiracy," and which the Government wanted to puff to gigantic proportions by arresting all sorts of people, has made a complete *fiasco*. The *Constitutionnel*, in citing the article of the *Patrie*, declared the facts to be "inexact." As to the *Moniteur*, it was silent for two days, and then finding that the conspiracy was a failure, came out with the announcement that the reports in the newspapers were certainly exaggerated. Public opinion, habituated to these police expedients, regarded the affair with perfect indifference, only inquiring what the special object of this latest fabrication might be; and wags pretended that, had it not been for this "gas-pipe conspiracy," *Louis Bonaparte était fumé*; others considered it as an excuse for proclaiming the Empire. But I will give you the simple explanation of the affair in a few words. About a fortnight ago, a man, named Viguier, ex-lieutenant of marine artillery, expelled his regiment for embezzlement—a man of utterly damaged reputation, and attached to the police, presented himself to the refugees in London, begging admission into their society. One of the refugees having recognised the man, immediately denounced him to the society, and his non-admission was pronounced. The police, very anxious to make Viguier pass for a democrat persecuted by the Government, got up this famous conspiracy; and it was in the rooms of two of this Viguier's friends that the gas-pipes were found. A perquisition made at Viguier's house led to the same results. The object was to accredit Viguier to the proscribed democrats at London; this is the true and simple explanation of the alleged conspiracy.

The conspiracy, however, of the sub-officers of the army, is another and very different business. Every regiment is sounded with amazing zeal by every party. The Orleanists and Legitimists "work" the officers, the democrats sound the sub-officers. The former hawk about the letters of Changarnier and Lamoricière, the latter that bold one of Colonel Charras, which has produced more ravages than any other. In many of the regiments secret societies are formed. One of them was lately discovered in the army of Paris. The sub-officers were transferred to the prison of *L'Abbaye*.

Another secret society has been discovered among the sub-officers at St. Omer. The Government, anxious to distract public attention, has denied the facts: but the following significant announcement sufficiently disposes of the official denials. This is what I find in the *Liberté*, a journal published at Lille:—"For the last few days, soldiers in chains, coming, we are informed, from St. Omer, have passed through our streets, escorted by gendarmes to the Citadel of Lille." Algeria, occupied by regiments accused of democratic opinions, or by regiments officered by democrats, is "worked" with equal ardour by the republican party.

A terrible menace is suspended over the head of Bonaparte, that of *seeing the army burst in his hand*. The danger is imminent; he knows it: it is this thought which pierces through the allusion he lately addressed to the officers of the five regiments newly added to the garrison of Paris. "In every elevated position, like that in which I find myself placed, care outbids content: but, in the midst of incessant anxieties and labours, there are true compensations: the first is that of duty accomplished," &c.

This address is significant enough of the present disposition of the speaker's mind. In truth, he is very far from having reason to be tranquil. The army is not to be relied upon: and now the people of Paris are alive again. I have in a former letter mentioned, that the police had solemnly inaugurated busts of the President in the principal markets. The tradesmen had been compelled, by threats, to subscribe to the expense. A few who resisted the injunction had their licences withdrawn from them. Their fate intimidated the rest. Now the reaction is complete; in a great number of the markets the busts have been smashed. That in the *Marché aux Huîtres*, Rue Montorgueil, among others, was first covered with ordure, and then *guillotined*. It has not yet been replaced by the police.

On the other hand, the rigorous measures continued on so vast a scale, keep up extreme irritation in the departments; and this irritation is so keen, that many of the President's intimates have urged him to abandon his intended tour in the South. But he persists in his determination. He has a secret in the purpose of this tour. His plan is to go by Bordeaux to Toulouse, and thence to Marseilles, where he will embark for Algeria, to take the command of an expedition in person. He takes to heart his two defeats of Boulogne and Strasbourg; he yearns to rehabilitate, by some brilliant action in the eyes of the army, that military reputation of his which the army now laugh to scorn. It is for this that he contemplates the expedition I have described.

Pending the grand tour to the South, the Government is preparing a fête of dazzling magnificence, to gratify the well-known taste of the Parisian population for "fire and smoke," and all the "pomp and circumstance of war." The affair is to take place on the 15th of August, Saint Napoleon's day. The *spectacle* will consist of the crossing of Mount St. Bernard by the French army, performed by 15,000 men under arms. The heights of Chaillot are destined to be the theatre of this exploit, and Trocadero is to be transformed into a Mount St. Bernard for the occasion. In the morning we shall have a pantomimic military display of the troops crossing the mountains, with sham combats. At night Napoleon on horseback will be visible by the aid of thousands of coloured lamps. During the performance there will be a grand snow storm falling on St. Bernard and the troops, concluding with an immense display of fireworks, in the midst of which will appear a gigantic eagle, surmounting the figure of Napoleon. This fête will cost twenty-five millions; but Bonaparte will not grudge the money if he can but succeed in dazzling the people; for he feels its hostility and its affection must be bought at any cost. Why should he stick at "a trifle?" Does he not himself, his family, and his courtiers, swim in gold! Old Jerome, and the Princess Mathilde, his daughter, are most lavish in their expenditure. Lucien Murat has just bought the estate of Buzenval. Six months ago these people were over head and ears in debt, and now they are purchasing immense estates! When will this host of vultures, which have fastened upon our unhappy country as on a prey, take their flight? These champions of the right of property continue their depredations upon their neighbours. The final seal is about being put to the sequestration of the Duke d'Aumale's property. The produce of the sale is to be given to the sons of the *anciens émigrés* of the army of Condé. To accomplish this act of spoliation the last will of the Prince of Condé will be cancelled by a decree, and on the same authority the first will be made valid. As for the family of Orleans, it has just escaped by a legal fiction from the consequences of Bonaparte's decree, compelling them to sell all their property in France within the year. A friendly sale has been effected with the Prince de Monaco, who is under pecuniary obligations to them; so Bonaparte is again defeated. You see the *weazles* did not all die with Louis Philippe:—"Messrs. Quirk, Gammon, and Snap" still sit at the council-table of the House of Orleans.

The "refusals" are coming in as thick as ever. The professors of the university are above all distinguishing themselves by their firm and dignified attitude. Bonaparte in his suspicious jealousy has required the oath to be taken by a crowd of people who were never called upon before. For instance, all the wearers of medals, including cabmen, water-carriers, street-porters, have been obliged to take the oath, or be deprived of them. Many persons have been under the necessity of repeatedly performing the ceremony. One case is mentioned, that of a legitimist, who went through the process as deputy, departmental councillor, mayor, and as trustee for a public charity. The hero of this quadruple binding of oaths is reported to have said, "They made me swear four oaths, it will be hard indeed if I am unable to keep one of them."

The Press is still the butt of the rigours of Government. The *Corsaire*, a legitimist organ, has been the first to suffer under the application of Bonaparte's law for the suspension of newspapers. The arbitrary "warnings" of the prefects had lost their virtue. The *Corsaire* is suspended for two months. This paper was fined on the 18th of May, for "contempt of the Government." On the strength of this verdict, the Ministers of Police suspended the paper altogether on the 3rd of July—forty-six days after the fine had been levied. The *Espérance* of Nantes, another legitimist paper, has received a first "warning." Its crime consists in having presumed to furnish an explanation of the Comte de Chambord's letter, forbidding the *faithful* from taking the oath. The prefect spiced the warning with the plea that the paper was guilty of opposition to the will of eight millions of men.

We hear every day of fresh arrests. Last Saturday

a great number of the citizens of the Faubourg St. Antoine were torn from their families and thrown into prison. Six poor labouring men belonging to the Héroult were arrested in the *arrondissement* of Béziers the other day. By order of the military authorities, MM. François Charpenet, Edme Petit, Guingaud, Victor Berthier (editor of the *Constitution du Loiret*), Clément, Hervé, and Brasseur, all of the department of Loiret have been arrested and brought, chained hand and foot, to Paris. Besides these, MM. Chauveau, Paré and Mazé, of Briare, who were arrested in December and had subsequently been set at liberty, were again seized and conveyed to the prison at Orleans.

The court-martial of Montpellier has pronounced a sentence of punishment. It has condemned seventeen prisoners to death. Six have escaped: but eleven heads will fall in the public square of Bédarrioux. Five of the accused have been condemned to hard labour for the rest of their life, three to hard labour for a term of years, four to deportation, with confinement in a fortified prison, four to simple deportation. Three men are guilty of having taken arms on a day of combat; and it is French soldiers, stained with the blood of millions, who have had the cruelty to deliver such a sentence.

Another Republican, by name Charlet, who, on hearing of the events of December, hastened from Switzerland into France, and took arms in defence of the cause, will be executed at Belley, his appeal having been dismissed.

While these horrible acts of judicial vengeance are taking place, the Government is actively making war against all Socialist institutions. It is closing associative workshops. It has just closed the association at Evreux, which for two years has been profitably supplying butchers' meat to the poor, cheap and good. At Marseilles it has closed a number of associated cafés. One of the chiefs of these associations finding himself suddenly and arbitrarily stripped of his livelihood, committed suicide with a knife. The whole city attended his funeral, as a protest against the Government; which at the very time when it is suppressing these associations, encourages lotteries and gambling tables. It is even said that the gambling licenses are to be renewed: and that a contract with a company has already been effected. The *pots de vin* are signed. The company (if my information be correct) is to pay 800,000 francs per annum to the Treasury, besides a *douceur* to Louis Bonaparte. S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

THE session of the Senate is closed by a decree published in the *Moniteur*, and dated St. Cloud, 5th July.

The following is the address of Marshal Jerome Bonaparte to the Senate at its last sitting:—

"Messieurs les Sénateurs,—Our order of the day is exhausted, and in a few minutes you will have read to you a decree from the Prince President of the republic, putting an end to our labours for the session. During the time that the senate has been holding its sittings, it has worthily performed its duty. It has responded, as was to be expected, to the confidence of the chief of the state, and to the hope of the country. After a conscientious examination, and discussions, remarkable for their ability, it has adopted two organic *senatus consulta*, which the constitution has allowed it to vote. The sanction which it has given to the bills voted by the Legislative Body was always preceded by an examination which will add to their moral authority and to their influence over the populations. Before we separate, permit me, gentlemen, to thank you for the co-operation which you have afforded me, and on which I had fully reckoned; for, between you and me, there is an indissoluble bond, that of the sympathy and devotedness which unite us to the country and to the Prince President of the republic, who, like us, has only in view the welfare, honour, and independence of our country."

M. de Lamartine, who recently left Paris, is at present in Burgundy, at his residence at St. Point.

The *Journal des Débats* states that forty-six bishops out of the eighty-one in France have signified their approbation of the letter written some short time since by the Bishop of Orleans, in favour of employing the Greek and Latin classics as hand-books in education.

M. Thiers has been threatened with the application of the *internement* (or confinement within a particular district) assigned to political decrees in Switzerland. Naturally unwilling to consent to such a humiliation, M. Thiers has made up his mind to leave the country. By some these threats are said to be suggested by the agents of the man in power who was once an exile in Thurgovia—by others, to be directed against the orator of the ex-party of order in the French Assembly by the Republican authorities in the Canton of Vevay; by others, again, to be the result of M. Thiers' hostility to Switzerland when in office.

A grand royalist demonstration was to be held at an annual meeting of the burgesses of the Canton of Neuchâtel, on the 6th July, at Valengin, with the view of influencing the Federal Assembly, which is about to commence its session at Berne. The Republicans, on their part, had resolved to make a counter-demonstration at the same place on the same day. The Royalist party are greatly encouraged by the recent signing of the protocol at London by the great powers. According to the *Suisse* of Berne, however, the communication of the Foreign-

office protocol to the Federal Council by the powers had not taken place on the 2nd inst.; indeed, the incidental recognition by France of the treaties of 1815, which took place when that protocol was signed, appears to have been the principal object of the entire transaction.

The Swiss journals state, that not only the most enlightened and wealthy portions of the population of the canton, but the great mass of the Conservative party in Switzerland are on the side of the Republicans on this special question.

The King of Prussia has been making excursions on the Rhine with his sister, the Empress of Russia.

The *Dusseldorf Gazette* of the 5th contains a letter from Cologne, which states that the king of Prussia was so delighted with the cathedral, that, when in the transept, he said to the president of the central committee of restoration, "This cathedral is dear to my heart, and it must absolutely be finished!"

Another Zollverein congress was held at Berlin, on the 1st inst. The Berlin Cabinet, represented by M. Prokesch, called upon the delegates to declare, with as little delay as possible, whether they would accept the Hanover treaty or not; but did not fix any latest date for its acceptance or rejection. The Prussian newspapers agree in ascribing great disunion to the coalesced of Darmstadt, and represent them as seeking a bridge by which to pass over to M. Manteuffel. On the other hand, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden are treating with Austria for a common representation of their commercial interests abroad; facts which pre-suppose a severance of the three first states from the Zollverein.

The Emperor of Austria is still in Hungary, received everywhere, say the official records, with enthusiasm—by the soldiers, we suppose; for he is entirely surrounded by military escorts.

The free city of Lubeck has just received notice that the equality with Christians, promised in its Constitution to Jews, is irreconcilable with the federal pact, and must not be conceded.

The members of the Parliament permitted in the constitution lately dictated by the Elector of Hesse met for the first time on the 3rd instant. While they were electing a president, a court nominated by the Elector was sentencing grey-headed members of the standing committee of the last Parliament to two and three years' imprisonment, for protesting in legal form against the violation of the old constitution.

The population of Berlin at the end of April amounted to 441,931 souls, being an increase of 25,000 in six years.

The pamphlet entitled "Seven Conversations on Church and State," by General de Radowitz, has, it seems, caused some sensation at Berlin. It recommends that very distant vision, German unity: to be attained through constitutionalism and Catholic unity. Protestantism, which alone has given Prussia a distinctive position in Germany, is to be absorbed into Catholicism, which we imagined had not been found habitually sympathetic to constitutionalism. The Catholic (not constitutional) tendencies of Frederick William may give this work, dedicated to his intimate friend and counsellor, some importance. For the rest, it is as cloudy and mystical as German metaphysics.

We are glad to find, from unexceptionable testimony, that our Government (or at least their agents) are actively bestirring themselves to obtain something like justice in the case. We cannot doubt that the Roman authorities will be slow to carry the capital sentence into execution against a British subject after a form of trial so abhorrent to our notions of law. The intervention of the British Government (says the correspondent of the *Daily News*) may certainly be considered to have saved the life of a person who would otherwise have been most positively executed, and whose guilt is by no means proved; whilst strong inferences of his innocence may be drawn from the facts that on his first arrest he indignantly rejected the offer of an immediate free pardon if he would turn approver—that on his being liberated, and becoming again master of his own actions for some months, he refused to quit the country, although urgently solicited to do so, and boldly returned to Ancona to confront his accusers (who have never yet appeared); and lastly, that were he now to be offered his pardon as a boon, he would most probably reject it, and only consent to leave his prison walls as a declared innocent man. Murray's appearance is certainly not that of an assassin, as he is a prepossessing young man of six and twenty, tall, and remarkably handsome.

The same correspondent, alluding to the anti Catholic proclamation of our Government, says, "The Government proclamation against processions in England has not as yet been mentioned in the Roman journals, which usually observe the profoundest silence on subjects disagreeable to the ecclesiastical government; but in private circles the partisans of the priests meekly observe that persecution will only advance their cause; whilst the Liberals enjoy the attack on the long-garbed gentry amazingly, out of political hostility to their rulers here."

The *Risorgimento* of Turin recently remarked—"Whilst other countries are erecting fortifications, at Turin the citadel is being disarmed. The cannon, which for many years lined its ramparts, and were mostly pointed against the city, are to be removed and transferred to Casale. This is certainly a signal proof of the mutual confidence existing between the King and the population of Turin. The government is even anxious to demolish the ramparts of the citadel, and to convert the building into a barrack."

M. Eugene Sue has been prohibited from continuing the publication of a romance in the *feuilleton* of the *Patriote Savoisien*, and warned that should he persist, the Sardinian government might feel it necessary to withdraw the permission under which he resides at Annecy. M. E. Sue has written to the minister that he is too grateful for the hospitality accorded him, and too desirous for its continuance, to do anything which might put an end to it.

The trial of Guerazzi, the ex-dictator of Florence, will begin on the 16th of August. M. Leonardo Romanelli, his former Minister of Justice and Public Worship, and

now his fellow-prisoner, has published a pamphlet in his defence.

The negotiations of the Piedmontese ambassador at Rome, to regulate the *interim* affairs of the diocese of Turin during the exile of Monsignor Franzoni have completely failed.

The *Cologne Gazette* confirms the report which was in circulation some days back, of the Catholic Bishops of Silesia, Pomerania, and Western Prussia, having addressed to the king a refusal to enter the first chamber of the states.

Wednesday was the birthday of the Emperor of Russia. He was born on the 7th July, 1796, and is, therefore, in his 57th year. He ascended the throne on the 1st December, 1825.

THE STOCKPORT RIOTS.

THE investigations were continued on Saturday. Mr. Thomas Eskrigge, one of the magistrates of Stockport, went into St. Peter's-square a little before eight o'clock on Tuesday evening. There was then no appearance of disturbance, either on that spot or in Rock-row, which could be seen from St. Peter's-square. In about ten minutes, a crowd of Irish, in number about eighty or a hundred, chiefly boys, rushed into the square from the direction of Hillgate, pursued by about the same number of English boys. The parties here began to stone each other, and the Irish were driven up Etchell-street, taking refuge in the houses, the windows of which were broken by their pursuers. The Irish afterwards obtained assistance, and drove their enemies towards High-street, but again met a repulse. Stones again were thrown between the parties, and some windows in Mr. Woolley's factory were broken. The contest at this place died away, and Mr. Eskrigge made his way to the Court-house, where he understood that the magistrates were summoned. From thence he went towards Chester-gate, finding the streets on his way very crowded, but seeing no appearance of a riot. In Wellington-square he found a policeman, named Whieldon, with a drawn sword in his hand, rushing at every door which he saw open. This, the policeman said, was to frighten the people, and to keep them quiet within their houses. With the exception of this singular phenomenon, all was quiet in that place. Mr. Eskrigge returned to the Court-house, and the Mayor arrived there soon after. The military was immediately sent for, and meanwhile the chief superintendent got together some assistants in aid of the scanty police force, and went out to quell the disturbance. At that time the magistrates had had no intelligence of the destruction of property. The military arrived a little before ten o'clock. The Mayor, with Mr. Eskrigge and another magistrate, then set out towards Rock-row, with the police, military, and as many of the inhabitants as they could muster. In Rock-row they found a large and riotous crowd, and the riot-act was read. The military was formed across the street, and so dispersed the crowd. It was then found that the doors and windows of many of the houses were destroyed, and on entering one house the furniture was found to be broken to pieces. Information then came that mischief was going on at Edgeley, whereupon the whole body set off in that direction. When they got near the Catholic chapel at Edgeley, they saw a large fire burning in front of the priest's house. There was not then a great crowd present, but the riot-act was read, and the street cleared. The fire was found to have been made out of the priest's furniture and books, and the fittings of the chapel. It was five yards in diameter. On entering the house, they found everything was broken. The doors and windows of the chapel and schools were destroyed. On their way back, they heard that the mob were attacking the chapel in the park. They went in that direction, and found the inside of the chapel entirely destroyed. Mr. Eskrigge further said that he had seen a placard on the walls of the town, purporting to be printed by Mr. T. Clay, for the Stockport Protestant Association, which he thought one of the most disgraceful he had ever seen, and one that was calculated to excite enmity against the Roman-catholics. Mr. Eskrigge stated further, that Mr. Clay was a very respectable man, a member of the corporation, and one of the oldest printers in the town. Some discussion took place as to putting in the placard as evidence, and finally, Mr. Gibson announced that in his defence he should call Mr. Clay as a witness.

Mr. Charles Hudson, one of the coroners for the county of Chester, corroborated the statements of Mr. Eskrigge as to the disturbances in St. Peter's-square. He remained at the Court-house for an hour after the magistrates left with the military and police. He set out for Rock-row with some of the magistrates, and on approaching that place, he saw some furniture being thrown out of the window of a cottage. They put a stop to these proceedings, and succeeded in drawing the crowd away after them. As they went away, they passed by Park-street, where they found a great crowd surrounding the Roman-catholic chapel; within the chapel they heard the sound of destruction. Mr. Hud-

son was about to enter by a side door, when something like a cupboard was thrown from an upper window into the street. Deterred thus from going on, he vainly endeavoured to obtain assistance from the Court-house, which was then deserted. Immediately after, the military arrived and cleared the crowd off the spot. The military then returned to the Court-house, which is only 150 yards distant from the chapel; but as soon as the mob were left to themselves, they returned to their work of destruction, until they were again driven off by the military. Mr. Gibson believed that only two of the prisoners taken were Englishmen, and those were taken in front of St. Michael's chapel. Many of the others had been brought to the Court-house for protection, and many had since been discharged.

Terence M'Donough, of Etchell-street, said, that on Tuesday evening, shortly before eight o'clock, he had heard shouting at the end of the street, and saw a multitude of boys coming towards his house. Some of them cried out, "Those are Irish houses, break them in." Several stones were thrown at the doors and windows. Some of the stones came inside, and one of them struck M'Donough. He said the boys were English.

Edward Dooley, who lived in St. Peter's-square, confirmed the account already given of the battle in that square. He thought that at one time there must have been 2000 persons there. He added, that the last time the English were victorious, they attacked the gates of the church and broke them open; they then ran across the church-yard to Rock-row; they returned in about ten minutes, bringing with them a quantity of bedding, which they tore up in the square. He believed that the windows of the school-house were broken accidentally by the stones flying about.

The inquiry was continued on Monday, when Thomas Pickering, a servant of Mr. Alderman Graham, said that he had heard the riot in St. Peter's-square, and looking out of the gates about seven o'clock, or later, he saw stones flying about in all directions. At about eight o'clock, all the front windows in the house had been broken. Mrs. Graham then sent him for his master, who was away from home. As he returned with Mr. Graham he saw about twenty Irishmen throwing stones at a party of English who were in flight. He got several blows himself, and was rendered insensible.

Thomas Dooley was again called, and stated, that on some of the houses in Rock-row were written "English," and that these houses were uninjured.

The following placard was posted about Stockport about the beginning of this week, without the name of any printer:—

"TO THE PROTESTANT ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF STOCKPORT.

"Brother Protestants and Electors—On Friday next you will be called upon to select two candidates to represent you in Parliament. Before the time comes I wish to draw your attention to Mr. J. B. Smith's votes in the House of Commons. You are perhaps aware that he was the M.P. for the Stirling Burghs, but in consequence of such votes he has received notice to quit, and consequently has resolved to try his fortune here. Are you aware that during the two last sessions of Parliament—in fact, ever since the Pope's bull, setting our beloved Queen on one side, he has not only done all that lay in his power to injure the Protestant cause, but he has done all to assist the Papists in obstructing the progress of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and the inquiry into the Maynooth College? Do not take my word for it, but make a little inquiry, and you will find it to be so. Are we to be ridden rough-shod over by a pack of blood-thirsty Papists, and vote for the man that encourages them? No. After the sample of the 'British lion' displayed the other night, I am persuaded that your hearts are still in the right place. Let Father Frith recommend him to some place in Connaught, where they will jump at him. Do not let us disgrace ourselves by sending him. These are not times to mince matters. Who knows what is brewing at the present time? Let us send tried men. Let us rally round Mr. Heald and Mr. Kershaw, who have both voted in direct opposition to the motley Socinian, Papist, Anythingarian, and send him to the right about.

"I am, brother electors, yours respectfully,  
"Stockport, July 2, 1852." "A PROTESTANT."

James Flannigan, the brother-in-law of Michael Moran, who was killed in the riot, received the following letter, bearing the post-mark, "Kennington Common:—

"Eccc Dies Dei.  
"The blood of millions, shot, starved, slain—  
See all avenged by Jesus plain;  
His Majesty is near the door,  
Who will (as sworn) help ploughmen poor.  
Remember Abel!

584 }  
1816 }  
52 space  
Aude ventus Dei  
Hic et ubique.  
Soluhke.

"ABADDON."

This contained two enclosures; one a card, announcing the departure of the *Northumberland* packet ship for New York, on Thursday, and the other a small piece of paper on which was written,

"Behold  
As it was in Noah's days so shall it be again.

Take  
Notice to quit  
under  
The King's evidence 584  
1816  
52."

Further inquiry is suspended until the election is over.

#### KAFIR WAR.

THE arrival of the *Bosphorus* puts us in possession of news from the seat of war to the 29th of May. General Cathcart had removed his head quarters permanently from King William's Town to Fort Beaufort. With a view to expel the Gaika Kafirs from the country they had occupied before the war, he had extended nearly the whole of the forces under his command, in a connected chain of columns across the territory. No official account had yet been given of the operations of these columns. On the other hand, the Kafirs had not manifested the slightest disposition to submit. They show more wariness in choosing their positions, and pursue their old policy of avoiding encounter with our troops upon open ground. Stock and Seyolo have evacuated their own country, and joined their forces to those of Macomo and Sandilli, or sent them in marauding detachments into the colony. One of these bands had captured the mailbags from Graham's Town, containing the Governor's despatches!

An unsuccessful attempt was made by Colonel Buller, with two companies of the 60th Rifles, and a small detachment of the Cape corps, to dislodge the Kafirs who had returned to the Waterkloof. The attacking party, finding themselves overmatched, retired under cover of a six-pounder, which had been judiciously placed in reserve. One officer and two privates were wounded: no other casualties were sustained.

Andries Botha, a Hottentot field-cornet, was found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to death, after a trial of eight days, which terminated on the 19th of May.

The Governor had given Kreili one month to pay the fine of 1500 head of cattle. The colonists considered the fine much too small, believing that there were at the moment thousands of colonial cattle grazing quietly in the delinquent's territory.

#### THE WHIG PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

THE Whig National Convention commenced its proceedings at Baltimore on the 16th of June. Mr. George Evans, of Maine, was appointed temporary chairman. Great excitement prevailed throughout a great portion of the proceedings. For some time there was a want of unanimity, the majority fluctuating at first between Scott and Fillmore. On the 21st, the fifth day of the Convention, the fifty-third balloting showed a majority of 158 to 112 in favour of General Scott. Mr. Webster had throughout but a small number of votes in his favour.

William A. Graham, of North Carolina, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

The *New York Herald* states that Mr. Webster's speech at the Kossuth dinner lost him the support of the South, General Scott being strongly opposed to intervention.

The nomination of General Scott has been received in different places with various feelings. It has generally given satisfaction to the Democrats, who expect it will increase the probability of General Pierce's election. In Boston they urged the Whigs to fire a salute, offering to pay for powder. Their offer was not accepted. The

#### DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE,

General Pierce has addressed a letter to the National Convention, tendering to them his acknowledgments of the honour they have paid him. His letter contains the following passage:—

"May I not regard it as a fact pointing to the overthrow of sectional jealousies, and looking to the perennial life and vigour of a Union cemented by the blood of those who have passed to their reward—a Union wonderful in its formation, boundless in its hopes, amazing in its destiny. I accept the nomination, relying upon an abiding devotion to the interests, the honour, and the glory of our whole country, but, beyond and above all, upon a power superior to all human right—a power which, from the first gun of the revolution, in every crisis through which we have passed, in every hour of our acknowledged peril, when the dark clouds have shut down around us, has interposed, as if to baffle human wisdom, outmarch human forecast, and bring out of darkness the rainbow of promise. Weak myself, faith and hope repose there in security. I accept the nomination upon the platform adopted by the Convention, not because this is expected of me as a candidate, but because the principles it embraces command the approbation of my judgment, and with them I believe I can safely say there has been no word nor act of my life in conflict."

Mr. William R. King has also addressed a letter to the Democratic Convention, gratefully accepting his nomination as Vice-President, and pledging himself to adhere to the principles laid down in the platform of the Convention.

#### THE STORY OF AN UMBRELLA.

A NUMBER of the aristocracy assembled at the Marylebone Police Court on Saturday, to hear an investigation before Mr. Long, relative to a charge preferred against Major Cooke, one of her Majesty's Honourable Corps of Gentlemen at Arms, for having unlawfully detained an umbrella, the alleged property of Dr. Perston, M.D.

The complainant resides at 7, Lower Grosvenor-place, and defendant at Belmour-house, Hampstead; they are both members of the Army and Navy Club.

Mr. Long inquired if the umbrella in question was to be produced; and he was replied to in the negative.

A gentleman who attended for complainant entered into a statement of the facts connected with the affair, and after he had proceeded for some time,

The Magistrate said: The simple question before me is this—does Major Cooke detain the umbrella, or does he not? Cannot a matter like this be settled between these two gentlemen, without going any further?

Major Cooke said that he was anxious to have the case fully gone into.

Dr. Perston, on being sworn, said: On the 13th January last I missed my umbrella, which was a silk one, from the outer hall of the Army and Navy Club-house; and I saw no more of it until the 8th of last month, when I observed it standing in the place where I had before left it. I took possession of it, and on the same day Major Cooke came into the club-room where I was seated, and claimed the umbrella as his own, alleging that he had had it more than two years. It was a brown silk one, with the handle partly broken off. The major seized hold of it, tore it out of my hand, and broke it in two.

Mr. Long: What value do you put upon it?

Dr. Perston: I should say that it was worth 12s.

Joseph Staddon: I am a porter at the Army and Navy Club. I knew that Dr. Perston had lost an umbrella, and that in the early part of last month he took one from a stand in the hall, but I can't say whether it was the one he had missed or not.

By Major Cooke: I have many umbrellas left in my care, and some are now and then lost.

Mary Fann: I am servant to Miss James, who is the niece of Major Cooke. On the 8th of last month the major brought home an umbrella with him from the club-house, and I can swear to its being the very same one which he had occasionally taken out with him as far back as November, nearly eight months ago.

Mr. Long: When the major returned home with it last month, as you stated, in what condition was it?—Witness: It was almost broken to pieces, and I threw it away; the handle had been broken long before.

By Major Cooke: The umbrella was a hack one, and I have often made use of it myself.

George Hall, a page at the club-house: I remember Dr. Perston taking an umbrella away from the stand, and Major Cooke saying that it was his. I can't call to my recollection what kind of umbrella it was.

Miss Margaretta Caroline James: I am the niece of Major Cooke. The umbrella he brought home is mine. I purchased it between two and three years ago; it had become too shabby for my use; the major took it out with him last month, and when he came back with it it was much broken. It was the same article which I had bought, as I before stated.

Mary Fann, in addition to her former evidence, said that the umbrella being completely torn and broken, she had thrown it over the garden wall and knew not what had since become of it.

Mr. Long remarked that the matter turned upon the identity of the umbrella, which could not be produced.

Major Cooke said he was most anxious to state a few words in explanation of the affair. On the 8th ult., having finished his duties at the Palace, he went to the club, and was in the act of leaving, when he received intimation that his umbrella had been taken by defendant, whom he accordingly addressed, seeing he had two umbrellas in his hand, and requested to speak to him in the hall. He (defendant) wished to look at the umbrella which he believed to be his, but as complainant refused to allow him, and threatened to give him in charge, he snatched the article from him.

Mr. Long dismissed the summons, and said he regretted that such a case should ever have been brought before him.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. Judge will lecture on "Emigration to the Gold Fields of Australia" at the Mechanics Institution, Southampton-buildings.

The *Globe* states that the most unscrupulous use of Government influence has been exercised, and successfully, over thirty or forty workmen at the Woolwich Arsenal, to obtain their votes for Mr. Roll.

Mr. Dargan, the Irish railway contractor, a few weeks ago, offered the sum of 20,000*l.* towards a "Great Exhibition" in Dublin. A committee is already formed, and is engaged in applying the money. They are desirous of the co-operation of the English manufacturing body.

At Queenwood, where the last experiment upon Robert Owen's principles was made, there is now a College, which, according to the *People's Herald*, seems rather an useful institution:—"The educational institution comprises two departments entirely distinct. In the one, boys are educated for professional or commercial pursuits: in the other agriculture is practically taught, and an excellent laboratory, together with a farm of 800 acres, are found to be valuable auxiliaries to this branch of study."

At the hundredth anniversary of the separation of Danvers from Salem, and of its erection into a distinct municipal corporation, a letter was read from Mr. George Peabody, of London, a native of Danvers, containing an offer to that town of *Twenty Thousand Dollars*, to be managed by twelve trustees, and to be appropriated as follows:—Seven thousand dollars for the purchase of land and the erection of a building; ten thousand to be invested in undoubted securities, for the purpose of a Lyceum, and for a free Public Library—and the remainder for the foundation of a Library; the building to be located within a third of a mile of the Old South Meeting House. The announcement was received with thunders of applause, and it was forthwith voted to hold a public meeting to express the gratitude of the citizens.

The Vienna court-martial has sentenced "Catharina Kreted to fifteen stripes with rods, three weeks imprisonment, with one fast a week, for having offended the police by word and deed."

The young Stratfords, lately released by the Tuscan Government, have arrived in Liverpool by the screw-steamer *Orontes*, having been shipped off by the Governor of Malta. Government refuses to do anything in their behalf, and as they are totally destitute, the Mayor has headed a subscription for their benefit with the sum of 5*l*.

The *Augsburg Gazette* contains a letter from Leipsic, of the 29th ult, which says:—"Paul Delarocche has arrived here, this being one of the places which he is determined to stop at in his tour for exhibiting his fine picture of the condemnation of Marie Antoinette. This *chef-d'œuvre* excites universal admiration, as does another picture of his representing the Emperor Napoleon."

The *Gateshead Observer* reports that one John Proud has been charged at the Gateshead Police Court with feloniously stealing lead from the roof of a stable, the property of Mr. Harrison, cooper, "was discharged from want of evidence." It appears that on Tuesday fortnight the attention of James Hoggins (Mr. Harrison's carman) was called to the fact of Proud being upon his master's stable, cutting the lead from the roof. He succeeded in securing the prisoner, and detained him until he was handed over to the police. When called upon as a witness to give evidence, Hoggins refused to be sworn, stating that he did not believe in the Testament. "The case consequently broke down." The fact is, there was no want of evidence, only it happened to be more conscientious than the law in that case provides for. It will be well for the ends of justice when affirmations are legalised in these instances. Mr. Hoggins has written to us complaining that one of the magistrates endeavoured to injure him in his employer's estimation on account of his unbelief. Then it will be hard if the master has not more sense than the magistrate, by recognising that he has at least a conscientious servant.

Sloane, the special pleader, who, with his wife, was convicted in February, 1851, of cruelty to his servant, died on Tuesday morning. He has been sinking for some time past, and about a week since a free pardon was given him, on representations that further imprisonment would cause his death. He died at his lodgings in Goswell-street-road.

A child, eighteen months old, named Hobbs, was left by himself in York-street, Westminster, on Saturday afternoon. He was coming from a sweet-meat shop, and stepped off the curb-stone immediately in front of the wheel of a cart, which was passing by laden with hay. In a moment the poor little boy was knocked down, and the wheel completely crushed his head. The horse was walking slowly at the time, and the magistrate decided that the driver was not to blame.

A girl, named Jane Stokes, was walking along the road towards Wakefield on Wednesday week, about noon, when she met three coalminers, named Marsden, Sopmon, and Richard Tankard. Two of them spoke to her and passed on, but Marsden seized her and threw her into a ditch, at the same time using threatening language. He violated her person, whilst his two companions looked on at a short distance. He robbed her of half-a-crown, and then made off with the other two. However, they were taken soon after, and were before the magistrates and convicted, Marsden of rape, and the other two of aiding and abetting.

The body of a man, "respectably dressed," was found on Saturday in the Gloucester and Berkeley canal, about a mile from Gloucester. The hands were tied together, the head cut, and swollen and black with bruises. There was nothing valuable found upon the body. Some say that it is that of Captain Ure, late master of a steamer between Gloucester and Dublin, who disappeared mysteriously one day eight or nine weeks ago, after he had been settling affairs with the owners of the steamer. A person answering his description had left a house of ill-fame at three or four o'clock on the following morning.

Several young men were charged before the Lord Mayor on Saturday, with having assaulted a detective officer, named Storey, who was stated some weeks ago to have vainly endeavoured to obtain admission to the Stock Exchange in search of a culprit. On his applying to the porter for admission several persons came up, crying out, "turn him out," "bonnet him," "he's a spy." Storey was accused of having used, in reply, some gross and insulting language. He was pushed about by the bystanders, who appear to have collected in considerable numbers, and finally made a retreat. Excuse was attempted for the conduct of the young men, on the ground of its being only "a Stock Exchange lark." An apology was offered on behalf of the accused, and accepted, and the case was consequently discharged.

A young baker, of the name of Rain, of Dumfries, had for some time been courting a servant girl named Johnston. The lovers were together at a wedding-party on the 2nd of

this month, and on that occasion the young man's jealousy was aroused by some fancied slight, or apparent encouragement to a supposed rival. At nine o'clock on the following morning, he went to the house of the girl's master, and after some angry words, took out a razor which he had carried with him, and attacked the poor girl, cutting her neck terribly in several places. Before the outcries of the girl could bring assistance, he cut his own throat, and died almost immediately. The girl is seriously injured, but is expected to recover.

Henry Mortimer, "a rough looking fellow," went, on Sunday afternoon into an eating-house in Orchard-street, Westminster, belonging to a man named Stanton. After taking some refreshment, he laid himself down at full length, and prepared to take a nap. Mrs. Stanton at once told him that he could not sleep there, on which he abused her grossly, and seizing a carving-knife, he rushed at her, declaring he would cut her throat. She strove to protect her neck with her hands, and one of them was terribly mutilated, one finger being nearly cut off; a servant came to her aid at that moment, and wrenched the knife out of Mortimer's hand. He was suffered to leave the shop, but was taken in the evening. When brought before Mr. Broderip, Mortimer said he had no recollection of the affair, but had no doubt all he did was in his own protection. He was committed for trial.

The two brothers, Michael and Peter Scanlan, who were sentenced to death in Edinburgh, on the 14th of last month, were executed at Cupar, on Monday morning. They had lodged in a small village in Fifeshire, named Hilton-of-Forthar. In a house adjoining lived an old woman, who kept a huckster's shop, and with whom the Scanlan's were in the habit of dealing. It was suspected that this old woman had some money in her possession. According to the evidence given on the trial, the brothers Scanlan arranged with a man named M'Manus, who turned approver (Queen's evidence) at the trial, to rob the old woman on the evening of the 15th of April. About midnight on that night they met, and the Scanlan's entered the house by a small back window, while M'Manus watched outside. The old woman being awakened by the noise, was attacked by one of the Scanlan's with a three-legged stool, and was killed by repeated blows upon her head. The prisoners appeared perfectly indifferent at the trial. They protested their innocence to the last. Two petitions had been sent to the Home-office on their behalf, but Mr. Walpole replied that he could not interfere. On their execution, the prisoners showed great firmness. They embraced each other, and shook hands with the hangman. They both died without a struggle.

A servant-girl, who had robbed her mistress, was transported to Sydney some years ago. She has recently written to her mistress, a milliner in London, saying that she now keeps her carriage, and returning the amount that she stole with interest. She urges her mistress to go and set up shop there, saying she would be very happy to extend her patronage to a lady for whom she had so great an esteem.

Great was the amazement and dismay among the Irish labourers when the steam shovels were first put into operation on a certain section of the Vermont Central Railroad, and one of the sturdiest of the Hibernians, after gazing at his huge rival for a few moments, thus apostrophised the enemy:—"Well, faith, you are a big devil of a baste, and mighty strong in the arrams; may be, now, ye think yerself as good as an Irishman, but, (with a look of ineffable contempt) d—n yer soul, ye can't vote!"

Mrs. Graham had arranged to make an ascent in her Victoria balloon from the Rosemary Branch Tavern, at Hoxton, on Wednesday evening. A little before six o'clock, when they were preparing to attach the car, the balloon, through some accident, escaped from the netting, and took flight. It rolled over and over as it ascended rapidly, the gas at the same time expanding, and having reached a great height it burst. The gas, it is said, "appeared like a luminous circle around it," and the silk was soon lost sight of.

The London Mutual Life and Guarantee society held its usual annual meeting at the offices, 63, Moorgate-street, on Wednesday last, Mr. George Wilson in the chair. After some preliminary business, the report was read, from which it appeared that the Directors had issued from the commencement of the society to the end of June, 1852, 1782 policies assuring sums amounting to 287,166*l*., and from which the society derived an annual income of 8071*l*. 5*s*. 5*d*. It also stated that arrangements had been made in many of the large manufacturing towns for prosecuting the Society's business in a more vigorous manner than hitherto, and with this view committees of reference had been appointed in Manchester, Liverpool, Stockport, Bury, and other places, from which the most satisfactory results might be anticipated. On the motion of the chairman, the report was adopted, and after the usual routine business the meeting separated.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

The deaths registered in the metropolitan districts in the week that ended last Saturday amounted to 987, a number nearly the same as in the previous week. The Returns of both weeks represent rather more than the actual mortality in the two periods, being augmented, as usually occurs at the end of a quarter, by coroners' cases that properly belong to antecedent dates.

In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51, the average number of deaths was 897, which, if raised in proportion to the increase of population, becomes 987. Hence it appears that the number of deaths returned last week is precisely equal to the calculated amount.

The mortality arising from diseases of the respiratory organs has decreased from 110 in the preceding week to 91 in the last, which nearly agrees with the average of corresponding weeks. Fatal cases arising from zymotic

complaints have also decreased from 215 to 187, while the corrected average is 239. Last week the deaths recorded as caused by small-pox were 31, five of which were among persons of mature age. Scarlatina destroyed the lives of 33 children; typhus, remittent fever, &c., those of 13 children, of 24 persons in middle life, and of 7 at advanced age; in all 44. Two children died of syphilis; one of noma.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 14th inst., at Prescott, Canada West, the wife of Ethelbert H. Blake, Esq., M.D., Staff Assistant-Surgeon: a son.

On the 30th ult., the Lady Georgiana Forbes: a son.

On the 5th inst., at Edinburgh, the wife of G. C. Warden, Esq.: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On the 6th inst., at Cole-Orton, Leicestershire, William Unwin Heygate, barrister-at-law, second son of the late Sir William Heygate, Bart., of Rocliffe-hall, Leicestershire, to Constance Mary, only daughter of the late and sister of the present Sir George Beaumont, Bart., of Cole-Orton-hall, in the same county, and grand-daughter of the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the 6th inst., at Harpole, Frederick Thompson, Esq., late Captain of the 6th Dragoons, to Charlotte Mary, eldest daughter of the late Hon. and Rev. Thomas Dundas, rector of Harpole.

DEATHS.

On the 25th ult., the Right Hon. George Ralph Baron Abercromby, at Airthrey Castle. His lordship was born in 1800, and succeeded his father, the late Lord Abercromby, in 1843. He was Lord Lieutenant of the county of Clackmannan, and colonel in the army. He is survived by Lady Abercromby and three sons and a daughter. His eldest son, now Lord Abercromby, was born in 1838.

On the 2nd inst., at Kilman, Argyleshire, Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.R.S., Regius Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, in his 80th year.

On the 3rd inst., in the 86th year of his age, the Right Hon. Sir Edward Thornton, G.C.B., many years Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Courts of Stockholm, Rio, Lisbon, &c., one of her Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, and formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

On the 7th inst., Charles Chadwicke Jones, Esq., serjeant-at-law, aged 52, after three years' illness and intense suffering, borne with the greatest fortitude and resignation. His end was peace.

At Boulogne, aged 74, the celebrated Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, who, more than 40 years ago, caused so much sensation in England, in connexion with the charges brought in the House of Commons against the late Duke of York.

THE REMEDY FOR BETTING-OFFICES.—If the legislature took the subject in hand it would make a virtuous demonstration, we have no doubt, but it would not present an edifying spectacle. Parents and employers must do more for themselves. Every man should know something of the habits and frequentings of those who are placed under him; and should know much when a new class of temptation thus presents itself. Apprentices are, by the terms of their indentures, punishable for gaming; it would do a world of good to get a few score of that class of noble sportsmen convicted before magistrates, and shut up in the House of Correction, to pick a little oakum, and tip a little gruel into their silly stomachs. Betting clerks and betting servants of all grades, once detected after a grave warning, should be firmly dismissed. There are plenty of industrious and steady young men to supply their places. The police should receive instructions by no means to overlook any gentleman of established bad reputation—whether "wanted" or not—who is to be found connected with a Betting-shop. It is our belief that several eminent characters could be so discovered. These precautions—always supposing parents and employers resolute to discharge their own duties instead of vaguely delegating them to a legislature they have no reliance on—would probably be sufficient. Some fools, who are under no control, will always be found wandering away to ruin; but the greater part of that extensive department of the communally *are* under some control, and the great need is that it be better exercised.—*Dickens's "Household Words."*

EDUCATE THE PEOPLE.—We are no believers in the capacity of ignorance successfully to execute social functions which require knowledge and experience for their beneficial exercise, and still less in the notion that any multiples of ignorance will constitute knowledge. But in *this* we have undoubted faith—that if the people possessed political power, the mere selfish instincts of the upper and middle classes would render them as anxious to educate them, as they have hitherto been apathetic. When we visit the lion in his cage, and are satisfied that the bars have strength sufficient to confine him, we look with indifference, or mere curiosity, on his teeth and claws; but break down the iron gratings, and let him loose upon us, or shut us up beside him, and we should hasten to extract, if we could, those implements of destruction. Thus it is with the people. While we are able by horse, foot, and artillery, criminal officers, judges, and gaols, to restrain them, with all their rude habits and fierce instincts rife within them, we quietly leave them in degradation until we settle our own ecclesiastical and theological disputes regarding the persons by whom, and the manner in which, their teeth and claws should be removed.—From the *Westminster Review* for July.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, July 10.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

LONDON.

RETURNS still continue to pour in. In Westminster, Finsbury, and Southwark, the official declarations were made yesterday, and are as follows:—

WESTMINSTER.

Shelley - - - - 4199  
Evans - - - - 3756  
Maidstone - - - - 3373  
Coningham - - - - 1716

Shelley and Evans elected.

FINSBURY.

Mr. Thomas Slingsby Duncombe 6678 [loud cheers.]  
Mr. James Wyld - - - - 2010 [cheers]  
Mr. Thomas Challis, Alderman 7504 [cheers & hisses]  
Challis and Duncombe elected.

SOUTHWARK.

Sir W. Molesworth - - - - 3941  
Mr. Apsley Pellatt - - - - 3887  
Mr. G. Scovell - - - - 2909

Molesworth and Pellatt elected.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

There have been contests at the following places:—

ANDOVER.

Cubitt (Derbyite) - - - - 140  
Coles (Derbyite) - - - - 121  
Curling - - - - 20

BATH.

Scobell (Liberal) - - - - 1274  
Phinn (Liberal) - - - - 1243  
Whateley - - - - 1197

BARNSTAPLE.

Frazer (Derbyite) - - - - 406  
Bremridge (Derbyite) - - - - 393  
Ebrington - - - - 333

BRIDGNORTH.

Witmore (Derbyite) - - - - 442  
Pigot (Derbyite) - - - - 360  
Cadogan - - - - 284

BRISTOL.

HALF-PAST ONE.

Berkeley (Liberal) - - - - 3593  
Langton (Liberal) - - - - 3510  
M'Geachy - - - - 2910

BODMIN.

Mitchell (Derbyite) - - - - 173  
Saville (Liberal) - - - - 157  
Henderson - - - - 149  
Whitehurst - - - - 83  
Carr - - - - 65

BOSTON.

Cabbell (Opposition) - - - - 489  
Heathcote (Derbyite) - - - - 535  
Hankey - - - - 436  
Hankey, T. - - - - 146

BURY.

Peel (Liberal) - - - - 472  
Duncan - - - - 410

CHELTENHAM.

Berkeley (Liberal) - - - - 999  
Jones - - - - 869

COCKERMOUTH.

Wyndham (Tory) - - - - 160  
Aglionby (Liberal) - - - - 154  
Horsman - - - - 147

COLCHESTER.

Hawkins (Derbyite) - - - - 686  
Manners (Derbyite) - - - - 620  
Hardeastle - - - - 473  
Princep - - - - 98

GATESHEAD.

Hutt (Liberal) - - - - 270  
Liddell - - - - 190  
Walters - - - - 136

HASTINGS.

Robertson (Derbyite) - - - - 504  
Brisco (Derbyite) - - - - 487  
Warre - - - - 482  
Locke - - - - 382

KNARESBOROUGH.

Westhead (Liberal) - - - - 113  
Dent (Liberal) - - - - 113  
Wood - - - - 113  
Collins - - - - 107

LEEDS.

Goodman (Radical) - - - - 2344  
Baimes (Whig) - - - - 2311  
Hull - - - - 1132  
Sidney - - - - 1089

LYME REGIS.

Pinney (Liberal) - - - - 145  
Hornby - - - - 126

MARLOW.

Williams (Derbyite) - - - - 242  
Knox (Derbyite) - - - - 198  
Bell - - - - 96

NEWARK.

HALF-PAST ONE.

Vernon (Derbyite) - - - - 484  
Sutton (Derbyite) - - - - 412  
Turner - - - - 305

NEWPORT (ISLE OF WIGHT).

Biggs (Liberal) - - - - 302  
Massey (Liberal) - - - - 301  
Plowden - - - - 252  
Martin - - - - 252

PLYMOUTH.

Mare (Derbyite) - - - - 1036  
Collier (Liberal) - - - - 1004  
Braine - - - - 906  
Escott - - - - 372

ROCHDALE.

Miall (Radical) - - - - 529  
Ramsey - - - - 375

ROCHESTER.

Villiers (Derbyite) - - - - 584  
Maddock (Derbyite) - - - - 581  
Bernal - - - - 514  
Hodges - - - - 507

STOCKPORT.

Kershaw (Liberal) - - - - 725  
Smith (Liberal) - - - - 622  
Heald - - - - 549

TRURO.

Vivian (Derbyite) - - - - 183  
Vivian (Liberal) - - - - 178  
Smith - - - - 172

WELLS.

Purday (Derbyite) - - - - 187  
Hayter (Liberal) - - - - 175  
Kinglake - - - - 101

WEYMOUTH.

Butt (Derbyite) - - - - 392  
Freestun (Liberal) - - - - 341  
Oswald - - - - 287

WHITBY.

HALF-PAST TWO.

Stephenson (Liberal) - - - - 212  
Phipps - - - - 108

Midhurst has elected Mr. Walpole without a contest; Thetford in like manner returns the Earl of Euston and Mr. Francis Baring, both willing to accept Free-trade. Banbury returns Mr. Tancred, the old member, unopposed; Cricklade, Neeld and Goddard; Wolverhampton, Villiers and Thorneley; Liskeard, Mr. Crowder; Wareham, Mr. Drax; Radnor, Sir F. Lewis; Pembroke, Sir John Owen; Eye, Sir E. Kerrison; Walsall, Mr. Forster; Helstone, Sir. R. Vivyan; all uncontested.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEEN.

HALF-PAST ONE.

Thompson (Liberal) - - - - 603  
Sir A. L. Hay - - - - 435

GLASGOW.

Hastie (Liberal) - - - - 3212  
Macgregor (Liberal) - - - - 3142  
Blackburn - - - - 1683

KIRKALDY.—Colonel Ferguson, unopposed.

LEITH.

Moncrieff (Liberal) - - - - 640  
Henderson - - - - 406

MONTROSE.—Mr. Hume, unopposed.

PERTH.—Mr. A. Kemaird, unopposed.

THE MILITIA.

(From last night's Gazette.)

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 30th day of June, 1852, present, the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty in Council,

Whereas by an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, intituled "An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Law relating to the Militia in England," it is amongst other things enacted, that "it shall be lawful for her Majesty, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, to raise, and, from time to time, to keep up, any number not exceeding 80,000 private militiamen, to serve for the several counties, ridings, and places required by the therein first-recited act, to raise militia, 50,000 of whom may be raised in the year 1852, and 30,000 in the year 1853;"

And it is thereby provided "that if it shall happen that the number of men to be raised in either of such years shall not be fully raised in the year in which the same is appointed to be raised, the number deficient may be raised as soon as may be thereafter."

And it is thereby further enacted, that "it shall be lawful for her Majesty, with the advice of her Privy Council, forthwith, after the passing of the said act, and afterwards from time to time as occasion may appear to her Majesty to require, to ascertain and fix the number of militiamen who shall, until other quotas shall be fixed in like manner, serve for each county, riding, and place, and the numbers

so fixed as aforesaid shall be transmitted to the respective lieutenants of the said counties, ridings, and places from time to time, and notice of the same shall be published in the London Gazette, and the numbers so from time to time appointed by her Majesty shall be the quotas of the several counties, ridings, and places until other quotas are appointed in like manner."

Now, therefore, her Majesty, with the advice of her Privy Council, is pleased to ascertain and fix the number of militia men who shall, until other quotas shall be fixed in like manner, serve for each county, riding, and place, according to the several numbers specified in the schedule hereunto annexed, and amounting in the whole to 80,000 men, and which said schedule her Majesty is pleased to direct shall be taken as part of this order, and that this order, with the schedule thereunto annexed, be published in the London Gazette, and be transmitted to the respective lieutenants of the said counties, ridings, and places, in order that they should proceed upon the same in pursuance of the directions of the said Act of Parliament.

WM. L. BATHURST.

SCHEDULE ABOVE REFERRED TO.

QUOTAS OF MILITIA MEN TO BE RAISED in the several Counties, Ridings, and Places in England and Wales.

	Number to be raised in 1852.	Number to be raised in 1853.	Total To be raised.
<b>ENGLAND.</b>			
Bedford . . . . .	345	210	555
Berks . . . . .	483	295	777
Bucks . . . . .	466	283	749
Cambridge . . . . .	520	316	836
Chester . . . . .	1275	774	2049
Cornwall, exclusive of the Stannaries . . . . .	757	460	1217
The Stannaries . . . . .	225	137	362
Cumberland . . . . .	545	331	876
Derby . . . . .	851	516	1367
Devon, exclusive of the Stannaries . . . . .	1473	894	2367
The Stannaries (see Cornwall).			
Dorset . . . . .	506	308	814
Durham . . . . .	1096	666	1762
Essex . . . . .	1049	637	1686
Gloucester . . . . .	1240	753	1993
Hereford . . . . .	335	203	538
Hertford . . . . .	477	289	766
Huntingdon . . . . .	184	112	296
Kent . . . . .	1618	982	2600
Lancaster . . . . .	5628	3418	9046
Leicester . . . . .	650	395	1045
Lincoln . . . . .	1174	712	1886
Middlesex, exclusive of the City of London and Tower Hamlets . . . . .	3197	1942	5139
City of London . . . . .	600*	—	600
Tower Hamlets . . . . .	1442	876	2318
Monmouth . . . . .	467	283	750
Norfolk . . . . .	1224	744	1968
Northampton . . . . .	606	368	974
Northumberland . . . . .	834	506	1340
Nottingham . . . . .	761	462	1223
Oxford . . . . .	481	292	773
Rutland . . . . .	68	41	109
Salop . . . . .	658	400	1058
Somerset . . . . .	1211	735	1946
Southampton . . . . .	1080	656	1736
Stafford . . . . .	1784	1083	2867
Suffolk . . . . .	949	577	1526
Surrey . . . . .	1852	1125	2977
Sussex . . . . .	945	573	1518
Warwick . . . . .	1336	812	2148
Westmoreland . . . . .	167	102	269
Wilts . . . . .	725	441	1166
Worcester . . . . .	789	478	1267
York (east riding) . . . . .	608	369	977
York (north riding and city) . . . . .	733	445	1178
York (west riding) . . . . .	3760	2284	6044
<b>WALES.</b>			
Anglesey . . . . .	159	97	256
Brecon . . . . .	178	108	286
Cardigan . . . . .	187	114	301
Carmarthen . . . . .	302	184	486
Carmarvon . . . . .	241	147	388
Denbigh . . . . .	269	163	432
Flint . . . . .	197	119	316
Glamorgan . . . . .	676	410	1086
Merioneth . . . . .	110	66	176
Montgomery . . . . .	194	118	312
Pembroke . . . . .	239	145	384
Rudnor . . . . .	74	45	119
Total . . . . .	50,000	30,000	80,000

As Captain Robins, governor of the Castle at Oxford, was returning from a short excursion on the water on Thursday, in company with Mrs. Robins and another lady, he suddenly fell down in the street, and almost immediately expired.

Yesterday morning, about two o'clock, a fire, attended with a considerable loss of property, and unfortunately with the loss of one life, happened on the premises belonging to Mr. W. Johnson, St. George's tavern, St. George's-street, Commercial-road-in-the-East. The fire originated in the second floor from some cause not clearly ascertained, Mr. Johnson at the time being asleep; and unable to escape. He was afterwards rescued, but, so severely burnt that he died shortly after being removed to the hospital. About five o'clock, another destructive fire broke out in Princess-row, near Primrose-hill.

\* Act of 1 Geo. IV., c. 100.

# The Leader

SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1852.

## Public Affairs.

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

### THE POLITICAL DOCTRINE OF ELECTION.

"NOMINATION" appears to be a ceremony retained in order to tantalize the great body of the people with the pretence of a right which they no longer possess. At a time when all the "freemen" of the country enjoyed an effective voice in public affairs, a "nomination" might have meant something practical; election by show of hands was not a mere form available for a contested election; but now, if there be an opposition, if the non-electors feel a preference, and especially if the choice of the non-electors be very marked and decided, it often happens that the poll proves the show of hands to have been a farce. The great body of the people, to whom the appeal is made, are allowed to play at election without realizing the right; and the holders of the suffrage deliberately reverse the choice of the people.

The right is retained for a particular class. We talk in this country of possessing representative institutions, and, when Parliament is dissolved, the phrase is, that "an appeal is made to the people." We laugh at Louis Napoleon for speaking of "freedom" for his own subjects or his own legislature, while at home we have phrases as palpably burlesque and as impudently false. No appeal is made to the people, but only to a fraction of the people; that fraction, which is now engaged in the process of reconstructing the principal and theoretically "popular" branch of the Parliament.

Agitators who assert the rights of the people have been blamed for sowing dissension between the severed classes, and especially for holding up the middle class to opprobrium. The middle class, it has been averred, would be willing to consult the claims of the people, if that class were conciliated. The middle class holds the representation, so say constitutional theorists, like Lord John Russell, as a trust; and it exercises that trust with honesty and intelligence. Were this eulogium true, we should find the middle class, at least, occasionally electing some member of Parliament specially enjoying the trust of the non-elective body; but the present election seems to do more than any efforts of agitators to stamp the middle class as alienated from the working class. Public writers have observed the tendency of the electoral body at present is to prefer nobodies, to men of any mark in whatever party; and such, indeed, appears to be the case.

At Liverpool, for example, Forbes M'Kenzie, the most miserable trimmer of the present day, who has voted black and white on the Maynooth Grant,—who, when asked at the election how he voted on the Militia Bill, "did not know,"—who is asked whether he would propose a measure in Parliament, and replied that somebody else would do it,—a man who has made his way with parties by evasion,—such a man is preferred by the suffrage-holders to Cardwell, the intelligent and able apprentice of Peel, and to Ewart, the cultivated and philosophical reformer. In the Tower Hamlets, if the electors were not prepared to continue their support to the wandering abolitionist, George Thompson, they had an opportunity of sending to Parliament a veritable member of the non-electoral class, a working man, able in every sense of the word to speak for his fellows,—to state their claims, their necessities, their feelings, their convictions. But the middle-class electors of the Tower Hamlets have thrown aside that opportunity; they have not only neglected it, but the extremely small number of votes given to William Newton shows that the great proportion of the electoral body have a settled determination *not* to extend their favour to the non-electors, whose interests they are said to hold in trust. Elected by the people, he is *dis-elected* by the enfranchised class.

Not less, but even more to be regretted, is the rejection of William Coningham in Westminster. Although not belonging to the working-class, but a gentleman in every sense of the word, he has both the understanding and the heart to sympathize with them in all their needs, and perhaps no man in the country is so thoroughly well informed on their relations with other classes, and with the laws of industry, as he is. Moreover, if others may compete with him, as unquestionably they may, in political knowledge, and knowledge of the relations of other countries with our own, there is not a man who has the courage so distinctly and unmistakeably to declare what he means. A social Reformer, an earnest politician, he has shown to the electors that he views public action from a truly national point of view; and as the readers of our own paper can attest, he is one of the newest school of Social Reformers whose practical aim is to attain the improvement of the working classes by means which reconcile their interests with those of the employing classes. The employing classes, however, would not have him. He has been rejected in favour of a soldier who belongs to the past age of Reform, and still worships the idols of Reform antiquity, and of a Baronet whose desire for public service has made him relinquish his own public opinions.

It is not only in questions of their own interest that the non-electors stand in excellent contrast with the electors. In Liverpool, the intelligent practical politician, Cardwell, who certainly belongs to no Democratic party, was the choice of the non-electors. It is the electors that prefer Forbes M'Kenzie. Cardwell, Coningham, Newton, Trelawney, have all been elected by those who do not hold the suffrage; they are virtually the Members for the non-electors of Liverpool, the Tower Hamlets, Westminster, and Brighton.

In what we have said above, we have simply glanced at certain facts of the present moment; but it would be a neglect of our duty if we were to abstain from glancing at the cause of the evil and at the possible remedy. The cause, although not without complication, appears to us to be very intelligible. It cannot be said that the people of this country is more "ignorant" than it was in old times—at least, in the modern sense of "ignorance." Education, although not cultivated as it might be, is unquestionably extended and raised in quality within the last half century. It cannot be denied that certain reforms have been made in the machinery of representation, extending the privileges to larger classes. In these respects we are better off than we were. Nevertheless, the student of history will have no great difficulty in observing that the immense body of the people—the mob, as it pleases polite writers to call it—was never treated with such absolute disregard and slight as it is at the present moment; and the reason we believe to be threefold. In the first place, after the settlement of great public questions, there commonly befalls a degree of confusion, vacillation, and apathy, without concentrated idea; and in that reaction the working-classes share as largely as the middle or rich classes. "The disruption of parties" has taken effect throughout the whole of English society, and the political world, at the present moment, consists of miserable fractions. That is one cause.

A second cause is, that the extremely artificial development of our industrial system, which assort men into particular avocations, wholly absorbs their time, and reduces them to parts of a machine. It not only deprives them of the leisure and opportunity for political action, but also gives to the class of employers—a constituent part of the middle class—the power of controlling the actions of their subordinates. This is a feature of the political system comparatively unknown in former times. The quality of British cloth is infinitely superior to what it was when the cloth yard was the familiar measure of the national weapon, the arrow. Cotton is a creation of modern days. The quality of paper for printing is such that very ordinary publications would surprise the literary epicure of Elizabeth's days. In the finishing of pen-knives and razors there is much to admire; and the progress of mankind is beyond calculation in buttons! But we very much question whether the rough and sturdy sort of influence once exercised by the non-electoral class over those who are said to hold the franchise in trust, has at all improved. We doubt, indeed, whether it is so effective as it used to be; whether it has not dwindled almost

to nothing but a joke, a gibe, a taunt to be thrown out at ultra-popular candidates. "Say that to the non-electors," cries your knowing election-monger, just as a sailor says, "Tell that to the Marines."

This second reason why the non-electors exercise not even a virtual influence on the elections is augmented by the third—which is, simply the fact that the British people is a *disarmed people*.

Possessing no substance, no right in the soil, no right of any positive kind, no franchise, no arms, the British people is not a free people in any sense of the word. It enjoys certain negative immunities by the good will of the other classes: it is not forced to church; certain manorial rights over brides are no longer exacted; the working man is no longer bound to the soil or to any prescriptive employment. But to talk of self-government for him, or of the freedom that flows from self-government, or self-defence, is a farcical jargon. It means nothing. These three practical causes are the origin, and also in a great degree the reactive effect of a fourth auxiliary cause: the British people has lost its spirit. There was a time when it would not have been quite safe so wholly to disregard or slight the wish, even of the mob: but, such have been the improvements of peaceful industry, of police arrangements, and of the science of social duty, that now the body of the people may be totally disregarded without the slightest danger, and it is disregarded accordingly. Want of spirit, want of force, want of leisure, and want of positive recognised rights—those are the practical causes by which the English people retain no influence over the privileged elective class, which is said to hold the franchise as a trust.

The remedy? Formerly we might have anticipated a remedy after a rough fashion, in a revolution; but desiring, as we emphatically do, English remedies for English wrongs, and detesting all foreign political importations, we should gravely question the expediency, even if there existed the bare probability of such a resource. Besides, the very causes of the evil would tend to retard such a remedy—a people without force, leisure, or spirit, will take a long time before any fermentation would make it rise to more than a partial outbreak of sterile disorder. The most striking improvement in political science has been to acquire the art of driving the people's patience to the very brink of insurrection; and unquestionably the ruling classes have made very great progress in that science. Another and, we think, safer and wiser plan is, for the whole body to join in the endeavour to persuade small sections of the privileged class to act in behalf of the unprivileged class. There are places where the sympathy of the middle class extends promontory-wise far into the feelings of the working-class; and with some judicious management, more active and judicious because more matured, than any bestowed upon the present election—it would be possible to foster that sympathy for practical results. There is every prospect that the Parliament which the electoral class is now electing will be so thoroughly bad, paltry, and purposeless, that it cannot last long; its duration, therefore, will be chiefly useful in affording an opportunity of preparing for the next Parliament; and if the most advanced constituencies are duly cultivated, we believe that they will place in the Parliament after the one now forming a few men of the unenfranchised people. If that were done, in the time after we should get a few more; and by the help of the few already in, we should still more extend the influence; until, at a time not too distant for contemplation, the working-class might really possess a share of parliamentary power.

The third plan, and the best of all,—not incompatible with any other, but helping every other good plan,—would be, for the great bulk of the people of this country, shaking off its listlessness, casting aside its suspicions, recovering from its timidities or weaknesses of modern invention, to regain some of its old spirit. The best thing that we can prescribe for England in its debilitated state is a little old English spirit.

### THE CHEAPEST MARKET.

THE Quarterly returns of the revenue are of the most gratifying character: there is an increase on the quarter of 100,000*l.* in Stamps, 80,000*l.* in Property and Income, 23,000*l.* in Excise, and 183,000*l.* in Customs; on the year there is an increase in the Customs of nearly 300,000*l.*; and the slight marks of decrease which appear to

balance this flourishing state, are sufficiently accounted for by sacrifices for the general improvement. The revenue returns attest on a gigantic scale, the prosperity of the country, and the merits of the Free-trade policy.

We must not forget, however, that, as we are having a general election, without the co-operation of the people, so this prosperity is accompanied by an annual flight of 300,000 persons or more, to escape from the clutches of inevitable poverty, while the country sustains so vast a burden of pauperism, that, as it has been calculated, on very sufficient grounds, 3,000,000 of persons come within the gift of relief during each year. There is popular representation without a people, immense prosperity with inevitable and gigantic pauperism; neither side of the shield can be denied.

So, also, the commerce which is flourishing under the principle, "to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," is, at the same time, developing a diseased appetite to eat up itself. The *Lancet*, which has been pursuing its analyses of articles used as food, has been exposing the state of a popular condiment, and gives the following results:—

"That out of the twenty-eight samples of Cayenne pepper subjected to analysis, twenty-four were adulterated; that out of the above number four only were genuine; that out of the twenty-four adulterated samples, twenty-two contained mineral colouring matter; that red lead, often in large and poisonous quantities, was present in thirteen samples; that Venetian red, red ochre, brick dust, or some other analogous ferruginous earths were contained in seven samples; that cinnabar, vermilion, or sulphuret of mercury, was detected in one sample; that six of the samples consisted of a mixture of ground rice, turmeric, and Cayenne, coloured with either red lead or a red ferruginous earth; that six samples contained large quantities of salt, sometimes alone, but more frequently combined with rice and a red ferruginous earth or with red lead; that one of the samples was adulterated with a large quantity of the husk of white mustard seed; that two contained rice only, coloured with red lead or a ferruginous earth. As is well known, red lead and vermilion, or sulphuret of mercury, are highly deleterious substances, both being characterised by the very peculiar circumstance that they are not, like the majority of other compounds, when received into the system, at once eliminated therefrom, but remain in the body for a considerable time, gradually accumulating, until at length they occasion the peculiar symptoms which distinguish their presence in large amount. Thus, however small the dose taken from day to day, the constitution is yet liable, by the repetition of the dose, to be at length brought under the influence of the poison, and to become seriously affected. But the quantity of red lead and mercury introduced into the system in adulterated Cayenne pepper is by no means inconsiderable, since it commonly forms a large portion of the article. Some idea of the amount of these substances frequently present may be formed from the fact that in a pinch of cayenne, moistened and diffused over a white plate, or a piece of glass, they may be distinctly seen by the eye alone."

A man may not only "eat a peck of dirt before he dies," but if he patronize the coffee formerly analyzed by the *Lancet*, he may fulfil that function within a few months, giving to the word dirt its most literal and nasty interpretation. If he indulges in "the juice that makes the Briton bold," in the modern version, sold under the principle "to buy in the cheapest," &c., he will deaden his sense to the deglutition of the filth in the coffee, by the habitual taking of narcotics and other physics. Now it appears, should his digestive powers flag under burdens and operations so exhaustive, and should he seek recourse to that celebrated stomachic stimulant, cayenne, he will be but painting his inside with the vermilion oxide of mercury, heaping a lodgment of red lead, and otherwise accumulating those causes of depression which would make him seek the stomachic all the more. And if, at last, he rush to the chymists, as the *Lancet* might explain to him, for more direct stomachics, he will be put off with fictitious drugs that have no virtue.

The people who commit these crimes are not only vendors, but consumers, and this blind worship of the idol Cheapness, is perhaps the most extraordinary devotion to a Social Juggernaut ever exhibited. Where a man is a vendor for one thing, he is a purchaser for a hundred; where he cheats once, he is cheated a hundred times. He connives with his neighbours in a system by which each is to cheat all the rest, and

all are to cheat each. To keep up that system he pretends to breakfast on coffee when the stuff which fumes in the silver coffee-pot is but the refuse of the stable-yard or the grave-yard. He pretends to spice his dinner with the stomachic condiment of the glowing and fragrant West Indies, while he does but paint his mutton with the poison which adorns the handle of his little son's sword, and which he forbids that infant to suck. He washes it down with narcotics and other drugs; and having swallowed drugs and poison in bulk, as food, he goes to the druggist and buys food, or plaster of Paris, or some other inert substance, in very neat little bottles, and neat little folds of paper, and pretends to be taking physic: he pretends, because it is a way he has, of buying the things which he pretends to receive, but does not receive, "in the cheapest market." As vendor, he carries his devotion so far that he will not stop short of poisoning, and as purchaser, he consents to be poisoned; he is the Thug and the victim in one! And the class which is thus intelligently developing our commerce is the staple of those towns which are henceforth "to govern the country." Are the most intelligent and influential portion of the class specially selected as trustees for the parliamentary suffrage?

#### SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN.

How much good may be done if we only set ourselves directly to do it. "Come," Shelley would say, when anything was proposed for the benefit of his fellow creatures, "let us begin." Hundreds, thousands, millions, may be made happier, within the course of a few weeks, if those who know what the word "education" means, would but begin it at once, at their own doors, where they may. We have an example before us. We take a little pamphlet written by "Sarah Crompton," entitled "Evening Schools for the Education of Women," and bearing this motto, "The education of woman is the education of man and woman begun in the right place."\* This pamphlet proposes a plan to teach to women that which they ought to know, in order to be happy and the cause of happiness to others, even in the most humble condition.

In the progress of civilization, as it is in England, woman has become, for large portions of our state, no more than a marketable commodity, a part of the vast factory machine, not only because patient woman is a cheaper animal than man, but because she has been found peculiarly adapted to a nice performance of a variety of processes in the finishing of the lighter machine products. Thus, during the week, thousands of females are working together in our factories, and are so closely associated, that each and all are subjected to whatever influences, be they good or bad, may be exercised over them. Society has provided no institutions for women to afford them the facilities that mechanics' institutions offer to the artisan. Cramped in towns, yet uncultivated by education, the woman has lost the inborn guidance of nature, without acquiring that of knowledge. One fact would suffice to show the frightful extent of this perversion. She poisons her children—with filth, with "soothing syrups," with drugs to snatch the burial allowance!

We are happy to note that the subject has received special attention in the town of Birmingham, in which resides the loftiest religious spirit wedded to the sweetest influence that can shed the light of goodness on the home of the humble and degraded, "making a sunshine in that shady place." Less than five years since a party of energetic ladies obtained the loan of a room in a merchant's establishment, and there commenced an evening school, with counters for desks, and packing-cases for sittings. Single women and married, some of them mothers of large families, were there taught to read, write, and keep accounts, and to make and repair their apparel. In this room they remained six months, teaching; the number of the applicants fluctuating above and below thirty. They had to combat the prejudices of that pauperism of the soul we call ignorance, the hardened opposition to discipline which a life without hope or stay mistakes for freedom, and many other difficulties, all of which they overcame. They next occupied a room lent them by Messrs. Osler, the makers of the celebrated crystal fountain, and were furnished by

\* A penny pamphlet, published by Mr. John Tonks, at the Town Hall Printing-office, in Birmingham.

those gentlemen with desks and benches: subsequently and at present, the tuition is carried on in the school-room of a neighbouring chapel, three evenings in the week. Another school is opened elsewhere, and others are about to be formed. One paid superintendent is engaged, and one paid teacher. The system of paying assistants is earnestly desired by all those who have had practical experience in this experiment.

The fair pioneers who have had the sole management of this school, make it a great point that female influence be especially preserved, as they believe it alone capable of affecting the desired end. There has been no hauteur on the part of the teachers towards the taught; no vexatious questioning as to unblemished character. The school was opened for the moral redemption of all who lacked the means rather than the desire to become better members of society. The pupils have been trained to love improvement; whether in their Bible instruction, or in a dictation lesson, there is a settled earnestness displayed by all; and an organized system of mutual assistance is now at work amongst them. Sincere attachments have sprung up between the givers and the recipients of these blessings; and husbands, wives, mothers, and children, do appreciate the boon which has been thus conferred, from first to last, under a code of morals eminently calculated to insure success in such an undertaking.

Now these schools may be founded elsewhere, and most likely will be founded; but they may be founded in larger numbers than any yet contemplated. There is no reason why admirable women, like Sarah Crompton's friends, should not establish such schools in Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Bristol, Liverpool, in the score of towns which compose London, and in all the centres of population scattered so thickly over the United Kingdom. There is no reason why the leaven of enlightened intelligence, re-awakened affections, domestic sympathies, healthy social intercourse, should not be at once imparted to the abandoned outcasts of these populous towns; within six months the good seed would ripen into a full harvest of beneficent operations, and so many thousands of our bewildered countrywomen be converted from the desolate parents of forlorn children, to the hopeful mothers of hopeful generations.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN PLUTUS.

GOLD! The Americans and Australians are full of the word, and what is more, they are filling their pockets, or rather their carts, with the thing. You take a piece of gold ore from California into your hand; it looks like a lump of rock crystal, of a slightly tawney colour, like crystalized dogskin gloves—certainly without any appearance of gold to the uninitiated eye. You are told that it will give "two shillings in the pound." A very pretty species of native bankruptcy! Break that bank, and it yields you a handsome dividend, without any debt foregoing. Another piece, of gritty texture, striated with purplish slate colour and yellow, looks not unlike a piece of sandstone from Hampstead heath: that will bring three shillings in the pound weight. Such are the rocks of California—rocks which it would be a pleasure to split upon. This is for regular mining; but there is better than that: the lucky adventurer shall find the gold in great lumps. Australia beats even California: the ore rises in mountains, and the clay is so rich at Ballarat, that two tin dishes of it, about twenty inches in diameter, yielded, says Lieutenant-Governor Latrobe, "no less than eight pounds weight of pure gold." The accounts from Australia represent all society as disorganized—lawyers, officials, shopmen, labourers, clerks, policemen, soldiers, and sailors, all off to the "diggins." Discreet men were alarmed; but they began to see that affairs must soon right themselves; very shortly affairs did follow that sagacious conclusion, and began to right themselves; but the discovery of so much wealth at first gave the Australians "quite a turn." The community felt like a boy with his first birthday ten-pound note in his pocket, hardly able to tell what to do with it, how to keep it safe, or how to confront the portentous vicissitudes which such a possession implies.

Could we not have taught them in this country? How many things might we do if we had some of the Australian dross here? Think of it, for example, at a time of a general election: how

many votes might be dug up after that fashion! Or, even apart from bribery, how many an exhausted candidate would enjoy an invigorating retirement into the country, at a place like Ballarat or Mount Alexander! "To think," cries the candidate who has a bill for cabs, but no seat, "that shepherds and haymakers should pick up the means to pay at their very feet, and yet have no cabs to pay for?"

If *Punch's* vision had been true, however, and Salisbury plain had proved to be a Ballarat, what would have become of the general election? Who would ever care to canvass voters, at five, or even ten shillings a-day, when he might canvass the washings at so many pounds? Who would care to be voting when he might be digging? "What do I want with a representative," the digger would say, "when I can pick up such a representative as *this*? I can vote my own supplies; we of the golden republic are Lords of our of our own Treasury; our Sovereigns are ingots, and our general election is the election to dig, So, long live the King of Spades!"

THE BOOK WOLF.

EVERY now and then the Librarian of the British Museum makes a raid upon the booksellers and publishers; and this time, amongst the victims of his official rapacity, are Messrs. Bradbury and Evans. It is well known that the British Museum has a right to a copy of every work published; and it is generally understood that the same institution by no means retains all copies it receives, or indeed it would become a vast imperial and perennial storehouse for waste-paper, and ought to rise to the dimensions of an Egyptian pyramid. The publishers do not object to the surrender of a copy, but they do object to the hostile manner in which casual omissions are notified to them through a police court. It is not so at Stationers' Hall: if a published work be not sent in the usual course to that office, a polite reminder is forwarded to the publisher, and the omission is made good without difficulty.

The practice of reminding men of their civil duties through a police court is not a very English proceeding, and it reminds the publishers that the gentleman who pursues it with such zest is not an Englishman. The affrighted publisher feels like the industrious ants, conscious of dreadful Formica Leo or Ant Lion, lying in ambush for him to snap him up if he stumble into the pit; and he regards that devouring insect with the more horror since it is an outlandish species—a sort of crawling Machiavel, whose pit is the British Museum, and whose slaves are policemen. "We should not see this morbid appetite for booksellers," they say, "if the Librarian were an *Englishman*."

The idea has suddenly struck them, these patient publishers, that perhaps they might bring their case before the trustees of the British Museum; and really the idea is not a bad one.

THE WISDOM OF OUR ANCESTORS' DESCENDANTS.

"The wisdom of our ancestors," once the rallying cry and *ultima ratio* of a great party in the state, has suffered the inevitable destiny of all high-sounding phrases employed to cover false pretences, and is now become a bye-word and a stale jest. Instead of extolling ancestral excellence, our generation delights in vaunting its own, with what good reason we shall presently endeavour to show. We know a great deal more than our forefathers; that is a simple historical fact; and as wisdom should grow with knowledge, and as we are a people pre-eminently endowed with that happy gift of common sense which enables its possessors to profit by the lessons of experience, we very logically infer that wisdom has so grown with us. There are churlish sceptics, indeed, who question the strict validity of that inference, and who hint that "the present enlightened age" is not quite so enlightened as it might be, or as it deems itself. Nor are these captious critics content with general objections only; they carp and cavil at some of our most valued institutions, and profess to see nothing but folly and mischief in public measures sanctioned by the approval or acquiescence of the community. The best way to confute such censures, and to shame their authors from their affectation of singularity, is to hold up for the admiration of a discerning public some of the very things which those persons select for objects of their keenest invectives. To this end we will here string together a few choice precepts on public economy, which, being faithfully drawn from the actual usages of our sagacious countrymen, may be taken severally and collectively as fair expressions of the

practical wisdom of the nation in this year of grace, 1852.

**RULE 1.**—Beware of setting your paupers to work at any productive employment. They must, of course, have something to do, but the more unprofitable their drudgery the better. They come to you as paupers; keep them so.

*Note.*—The thought that paupers should be made comfortable by the fruits of their own industry is an abomination to every sound political economist. What a frightful revolution would such a system effect in the present wholesome relations between labour and capital! How it would demoralize our peasantry! Our independent labourers would then be independent with a vengeance. Not though you searched the whole island through would you then find one able-bodied father of a family willing to toil all his life long for seven shillings a week. What! convert our admirably repulsive workhouses into cheerful abodes of organized industry! Get up a regular interchange of commodities between regimented bodies of paupers: agriculturists in Essex, shoemakers in Northamptonshire, cotton spinners and weavers in Manchester, wool-workers in Yorkshire, tailors in London, needlewomen everywhere, and so forth! Why, it would be rank socialism. What if it did diminish the poor-rates? The seven millions sterling, or thereabouts, which we now spend annually in maintaining paupers and keeping them in their proper station, is not too large a tax to pay for the privilege of having always an overflowing supply of labour at a minimum rate of wages. The present system is in *kind* the best of all possible systems. It might be improved in *degree* if all paupers were set to dance on treadmills, grinding nothing. But, alas, there is such a deal of pestilent sentimentality abroad!

**RULE 2.**—Throw away the best part of your home-made manure, and send half round the globe for guano.

*Note.*—It is very becoming in a great maritime nation to cater for its shipping interests by such magnificent unthrift as this. The yearly value of the sewage manure swept into the Thames alone has been estimated at more than eight millions, and cannot at the lowest computation fall short of five. But it is a mistaken notion that all that mass of wealth is lost to human use; on the contrary, it serves to give body and flavour to the drink of the Londoners, being well churned up, and diffused through all parts of the river from which the water companies derive their supplies. Luxurious Londoners! Talk no more of the Egyptian queen's barbaric profusion: what were a few liquefied pearls, drunk in occasional orgies, compared with the wealth-spiced draughts daily and hourly imbibed by our millions of Anthonies and Cleopatras?

**RULE 3.**—Turn a deaf ear to all suggestions for the cultivation of your waste lands. They are one and all irreconcilable with the fundamental principles of British agriculture.

*Note.*—Every British farmer knows that the only agricultural use of land is to grow corn and rear cattle, and that no one but an ass would waste his time and substance in cultivating land that could do neither, much less pay rent for it. Some people, indeed, tell us that even Bagshot Heath, under the hands of Dutch gardeners, would yield high rents, and so much the higher as wheat was cheaper; and that the farmers of Flanders, whose principal crop is flax, can afford to pay a rent of 2*l.* 7*s.* and a land-tax of 1*l.* 10*s.* per acre for a light sandy soil, originally no better than the worst part of Norfolk; and this whilst they are obliged to import hay and corn from Holland. These people also twit us with the fact that French farmers turn a pretty penny by supplying our markets with musty eggs and skinny poultry, and the Americans by cheese-making and growing apples for us. In short, they tell us that we ought to cultivate less wheat and import more, and that cheapness of corn will ultimately be good for the farmer and for the landlord, since it will increase the demand for every other article of agricultural produce, and bring back for more remunerating crops, many of which are now banished from our islands. But how little they know of the steady going agricultural mind who think to bamboozle it with such new-fangled theories.

**RULE 4.**—Bury your dead perpetually in the black, greasy, fetid, reeking mould, among the crowded dwellings of your populous cities. Heap corpse on corpse by scores and hundreds daily, till the ground beneath your feet, the puddle that splashes you, and the dust you inhale, are soaked and mingled with the putrid remains of desecrated humanity.

*Note.*—To say nothing of the moral beauties of this practice, it is infallible as a means of thinning the superabundant population, and therefore "self-supporting."

**RULE 5.**—When a terrible pestilence rages in the land, bellow lustily for sanitary reform; when the epi-

demic has spent its fury, fall back contentedly upon your old nasty ways.

*Note.*—The want of a comprehensive and efficient administrative system for promoting and conserving the health of the community, is a capital subject for a popular cry, and one that may be worked with advantage at election times, and on sundry other occasions. John Bull being constitutionally a grumbler, can never be happy without a few good grievances; and the delay of sanitary reform offers so fair a pretext for growling, that perhaps in his heart the worthy gentleman would be rather grieved than otherwise if he was too soon deprived of so convenient a resource.

**RULE 6.**—By all means encourage competition in trade, without any limit whatsoever. The more there is of it the better.

*Note.*—There is no other maxim of public economy more widely accepted or more strenuously acted upon by the people of England. Competition is said proverbially to be the soul of Trade. Now the personified abstraction here called Trade is not to be understood as identified with the interests either of traders or consumers. It is a grand ideal principle to which the claims of both those classes must be sacrificed without hesitation. It is a very fortunate circumstance that the real merits of unlimited competition are totally unsuspected by the general public, who cherish it for reasons altogether unfounded and illusory. Its great recommendation in the eyes of consumers is its supposed tendency to make commodities cheaper, whereas its operation is just the reverse of this—it makes things dearer. The competition of joint-stock companies for the supply of water, gas, &c., always ends in a virtual monopoly, with monopoly prices—that is to say, in a mutual compromise at the expense of the consumer. For a similar reason, bread and butchers' meat are now at exorbitant prices in London, compared with the prices of flour and cattle. They would cost less if there were fewer butchers and bakers, each of whom would then do more business, and be as well remunerated by a lower rate of profit. When retail traders do not combine to keep up prices, they have another resource in adulteration, and a very pretty use they make of it. The grand function which unlimited competition fulfils in the economy of trade is to make traders sharp, to compel them to be adepts in all the subtle arts (illiberally called lying and cheating) which are essential to success in their calling.

**RULE 7.**—The British soil does not belong to the British nation; it is the exclusive property of a small fraction of the inhabitants, who have an absolute and indefeasible right to do what they will with their own.

*Note.*—How greatly we have improved upon the principles and practice of our forefathers in respect to the tenure of land. The old laws of England did not regard the land as private property. They recognise in the baron or lord of the manor a trustee, entitled to certain dues and services in return for the discharge of certain definite duties; but they recognised also the rights of others to live by the land, and denied the landlord's right to depopulate his estates; he could only do so by an act of illegal violence. Such an act would have been deemed atrocious tyranny on the part of the king himself, the landlord paramount, as witness the universal execration poured upon the memory of William the Conqueror for his seizure of the lands of the New Forest, and his eviction of their human occupiers to make room for deer. But law now sides with might, and similar processes may be conducted with the sanction and aid of our high courts of justice, as Ireland can tell, and Scotland too. Between the years 1811 and 1820, all the villages on the Sutherland estates of the Marchioness of Stafford were pulled down or burnt, and 15,000 persons were driven off the lands to make way for sheep, which it was thought would pay better than human beings. Similar measures were adopted about the same time on the estates of seven or eight neighbouring landlords. The law held their imputed rights superior to the imprescriptible rights of man—and very properly; whoever thinks otherwise is a Jacobin and an enemy to social order.

Here we must pause for the present, and leave our readers to reflect on the brief hints we have offered in vindication of the practical wisdom of England in the nineteenth century.

NOTES ON THE ELECTIONS.

IV.

THE "LIBERAL" INTEREST AND THE PEOPLE'S INTEREST.

THE peddling and disingenuous "Liberalism," with which the Government of the British empire has been carried on for some years, is now brought to a searching confession: whether it will receive absolution depends upon the Electors. Whatever might have been the merit of the Whigs of 1832, in forcing on Reform, the chief policy they have pursued since has consisted in

resisting the further enfranchisement of labour. The consequence of this half-hearted timidity is widely disastrous. Labour, the true source of the wealth and strength of a nation, continues unhonoured, untrusted, unrepresented. The feeling and intelligence of the workman still lack the healthy sustenance of public aspiration. Industry has no conventional dignity, and that frank and invigorating public spirit which should (and would otherwise) animate the national heart, subsides into private selfishness, or actively and sullenly conspires against the common blessing of public peace. The perpetuation of this state of things the Whigs call "temperate policy"—the Tories call it "principle," and the Magistrates, echoed by the large number of the unreasoning or the idle, whose political education consists in chanting the few cant formulas of a false and narrow conservatism, call it the "preservation of social order." The elevation of the disowned people and the security of the public welfare therefore alike depend upon the dismissal of the Whig party as unprofitable obstructives, the utter abolition of Toryism as an antediluvian monstrosity, and the creation of a wiser and broader element of government in the State.

A country which has long consented to be hoodwinked by Whig negatives is naturally at the mercy of any more positive party that will boldly relieve it or boldly delude it. Such a party have now attained to power—and they mean to keep it: they at least have that one strongly developed intention. And with a desperate tenacity, added to an unscrupulous licence of tongue and purse, they may give the feeble race of our current political make-believes some trouble to dislodge them. Like political pedlars, they offer to the country a set of universal principles, and you may select which you please. They have no preferences. They will govern the country on their own peculiar doctrines, or, says Lord Derby, on yours if you so please—but govern they will. There was therefore, a clear and resolute policy to be pursued by the constituencies—namely, to provide a body of representatives of popular sympathies, of definite well considered principles, endued with the power of concerted action (ever indispensable) and a strong will. They would then be able to push the governmental factions forward—or push them out.

It matters little who the rulers are, so that they rule well. If we are to have a government forced upon us—let us make them do the nation's work—and if not, compel them to make room for those who will. In the present aspect of things it is likely that other elections will succeed the present, at a brief interval. The Electoral virtue may have other exercise, and hence the discussion of its duties may be timely beyond the hour. A Government without public views is a somewhat immoral and, we trust, a rare spectacle. The English people have usually had to decide between contending principles of national policy. Now they have to select principles for themselves: and if Electors could be made to understand their position, we might get some new blood into the national council.

Agitation is now an open question in every borough. The old warning, "Do not let in a Tory by dividing the Liberal interest," is now no more than an empty sound. The "Liberal interest" is not worth much more than the Tory interest, and the Tory interest is worth—itsself. We have everywhere to struggle for a new interest, namely, the *People's* interest. Hence, in Westminster, the Tower Hamlets, and other places, the Coninghams and Newtons represent a new and vital element, which must have exercise in our coming Legislatures. It is on this account that the election of such men is of importance. To press forward their claims at the certain cost of admitting Tory competitors would, undoubtedly, be a censurable mistake. Let the friends of the people's interest take care what they are doing,—but not to take so much care as to do nothing. The alarmists about Tories getting in are not to be attended to, unless they show good evidence of being in the right. Whigs and Tories have so merged and faded into each other, that they need not wonder that the people cares little for either of them. The people will not be so unwise as not to distinguish them so long as a jot of difference remains, but the people will run some risk to supplant both parties by a more true, a more decided, and a more national party than either. To this end, many places will find, as the City of London will yet, that its electioneering arrangements *must* be disturbed, and *ought* to be disturbed. If, as in Westminster, there exist a body of Reformers, who watch the interests of Reform, and advise the Electors, such bodies must take care to watch in the right quarters, and advise in the right sense. They must think of the national and popular, as well as of the local interest or convenience. If they bestow the prestige of their association upon timid Whigs, or indistinguishable Reformers, the people will, and the people ought, to take their affairs into their own hands, and contest the borough for themselves. If a Tory

succeed, it will not be the fault of the people, but the fault of those feeble and unfaithful Reform Associations, who bear a name of which they have lost the true spirit, and who seek to drag constituencies at the tail of a decaying and emasculate party, instead of securing chivalrous, emphatic, and well-informed representatives of the onward movement.

The result of the elections will show that we are still lamentably far from obtaining such a House of Commons as would be collected, if the competition (held to be so salutary elsewhere) were open to the nation. The rarity of working-class candidates at this election is a matter of remark and regret: and even those elected, do not always adequately personify the cause of their adoption. It is possible that better men might have been, in some cases, found. But, where the pecuniary difficulties are so great, the choice must be limited. Besides, when a principle has to be asserted, those have to be chosen who can be secured. Whereas, if our Constitution opened the field to the candidates of the working-class, that large section of the population would show as much discretion in the choice, and (without great difficulty) quite as much purity, as any other party now in the exclusive enjoyment of the franchise. Let the man who consents to mutilate the Suffrage, include these facts in his estimate, before he condemns the principle of its fullest extension; and let the heartier advocates of the people's cause gather new assurance of the soundness of that popular enfranchisement, which would give us all a more energetic political vitality, and, through the awakening of better men, endow with a more national spirit a nobler Parliament. ION.

#### LINEAGE OF FRANKLIN PIERCE.

In a recent number, we mentioned that the democratic candidate for the Presidency, General Franklin Pierce, is descended from the Percys of Northumberland. His ancestor, the Honourable Mr. Percie, who settled in Virginia in 1806, was the brother of the Duke of Northumberland. He was a Member of the Council, and a man of much activity and influence.

It is well known that the Percys have spelled their name in various ways, and that it has often been pronounced "Piercey."

We suspect that if the pedigree were investigated, General Pierce would prove to be the heir of the House of Northumberland in the male line.

#### ADULTERATION OF BEER.

In touching upon the Parisian calumny about that bitter ale which is so brilliant and world-famous an ornament of British institutions, we suggested that some medical commission should be instituted, after the fashion of the *Lancet*, to explore the amber and dark ocean of the national beverage in every variety of vat, and to report upon its condition. Our suggestion has been taken up by the *Medical Circular*, which introduces the subject in the number for June the 30th; beginning a general investigation of "Food and its Adulterations," with "Malt Liquors." We shall watch the progress of the investigation with great interest.

#### THE MODERN MARGERY DAW.

Who always buys in the cheapest market?—The Englishman.

Which is the cheapest market?—The British retail trade.

What is sold there?—The Englishman.

By whom is he sold?—By himself.

In what market does he sell himself?—In the dearest market—himself.

MODERN PITRUISAISM.—How offensive is it to hear some pert, self-approving personage, who thanks God that he is not as other men are, passing harsh sentence on his poor hard-worked heavily-burdened fellow-countrymen; including them all in one sweeping condemnation, because in their struggles for existence they do not maintain the same prim respectability as himself. Of all stupidities there are few greater, and yet few in which we more doggedly persist, than this of estimating other men's conduct by the standard of our own feelings. There is no more mischievous absurdity than this judging of actions from the *outside* as they look to us, instead of from the *inside* as they look to the actors; nothing more irrational than to criticise deeds as though the doers of them had the same desires, hopes, fears, and restraints with ourselves. We cannot understand another's character except by abandoning our own identity, and realizing to ourselves his frame of mind, his want of knowledge, his hardships, temptations, and discouragements. And if the wealthier classes would do this before forming their opinions of the working man, their verdicts would savour somewhat more of that charity which covereth a multitude of sins.—*Social Statics*.



## Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

#### THE VALUE OF OUTSPEAKING.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to express how entirely I, as one of your readers, acquit you from the charges, on account of inconsistency in your religious views, to which reference is made in the last number of the *Leader*.

I hold your views to be large, sound, and consistent. That of all Philosophy, History, and Art, Religion is the *essence* I profoundly believe. That it is the one important matter in life, I equally believe: as I do that it is distorted and alloyed by the societies of men, in their endeavours to adapt it for current use. Let me also express my humble admiration of the ability with which you are expounding Comte's admirable views of physical philosophy, and of the courage and skill with which you endeavour to furnish the complement of faith, love, and devotion—the negation of which invalidates his whole system. I allude especially to your defence of the line—"The Heavens declare the Glory of God."

I hoped from the biographical sketch you gave of Comte, that he had at length gained experience of those chords in the heart, whose vibrations assure us of the existence of such things as Faith and Love.

I am, faithfully yours,  
WYNDHAM HARDING.

Newland, Wimbledon Park, Putney,  
June 19, 1852.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—It is perhaps but fair to inform both yourself and your friend A. K., that you possess a class of readers who by no means participate in the doubts and regrets which he has expressed.

The path along which the *Leader* has moved since its commencement, is clear enough to those who have the skill and patience to trace it out. I believe we should have the truest reason for regret, if we saw you warping aside from this independent orbit, and twisting yourself round, what geometers call, "singular points," merely to suit the private wishes of your friends.

For my own part, I differ from you in many respects. But as long as I see you striving to infuse more manliness into man, and proving, as you ever have done, your appreciation of honesty, courage, and endurance—regardless of the accidental stamp which these qualities for the time have borne—so long will you have the support of my class—a class, I may remark, which, though usually quiet and silent, are probably animated by as deep a radicalism, and as free habits of thought, as A. K. himself would care to subscribe to.

T.  
June 22, 1852.

The two letters, signed respectively "Prevention" and "Faint Justice," are under consideration. We cordially concur in so many of the sentiments expressed in the latter, that we shall be sorry if its extreme length should prevent its insertion.

SCPTICISM IN ENGLAND.—We have heard it quoted as the remark of a distinguished foreigner, conversant with the choicest society in several of the capitals of Europe, that nowhere is the alienation of the higher and professional classes from all religious faith so wide-spread and complete as in England. That the masses at the other end of the social scale are indifferent or disaffected to the institutions which visibly embody the Christianity of our age, can be no secret to any observant inhabitant of a large English town. It is on the middle class alone that the various forms of Protestant worship have any real hold.—From the *Westminster Review* for July.

## 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 overworked Mind;”—that is the pregnant title of an essay in the last number of DR. FORBES WINSLOW'S *Journal of Psychological Medicine*, an essay that opens, but does not attempt to exhaust, the great subject, though it suggests important reflections to all whose way of life is full of the perils of over-work. Fearful as it is to see great intellects succumbing, and succumbing from the want of a little rational precaution; yet, as NICOLE said so finely to ARNAULD, it is “better to wear out than to rust out;” and there are worse shipwrecks in life than that. We die at least on the battle-field, our faces towards the stars!

Moreover, the man whose friends deplore that he is “killing himself,” often bears that within him which would more ignobly kill him, if he did not throw himself impetuously into the intellectual struggle, and there, at least, withdraw his thoughts from the “Blue-beard chambers of his heart.” When GOETHE lost his son, and when he lost one whom he loved almost as dearly—the Archduke—no man could read anything on that godlike, much-suffering face; no man could perceive any considerable change, except that he “worked harder than ever.” Was not the over-work beneficent?

In a medical point of view, and considering over-work purely as over-work, there can be no doubt as to its ruinous effect. *Festina lente* is our motto, here as everywhere—is it not Nature's own method? The over-worked brain will not do the work of one more wisely treated. To treat it wisely, men should familiarize themselves with the general rules of physiology, and consider the brain as an organ having its functions like that of every other organ. Among the most serious mistakes into which men fall, is that of not giving the brain sufficient repose and sufficient variety, which is another form of repose. Intense and prolonged application to one subject is the root of all the mischief. As your body may be in activity during the whole of the day, if you vary the actions sufficiently, so may the brain work all day at varied occupations. Hold out a stick at arm's length for five minutes, and the muscles will be more fatigued than by an hour's rowing: the same principle holds good with the brain.

THE new *Westminster Review* is a brilliant and thoughtful one, and a decided improvement on the two previous numbers. *Secular Education* is treated in a high and dignified manner; and although recent discussions have left little that is new to be said upon this subject, the writer says much that is needful to be iterated and re-iterated. He sternly reprimands the irreligious cry of “religion,” which is got up to oppose secular education by all the *isms*, which, as he says, “when closely examined, are embodiments of mere self-love, the love of dominion, bigotry, and all uncharitableness.” Why religious people should be aghast at the idea of secular education, will one day be a marvel to our descendants: it is an unconscious fear lest secular education should be found to suffice; and that fear we regard as the most profound misconception of human nature, and the most unworthy conception of the great function of religion: it is a heresy we, with all our heterodoxy, cannot entertain!

Orthodoxy separates Religion from Science, instead of associating them; and, as this writer says:—

“One effect of teaching religion dissociated from science, and founding it on the Bible alone, has been to produce a general unconsciousness that the Book of Nature is truly a divine revelation calculated to guide human conduct. It is viewed by practical men as a repository of materials for realizing wealth, and by the rich as a source of polite amusement; but by neither as embodying a code of rules for the direction of conduct, each duty having its reward and each its penalty attached to it. And yet it is really such, and only misdirection of our education prevents us from seeing this to be the case.”

Yet men wonder that Science is “destructive,” and leads to “infidelity!” They forget that, granting God wrote the Bible, yet assuredly he made the world; and if it be perilous to discard or misinterpret the one, there can be no question about the necessity of rightly understanding the other.

A beautiful article follows, on *England's Forgotten Worthies*, wherein the adventurous deeds of our early voyagers are truly connected with a higher principle than that of mere excitement. The greatness of that day, he clearly sees to have arisen from faith—the powerful convergence of the whole being of man into one focus. We have lost it, and our scepticism makes us pigmies. We believe nothing, not even Christianity, we only believe its “evidences.”

“We wonder at the grandeur, the moral majesty, of some of Shakespeare's characters, so far beyond what the noblest among ourselves can imitate, and at first thought we attribute it to the genius of the poet who has outstripped nature in his creations; but we are misunderstanding the power and the meaning of poetry in attributing creativeness to it in any such sense; Shakespeare created, but only as the spirit of nature created around him, working in him as it worked abroad in those among whom he lived. The men whom he draws were such men as he saw and knew; the words they utter were such as he heard in the ordinary conversations in which he joined. At the Mermaid with Raleigh and with Sidney, and at a thousand un-named English firesides, he found the living originals for his Prince Huls, his Orlandos, his Antonios, his Portias, his Isabellas. The closer personal acquaintance which we can form with the English of the age of Elizabeth, the more we are satisfied that Shakespeare's great poetry is no more than the rhythmic echo of the life which it depicts.”

*The Future of Geology* is very interesting and very able, marred, indeed, in its earlier pages, by an attempt at gaiety of style which does not lighten the subject, but full of suggestiveness and seriousness as it proceeds.

The most eloquent, and one of the most subtle, of modern religious writers will be recognized in the powerful article on *The Restoration of Belief*. How truly he sees into our present condition in this passage:—

“The more ingeniously the modern orthodoxy lays bare its essence, the more evident is it that a profound scepticism not only mingles with it, but constitutes its very inspiration. The dread of losing God, the impression that there is but one patent way, not of duty, but of thought, of meeting him, haunt the minds of men, driving some to Anglicanism to compensate defect of faith by excess of sacrament; some to Rome in quest of the Lord's body; and prompting others to conservative efforts of Bibliolatry, conducted with ever-decreasing reason and declining hope.”

And the impossibility of the Church long continuing its present condition, is thus stated:—

“It is the vainest of hopes, that a body of clergy, brought up to the culture of the nineteenth century, can abide by the Christianity of the sixteenth or of the second: if they may not preserve its essence by translation into other forms of thought, they will abandon it, in proportion as they are clear-sighted and veracious, as a dialect grown obsolete. The number accordingly is constantly increasing, in every college capable of training a rich intellect, of candidates for the ministry forced by their doubts into lay professions, and carrying thither the powerful influence, in the same direction, of learning and accomplishment. The higher offices of education are, to no slight extent, in the hands of these deserters of the church: and through the tutor in the family, or the master in the school, or the professor in the lecture-room, contact and sympathy are established between the best portion of the new generation and a kind of thought and culture with which the authorised theology cannot co-exist. College friendships, foreign travel, current literature, familiarise all educated young men with the phenomenon of scepticism, and in a way most likely to disenchant it of its terrors. Thus by innumerable channels it enters the middle class at the intellectual end of their life; assuming in general the form of historic and critical doubt: while from below, from the classes born and bred amid the whirl of machinery, and shaped in their very imagination by the tyranny of the power-loom, it pushes up in the ruder form of material fatalism.”

There are several more articles, but these four are the most important, and suffice to make a valuable Review.

## HAWTHORNE'S NEW ROMANCE.

*The Blithedale Romance*. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. 2 vols. Chapman and Hall.

THIS is a mournful book. It fastens on you and will not relax its hold, but it leaves a grave sadness behind it unrelieved by touches of hope and enthusiasm, unmingled with any glimpses into a brighter future. It tells of shattered hopes, of wasted efforts, of enthusiasm breaking against reality, of love given hopelessly, and wasted for no good. The failure of a social scheme, begun in unrelenting enthusiasm, is but the prelude to the failure of three lives staking their all upon affection.

Hawthorne was ill advised when he thus raked among the ashes of his heart for embers wherewith to warm his new romance. He once believed in the possibility of a community living in a brotherhood of labour; he joined others in the attempt to realize that scheme; it was premature, it was unwise, it forgot essential conditions, and it failed. As an author, he was right to turn this experience into material; nothing but what we have actually experienced can become permanent material in literature. But he was wrong, we cannot help thinking, to treat it so. His failure should have taught him to evolve an appreciable moral, not simply to have furnished him with a local habitation for a love story. Either Brook Farm should have been used seriously, or not used at all. As he uses it we see nothing but the poor machinery of a novel, together with some sad and half contemptuous references to the failure of what was once his enthusiasm. Out of that failure what high encouragement, and what deep lessons a reflective mind might have evolved; but he seems afraid to striking deep into the realities, and lets the occasion slip. There is but one good passage, and that has to us a certain tone half of sadness, half of sarcasm, which, while heightening the force of the remark, yet leaves an unpleasant impression behind it:—

“The peril of our new way of life was not lest we should fail in becoming practical agriculturists, but that we should probably cease to be anything else. While our enterprise lay all in theory, we had pleased ourselves with delectable visions of the spiritualisation of labour. It was to be our form of prayer and ceremonial of worship. Each stroke of the hoe was to uncover some aromatic root of wisdom, heretofore hidden from the sun. Pausing in the field, to let the wind exhale the moisture from our foreheads, we were to look upward, and catch glimpses into the far-off soul of truth. In this point of view, matters did not turn out quite so well as we anticipated. It is very true that, sometimes, gazing casually around me, out of the midst of my toil, I used to discern a richer picturesqueness in the visible scene of earth and sky. There was, at such moments, a novelty, an unwonted aspect, on the face of Nature, as if she had been taken by surprise and seen at unawares, with no opportunity to put off her real look, and assume the mask with which she mysteriously hides herself from mortals. But this was all. The clods of earth, which we so constantly belaboured and turned over and over, were never etherealised into thought. Our thoughts, on the contrary, were fast becoming cloddish. Our labour symbolised nothing, and left us mentally sluggish in the dusk of the evening. Intellectual activity is incompatible with any large amount of bodily exercise. The yeoman and the scholar—the yeoman and the man of finest moral culture, though not the man of sturdiest sense and integrity—are two distinct individuals, and can never be melted or welded into one substance.”

Indignation, open scorn, any strong feeling would be preferable to this mournful glance cast over the illusion of his youth. If he is speaking as a teacher, desirous to make us aware of the impracticable nature of a Community so founded, he is not explicit enough, strong enough, cogent enough; if as a poet he surveys his wrecked illusion, he is not feeling enough.

Not, therefore, for its illustration of a social attempt, is the *Blithedale Romance* to be read, but for its stern truthful picture of the sacrifice of

affection to an Idea. The tyranny which dominant Ideas exercise over some few energetic souls, coercing them to cruelty as to martyrdom, is finely painted in Hollingsworth, the philanthropist, and in his two victims. What the author says of Hollingsworth deserves a place here:—

“This is always true of those men who have surrendered themselves to an overruling purpose. It does not so much impel them from without, nor even operate as a motive power within, but grows incorporate with all that they think and feel, and finally converts them into little else save that one principle. When such begins to be the predicament, it is not cowardice, but wisdom, to avoid these victims. They have no heart, no sympathy, no reason, no conscience. They will keep no friend, unless he make himself the mirror of their purpose; they will smite and slay you, and trample your dead corpse under foot, all the more readily, if you take the first step with them, and cannot take the second, and the third, and every other step of their terribly straight path. They have an idol, to which they consecrate themselves high-priest, and deem it holy work to offer sacrifices of whatever is most precious; and never once seem to suspect—so cunning has the devil been with them—that this false deity, in whose iron features, immitigable to all the rest of mankind, they see only benignity and love, is but a spectrum of the very priest himself, projected upon the surrounding darkness. And the higher and purer the original object, and the more unselfishly it may have been taken up, the slighter is the probability that they can be led to recognise the process by which godlike benevolence has been debased into all-devouring egotism.”

And only over Zenobia's pallid corpse does the philanthropist become aware of how much cruel selfishness was cored in his philanthropy. The law of our life is, that we should ray out life, living by all the various activities of a various organization, not suppressing them in favour of one which becomes despotic; and yet to do great things in the world concentration is necessary. Thus is the individual sacrificed to Humanity—gives up his *life* to become a mere *instrument*. And there is a sublime aspect to this, as to all other forms of self-sacrifice; but to give it sublimity we must give it success—we must see that the sacrifice is not *wasted*. This Hawthorne has failed to do. He has made Hollingsworth the incarnation of an idea, ruthlessly destroying those who come within his influence, yet failing after all, failing because he cannot withstand the consequences of his own acts. Hence the sadness of this book. Failure everywhere. Faiths are shattered, hearts broken, the purpose of a life foregone: nowhere triumph, nowhere hope!

Those who have read Hawthorne's previous tales will not need to be told that in the strong markings of character, and in vivid description, *The Blithedale Romance* is of different quality from circulating library material, and we know not how to praise it more highly than by saying we did not skip a sentence of the two volumes.

#### THE CONQUERORS OF THE NEW WORLD.

*The Conquerors of the New World, and their Bondsmen.* Being a Narrative of the Principal Events which led to Negro Slavery in the West Indies and America. Vol. II. Pickering.

It is well said by this author, that

“The course of history is like that of a great river wandering through various countries; now, in the infancy of its current, collecting its waters from obscure small springs in plashy meadows, and from unconsidered rivulets which the neighbouring rustics do not know the name of; now, in its boisterous youth, forcing its way straight through mountains; now, in middle life, going with equable current busily by great towns, its waters sullied yet enriched with commerce; and now, in its burdened old age, making its slow and difficult way with great broad surface, over which the declining sun looms grandly, to the sea. The uninstructed or careless traveller generally finds but one form of beauty or of meaning in the river: the romantic gorge or wild cascade is perhaps the only kind of scenery which delights him. And so it has often been in our estimate of history. Well-fought battles, or the doings of gay courts, or bloody revolutions, have been the chief sources of attraction; while less well-dressed events, but not of less real interest or import, have often escaped all notice.”

Certainly, among the varied annals of our race, there are few presenting equal importance with those which tell of the discovery and conquest of the *New World*; and yet how lamentably deficient our historical literature is in works on this subject, at once trustworthy, sagacious, and readable, those only know who have had occasion to seek. Something, no doubt, lies in the want of that associated interest which clusters round events of European history. Our author has seen this, for elsewhere he says:—

“Throughout these expeditions in the Terra Firma, which would else perhaps be as interesting as they are important, the reader is vexed and distracted by new and uncouth names of the people and of places. The very words Rome, Constantinople, London, Genoa, Venice, stir the blood and arrest the attention: any small incident in their fortunes enjoys some of the accumulated interest which is bound up with these time-honoured names; while it requires an effort of imagination to care about what may happen to Comogra, Dabaybe, Poncha, or Pocorosa. It is only on perceiving the immense importance of those events which happen in the early days of new-found countries, that we can sufficiently arouse our attention to consider such events at all.

“Then, however, we may see that the fate of future empires, and the distribution of races over the face of the earth depend upon the painful deeds of a few adventurers and unrenowned native chieftains—they themselves being like players, whose names and private fortunes we do not care much about, but who are acting in some great drama, the story of which concerns the whole world.”

As far as it seems possible to invest these annals with the far-reaching interest of history, the delightful author of *Friends in Council* has unquestionably succeeded in doing so in these volumes, the second of which, after an interval of four years, he now places before us. The tangled thread of events is admirably unravelled, due importance being given to apparently trifling, but really indicative circumstances; a most unwearied and conscientious erudition is brought into unostentatious application; while the absence of all apparent effort, and an honourable disdain of “writing for effect” (that weakness and curse of our historical literature, more especially in the biographical portions), give a calm dignity to the style, which has neither frigidity nor stilted pomp to scare the reader.

Those who know and love his other writings (and do any of our readers consent to remain in ignorance of *The Claims of Labour*, of *Friends in Council*, of *Companions of my Solitude*?) can readily picture to themselves the calm and luminous style, the gentle traits of humour, the kind and acute thoughtfulness of a large and meditative mind, which serve to make these pages fascinating, and to disguise the immense labour that must have been employed in their composition. For quiet power, his writings always remind us of Goethe.

This second volume opens with some brief, yet striking, indications of the nature and customs of the Indians, with whom, throughout, it is easy to see he sympathizes, as with an ill-used race. He bids us be cautious how we accept Spanish testimony on this point, not simply because the conquerors were speaking of those they had ill-treated, but also because of the extreme difficulty of one people fairly appreciating another. “We see in this day that civilized people of the same race, religion, habits, manners, and language, often misunderstand each other utterly. Imagine, then, how great must be the chance of false interpretations, when men of different races talk together in language most imperfectly understood, eked out by signs, about subjects upon which they have scarcely any common ideas!”

After setting the Indians in a favourable light for sympathy, he proceeds to narrate the various stages in this strange history—such as the establishment of Darien, discovery of the South Sea, occupation of Cuba, and the administration of affairs by Cardinal Ximenes and by the Flemish Courtiers. He narrates these with a breadth of effect not unaccompanied by felicity of detail, which imply a real mastery over historical art, and the reflections are always in the right places. Here is one:

“In considering the long tissue of mis-directed efforts narrated in this and the preceding chapters, it is natural to endeavour to think out what would have been the best course to have been pursued by men of power in those days. That many of them earnestly desired to do right, is manifest, and it seems hard perpetually to criticise their doings without suggesting what they ought to have done. Had they been contented with a reasonable gain in trade, there is but little doubt in my mind that they would have prospered greatly. We see, I think, that the expeditions which were thus conducted, were almost the only successful ones. This would not have prevented the gradual settlement of the Spaniards in America, but would only have made it proceed in the most natural, and, therefore, successful manner. Mercantile forts would have been erected: these would have depended for their supply, not wholly on the surrounding country, but on their fellow countrymen, and by degrees that knowledge of the ways, customs, and especially of the language, of the Indians, would have been learnt, that would have proved most serviceable in further communication with them and in forming more extended settlements of the Spaniards. If, on the other hand, settlements were to be made without reference to trade, it is clear that agriculture should have been the first and the principal object of each new settlement. Trade and agriculture: these are the two chief sources of well-being for an infant colony. No colony is supported for any long time upon conquest; unless indeed the conquerors at once adopt the ways and means of procuring livelihood in use among the subject people.

“It would also have been possible, perhaps, for a more extended colonization to have taken place with good effect, under a strict and limited government, such as might have been provided if one of the young princes of the house of Spain, Ferdinand, Charles the Fifth's brother, for instance, had been sent out to administer the Indies, and afterwards to possess what he should there acquire. For the want of unity in government, the distance from the centre of power, and the consequent strength and temerity of faction, were some of the main causes of the deplorable failures which have just been described.

“This, however, is all *ex post facto* wisdom. The recklessness of the conquerors, their love of wild adventure, the attractive power of gold which uses men for its divining rods, drawing them hither and thither through the utmost dangers to the most wretched parts of the earth as it lists—all these together prevented, and must have prevented, anything like patient, steady, forbearing, concentrated colonization.

“Throughout the history of the peopling of the Terra Firma by the Spaniards, it is impossible not to feel the greatest pity for the Indians, who seem, from the first, like a devoted people given over to destruction, and for whom there is no chance of gaining anything but despair from the presence of their invaders, who might, however, have brought and taught them so much that was good. For the Spaniards, too, seeing their undaunted energy and immense endurance (it is curious to observe, that they make little or no mention, for the most part, of those minor miseries which we know they must have suffered so much from), it is impossible not to have some pity. They are conquerors, but they seem, after all, like demon-driven men. Little, apparently, is gained for humanity by all they do, and the majority of them, after filling up their measure of destruction, die miserably and contemptibly, with the hard eyes of suffering companions, suffering too much themselves to pity others, upon them.

“The reader of these things feels, as the Indian sometimes felt themselves, that great prophecies of old were being unrelentingly fulfilled against them.

“I am reminded of an old proverb of awful import which in these wars and devastations, applies to the conquerors as to the conquered, and which says, ‘God may consent, but not for ever’ (*Dios consiente, pero no para siempre*), and which indicate that there is an end, however remote, to all that is not built up in consonance with His laws.”

Turning back to the discovery of the Pacific, by Vasco Nuñez, we quote the concluding passage, for the sake of the remark appended to it:

“A little before Vasco Nuñez reached the height, Quarequa's Indians informed him of his near approach to it. It was a sight which any man would wish to be alone to see. Vasco Nuñez bade his men sit down while he alone ascended and looked down upon the vast Pacific, the first man of the old world, so far as we know, who had done so. Falling on his knees, he gave thanks to God for the favour shown to him in his being the first man to discover and behold this sea; then with his hand he beckoned to his men to come up; when they had come, both he and they knelt down and poured forth their thanks to God. He then addressed them in these words:—‘You see here, gentlemen and children mine, how our desires are being accomplished, and the end of our labours. Of that we ought to be certain, for, as it has turned out true what King Comogra's son told of this sea to us, who never thought to see it, so I hold for certain that what he told us of there being incomparable treasures in it will be fulfilled! God and his blessed

Mother who have assisted us, so that we should arrive here and behold this sea, will favour us that we may enjoy all that there is in it.

“Every great and original action has a prospective greatness, not alone from the thoughts of the man who achieves it, but from the various aspects and high thoughts which the same action will continue to present and call up in the minds of others to the end, it may be, of all time. And so a remarkable event may go on acquiring more and more significance. In this case, our knowledge that the Pacific, which Vasco Nuñez then beheld, occupies more than one half of the earth's surface, is an element of thought which in our minds lightens up and gives an awe to this first gaze of his upon those mighty waters. To him the scene might not at that moment have suggested much more than it would have done to a mere conqueror: indeed, Peter Martyr likens Vasco Nuñez to Hannibal showing Italy to his soldiers.”

We could go on quoting and quoting indefinitely, but enough has been quoted to give the reader a familiar idea of the contents of this work, and so we leave it, anxiously awaiting the continuation.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

*Ought Electors to Elect?—Ten Minutes Talk on the Ballot.* Illustrated by Diagrams. By Jelinger Symons, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, &c. Effingham Wilson.

THIS is a very admirable and timely pamphlet, by a writer eminently entitled to consideration and respect from his long official experience, clearly and succinctly disposing of the current and cant objections to secret voting in a few sentences, thrown into the form of questions and answers. For instance, the most received and most commonplace accusation against the ballot is, that it is “un-English.” Observe how Mr. Jelinger Symons dismisses this ridiculous pretension:—

“I wish every elector to have the power of voting entirely according to his own will. I object to the ballot solely because I think it attended with great evils, and that it would not effectively prevent the foul influences. First of all, *the Ballot is not an English, that is to say, a manly mode of voting.*

“B. Whether the ballot be English or not, in the sense in which you apply the term, entirely resolves itself into the general question—whether it be good or bad? If the ballot is shown to prevent corruption, bribery, and intimidation, it is good; and what is good, is, I presume, not un-English; unless bribes and bullying are manly and English, which God forbid any Englishman should consider them. How can you call that cowardly in poor men, which rich men and great military heroes resort to daily in their clubs, when they ballot for members, to protect themselves from the resentment of the gentlemen they blackball in secrecy? They don't seem to think it unmanly or un-English. You have an evident prejudice against the ballot because it is secret. Now secrecy abstractedly is good or bad according to the purpose to which it is applied. There are many things which it is right to do secretly, and which it were wrong to do openly. There is no reason why voting should not be as well done in secret as in public, especially when rich and powerful men set the example. Immense evils are admitted to exist under open voting: every attempt has been made to remedy these evils consistently with open voting, and they have all signally failed. If these evils can be remedied by secrecy, surely secrecy becomes a benefit. The most I can admit you is, that the question resolves itself into a balance between the iniquities of the public system, and an abstract dislike to secrecy, though realizing immense and positive good.”

Would the ballot destroy the influence of property, as landowners, who drive their tenants up to the poll like their own cattle, assert:—

“B. I believe, on the contrary,” replies Mr. Symons, “that it would greatly enhance the *just and legitimate* influence of property; whilst to its manifold abuses it would prove a death-blow. The man of property who diffuses around him the kindly influences of charity, kindness, and sympathy—who applies his wealth to the alleviation of the wants and sufferings of the poor—who is a kind neighbour, a liberal landlord, and a just man—will find himself possessed of a degree of moral influence and real power, which not all the gold of Cræsus could purchase, and which being based in the hearts of the people, will operate just as strongly and just as surely in secret as in public. To this moral influence, and to the cultivation of judgment and thought among the people, I am convinced the ballot would force the aristocracy to have recourse.”

The results of universal suffrage and the ballot in France are often triumphantly appealed to by the denouncer of “un-English” practices:—

“B. Is the abuse of a thing an argument against its proper use? You may destroy the effect of any system by violence or fraud.

“A. Some people think that many of the voters are too ignorant to know how to vote.

“B. The ballot will be an excellent motive to the aristocracy to instruct them. But this is a point which refers to the suffrage, and not to the ballot.

“A. Are not the two connected?

“B. Not necessarily; though in one sense the ballot would at once extend the suffrage, for it would enfranchise the constituency, of whom one-half are enslaved, and therefore mere tools to others. I must again remind you that the ballot is *alone* to be regarded as realizing *that power in electors* which it is unconstitutional and criminal to deny.”

The want of voters has been once more shamefully conspicuous these last few days, notably in Westminster, where the show of hands was all one way and the votes (under lady-like intimidation) another. The pamphlet is accompanied with diagrams illustrating the practical application of the ballot to elections.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed; to which are added, Two brief Dissertations on Personal Identity and the Nature of Virtue; and Fifteen Sermons.* New Edition, with Analytical Introduction, Explanatory Notes, and an Index. By a Member of the University of Oxford. (Bohn's Standard Library.) H. G. Bohn.

THIS edition of the great bulwark of orthodoxy, *Butler's Analogy*, has a very valuable addition in the shape of a luminous analysis prefixed to the work, and some analytic recapitulations in the footnotes, which will greatly facilitate the reader's comprehension of the chain of argument. An index also is given. In spite of this work being old and well known, we feel a strong temptation to grapple with its main positions; and may still, at some more leisure season, gratify that desire. Meanwhile, as it is the business of all advocates of free thought to make

themselves acquainted with the strongest works on both sides, we recommend *Butler's Analogy* to students.

*Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America.* By A. von Humboldt and A. Bonpland. Translated by Thomasina Ross. In Three Vols. (Bohn's Scientific Library.) Vol. II. H. G. Bohn.

THE second volume of Humboldt's travels in Mr. Bohn's English edition: a work which surpasses, both in solidity and in interest, almost every book of travels pretending to scientific value.

*The Past and Future of Hungary.* By C. T. Henningsen. Colburn's United Service Magazine. *Memoirs of Lord Langdale.* By T. D. Hardy. 2 vols. *Bentley's Miscellany.* *Bentley's Shilling Series.—Broad Grins from China.* *Fraser's Magazine.* *The People's Illustrated Journal.* Part II. *Bleak House.* Part V. *Writings of Douglas Jerrold—Cakes and Ale.* Part II. *Sponge's Sporting Tour.* *Household Narrative.* *Musical Times.* *Handel's Oratorio.* *The Picture Pleasure Book.* Part III. *The Golden Bird.* Part III. *The Charm: a Magazine for Boys and Girls.* Part III. *The Westminster Review.* *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.* *Penny Maps.* *Falconry in the Valley of the Indus.* By R. F. Burton. *Walks after Wild Flowers: or, the Botany of the Bohereus.* By Dowden (Richard.)

T. C. Newby. Colburn and Co. R. Bentley. R. Bentley. R. Bentley. J. W. Parker and Son. Office, 11, Bouverie-street. Bradbury and Evans. Punch Office. Bradbury and Evans. 16, Wellington-street. A. Novello. A. Novello. Addey and Co. Addey and Co. Addey and Co. John Chapman. Sutherland and Knox. Chapman and Hall. J. Van Voorst. J. Van Voorst. John Churchill. Hookham and Son. C. Hastings. J. W. Parker and Son. J. Hughes. J. Cassell. Whittaker and Co. By J. Forbes. W. S. Orr and Co. H. Baillière. By the Rev. W. Kirby. H. G. Bohn. Vol. IV. H. G. Bohn. Bohn's Standard Library—*Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages.* By Dr. Augustus Neander. H. G. Bohn. Bohn's Standard Library—*Frederika Bremer's Works.* Translated by Mary Howitt. H. G. Bohn. R. Bentley.

*The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology.* *The New Quarterly Review.* Part III. *Lawson's Merchants' Magazine.* *The Poetical Remains of William Sidney Walker.* By Rev. J. Moultrie. *The Drama of a Life, and Aspiranda.* By J. A. Langford. *The History of the Painters of all Nations.* By M. Charles Blanc. *Discovery of America, Conquest of Mexico, and Conquest of Peru.* By Dr. Pirscher.

*The Physician's Holiday; or, a Month in Switzerland in the Summer of 1848.* By J. Forbes. W. S. Orr and Co. H. Baillière.

*The Zoist.* No. XXVIII. *Bohn's Scientific Library—On the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God.* By the Rev. W. Kirby. H. G. Bohn. Vol. II.

*Bohn's Classical Library—The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero.* By C. D. Yonge. Vol. IV. H. G. Bohn.

*Bohn's Standard Library—Memorials of Christian Life in the Early and Middle Ages.* By Dr. Augustus Neander. H. G. Bohn.

*Bohn's Standard Library—Frederika Bremer's Works.* Translated by Mary Howitt. H. G. Bohn. R. Bentley.

*Blondelle: A Story of the Day.*

Portfolia.

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

COMTE'S POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.

By G. H. LEWES.

PART XIV.—The Science of Life.

I NOW approach the great and intensely interesting Science of Life, improperly called Physiology, a name which it must continue for some time to bear, because certain quacks with customary ignorance have vulgarized and distorted the term Biology, and applied it, in contempt of Greek and science, to their Mesmeric operations.

Matter endowed with a peculiar property, by us named vital force; having the faculty of *nourishing* itself, of *reproducing* itself, and, in its higher complications, of *feeling*; nourishing itself by a process which is identical throughout the whole series of organized beings—namely, by cellular formation; reproducing itself also by an identical process—cellular fission; possessing, in the animal series, *sensibility* and *locomotion*, in virtue of two special tissues, the nervous and the muscular; exhibiting itself in a wondrous progression of combinations from the structureless cell of the lowest plants, up to the complex structure of the highest animals; acting in strict conformity with certain laws, chemical and vital, and so producing all the variety of organized beings; becoming more and more heterogeneous in organs and functions as it ascends the scale; passing through determinate stages of germination, growth, maturity, decline, and death; everywhere indissolubly connected with the great Life of the Whole, and speaking in mysterious hieroglyphics, we but dimly interpret, of that “all-encompassing and all-sustaining” Power, the burden and the mystery of which for ever presses on our souls—that is the object of Biology. To it all the other sciences are torches. It is the torch whereby we can look upon the final Social Science.

The study of Man and the study of the external world constitute the eternal two-fold problem of philosophy. As Comte says, each of these may serve as the point of departure of the other. Hence two radically opposed philosophies—one proceeding to consider the world according to our *subjective* conceptions—that is to say, explaining cosmical phenomena by the analogies of our internal sentiments and affections; the other proceeding to consider man as subordinate to the laws of the external world, and as explicable only by the explanations of the properties of matter recognised in operation in the external world. The former of these philosophies is, as I have endeavoured to demonstrate in the *Biographical History of Philosophy*, essentially metaphysical and theological. It rests upon the old assumption of man's mind being the normal measure of all things: it makes *law* the correlate of *idea*; it makes the universe subordinate to man. The second is the scientific and positive philosophy.

That the Metaphysical Method should predominate in the study of Life, long after it has disappeared from Physics, and only lurks in its odd corners of Chemistry, every one sees to be a natural consequence, and accordingly,

except in the study of morals, we nowhere see this Method so strikingly illustrated as in Biology, with its "Vital Principle," its "Nature curing herself," and its famous notion of organized bodies being independent of chemical action. Not only are all phenomena of life more complex than chemical or physical phenomena, and hence less easily reduced to simple laws, so that because our scientific knowledge is less perfect, our metaphysical conceptions have greater scope; but the very fact, that in studying Life we go at once to the source of all Metaphysical Method, explains the difficulty men have of not being metaphysicians in their treatment of this subject. The very men who would laugh at all attempts to discover the "principle of attraction," the "nature of electricity," or the "cause of affinity," content as they are with recording the Laws (Methods) which regulate phenomena, naively investigate the "vital principle," the "nature of Mind," the "cause of sensation." It is only of late years, and among the most eminent physiologists, that the study of Life has acquired a decisively positive character.

Every Science has its correspondent Art; as in this life all our Thought has an aim in Action, or becomes sterile and fantastic without it. But although Art is necessary as a primary impulse and concurrent aim to Science, yet it is indispensable, at a certain period of advancement, that we should accurately separate them. As Comte says, their respective domains are distinct though united: to one belongs knowledge, with *prevision* as result; to the other power, with *action* as result. But as soon as Science becomes fairly constituted, it must pursue its own development without any regard to other aims than those of knowledge. Of this the great Archimedes had a profound sentiment, when he naively apologized to posterity for having for an instant applied his genius to practical inventions. And our brilliant essayist, Macaulay, shows a profound misconception of the nature of Science in his celebrated article on Bacon—the whole purport of which is to restrict Science to its immediate applications. The culture of any one science would have familiarized his mind with the opposite conception, and would have taught him that whatever benefits Science has derived in the way of stimulus and direction from the necessities of the Arts, nevertheless, almost all the great developments of Science have been due to the purely speculative character it has taken. Man does *not* live by bread alone, thank God! And if the energetic lower impulses are necessary at first to stimulate our highest faculties, yet these faculties once aroused suffice unto themselves!

The object of these remarks is to point out the necessity of separating Biology from Medicine, and consequently of no longer trusting the cultivation of the science to its practical applicants, the Medical Profession. If it were proposed to confine the culture of Astronomy to Navigators alone, loud Homeric laughter would greet the proposal; yet those very laughters would see nothing that was not perfectly rational in confiding the culture of Biology to the scanty leisure of the Medical Profession. I always notice a quiet and amusing superciliousness on the part of medical men when I talk to them of subjects on which frequently they are utterly ignorant, but which, because I am a layman, they assume I can only "dabble in." It was reproached against my friend Herbert Spencer's *Theory of Population*, wherein a general law is enunciated, that his "facts were second-hand"—as if Architects usually made their own bricks! In vain do we insist upon the fact that Schwann, Kölliker, Henlé—indeed, most of the greatest physiologists—are either not members of the medical profession, or little more so than in name—the common prejudice is, that Biology can only be successfully studied by the "profession." But this is an evil that must spontaneously disappear before the advance of Science; especially when men come more distinctly to understand that Biology must necessarily embrace the whole phenomena of organized beings—not simply the phenomena of *human* physiology—but the whole of vegetable and animal physiology, of which the human animal is but the highest and most interesting section; few will maintain that clinical experience constitute the pre-requisite to a correct understanding of the vegetable world.

Biology is the Science of Life. And first as to the definition of Life. Bichat, unconsciously determined by the ancient prejudice of living bodies being independent of—and antagonistic to—dead bodies (an error I dwelt on in the preceding paper) gave this definition, which has attained great celebrity, "*Life is the sum of the functions by which death is resisted.*" Coleridge properly remarks, that he can discover in it "no other meaning than that life consists in being able to live;" and, indeed, if Bichat had only steadily considered the indispensable co-operation of the medium or surrounding circumstances in which an organization is placed, with the organization itself, if he had considered how a slight change in external conditions is sufficient to *revive* a dying animal or to *destroy* a living animal, he could never have propounded such a definition, for he would have seen that so far from organic bodies being independent of external circumstances they are more and more dependent on them as their organization becomes higher, so that *organism* and a *medium* are the two correlative ideas of life; while inversely, it is in proportion as we *descend* the scale till we arrive at the most universal of all phenomena—those of gravitation, that the independence of a surrounding medium is manifested. Every change of temperature, every chemical combination, affects the organic body, whereas gravitation is in nowise disturbed by them. For the phenomena of attraction we only need simple atoms; for the phenomena of life we want the whole *concourse* of nature, and every variation in the medium is followed by a variation in the phenomena. If I insist on this dependence of the *organism*

on the *medium*, it is because I find men in their reasonings constantly attaching themselves solely to the subjective and forgetting the objective point of view—thinking only of the vital force and forgetting the determinations of that force by external conditions.

Another definition, which has been a favourite with a large class, is this, "*Life is the result of organization.*" A truly metaphysical definition! Without pausing to inquire too narrowly how this definition suits the lower forms of life, such as the cellular plants, wherein *no* organs are, I simply ask, wherefore is life supposed to result from organization, rather than organization from the vital force, whatever it may be?

In that very interesting posthumous essay by Coleridge, *Hints towards the formation of a more comprehensive theory of life*, (our pleasure in studying which is only abated by its being a shameless plagiarism from Schelling's *Erster Entwurf*, even to its very terminology), there is a definition which though not wholly unobjectionable contains a point of view the student will find extremely useful if thoroughly appreciated—and the definition in this, "*Life is the principle of individuation,*" or that power which discloses itself from within, combining many qualities into *one individual thing*. To appreciate this, however, it must be studied in the commentary. I refer the reader to Schelling, Coleridge, or Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics*, pp. 436, seq.

If I am wandering from Comte by these remarks, I am still keeping within the necessities of an exposition of the Positive Philosophy, and the reader will now perhaps better appreciate what I am about to condense from the pages before me.

The only definition which seems to Comte capable of fulfilling all the multifarious conditions required, is that proposed by De Blainville, as *the twofold internal movement of composition and decomposition, at once general and continuous*. "That luminous definition," he says, "seems to me to leave nothing to be desired, unless it be a more explicit indication of the two fundamental correlative conditions inseparable from a living being,—an *organism* and a *medium*; which, however, is but a secondary criticism. The definition thus presents the exact enunciation of the sole phenomenon rigorously common to the *ensemble* of living beings, considered in all their constituent parts, and in all their modes of vitality." At first sight, it may appear that this definition does not sufficiently respect the capital distinction so much insisted on by Bichat and his followers, between *vegetative* life and *animal* life, in other words, *organic* life and *relative* life, because it seems to refer entirely to the vegetative life. But, deeply considered, this very objection leads to a recognition of the real merit of this definition, by showing how it rests upon an exact appreciation of the biological hierarchy. For it is indisputable, that, in the immense majority of organized beings, *animal* life is but a supplement, an additional series of phenomena, superposed on the fundamental *organic* life. And if, in the progressional ascent of being, we find what was at first the mere addition, becomes, at last, the most important, so that the vegetative life in Man seems destined only to sustain the animal life, his moral and intellectual attributes becoming the highest functions of his existence, that remarkable fact does not affect the order of biological study, but points to another fundamental science,—Sociology,—which takes its rise from Biology. Thus, with reference to the Science of Life, it remains true that the earliest forms are vegetative, and to them the animal life must be subordinate; this is so in virtue of the greater generality of vegetative life, and also, according to the remark of Bichat, because the vegetative life is *continuous*, whereas the functions of animal life are *intermittent*.

#### PASSAGES FROM A BOY'S EPIC.

##### VI.

#### DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF BACCHUS.

WELL pleased the Princess saw her journey end;  
 Before her rose a fair metropolis  
 Shining colossal through the misty Eve,  
 With dome, and pinnacle, and minaret,  
 With gorgeous frontispiece and cresting towers,  
 Temple and palace and the abodes of men,  
 Wrought of clear marble white as drifted snow.  
 Thro' consecrated groves the Princess past,  
 Wherein all statues of all forms appeared,  
 The workmanship of wisest Dædalus,  
 Who moulds with silent hand our later age,  
 When Truth with Beauty weds, and knightly Hearts  
 Are big with the new chivalry of Work.  
 Here Zeus Olympius lookt the Titans dead,  
 With the bare potency of kingly frowns;  
 In marble Here walkt with that grand pace  
 That queens do use; and here in armour clad  
 The maiden warrior mighty Pallas leant  
 Against her Olive; an uplifted spear  
 Poseidon graspt to strike the rending earth,  
 And summoned the white steed with foamy mane,  
 And mouth on tremble with a fiery snort.  
 Beside him Hermes, with his restless wand,  
 Along the road urged the delaying Dead.  
 All forms from plain or forest, sea or shore,  
 Mountain and vale, all products of the mind,

Were gathered here for prophecy or song.  
 Not only in the bloom of ripened Thought,  
 Had the wise craftsman fixed in sculptured moulds,  
 Eternal Grace and perfect Loveliness,  
 So marrying melody to marble forms,  
 But the enormous bulk of ancient gods,  
 The primal rulers of a buried world,  
 Croucht, stood or leant in solid dreadfulness.  
 Here a vast engine roared and screamed aloud,  
 Or hissed and bubbled out thick flame and smoke  
 With noisy respiration; here its like  
 An equal front opposed, till midway both  
 For mutual harm encountered, and the shock  
 Startled the ponderous marble images.  
 Here Zagreus, from clencht teeth, defiance jarred,  
 Porphyryon, Brontes, Arges, Steropes,  
 Rage, Murder, Phrenzy, and all monstrous Shapes,  
 Gloomed on the air as meteors and foul winds  
 In stagnant marshes bred on sand and sea.  
 Here glared Medusa's head, with frozen orbs,  
 And held between strange terror and delight  
 The Heart that lookt on its melodious pain.  
 Memnonian Statues from grandæval Thebes,  
 And of old kings the marble pieties  
 Stood round, grey children of the eternal Prime,  
 Fixing their dead eyes on the passer-by.  
 Now paused the Princess, where a temple rose;  
 Sacred to Aphroditè was the fane,  
 And entering here awhile with lowly voice  
 She prayed serene. But soon tumultuous sounds  
 Swelled up and thickened on the humming air.  
 Then from the fane, passing with sudden haste  
 She left those images of Fear and Love,  
 Nor paused until her eager feet attained  
 A lawny upland, where the orient sun  
 Smiled on a temple that before the dawn  
 Rose like a marble dream, but westering shone  
 On ruins, and departed glory mourned.  
 What few white blocks yet stood resisting force,  
 One piled on other, impious hands assailed.  
 Women with flushing cheeks and glaring eyes

Shouted, when marble fragments snowed the ground;  
 Old men whose silver hairs fresh brilliance caught  
 From the indignant sun, curst long and loud,  
 Blaspheming the Great God, or shattered fane  
 And Statue with rude axe, or manacled  
 The Bacchic priests with rush or withy green;  
 Here youth and maid entreated, raved and wept—  
 Above the multitude rose eminent  
 A Form imperial that with quiet eyes  
 Beheld the waste and terror of the scene:  
 Approving what he saw; a kingly crown  
 Circled his head, and purple robes adorned  
 His stately limbs: no passion lit his face,  
 But on his brow sat intellect enthroned—  
 This was the Flower of Cretan chivalry,  
 Minos, sole judge and sovran of the land,  
 Who loving well the old laws and sanctities,  
 O'erlookt the grander Life that still renews  
 The ancient order, and with random blow  
 Struck down the loveliest growth of budding Time. M.

The Arts.

OTELLO.

ON Tuesday *Otello* was given at the *Royal Italian* for the first time this season, and we wish we could borrow VIVIAN'S pen to say how admirably it was performed. The orchestra was perfection, and the lovely accompaniments were played as one can only hear them at this theatre. Tamberlik was suffering from relaxation of the throat, but sang with all his fire and energy, the c in alt electrifying the audience as usual in that garden-scene duet. But his performance lacked the energy of his singing. His presence and bearing were noble, manly, generous; but he was not wild enough in his rage. Grisi is not now seen to the greatest advantage in *Desdemona*. But we remember when it was one of her triumphs. *Iago* was never so finely represented as by Ronconi, and Galvani did his best to restore *Roderigo* to due importance. The first act of *Il Barbiere* followed, and showed Ronconi in all his consummate mastery, with Mario as winning and refined as it is possible for an *Almaviva* to be. We share VIVIAN'S want of sympathy with Madame Castellan, and yet we listened to her exquisite voice with a feeling akin to delight. Z.

NECESSITY OF EDUCATION.—The necessity for educating the working man is dictated by the very reasons which these objectors urge as arguments against it. In the savage and barbarian states of society, the humblest member of the tribe is not, in point of acquired information, intellectual power, and refinement of taste, nearly so far below his chief and the magnates of the land, as is the peasant or labourer who can neither read nor write, beneath our educated upper and middle ranks. The high instruction of the minority, and the unabated savage-like ignorance of the majority of our population, have silently effected the greatest social revolution that the world has ever witnessed. Education has given a scope of knowledge and an intellectual capacity to the former, which have placed in their hands the resources of nature, wealth, refinement, and political power, to an extent unparalleled in the history of nations, while scarcely one step in advance in all these advantages has been made by that portion of the people which continues altogether uneducated.—From the *Westminster Review* for July.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY, July 10.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	225	225½	226	226	226	226½
3 per Cent. Red.	100½	100½	101½	100½	101	101
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	shut	shut	100½	100½	100½	100½
3 per Cent. Con. Ac.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½
3½ per Cent. An.	104½	104½	104½	104	104½	104½
New 5 per Cents.	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut	shut
Long Ans., 1860	6½	6½	6½	6½	6½	6½
India Stock	shut	shut	shut	271	272	shut
Ditto Bonds, £1000	89	89	89	89	89	89
Ditto, under £1000	92	92	92	92	92	92
Ex. Bills, £1000	72 p	69 p	69 p	69 p	69 p	72 p
Ditto, £500	72 p	69 p	69 p	69 p	69 p	72 p
Ditto, Small	72 p	69 p	69 p	72 p	72 p	72 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.  
 (LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING  
 FRIDAY EVENING.)

Austrian Bonds	82½	Mexican 3 per Cents.	26½
Belgian 4½ per Cents.	96½	Peruvian 6 per Cents.	105½
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	101½	Portuguese 4 per Cents.	38½
Brazilian, Small.	101½	Russian 5 per Cents.	118½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	107	Russian 4½ per Cents.	103½
Danish 5 per Cents.	107	Sardinian 5 per Cents.	94½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	63½	Spanish 3 per Cents.	49
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	96½	Venezuela 3½ per Cents.	45

French Plays.

Lessee, Mr. JOHN MITCHELL, 33, Old Bond-street.

POSITIVELY THE LAST NIGHT BUT ONE.

On Monday Evening, July 12th, the Entertainments will commence with *POISSON D'AVRIL*. Sir Georges, M. Levassor—Dubuisson, M. Tourillon—Le Comte, M. Roger—Felix, M. Leon—Gervais, M. Fauvre—Lucile, Mlle. Edith—Jenny, Mlle. Laure—Marianne, Mmc. Thibault—Victorine, Mlle. Eva—Madeleine, Mlle. Vigny. After which, *MADAME BERTRAND ET MADLLE. RATON*. Archibald Tetard, M. Levassor—Madame Veuve Bertrand, Mlle. St. Georges—Mlle. Raton, Mlle. Edith. During the Evening, *La Mere Michel, au Theatre Italien, Scène Parodie Bouffe, de "LA GAZZA LADRA,"* exécutée par M. Levassor. And to conclude with *DEUX MOUSQUÉTAIRES*. Le Vicomte de Montreal, M. Lafont—Le Chevalier, M. Leon—M. Vieuxbois, M. Tourillon—Thomas, M. Fauvre—Madame Dutillet, Madame Thibault—Louise, Mlle. Edith.

Private Boxes and Stalls may be obtained at the Royal Library, 33, Old Bond Street, and at the Box Office.

Royal Colosseum.

EVERY MONDAY AT HALF-PRICE.

The PANORAMA OF LONDON, Saloon of Sculpture, Conservatories, Gothic Aviary, Swiss Cottage, &c., open daily from Half-past Ten till Five o'clock. In the evening, from Seven till Ten, PARIS BY NIGHT, and the whole establishment brilliantly illuminated. Admission, day or evening, 2s.; children and schools, half-price. CRYSTAL PALACE. Admission, 1s. At the Cyclorama, Albany-street, daily at Three, Evening at Eight o'clock, Seven stupendous Tableaux of the Great Exhibition and its Contents. Painted by Mr. Mac Nevin, from original studies, and on a scale nearly equal to the original. Reserved seats, 2s.

The Zoological Gardens,

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Are Open to Visitors daily. The Collection now contains upwards of 1500 Specimens, including the HIPPOPOTAMUS presented by H.H. the Viceroy of Egypt, ELEPHANTS, RHINOCEROS, GIRAFFES and young, LUCORYX and young, ELANDS, BONTROKKS, CAMELS, ZEBRAS, LIONS, TIGERS, JAGUARS, BEARS, OSTRICHES, and the APERRYX presented by the Lieut.-Governor of New Zealand. All Visitors are now admitted to Mr. Gould's Collection of HUMMING BIRDS without any extra charge.

The Band of the First Life Guards will perform, by permission of Colonel Hall, on every SATURDAY, at Four o'clock, until further notice.

Admission, One Shilling. On MONDAYS, SIXPENCE.

THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION OF 1853.—WILLIAM DARGAN, Esq., has placed in the hands of a Committee of Twenty-Five Gentlemen the sum of £20,000, for an Industrial Exhibition to be held on the Premises of the Royal Dublin Society, in 1853, and has nominated George Roe, Esq., to be Chairman; Major Fairfield, to be Deputy-Chairman; and Mr. C. P. Roney to be Secretary of the said Committee.

At a Meeting of the Committee held on Monday, July 5th, 1852, it was Resolved.—"That the opening of the Exhibition shall take place in the first week of May, 1853."

The Committee invite Communications from Manufacturers, Exhibitors, and others.

By Order,  
 C. P. RONEY, Secretary.

Offices, 3, Upper Merrion Street, Dublin,  
 July 6, 1852.

FOR PORT PHILIP, SYDNEY, and the GOLDEN REGIONS.—The Australian Gold and General Mining and Emigration Company, 6, Austinfriars, will dispatch (monthly) first-class fast-sailing SHIPS of 1000 tons, from London to Australia. The ships will be ably manned and commanded, and will carry experienced Surgeons. The Provisions, Fittings, and Ventilation will be unexceptionable, combining comfort, regularity, and economy. For freight, passage, and particulars apply to C. J. Tripe, Superintendent of Shipping, at the Company's Offices; or to Tomlin and Co., 68, Cornhill.

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It combines with the watchfulness of parental care, arrangements calculated to promote the health, physical development, and joyous freedom of the child.

The habits and dispositions are carefully trained; truthfulness and unselfishness are sedulously cultivated; and obedience is enforced—not by severity or intimidation, nor by the allurements of factitious rewards—but by a firm, consistent, and gentle mode of treatment, by appealing to the understanding and the sympathies, by directing attention to the natural consequences of conduct, and by fostering a love of excellence.

The instruction, which is graduated from the simple to the more complex, is carefully adapted to the comprehension of the child; and, while the teaching of dogmatic creeds on the assumption of their unquestionable truth is scrupulously avoided, as prejudicial to the due exercise and development of the intellectual faculties, the utmost endeavours are made to educe and strengthen those elements of character which are the foundation of true religious feeling. Knowledge is made attractive, and the lessons are given by means of sensible signs with familiar conversations, on the principle of cultivating the perceptive and reasoning powers by stimulating curiosity concerning the structure and qualities of objects and the phenomena of animate and inanimate nature.

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