

dual. We shall be happy to give any aid in our power to such a Committee.—Ed. N.S.]

Reviews.

The Academics covered before their masters, hoping for forbearance, willing to take any oath of fidelity to England; in their single mind and sincerity refusing to pledge themselves to bear arms against France. The English were masters of the sea, were undisputed lords of the country, and could exercise clemency without apprehension. Not a whisper gave a warning of their purpose till it was ripe for execution. But it had been "determined upon" after the ancient device of Oriental despots, that the French should be taken by surprise, and be carried away into captivity to other parts of the British dominions. * France remembered the descendants of her sons in the hour of their affliction, and asked that they might have time to remove from the peninsula with their effects, leaving their lands to the English; but the answer of the British minister claimed them as useful subjects, and refused them the liberty of transmigration. The British king of Nimes, to whom the French pleaded with the British officers for the restitution of their boats and their guns promising fidelity, if they could but retain their liberties, and declaring that not the want of arms, but their conscience, should engage them not to revolt. "The memorial," said Lawrence in council, "is highly arrogant, insolent, and lawless. The memorialists, at his summons, came embusé to Halifax." "You want your canoes for your provisions, and your boats for your baggage, and you know no enemy was left in their vicinity." "Guns are no

Get some old soldier for your adjutant, to teach you, not a long course of drill, but just seven things, viz—

1. To face light and left by word of command.
2. To march in line and in column.
3. To extend and close files as light infantry, with "sup-ports."
4. To change front in extended and in close order.
5. To relieve the skirmishers.
6. To form solid squares and "rallying squares."
7. To form an advanced guard.

These seven things are all that you require; do not let any one persuade you to learn more.

Let your practice at a target be constant. Also habituate your troops to take long marches of from fifteen to twenty miles, with your arms and ammunition on; and also in running, or what is called "double quick time." These

A KNIGHTLY PAIR.—It is expected that the honour of knighthood will be conferred on Mr. Goldner, whose services in furnishing her Majesty's navy with fresh meats are not less eminent and praiseworthy than those of Sir C. Barry in providing for the convenience of the two Houses of Parliament. It may, indeed, be justly said, that Barry is the Goldner of architecture, and Goldner the Barry of canisters. In the House of Commons we see, if not a preserved assembly, yet undoubtedly a House in a very pretty pickle. —*Examiner.*

prince his conductor, Salvador, who, when ordered to the presence of the marquis, was quietly at breakfast on some of the noble lord's property, and who, when he came before him with a bottle of the best Rhine wine from the cellars of the noble lord, was compelled to admit that he was calling on the money to pay the tradesmen's accounts, but that having been unsuccessful in some speculations at the Bourse, he had used it for his own purposes, and had quoted the tradesmen by giving them its own promissory notes, many of which he had renewed from time to time in such a way that if it had not been excited by the announcement of the retirement of the noble lord, the noble marquis would not have continued for so long time without detection. The money misappropriated by Salvador is said to have exceeded 50,000*l*. The noble marquis felt it necessary to pardon the offender on account of his long service, but he ordered the tradesmen had already informed the police of what had taken place, and Salvador was, therefore, arrested, and sent to the prison of the Conciergerie. —*Gaitani.*

AMENDMENT.—Lord Brougham's new bill of the Patent Law, ordered to be printed by the House of Lords, has just been ordered to contain fifty-eight sections. It is proposed to empower His Majesty to grant letters patent for inventions. Certain commissioners are to be deemed commissioners, and they are to appoint examiners, make rules and regulations, and to report annually to parliament. Inventions provisionally registered are to be protected under the new act. An appeal is given to the officer, and from him to the Lord Chancellor. By the provisions the courts of common law may grant injunctions payable on the ground of infringement of patent. The same duties payable will be given in a schedule annexed. Her Majesty is to be empowered by an order in Council, so as to authorize letters patent to be granted for the colonies. The bill is waiting in the House of Lords for further consideration.

and you will learn to write—the more you think, the better you will express your ideas.

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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

No. 62, January, 1852.

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The earlier we can receive their communications in the week, the more certain they are of being inserted. This is the case especially with letters upon general subjects intended for the columns set apart for "Free Correspondence."

Reports of proceedings of Charities, Trades, and Co-operative Societies, &c., should be forwarded immediately after their occurrence. By this means a glut of matter is avoided at the latter end of the week, and consequent curtailment or non-insertion.

Reports should consist of a plain statement of facts.

All communications intended for publication should be written on one side of the paper only, and addressed to the Editor.

J. L. is thanked for his communication.

G. BARROW.—The address is 10, Red Bank, Manchester.

W. STARR.—A communication to the Editor should be the nature of an advertisement to be inserted in our correspondence.

All future communications for T. M. Wheeler must be addressed to 4, West-street, Soho.

THE NORTHERN STAR.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1852.

THE DERBY CABINET.

'Unworn, unadorned,' the RUSSELL Ministry has fallen from its own feebleness. The event had long been anticipated, and generally desired. Everybody, tunc in office, was sick of it. Lord JOHN saw condemnation and defeat ahead on grave and resigning upon a defeat which merely involved a tricky policy, true to the last, will avert the censor-

he dreaded, remains to be seen; but we are, at all events, able to congratulate the country in having at length got rid of a Cabinet which, for the last four or five years, has been the greatest obstacle to practical reforms of every description. They had brought the art of Ministerial Do-Nothingism to perfection, and invented a new system of making a Parliament sit six or seven months in the year apparently very busy, and then, leaving behind it results so infinitesimally small that it required a political microscope of no ordinary power to discover them at all.

The Whigs are gone, and with them their brood of sham measures, which would have wasted another six months and left us, as usual, nil as a net result. With their departure from office has also been removed many difficulties and stumbling blocks from the path of independent and liberal members. We know that they were embarrassed as to the course they should take on the Sham Reform Bill. It was so obviously beneath the occasion, and constructed in so dishonest and evasive a spirit, that they could not accept it without proposing many additions and alterations; but, on the other hand, it would have given some addition to the constituencies of a few large towns, and that might have afforded a fulcrum for a future and more powerful movement. They were therefore unwilling to give Lord JOHN an excuse for throwing it up altogether in a pretended pet. All these embarrassments and difficulties are now removed. There is a clear stage and no favour. Men will settle down to their natural places again on this question of Parliamentary Reform at last. We shall now know friends from foes. The Tories were to have opposed the sham bill, small as were its dimensions—they will, therefore, not give us a larger one. But the Examiner, in announcing his leave of office, took care to intimate very distinctly that he will be much more determined on the opposition than he was on the Treasury Bench. No Protection, Extension of the Suffrage, and Peace, were the three watchwords adopted as his policy for the future; and knowing how wonderfully the bleak atmosphere of the shady side of the Speaker's chair invigorates Whig patriotism and liberality, we quite expect to witness some strange metamorphoses in the course of the next few months. It will of course be the duty of the rank and file men to take care that in case of a victory, the substantial results are not monopolised by another 'Family Party.'

As to the New Ministry, nobody fears them. With the present House of Commons they cannot reverse any great measure that has been carried of late years. They cannot pass any that will greatly trench upon either popular or individual liberty. If they dream of inaugurating a retrogressive and Tory policy, they must try what a dissolution will do for them, and that, it is understood, the QUEEN has requested shall not be done until a much later period of the year. The aspect of Europe is not very assuring just now; and a fiercely contested general election would not be the pleasantest addition to the already sufficiently alarming indications of a tempest, which gather about the political horizon.

As to the capability of the DERBY Cabinet for the duties it has undertaken, most of its members are so untied in administration, that it is impossible to predicate how they will succeed. Certainly some of the names sound queerly when in conjunction with the offices they fill. Who, for instance, would ever have thought of the satirical rhetorical DISRAELI as Chancellor of the Exchequer; or of that respectable 'Justice of the Quorum,' PARKINGTON, as Controller of the destinies of Colonies in every part of the world; who, of MALINSBURY as Foreign Minister, whose only claim to the position of a diplomatist must be hereditary. As to the head of the Ministry, his merits and defects are equally well known; and it is as well known that the latter very decidedly preponderate, when the peculiar qualifications for the position he holds are taken into consideration. For such a Cabinet no one can expect a long existence.

But its formation brings before the public again a question to which we have frequently directed attention. Why is it that this game of see-saw is permitted to be played between certain great families of the aristocracy, who seem to assume that they alone monopolise all the administrative ability of the country, and consequently toss the ball from one to the other, as if there were no other persons in the kingdom who had the smallest claim to consideration or a participation in power?

One very potent cause for this is to be found in the want of unity, training, and organisation among the independent and professional liberal members of Parliament. They have never displayed any organised strength, or developed as a party the power of acting in concert, and carrying out a constructive and a consecutive policy. The 'Family Party' which has been sent driven from office, perhaps gave them small opportunity; but the game is now changed, and if they do not take advantage of the fact that it is so, and show themselves capable of taking office, and discharging its duties in a comprehensive and liberal spirit, on them alone will rest the blame. Meantime a General Election in any case cannot be far off, and those who really want to promote genuine reforms should be preparing for that event. To what extent the insane, and, as far as we can discern causeless, dissensions which distract the party that assumes the exclusive use of the title 'Chartist,' will prevent them from taking any useful or honourable part in the approaching struggle, we know not. But this we are sure of, that there is in every large town of the United Kingdom a sufficient number of clear-headed, intelligent, and practical working-men to form a committee, and an active canvassing body for the purpose of fairly testing the opinions of their townsmen on the question of Representative Reform. There are also plenty of men whose past services to the cause of Democracy entitle them to the honour of being selected as the candidates through whose medium that test can be applied. If this is done in a firm but temperate spirit, it cannot fail to operate favourably for the cause of electoral reform, and neutralise to some extent the baleful influences of those intestine squabbles which make so-called Chartism, only known for mischief and powerlessness for good.

ABOLITION OF THE NEWSPAPER MONOPOLY.

Mr. DISRAELI has 'kissed hands' on his appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is a literary man himself, and the son of a literary man. He has voted in favour of the repeal of the taxes on knowledge; and, therefore, we see some sanguine people are expecting they will not appear in the Budget we may expect from the DERBY Ministry. We suspect that these parties are reckoning without their host, and upon the very antiquated notion, that the actions of political men should be in accordance with their professions. They forget altogether the terrible exigencies of 'place,' the changed medium through which men look at the same objects from the opposition and Treasury benches, and, above all, the instinctive tenacity with which financial Ministers stick to taxes. It is true that Mr. DISRAELI takes office with a surplus in hand amounting to millions, but there will not be waiting excuses when the time comes for dealing with that surplus. For instance, the Income Tax expires on the 5th of April next. It raises annually nearly double the whole surplus. Is it possible to persuade the present House of Commons to renew the tax for another year, or, failing that, to produce a new mode of levying the tax, which will allay the deep and general discontent that exists among a large portion of those who are now assessed to it? Besides this little difficulty, the new Chancellor has Earl GREY's bequest in the shape of the Kaffir war, which, if it continues, will dip deeply into any surplus for years to come; and there are his own pet schemes to be looked after—for relieving the squires and farmers, by throwing county rates on the consolidated fund, and lightening their burdens at the cost of the general body of tax-payers.

These are only a few of the reasons that might be adduced for suggesting more moderate expectations; and yet, if public stood on the same footing as private morality, and the actions of men accorded with their professions, we know not any demand that has such a strong claim for immediate settlement as that for the repeal of the duties which obstruct the diffusion of intelligence. 'Taxes on Knowledge,' said Leigh Hunt, in his characteristic letter read at the meeting on Wednesday night, 'appear to me very like taxes for the prevention of finger posts, or for the better enforcement of "erring and straying, like lost sheep."'

And DOUGLAS JERROLD pithily asked, 'why not, to help the lame and aid the short-sighted, lay a tax upon crutches, and enforce a duty upon spectacles?'

The extent to which the triple duties prevent the establishment and impede the circulation of newspapers, may be judged of from the fact, that the United States, with a population little more than two thirds of Great Britain and Ireland, consume yearly four hundred and twelve million copies; while in this country there are only eighty-four millions copies circulated annually among the larger population. The difference points to a radical distinction between the Governments of the two countries. In the one the people are the rulers, and the Government takes care to promote the education and intelligence of the masses; in the other, two factions of an oligarchy alternately hold the reins of power, and they think their interests are best subserved by a contrary course.

The practical effect of these taxes is to establish a monopoly of the Newspaper Press. The large capital required to carry on a newspaper efficiently, and the comparatively limited circulation resulting from a high price, limits the number of journals, and confines their proprietorship to Capitalists. We need not tell the working classes the inevitable effect of this. They know it to their cost, whenever any question affecting their rights or interests becomes the subject of public discussion. The advertising and purchasing section of the community belong to the classes against whom the producers have to wage an almost incessant struggle for fair wages and reasonable breathing time. Is it any wonder that the newspapers support those who keep them in existence?

But it is said that this monopoly has the effect of producing a superior article to that which we should have if the Press was free; and in proof of that assertion, we are referred to the American newspapers, which certainly cannot, generally, be compared with our own, as respects the extent, variety, and literary ability of their contents. While, however, the superiority of the British journal may be admitted, the concession requires to be accompanied by certain qualifications and drawbacks. In the first place, America is a younger country, and if its journals have the immaturity, they have also the vigour and the elasticity of youth. In the second, what they want in literary polish they gain in being a truthful reflex of the popular mind and progress. The staid English journalist either does not touch at all upon topics that are not 'respectable' and 'orthodox,' or, if he ventures out of the beaten circle, it is to cast doubt or ridicule upon the novelty. In the United States, upon the contrary, questions of all kinds are freely discussed in the columns of the newspapers; and though some of these are ridiculous enough in the estimation of an English reader, there is after all no test so searching, no method more efficacious for detecting shams, or winnowing truth from the chaff with which it may be mixed.

The abolition of the tax on newspapers, in connexion with an equitable plan for continuing existing Post Office facilities, would, we have no doubt, be accompanied by an immediate improvement in the tone of English papers. Greater breadth, freedom, and independence of tone would distinguish their articles, and the intelligence they contained would no longer be confined to the narrow and exclusive channels in which it at present flows. The press would become national, instead of being factious, exclusive, or sectarian.

Apart from the merely political point of view, however, there are other important reasons why these duties should be abolished. There is, at the present moment, no question of greater urgency than the means by which increased employment can be given to our increasing population. Now, the curse of all exorbitant restrictions, that they do not stop with the mere enhancement of price, but prevent all improvement and extension in the article on which they are imposed. The repeal of the duty on paper would at once open out a source of profitable employment both for capital and labour of which we can at present scarcely form any adequate conception. It is not alone in the increased quantity that would be consumed by an enlarged demand for newspapers and books, though that would be great, but in the application of paper to numerous purposes, which the exorbitant regulations now prevent. There is scarcely any fabric, the raw material of which is so valueless in itself, but capable of so many and such varied uses as paper, or of being made so valuable, by the combined exercise of labour and ingenuity. In the decoration and furnishing of houses, in art and in manufactures, it is equally susceptible of new and indefinite modifications and extended use. Out of rags and refuse, which would otherwise be thrown aside as rubbish, and in many cases become nuisances, engendering corruption and infection, industry fabricates a material which now amounts to the annual value of about three millions sterling, and employs at present about fifty thousand persons directly in its manufacture. But this gives only an imperfect view of the entire number of persons whose industry is set in motion by the paper manufacture. There are numerous other trades and occupations connected with it, either in collecting and conveying the raw material, or in working it up into various forms for use. The whole number may perhaps be taken at a quarter of a million; and as the consumption has doubled since 1832, when the duty was reduced, it is but reasonable to calculate that its total abolition would speedily again double the number of persons employed, and the quantity produced. A measure, which would open out healthy and remunerative sources of employment to a quarter or half a million more of our population at home, which would add several millions more to the real wealth, annually produced in the country, and at the same time facilitate the diffusion of knowledge among all classes of the Community is one which, if the new Chancellor of the Exchequer be ambitious of being remembered in history, well deserves his attention. Though generally supposed to be more au fait at figures of speech, than figures of finance, the salient points of the proposed change are so easily comprehended, and the benefits to be derived so immediate and varied, that it will show great want of tact, to say the least, if he does not identify his name with it. Will his lordly colleagues let him?

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—THE FIRST THING NEEDFUL.

A controversy has been going on for some time past between Political and Social Reformers, as to the comparative merits of their respective movements, and which should have precedence in its claims upon the support of the unfranchised and labouring classes. On the one hand, the Suffrage Reformer contends that the Co-operative movement is confined too exclusively to material and personal objects, and diverts the attention of those engaged in it from those political questions which affect in their scope and bearing all classes of society. The Co-operator retorts, on the other hand, that Political Reformers, in their anxiety to promote great changes in the constitution of the country, overlook, or fail to make use of, the means actually in the possession of the producers of wealth for improving their own position, and consequently giving them greater influence in the settlement of political questions.

Perhaps, as in many other cases, the practical truth lies between the two extremes. Each phase of the popular movement necessarily presents peculiar attractions to differently constituted minds; and if the bad habit of calling names and imputing motives could be got rid of, these two sections of the army of progress would find it very easy to unite their forces for the attainment of the one object they have in view. Angry discussions—in which the honesty of one party, and the intelligence and patriotism of the other are mutually impugned—can only tend to repel from each other parties whose purposes are identical, and to continue those fatal divisions which have so long made the masses the helpless prey of the organized and wealthy few.

It appears to us, that without trenching on the modern doctrine of the division of labour—which in the industrial world has produced such vast and astonishing results, and which is, within certain limits, applicable also to political and social action—the promoters of Co-operative and Industrial Associations ought now to take an active part in the political movement.

In truth, their own movement has a two-fold aspect. The first has reference to the internal organization and management of their respective bodies, and their federal union through the medium

of a central agency and Executive; the second, to the external relations of the movement, and the way in which it is affected by the proceedings of the Legislature, or the general action of our existing social system.

Of this influence we cannot have a better or more timely illustration than the debate on Mr. SLANEY's motion for the appointment of a commission to facilitate Co-operative action among the industrious classes. The want of Members who thoroughly understood the wants of working men and who were able to explain practically the principles on which they proceed, and the objects they have in view, was never more forcibly proved. The cats legislated for the mice. The owners of land, capital, and machinery, of all the raw materials, and of all the implements requisite for setting Labour to work, could not comprehend why Labour should not be content with work and wages under the regime of the capitalist. Mr. CORDEN talked in a condescending tone of the ignorance of those who wanted to alter the 'natural' relations of Capital and Labour; and though he had no objections to allow them to make their co-operative trials under something like equitable conditions, he plainly intimated his conviction at the same time that they would only burn their fingers if they made the attempt. Now, what are the 'natural' relations of Capital and Labour? If 'primitive' and 'natural' are synonymous, the present relations are anything but 'natural.' Society in its progress has passed through a series of stages, each successive change becoming more complicated and artificial, the result of the growth of varied classes, and the multiplication of interests. The relations between these classes are, therefore, as purely conventional as the existence of the classes themselves. They are co-ordinate with, and grow out of, each other, and it is as great a piece of presumption on the part of a political economist to declare that the present are the natural and final relations of Capital and Labour, as it would have been for any advocate of former phases of society to assert that they were fixed and immutable. Very probably, the hunter who, like NIMROD, was 'a mighty hunter before the LORD,' the flockowner who in the pastoral age counted his flocks and herds by tens of thousands, or the iron mailed baron in the feudal times, who looked from his castle towers upon the broad possessions tilled by his serfs, were of opinion that these were the natural relations of man to man—the just and the ultimate constitution of society. But now, when the common experience of mankind has demonstrated that society is progressive, that existing combinations are merely the parents of new, it is strange to hear from the professors of a so-called science, the assumption that the very contrary is the fact.

Yet it is upon that assumption that the whole of our legislation, or rather non-legislation, for labour proceeds. What is the cause of this? It is because the Commercial idea preponderates among the more active portion of the present electoral body. The Legislature represents not the whole, but only a section of the people. The buyers and sellers of Labour—the owners of the raw materials and the machinery—by and upon which Labour must be set to work—all who live by usury or profitmongering upon industry—are represented in the so-called Commons House of Parliament. The people—the Commons—have not one bona fide representative there. Let us not be misunderstood; honest, well-intentioned members may be mentioned, but their number is small, and their knowledge theoretical; they do not know where the shoe pinches like those who have worn it. Labour, however it may give utterance to its own conceptions of its grievances, and the remedies for them out of doors, is dumb in Parliament. 'Hon. gentlemen,' because they are inarticulate there, choose to jump to the conclusion that it is really without speech, and that they know much better what is good for them than the toilers themselves.

Now we do not mean to say, that because an individual has actually suffered from the endurance of an evil that therefore he is qualified, per se, to suggest the best remedy for that evil. But it has been truly said, that an accurate knowledge of the evil itself is half way to the remedy for it; and so long as legislators have cloudy, imperfect or perverted ideas respecting the nature of the question itself, it is impossible there can be any practical legislation.

The great and paramount reform, therefore, upon which the sympathies and the energies of the labouring classes ought to be concentrated, is a reform in Parliament, which will enable those who really understand and sincerely advocate the interests of the workers, to speak the plain truth on such subjects. That is the first step towards getting the machinery of the state to work for, instead of against, the masses. At present the House of Commons is a congeries or aggregation of interests, which pervert the legislative and administrative monopoly they enjoy to the promotion of their own class or sectional ends. Every interest has its representatives there but that on which they all feed and fatten. It is an indispensable preliminary to the emancipation of labour socially, that it must first be freed from political bondage. That done, it will take its stand beside other interests, and claim an equitable participation in the work, the privileges, and the responsibilities of society.

No amount of individual care, forethought, and frugality on the part of the members of the Co-operative Societies, can at present exempt them from the immediate and prospective results of a false, unjust, and exclusive political system. As long as that exists they must, to a great extent, build upon a sandy foundation, and be exposed to the mercy of a thousand adverse agencies, over which they have, either individually or collectively, no control. As in the case of a Commercial glut and panic, the sober, careful, steady workman is thrown into the streets at the same time with his less prudent shopmate, so will the efforts of an essentially antagonistic Legislature, continually expose the Co-operative Movement, not only to obstruction, but to destruction. Previous economy and organisation may mitigate, but they can neither avert the results, nor prevent the action of the general influences which arise from the working of our existing political and commercial machinery.

In conclusion, we call upon those engaged in the Co-operative movement, to take an active part in the efforts which will no doubt be made to obtain the early and satisfactory adjustment of the popular claims for political justice. Their intelligence, organisation, and comparatively superior circumstances, will enable them to exercise no slight degree of influence in the settlement of the question. Many of them are electors in the boroughs to which they respectively belong. It is their duty, at the present juncture of public affairs, to throw their whole strength into any electoral movement that may be made in their various localities, for the purpose of returning men to Parliament who are prepared to support not only the claims of Labour in the abstract, but also such a change in our representative system as will permit the labouring classes to be directly represented by their own 'order.' Various plans for that purpose have been proposed, but at present it is needless to enter into details. Let us first have the principle affirmed that all classes and all interests ought to be fairly and directly represented in the Legislature; other things will follow in due season.

A PROTECTIONIST POLICY FOR THE PEOPLE.

It is possible that the New Ministry may be consistent enough to attempt the restoration of Protection in some shape or other, though its evening organ states that it will only do so if the country demands it. But then people may differ as to the signification of the term 'country.' Mr. CORDEN and Mr. NEWDEGATE, for instance, would not be likely to interpret the word in the same way. In anticipation, however, of such an attempt, the Free Trade journals—"pure and simple"—have been chronicling the vast and transcendent benefits that have been conferred on the country by our recent commercial legislation. There is no denying that 'the tattle of the whole' presents a very pretty picture upon paper, and it is equally incumbent on us to confess, that in many aspects the state of the country is satisfactory to those who look at it from a merely commercial and material point of view. The fallacy, however, lies in confining the investigation within purely economical and statistical limits, and assuming that even for those results we are exclusively indebted to the enactment of the tariff which permits free imports: free exportations have not yet gained, inasmuch as most countries levy heavy duties on British articles. The statist

who would accurately trace 'the causes of our present financial and commercial position, must not omit to include in his calculations, the immense quantities of gold which have been poured into them, "ket from California, and which are now being augmented by fresh supplies from Australia. But for these we suspect that the system of free imports would have long ago shown, that even in a mere commercial point of view it is not so efficient as its advocates imagine.

Leaving this question, however, as one which it is unnecessary for our immediate object to examine more fully at present, we are desirous of glancing briefly at the state in which the Derby Administration finds the working classes at the time of its accession to power. Notwithstanding the boastful tone of the politico-economical journals in recounting the aggregate results of the new policy, when we look at the trade reports from the various centres of manufacturing industry, they are anything but satisfactory, and have been in that state for a considerable time. Trade is generally described as being slack, demand slow, and prices falling, rather than otherwise. In many leading branches of industry, profits and wages are almost at zero; and though the quantity produced and exported may be enormous, there are grave reasons for doubting whether the parties who are engaged in these departments are carrying on a substantial or remunerative trade. The competition of combined and gigantic capitals against the smaller means of individual tradesmen and manufacturers, is fast driving them to the wall, and making it more and more difficult for them to make ends meet; while, on the other hand, the necessity for economising in the most minute details bears upon wages and hours of labour in the mammoth establishments in an oppressive way, which has driven large numbers of our skilled operatives into revolt.

In fact, the disorganised and discontented state of the operative classes is the best possible commentary and illustration of the essentially anarchical and subversive nature of the principles which have been adopted by our legislators for their guidance in those matters. They have applied the laws of pure commercialism to questions with which they had no connexion. Buying and selling does not constitute the whole life of a nation, but only a part of it; and the science of Government includes many more things than 'exports and imports.' We are far from undervaluing that portion of economical philosophy which deals with these essential elements of a nation's elevation and progress, but we feel also that latterly they have usurped too predominant a place in our national policy. It is one thing to create a vast amount of wealth, and another to distribute that wealth in such a manner as to make it conducive to 'the greatest happiness of the greatest possible number.' We have lost sight of the latter just as if the affairs of a nation could be carried on without the adaptation of means to ends, the subordination of one part to another, and the harmonized and regular action of nicely adjusted machinery—animate and inanimate—which are essential even to the success of a single factory.

The 'pure and simple' economists repudiate any such interference or regulation as a gross social error, involving the very principle of Socialism, which, according to them, constitutes the great danger of modern society. 'Let alone' is the climax of modern statesmanship and philosophy, although the practical exceptions to the rule are perforce so many, that with a less bigotted school of philosophers, some doubts at least of the soundness of the dogma would be excited. There are scores of things in which laissez faire has been compulsorily thrown overboard as totally inapplicable to the actual wants of society, and in many cases, where the innovation has been strictly resisted by the economists, as fraught with the direst mischief to the country, the result has been belied every one of their predictions, and triumphantly verified the anticipation of the advocates of regulated and concerted national action. 'The Ten Hours' Act is one of the most recent and conclusive proofs of this fact.

The new Administration are not so hopelessly crazed or perverted on this subject as their predecessors, but it is to be feared that they understand the principle of regulated action only as applies to their own immediate interests, or are too much wedded to the antiquated and now obsolete method of applying the principle. If they attempt the latter we firmly believe they will fail, and deservedly so. We all know how completely the protective system of the landlord class broke down. It did not give high wages—it did not give plenty of employment—it did not prevent crime, or abolish pauperism. It was not co-existent with any very high amount of moral or intellectual progress and elevation on the part of the masses. In short it failed because it was a selfish and an empirical application of a true principle. Nations never regress under institutions like ours, where popular changes are the result of popular will, slowly enlightened and gradually but firmly made up. Instead, therefore, of attempting to revise the commercial policy of the last seven or eight years, Lord DERBY and his Cabinet will act wisely in accepting it as *un fait accompli*, and in devoting their attention to the means by which the other institutions and arrangements of the country and the Government may be made to harmonise with it.

We have not space in the present article to do more than merely enumerate the leading measures by which this might be

FRANCE

GERMANY.
PRUSSIA.—Privy Councillor Niebuhr, son of the historian, is on a mission to London, partly in order to notify the satisfaction of the Prussian court at Lord Granville's appointment, partly in order to inquire into complaints raised that the Prussian ambassador at London, Chevalier Bunsen,

A letter from Constantinople of the 7th inst. states that the government has just imposed a personal tax on every Turkish subject, without distinction of religion. The minimum is to amount to twenty piastres (5f. 40c.) a year and it is thought that the whole amount will reach a sum of 100 millions.

THE NEW REFORM BILL.

without inconsistency, vote for the bill, and so on. They were told that they were obstructive; he thought the contrary was the fact. If those who had cried the bill, and nothing but the bill, had cried for something more, they would not have now be deciding upon this paltry measure of Reform. He then dilated upon the six points, and expressed his full confidence in the honour of Mr. Duncombe, who was one of the very best members of Parliament. (Cheers.) If all

a public meeting to expose their weakness for the purposes of calling a Convention for a party purpose. The active men in the movement were but few, and if they were set at variance by rival jealousies the localities would entirely fall into ruin. He admitted that it was not right to have persons on the Executive who were connected with others

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