

The Leader

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

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News of the Week.

THE visit of the Governor of Hungary to the North has been like a royal progress. Kossuth was received in Birmingham with a display rivalling in numbers that at Copenhagen-fields, but not so nearly limited to the working classes; on the contrary, Birmingham was fairly represented. It combined Copenhagen-fields and Hanover-square in one. Manchester seems to have turned out in yet great numbers, Potter notwithstanding. Potter, in fact, has but served to mark the total failure of resistance to the new spirit of the day. John Bright was present, and made a capital, hearty speech; so did George Wilson. In short, Manchester has pronounced not less forcibly than Birmingham. Kossuth repaid the delighted men of Manchester with one of his finest speeches; only less fine than the one delivered at Birmingham—only less fine, because each day adding to Kossuth's familiarity with our language, gives freer scope to the play of his thought. He has fairly roused the manly spirit of England; he has fairly shown Manchester that trade cannot be free while Despotism exists to keep the nations apart; he has proved that Despotism is chronic war under the name of "order"; he has convinced Birmingham that its own history pledges it to keep a lead in the defence of freedom and of progress. He has stamped himself as by far the greatest orator of our day—the practical, far-sighted Peel, the noble Mazzini, the unadorned Cobden, the accomplished Macaulay, the cunning Thiers, the astute Webster, the poetic Victor Hugo, the statesmanlike Henry Clay,—all lack, severally, many qualities which Kossuth, as an orator, combines. He is a man to speak to nations.

Many who understand not the subject, but rejoice in an "authority" on the side of their blind prejudice, are chuckling at his needless disclaimers against Socialism. Hungary, he says, has nothing to do with doctrines classed under that head, because she does not want them. For, he adds, almost every Hungarian is a landowner, and all may be so. Good. We shall recur to this point; but the present is not the time for controversy on it: national independence is the question of the day; and we, for our part, will not disturb that great acclaim with theoretical disputation. Set Europe free, and we have no fears for Socialism.

Some speculation has been excited by phenomena in the relations of our Foreign-office. Reports that Lord Palmerston sent an apologetic note to Austria, engaging to keep down the Kossuth agitation, have been studiously contradicted. Reports are circulated that the Austrian Minister at Washington has conditionally demanded his passports. An extremely Ministerial paper is supporting Kossuth: as studiously associating Lord Palmerston's name with that of the Hungarian Governor. These signs perhaps, and some others, have occasioned a pro-

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missing murmur that floats in the air, hinting that if such "support" be continued to Lord Palmerston, he will prove the true leader to give England her due position in the approaching era of the world's history. Some corroboration of the murmur is afforded by the sudden turn of the *Morning Chronicle*, which has supported Kossuth, but now assails: because, some conjecture, the *Chronicle* must at all events be anti-Ministerial. We are expressing no opinion on these signs, all too vague to warrant any opinion; we are only supplying our readers with the gossip of the hour, such as it is.

The rumours that Palmerston is to be a Chatham of Liberalism stand side by side with the authentic utterances of the Peace Society, who, through their secretaries, denounce war under any circumstances, and advance what virtually amounts to "passive obedience and nonresistance." We imagine that these gentlemen, in propounding their theory of the influence of "ideas," overlook the conditions necessary for the free play of that influence upon affairs. Ideas will never, unaided, drive Radetzky beyond the Alps, nor Prince Albrecht over the Danube, nor eject the legions of Nicholas from Poland, nor set free the German people. A "sacred principle" is a fine thing when you can get room for it to operate; but before Archimedes, even, can move the world, he requires a fulcrum for his lever.

Anarchy of anarchies is the "situation" at Paris. The war of the Legislative and Executive becomes internecine. The one is hemmed in between self-destruction and a Parliamentary coup d'état; the other between a bid for popularity and due subserviency to Austro-Russian patronage. Both are doing their best to prove one truth; that forms of government are nothing, but the morality of governors everything, for the welfare of a nation.

The President is playing an ambiguous game, and his fate may be to fall between two stools at last. To the Republic he offers the restoration of universal suffrage: to the Reaction he immolates the last remaining liberties. His new Ministry, mere awkward doubleurs of Léon Faucher and Baroche, inaugurate their brief campaign by a razzia against Republican journals and almanacks; they invade a meeting of an electoral committee (hitherto inviolable) with commissaries of police; they forbid the recitation of a few stanzas written by Victor Hugo for a musical festival, on account of an allusion to Italy, Hungary, and Poland; they aid and abet priestly domination. Insulted by the majority, whose flag they are come to tear down, they are scouted by the Republicans.

M. Louis Napoleon harangues imperially a few excited officers; whereupon the Ministry correct the proof of said speech for the evening papers, and interpolate a saving clause, as if it signified what he said, this imperial farceur, hero of Satory sausages and of a hundred corks! Still if he could only disappear altogether and leave his name at the Elysée, it might yet be reflected by

the stupid idolatry of peasants. But the man: he is no longer a serious candidate, except to the bill brokers. The majority rejects the proposed abrogation of the law of the 31st of May, but under cover of modifications there seems to lurk capitulation. Rather civil war than our vanity should suffer! These are the men who have ruined or betrayed three dynasties.

It must be confessed that the Opposition are now the true Party of Order. Their silent reserve intimidates the reaction, like the handwriting on the wall. They have resolved to protest simply, by the mouth of one speaker only, against the law of the 31st of May, and to wait. The majority, divided, discouraged, and demoralized, will dwindle away into separate minorities, as this year closes in. The next year is the nation's.

In Portugal we are glad to find the Progressists gaining strength in the elections.

Dr. Lee, Bishop of Manchester, has "charged" his diocese with the purest Whiggism of the Church. Convocation, he thinks, would be "calamitous"; but then, fortunately for his peace of mind, he thinks the movement for synodical action will be "unsuccessful." It is "undesirable" also to alter what the "experience of three centuries has shown to be enough for securing among us the profession of the truth; namely, the rubric, the services, and the liturgy. And the surest hope of the Church is said to be to abstain from getting into collision with the State. Verily, it is to the more chivalrous spirit of the Bishops of Exeter and Oxford, and men like Archdeacon Denison, that the Church must look for help in making itself honest before gods and men. Dr. Lee is not a Churchman—he is a State-Churchman.

The City was eminently scandalized on Wednesday morning, to read in the journals copies of a correspondence between the London Dock Company, the Board of Customs, and the Treasury, apropos of the trials of February last. The Dock Company humbly applies for the release of the goods under seizure. The Customs consult the Treasury, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, in the name of "My Lords," dictates conditions the most arrogant and barefaced conceivable, imposes a nominal fine, assumes the guilt of the Company, and talks down to them from his official Olympus. The Dock Company surrender the whole question by consenting to pay the fine—under a useless protest. Victors in February, by some sleight of hand behold them the vanquished of November, apparently self-slain. But the points at issue, the gross laches of the Customs, and the oppression of the suits, are too interesting to the merchants of London to be suffered to rest where they are. Something effectual must be done.

A murder in Marylebone, of more than usual atrocity and stupidity, has been committed. The characteristic of the crime is the intense astonishment of the murderer when he came to reflect that "he had the heart to do it."

KOSSUTH'S WELCOME.

AT HOME.

Kossuth passed through a trying day on Saturday, at 80, Eaton-place. Deputations from breakfast time until three o'clock; a rattle of cabs and carriages all that time. Addresses were presented from Clerkenwell; St. Pancras; St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; the Parliamentary Reform Association, by Mr. W. J. Fox, M.P.; the Ladies; the Working Builders of Pimlico; two discussion societies; Young Men of London; Woolwich and Islington, by Mr. Wyld, M.P.; and from Huddersfield; Canterbury Corporation; Bridgewater; Newcastle-on-Tyne, by Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P.; and from Dover, by Mr. Thornton Hunt. To all these addresses M. Kossuth returned suitable responses; and so ended this fatiguing but pleasant duty.

KOSSUTH'S WELCOME IN THE PROVINCES.
BIRMINGHAM.

Throughout the whole of his journey from Euston station on Monday morning to Manchester, which he reached on Tuesday, Kossuth's progress was a scene of triumph for the good cause of European liberty. There was no crowd at Euston-square, for Kossuth's departure was comparatively unknown, but the most marked attention was shown to him by the officers and the company, he having been received by Captain Huish, and the state-carriage, originally built for the Queen Dowager, being put to the express train. Mr. Pulzsky, Mr. Toulmin Smith, Mr. Hajnik, Mr. James Stansfeld, and other gentlemen, accompanied Kossuth. The train started at a quarter past nine; and by the time it reached Wolverton, the electric telegraph had done its work—the station and embankments were crowded. At Coventry several thousands were assembled; Hungarian colours visible in all directions, in cockades, in bonnets, on ladies' costumes; bouquets were presented, and the cheering was, as at Wolverton, of the heartiest British tone, strong, ringing, penetrating. And, as the train glided away, three distinct rounds of cheers burst forth in succession.

All Birmingham and the neighbourhood turned out to meet the heroic Magyar. The station was besieged. Kossuth was received by Mr. Geach, M.P. for the county, Mr. Scholefield, M.P., and Mr. Muntz, M.P. for the borough. After a lunch at the Queen's Hotel, Kossuth ascended Mr. Geach's carriage, which was drawn by four grey horses, ridden by postilions in scarlet jackets, wearing the Hungarian cockade. The other gentlemen of the party took other carriages. All along the route from the railway station into Birmingham, and through to Mr. Geach's country house, masses of people lined the footways. Flags fluttered; music played; spontaneous cheering everywhere. About eleven o'clock there were six miles of human beings en masse assembled to do honour to the principle of European liberty in the person of Kossuth.

At this time the procession was marshalled into order, the people falling into line with almost military quickness and precision. They formed as follows: only, it is remarked, the "groups of fifty" accompanying each trade became groups of thousands.

Six men bearing the banners of England, Hungary, America, Turkey, Italy, and Poland; the old standard of the Birmingham Political Union; Glass blowers and cutters, with band; Brassfounders; Jewellers; Saltley workmen and band; Tailors; Carriers; Saddlers, harness and whip makers; Wireworkers, wiredrawers, and pin-makers; Tinplate workers; Stonemasons and bricklayers; Pearl buttonmakers and band, toolmakers, coachmakers; Coopers and packing-case makers, brass cock founders, moulders; Japanners; Odd Fellows, with regalia; Leicester brass band; private carriages and horsemen; fire brigades; deputations from midland towns; large banner "Eljen Kossuth;" band; bodyguard on horseback; first carriage and four—Kossuth, G. F. Muntz, M.P., W. Scholefield, M.P., Charles Geach, M.P.; second carriage—M. Pulzsky, Mr. Toulmin Smith, and M. Kossuth's aide-de-camp; carriages with committee; bodyguard on horseback; Gunmakers; Shoemakers; Joiners and carpenters; band; carriages, horsemen; People unattached.

The bodyguard consisted of 150 gentlemen on horseback. Just before Kossuth entered the principal part of the town, his carriage halted; the bodyguard drew round him; and the mighty procession marched past cheering tremendously. The Bull-ring was a magnificent spectacle—verily a sea of human faces. All around, human faces—above and below; and the human voice literally filling the air with its rejoicing shouts, drowning the peals of church bells and stifling the tramp of the marching myriads.

In the Bull-ring the first copy of the *Times* was burnt, and at intervals this ceremony was repeated until the procession terminated at the Five-ways. Many copies of the paper, with the words "Lying *Times*" in large characters upon them, were elevated on poles, and swung to and fro over the heads of the crowd amid volleys of derisive cheers and growling.

About four o'clock they reached the Five-ways, and turned off to the residence of Mr. Geach. Here that gentleman addressed the crowd and thanked them in the name of Kossuth. Several hundreds followed the carriage to Mr. Geach's house, and were there addressed by Mr. George Dawson, the mounted guard of 150 forming in a semicircle. Nothing like this has been seen in Birmingham since 1832.

MANCHESTER.

Not in magnificence, not even in numbers, not in enthusiasm, did Manchester surpass Birmingham; but in the thorough spontaneity of the welcome it did surpass Birmingham—if that be possible. Before the arrival of the train bearing Kossuth, there were few persons more than usual in the street, few banners displayed, and work and business went on as upon a common day. By and by a crowd gathered round the railway station; carriages and four, bearing members of Parliament and merchants drove up, trains from Macclesfield, Stockport, Sheffield, and the adjacent towns brought up hundreds. And when Kossuth stepped from the carriage on to the platform a tremendous cheer burst from the masses and rang along the ribbed roof of the station, stifling the crashing roar of the escaping steam and caught up and echoed far away; while the Hungarians threw themselves upon Kossuth with a wild "Eljen! Eljen!" and one gentleman and lady saluted him on both cheeks. This burst of enthusiasm and affection over, Kossuth mounted the carriage prepared for him and set forth for Woodlands, the seat of Mr. Henry, M.P.

"When the railway gate opened," says the *Times* reporter, "the sight was one of the most extraordinary that can be well imagined. For the whole length of a wide street there was one dense sheet of pallid faces and fustian caps and jackets—wherever you looked were open mouths and staring eyes, and a forest of hats and caps in the air. It was with the greatest difficulty, and at a slow pace then, that the carriages, which amounted (including hack cabs) to some ten or twelve, could make their way. There were a few banners belonging to some temperance club in sight, tossing about in the mass, but they were soon lost, and a whole band of music, fur caps, uniform, brass, and all, was swallowed up in the most magical way in a vain attempt to greet Kossuth with their strains. The procession went along Piccadilly; all the windows were crammed; even the housetops had rows of temporary tenants. The broad street was choking, and the enthusiasm was unmistakable. Carts, waggons, omnibuses, cabs, stage vans, and cotton trucks were ranged up by the footpath, two, three, and four deep, piled up with human beings, who cheered as if for their lives. From the station to the Victoria Arch, about three quarters of a mile, the whole population of Manchester was really in the course of the route, and it is no exaggeration to say there were 200,000 people present. M. Kossuth stood up surveying the scene with the liveliest interest, and bowing low on either side as he passed. The tall warehouses were studded with a mosaic of heads and faces. All the shop shutters were up, and it was stated by many that there were more people in the street than on the occasion of the Queen's visit. Indeed one heard, it must be owned, some comparisons of the kind, and several exclamations were heard of, 'Well, I saw Kossuth, at all events, which is more than I can say of the Queen!' The Irish population particularly seemed in great delight, and showed in immense force."

For three miles the same triumphal march extended. The Exchange turned out, as did hosts of the respectabilities of the town, whose houses and villas lie along the road to Woodlands.

The presentation of the address was fixed for seven o'clock, but at five the doors of the Free Trade-hall were literally in a state of siege. Front and rear there were thousands of men and hundreds of women pressing on as if their existence could only be saved by entrance to the hall. The escalade of the gallery of the opera, or the storming of the pit doors at the height of the Lind-mania, never was distinguished by more vehemence and intensity of exertion. Indeed, the rush was greater than has been experienced at any public meeting for many years past. When the doors were opened the crowd burst in with a hoarse roar, and tumbled over benches in platform and gallery till the whole building was crowded as it never was even in the palmiest days of the League.

At seven o'clock M. Kossuth entered, attended by Mr. George Wilson, Mr. Bright, M.P., Lord D. Stuart, M.P., Mr. Kershaw, M.P., Mr. J. Williams, M.P., M. Pulzsky, &c. On the platform were most of the leading Leaguers, Mr. Marshall, of Leeds; Mr. J. Salt, &c. The cheering, applause, and stamping of feet which greeted M. Kossuth lasted for some moments, and the noise was deafening.

Mr. George Wilson occupied the chair, and delivered an excellent speech. Among other things he said:—

"They are few, very few, indeed, for I can appeal to every man and woman present, whether within the whole range of their experience they ever knew an occasion so devoid of discord—(hear, hear)—where concord reigned so universally—(hear, hear)—where men of all shades—men of all parties—men of all opinions in politics, and in religion—(hear, hear)—united as they have done on this occasion in welcoming our illustrious visitor. (Cheers.) And if it be for one moment replied, that because—whether wisely or not I shall not take upon myself to discuss—if it be for one moment supposed that because the head of the corporation of Manchester—(hisses)—thought it inexpedient to invite M. Kossuth—acting in all probability prudently, or in all probability discreetly—if it be replied for one moment, as it has been stated in the papers, that because the invitation proceeded not from the Town-hall, the merchants of Manchester, the traders of Manchester—ay, every man, from the merchant in his counting-house to the weaver at his loom—(hear, hear)—that he is not the welcome guest

of the people of Manchester in consequence of the invitation not having proceeded from the Town-hall—then I call on you as my witnesses to the contrary. (Hear, hear.) I ask you if ever visitor was more welcome? ('No, never.') Was ever guest more solicited to be present? (Hear, hear.) If ever man could treat—I will not say with contempt—but could smile at the impotent attempts to disconnect his acceptance of our invitation, to disconnect it from the opinion of the people of Manchester—if ever man could smile at that, it is my illustrious friend near me. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, we will not for one moment stop to ask the question how it is that this illustrious individual, scarcely three weeks in this country, has contrived, within that time, to draw around him sympathy of men who never before, by the merest chance, directed their attention to foreign politics? How is that in all our houses, in every domestic circle, in the kingdom, his name is familiar in their mouths as household words, familiar topics of discourse, ay, in those circles by the domestic firesides of England, from which, beyond all, politics are excluded? Why, how is it that an enthusiasm has accompanied him wherever he has appeared, greater than all the crowned heads of Europe—more enthusiasm—more spontaneous than all the monarchs of England save our own could command—(cheers)—and all their appliances to boot, if they attempted it? How is this? Why the answer is this, I grant you may fill our streets with numbers—crowds; you may for a time surround any object of celebrity with multitudes of admirers; but you can no more create the deep-toned enthusiasm which we have had to-day than you can control the winds of heaven—(cheers)—unless the object of interest has been closely identified with the interests of humanity."

And he wound up with these words. He narrated in spirited and general terms the progress of the Hungarian war, and eulogized Kossuth for his conduct of it.

"And will you tell me that Louis Kossuth, whether in prison at Ofan—whether by his humble labours as a journalist—whether as the head of the executive government of his country, or as the governor of the country—proved himself a seeker for personal aggrandisement, but only of the great interests of humanity? (Loud cheers.) He resisted the aggressions on Hungary as long as it was in his power. He fell under the influence of treachery and Russian despotism; and if he was magnanimous in his success, so he is glorious in his misfortunes. (Cheers.) And if you will tell me that, contrasting his life and history with that of all great men whose names have been before you, you cannot accord to him the highest honour, I would say to the gentlemen here from America to-night, Go home by the next packet, pull down the monument to Washington, burn your pictures of the declaration of independence in America, for you may then declare that Russian interference is a dispensation of Providence, and Austrian murders are the decisions of Heaven. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Smith Robinson, the honorary secretary, read the address to Kossuth, from which we extract the following remarkable passage:—

"To you, Sir, as the champion of your country's independence, as the statesman who, through long years of self-devotion, sustained, with unrivalled energy and eloquence, a patriotic and constitutional resistance to the encroachments of despotism, we tender the expression of our warmest admiration. The present state of the continent of Europe, where the brute force combination of military armaments threatens to overwhelm every vestige of liberty, renders it the imperative duty of the people of every free state to manifest their abhorrence of the tyranny that would usurp all rights and ignore all duties, in blind defiance of the sacred obligations that reason and justice proclaim as the first conditions of civilized governments. In your person we recognize a living protest against those principles of despotism which have ever been most abhorrent to the national sense and traditional aspirations of the people of this country. We would, through you, make known to Europe and the world our inextinguishable hatred of oppression; and, uniting our voices with the great verdict which history will hereafter pronounce on the momentous events in which you have played so distinguished a part, we would invoke for Hungary, as we now pray Heaven to accord to yourself, a future worthy of the lofty aims which have been the guiding star of your great career."

Mr. John Bright, M.P., moved that the address should be adopted, and so doing he spoke out strongly and with emphasis his convictions on the state of things in Europe. He said Kossuth was far dearer to the eyes and hearts of the people of Manchester than the crowned heads of Continental Europe, but even he could not escape the breath of slander.

"Day after day calumny had been busy against his name. He had escaped the danger of war, of imprisonment—he had escaped the danger of the gaoler and of the executioner of Austria, and yet in this Christian country the breath of slander had ventured or had dared to assail him. (Cheers.) Morning after morning column after column appeared, done to order—(great cheering, applause, and laughter, renewed several times)—produced by some concealed anonymous pen, paid for, I suppose, at the rate of five guineas a column, or thereabouts—(renewed laughter and cheers)—and the very last attack was one of the most extraordinary of all, namely, that M. Kossuth was a Republican in political principle and was in favour of universal suffrage. ('Hurrah'—loud cheers.)"

And Mr. Bright explained that they did not welcome Kossuth as a Monarchist or Republican, but as come Kossuth as a Monarchist or Republican, but as the assertor and defender of the rights of all men, "the greatest of all privileges—liberty." (Great cheering.) He vindicated himself from the charge

of inconsistency in being there that night—he a member of the Peace Society, by magnifying the influence of opinion. And he referred to 1848 as a period which tested the growth of the influence of opinion in European politics.

"They had had some revelations lately about Naples, published by a distinguished and most able member of the English Parliament. Let them ask the ruler of Naples, of Rome, of any of the oppressed Governments of Italy whom they feared most, and they would find it was Mazzini. (Cheers.) Let them follow the course of the young Emperor surrounded by 500,000 bayonets, and see when his cheek turned pale, and they would find it was with dread of the man who now sat on their platform an exile. (Cheers.) This Emperor with all his power could not raise as much money in the London market as the humblest merchant in Manchester. (Cheers.) And here he must say one of the most magnanimous and generous acts of Mr. Cobden's life was to call a public meeting to denounce the system of foreign loans to carry on war. (Cheers.) In that one act he had done more for freedom in England than if he had raised a regiment of horse or had equipped a ship of war. (Cheers.) He came to the conclusion that the hand of death was upon the old Governments of Europe."

Hungary first claimed their sympathies; they owed something to Sicily. Rome suffered from a Government the very direst compound that ever came up out of the laboratory of evil—(great cheers)—a Government half priest, half policeman. (Loud cheers and laughter.) Lombardy was oppressed by the rule of Austria; of Venice it might be said:—

"The Suabian ruled, where now the Austrian reigns, And tyrants trample where an Emperor knelt."

We had sinned too deeply, he thought, in the past, by intervention in the affairs of others, and could not come into court with clean hands. Peace was more useful to the march of freedom than regiments and fleets. We wanted a moral revolution at home in these matters:—

"They wanted their Foreign-office to be swept out with no friendly besom. (Cheers.) There was no enemy to liberty so great and all pervading as the system of secret diplomacy and intrigue. The Foreign-office was as well now as ever it had been; but he must lift up his voice against the system under which the voice of the people of England was shut out, and they knew not what was done till their interference was too late. (Cheers.)"

He had hope for the Hungarian cause, for he believed there was such a thing as a resurrection for a trampled nation.

The address, seconded in a few words by Mr. Ker-shaw, was carried unanimously and presented to Kossuth, together with eleven addresses from neighbouring towns, and several others from independent bodies.

Louis Kossuth arose from his seat, and up rose the meeting also, and there was immense, indescribable cheering—waves of cheers rising and falling, vast, sustained, gusts of cheers taken up and continued for several minutes, and innumerable hats and kerchiefs waving and fluttering to and fro. He said that the reception he had met with, the demonstrations of public opinion he had beheld in London, Birmingham, and Manchester, and those demonstrations loudly proclaimed—"Ye oppressed nations of Europe, be of good cheer; the hour of delivery is at hand." And he knew that in a constitutional country that public opinion must, in the end, be obeyed. Referring to the assertions of some suspected journal that the Kossuth demonstrations are got up and are altogether hollow, he said it was not so, but that the demonstration was in favour of freedom as opposed to despotism.

"I say that the very source of these demonstrations is the instinctive feeling of the people—(hear, hear)—that the destiny of mankind has come to the turning point of centuries; it is the cry of alarm upon the ostensible approach of universal danger; it is the manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation, roused by the instinctive knowledge of the fact, that the decisive struggle, the destiny of Europe, was near, and that no people, no country, can remain unaffected by the issue of this great struggle of principles. (Applause.) The despotic governments of Europe feel their approaching death, and, therefore, they will come to the death-struggle. (Hear, hear.) And I hope this struggle is unavoidable; and because it is called forth by them, it will be the last in mankind's history. That is the state of the case, as I conceive it, gentlemen. It is not my individuality—it is not my presence which has aroused any feeling or sentiment; I am nothing but the opportunity which elicited the hidden spark—the opportunity at which the existing instinctive appreciation of approaching danger caused in every nation the cry to burst forth—the loud cry of horror. Or else, how could even the most skilful sophist explain the fact of the universality of these demonstrations, not restricted to where I am present—not restricted to any climate—not restricted to the peculiar character of a people—not restricted to a state organization—but spreading through the world like the pulsation of one heart—like the spark of heaven's lightning. (Loud cheers.) The addresses, full of the most generous sentiments, which I am honoured with in England, are the effects of my presence; but I am but the spark which kindles a feeling which has long existed, from the people of the metropolis down to the solitary hamlets hidden by neighbouring mountains from the business of public life. (Applause.) And I humbly

entreat you to consider that this feeling is not restricted even to England; there is the public of the United States—(applause)—Italy, France, the noble English garrison in Gibraltar, the warm-hearted Portuguese, have all joined in these views; and on the very day when a deputation came over to England to honour me with the greeting of Belgium—that lofty monument of the love of freedom, and of its indomitable force—even on that very day I got the knowledge of a similar demonstration in Sweden—the future left wing of the forces of freedom. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, is this an accident? Is this fashion? (Applause and laughter.) Is this personal?"

Certainly not. He felt that a decisive struggle in the destiny of mankind is drawing near.

"How blind are those men who have the affectation to assert that it is only certain men who push to revolution the continent of Europe, which, but for their revolutionary plots, would be quiet and contented. (Laughter.) Contented! (Renewed laughter.) With what? (Loud and long shouts of laughter.) With oppression and servitude? France contented, with its constitution subverted? Germany contented—with being but a fold of sheep, pent up to be shorn by some thirty petty tyrants? (Loud cheers and laughter.) Switzerland contented, with the threatening ambition of encroaching despots? Italy contented, with the King of Naples? or with the priestly government of Rome—the worst of human inventions? (Cheers.) Austria, Rome, Prussia, Dalmatia contented, with having been driven to butchery, and after having been deceived, plundered, oppressed, and laughed at as fools? Poland contented with being murdered? (Cries of indignation.) Hungary, my poor Hungary, contented with being more than murdered—buried alive—(loud cheers)—for it is alive? What I feel is but a weak pulsation of that feeling which pervades the breasts of the people of my country. (Cheers.) Russia contented with slavery! (Hear.) Vienna contented! Lombardy, Pesth, Milan, Venice, Russia, contented! Contented with having been ignominiously branded, burned, plundered, sacked, and its population butchered, and half of the European continent contented with the scaffold, with the hangman, with the prison, with having no political rights at all; but having to pay innumerable millions for the highly beneficial purpose of being kept in serfdom! (Cheers.) That is the condition of the continent of Europe—(hear, hear)—and is it not ridiculous and absurd in men to prate about individuals disturbing the peace and tranquillity of Europe? (Hear.) How is it that there are no revolutionizing movements in England? Why no attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of England? Because you want no revolution. (Hear, hear.)"

But on the Continent it is not so. There absolutism and perjury triumph, and liberty and nationality lie chained and bleeding. The people had fought on the promise of freedom. With what result—the treaty of Vienna.

"I would appeal to the public opinion of the world—and I would appeal to those very statesmen of England who belong to the very retrograde school—to them I would appeal as to those who had made terms without the sanction or consent of nations. (Hear, hear.) And I would put to them the question, 'Is the present condition of Europe that for which the people of England shed their blood in torrents?—is it that for which England spent its innumerable millions, the interest of which you have to pay now, and will have to pay hereafter?—(hear)—I ask the question, is the condition of Europe that which the people of England were willing to guarantee, and which God purposed should be the case?'"

Kossuth pointed out how the Hungarian question was a European question, and how this was not only his opinion, but that of the eminent American, Mr. Walker, who thought that the time was come for England and America to be the champions of freedom. He was going to the United States, and he would do all he could to bring about a union between the two countries:—

"Commerce is the locomotive of principles. (Cheers.) Your glorious destiny is to offer by your hand the support of the public opinion of England to the United States, for the purpose of union in the policy of both countries in respect to Europe. That union, I say with perfect conviction, would be the turning point in the destinies of Europe and mankind; it would be the victory of the principle of freedom, because the United States and England united, they will not, and they cannot side but with freedom. That is to be one point, gentlemen, for which I must humbly ask the support of Manchester in the counsels of the city, which is in all respects in the most intimate connection with the United States. When I go to the United States in some few days, it will be—I will consider it to be—one of my duties to try if there I cannot be a humble opportunity for this union, as I was a humble opportunity for the promulgation of the solidarity sentiment of nations for the principles of liberty; and I have some hope, with your generous aid, to succeed; first, because there is in the United States already a great party which professes an inclination and a propensity to unite with England in its policy towards the world. Secondly, because the fate of Hungary has already somewhat contributed to change the old rivalries between the two brothers into the most brotherly feeling. Both countries have united in rescuing me from captivity. (Cheers.)"

He gave the following definition of non-intervention.

"The principle of non-intervention is the recognition and the acknowledgment of the several right of every nation to dispose of its own domestic concerns; and so I take it as a principle, that though we have not the right

to interfere with the domestic affairs of another country, whether it chooses to be a Republic or a Monarchy, or chooses to be even a Despotism, so as it depends on its own will, that is what I assume to be the principle of non-intervention—the acknowledgment of the several right of every nation to dispose of themselves. (Loud cheers.)"

Free-trade, he said, was not carried—but cheaper bread was carried; Free-trade will not be carried until the products of England have free accession into the markets of Europe, from which by the Absolutist principle they are excluded. He entered largely into the Peace Question; declared himself to be at one with the Peace Association in fundamental principles, but what he wanted was real peace—not simply non-resistance.

"Although," he finally exclaimed, "I would have peace to all nations of Europe, I would have peace and not prisons, because if they have prisons, they will have armies; nations cannot be free so long as the moral conduct continues to be sacrificed to the interest of certain families—so long as the entire system of the affairs of the greatest part of Europe can be summed up in these few words, 'The people pay because I want soldiers and spies to keep up my power.' That is not peace. They are chains which God has not created for the world. (Cheers.)"

Again he denounced the secrecy of diplomacy, and said that every interior question of England was resumed in the Foreign-office. Towards the close of his oration he took occasion to correct a report which emanated from the French proscribers.

"Here I take the opportunity to declare that it is true I for my own country and for myself have convictions, I consider that after what has happened in Hungary, if it were the most monarchical country in Europe, still the mere establishment of it is impossible, because the treachery of the House of Hapsburg has blotted out every hope of it. But it never came to my mind to have the pretension to go round through the world to preach government principles. Wherever I go, I acknowledge the right of every nation to govern itself as it pleases, and I will say that I believe freedom can dwell under different forms of government. This I say, because gentlemen whom I have had the honour to answer upon an address presented to me—of course, not having quite well understood my words—have given such a report as that I should have said, I considered in Europe there was no other form of government possible—no other really constitutional form of government than a Republic. That was a misunderstanding. I never said so. (Loud cheers.) I consider that a form of government may be different, according to the peculiar circumstances of a nation. Freedom exists in England under Monarchical Government as under Republican Government. There social order is established. Combine my Republican convictions with the principle of respect for the security of persons and property. (Applause.)"

Concluding a noble speech with these noble words, he sat down amid a perfect tempest of applause.

"And, therefore, I end with these words:—People of Manchester, let not the world, let not history say that on the eve of the last struggle between despotism and liberty, you had nothing better to give to the principle of freedom than the compassion of tender hearts. (Cheers.) People of England, shout out with manly resolution to the despots of the world, like the people of old, that the world shall be free—and you have given freedom to the world."

Dr. Vaughan moved the thanks of the meeting to the Government and people of the United States. In referring to what Mr. Bright had said in favour of peace Dr. Vaughan said, no man had a stronger sense of the horrors of war than he had. There was only one thing more horrible and that was absolutism. This sentiment was loudly cheered. And at the conclusion of his speech he offered his hand to Kossuth in the name of Yorkshire and Lancashire. Kossuth rose at a bound and seized it warmly amid the heartiest cheers of the assembly. Mr. Bagley proposed a vote of thanks to the Sultan; after which M. Kossuth proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the proceedings terminated.

AT BIRMINGHAM AGAIN.

Kossuth left Manchester about half-past eleven, and proceeded to Birmingham. The same popular ovation attended his return to the "most democratic town in England" as had marked his progress; the stations were crowded; the servants of the company highly enthusiastic; musketry and cannon were fired on the arrival of the train, and the hand-shaking was something terrible.

Arrived at the Town-hall, Mr. Scholefield, M.P., presented the address to Kossuth, agreed to by inhabitants of Birmingham; it was followed by one from French residents in Birmingham. The Reverend Mr. Lillie presented one from inhabitants of Coventry; Mr. Alderman Moss one from inhabitants of Derby; the Mayor of Northampton presented an address from inhabitants of that town; the Mayor of Worcester and a deputation, an address from the Town Council of Worcester; the Mayor of Wakefield, an address from inhabitants of that place; and the Reverend Mr. Gibson and a deputation, an address from inhabitants of Kidderminster.

M. Kossuth said a few words in acknowledgment, promising a written answer to the addresses, and referring the parties also to the observations which he hoped to make in the course of the evening in the hall.

The great hall in which the banquet was spread, a noble apartment, was quite full, with the exception, perhaps, of the side galleries, in which there appeared to be some spare room. The entertainment was given, not by the corporation, but by inhabitants of the town associated for the occasion. The hall was appropriately decorated. On the panels of the galleries were emblazoned the names of Count Batthyany, Count Louis Batthyany, Bem, Dembinski, and various eminent Hungarians. Along the front of the principal gallery was inscribed, in larger letters, "Welcome Kossuth!"

Mr. Scholefield, M.P., presided. Kossuth was conducted to the table by Mr. Gsch, M.P., and sat down with Mr. Muntz, M.P., Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., Mr. George Dawson, M. Pulzsky, General Vetter, Mr. Massingberd, and other gentlemen.

When the cloth was removed, the Chairman read letters of apology from the Mayor of Birmingham, Mr. W. S. Landor, the Recorder of Birmingham, Lord Hatherton, Lord Leigh, Mr. Newdegate, M.P., Mr. Sidney, M.P., Mr. Collins, M.P., Mr. Benbow, M.P., and Mr. Foley, M.P. Mr. W. S. Landor had sent the following lines, "On Kossuth's Voyage to America":—

"Rave over other lands and other seas,
Ill-omened blackwinged Breeze!
But spare the friendly sails that waft away
Him, who was deemed the prey
Of despot dark as thou, one sending forth
The torturers of the North,
To fix upon his Caucasus once more
The demigod who bore
To sad humanity Heaven's fire and light,
Whereby should reunite
In happier bonds, the nations of the earth;
Whose Jovial brow gave birth
To that high wisdom, whence all blessings flow
On mortals here below.

"Rack not, O Boreal Breeze, that labouring breast
On which, half dead, yet rest
The hopes of millions, and rest there alone.
Impiously every throne
Crushes the credulous; none else than he
Can raise and set them free.
Oh bear him on in safety and in health!
Bear on a freight of wealth
Such as no vessel yet hath ever borne;
Although with banner torn
He urges through tempestuous waves his way;
Yet shall a brighter day
Shine on him in his own reconquered field;
Relenting Fate shall yield
To constant Virtue. Hungary! no more
Thy saddest loss deplore;
Look to the star-crowned Genius of the West,
Sole guardian of the oppress.
Oh! that one only nation dared to save
Kossuth, the true and brave!"

The loyal toasts being disposed of with great applause, General Wallbridge, United States, responded to the toast "The Sultan of Turkey and the President of the United States." He was sure that in the next great war England and America would fight shoulder to shoulder under the joint banners of the two peoples.

Mr. Scholefield, in proposing "Our illustrious guest, Louis Kossuth," used some remarkable words.

"There was yet a future for Hungary, in which England must take part for good or evil. He hated and detested war; but he would not be a party to a policy which arrested war to-day only for the purpose of insuring it more certainly for to-morrow. He sought a clear stage and no favour for all nations. They would not interfere themselves, but they should not allow the intervention of others. Had they acted up to this policy, who would have been King of Hungary now? (*Cheers.*) Where would have been the Pope of Rome? (*Cheers.*) Had they arrested war by their timorous policy? He believed there never was a time when it would be more difficult to avert war than now. Give the absolute monarchs of Europe a few months' more swing, and anarchy, the result of tyranny, must burst loose; and who could say it would not reach our shores? (*Cheers.*)"

Kossuth on rising to reply was received as usual by the most tremendous cheering. His oration was perhaps the best he has yet delivered in England. The topics were not different from the others; there was the same warm gush of thankful eloquence at the opening, the same recurrence to the incidents of the Hungarian struggle, the same happy and hearty descriptions of the impression he had of England; the same illustration of the advantages of free trade and the necessity for free trade, and the same kind of peroration, only it rose to prophetic force and solemn warning. Yet was this not identical with any other speech delivered by Louis Kossuth. There was a nameless spirit in it—more grace, richer forms of expression—grander and more poetical thoughts—it was more fused with the great overcoming spirit of the hour—it was warmer and more affectionate—it was quite as profound as his other speeches, and more enchanting to the ear than any. He seemed to have caught the feelings of the hearty, genial, but resolute English millions who had greeted him, and to have fused those feelings with Oriental fire. He spoke prose poetry of the psalmist order; he uttered profound political truths. He awoke in the breast of his hearers the yearning to help, with arms or voice, with life or death, the cause of his native land. He

touched the fountains of tears by deep pathos of expression; and beneath the fierce glowing hatred of his powerful antagonists, and below his own glorious aspirations, there ran that profound sentiment of the nothingness of the transitory which characterises all the orations of Kossuth.

His opening sentences rose to the highest sublimity, as when he spoke of the relation of the history of England to his life.

"I found England not free because mighty, glorious, and great; but I found her mighty, glorious, and great, because free. (*Cheers.*) So was England to me the book of life, which led me out of the fluctuation of wavering thoughts to unshakeable principles. It was to me the fire which steeled my feeble strength with that iron perseverance which the adversities of fate can break, but never bend. (*Hear, hear.*) My heart and my soul will, as long as I live, bear on itself the seal of this book of life. (*Hear, hear.*) And so has England, long ago, become the honoured object of my admiration and respect; and so great was the image of Britannia, which I cherished in my bosom, that lastly, when the strange play of fate led me to your shores, I could scarcely overcome some awe in approaching them, because I remembered that the harmony of great objects wants the perspective of distance, and my breast panted at the idea that the halo of glory with which England was surrounded in my thoughts would perhaps not stand the touch of reality, the more because I am well aware all that is human in every age will have its own fragilities. I know that every society which is not a new one has, besides its own fragilities, to bear the burden of the sins of the past, and I know that the past throws such a large shadow into the present and upon the future that to dispel it entirely the sun must be mounted very high. But so much I must state with fervent joy, that upon the whole the image which the reality in England present bears upon it at every step such a seal of greatness, teeming with rich life, and so solid in foundation, that it far exceeds even such expectations as were mine; and the thing which most strikes the observer in the midst of your glorious country is that he meets in moral, material, and political respects, such elements of a continual progress towards perfection; and these elements display such a mighty, free, and cheerful activity, and these activities so lively, pervaded by the public spirit of the people, that however great the triumphs may be which England already has to show to the astonished world (and great they are to be sure, gigantic they are—things called wonders in past histories shrink to pigmies in comparison with them), every man instinctively feels that all these triumphs of progress are but a degree—great to be sure, but still only a degree—to what it will be the happy and glorious lot of posterity to see in this country. (*Hear, hear.*)"

And when he looked round and saw the names on the walls, names which recalled the memory of his down trodden native land, he uttered one of the finest bursts of eloquence, rounded off with as grand a climax as we remember.

"The root of his life was not in himself; his individuality was absorbed in the thought,—freedom, people, fatherland! What was the key of the boundless confidence which his people bore to him? They took him for the incarnation of their sentiments, wishes, affections, hopes. (*Hear, hear.*) Was it not, then, natural that the sufferings of his nation should be embodied in him? Yes, he bore the woe of millions of Magyars in his breast. (*Hear, hear.*) The people—that mighty pyramid of mankind—the people was everywhere honourable, noble, and good. (*Hear, hear.*) Even in view of the greatness of the English nation, he must be allowed to proclaim that he felt proud to be a Magyar. (*Hear, hear.*) Their enemies said they were but an insignificant party, fanaticised by himself. They stirred up to the fury of civil war the Croat, Serb, Slovak, Wallach; the house of Hapsburg brought its power to bear, but still it would not do; the proud dynasty had to stoop at the feet of the Czar for his legions, and still Hungary would have been a match for him, but for the diplomacy which contrived to introduce treason. (*Hear, hear.*) Still, it was not a mere party, and it might be judged then how it would be when all these Croats, Wallachians, Serbs, Slovaks, should range under one banner of freedom and right. (*Hear, hear.*) And assuredly they would. (*Hear.*) Humanity with its child's faith might be deluded for a while, but the blindfold soon fell from the eyes. (*Hear, hear.*) So then the scorned 'party' turned out to be a nation. (*Hear.*) But it was said it was he (M. Kossuth) who inspired it. No, it was not he who inspired the Hungarian people; it was the Hungarian people who inspired him. (*Hear, hear.*) Whatever he thought and felt was but a feeble pulsation which in the breast of his people beat. (*Hear, hear.*) The glory of battles was ascribed to the leaders in history, and theirs were the laurels of immortality; they knew they would for ever live on the lips of their people. Very different the light spread on the image of those thousands of the people's sons who knew that where they fell they would lie, their names unhonoured and unsung, and who still, animated by the love of freedom and fatherland, went on calmly against the batteries whose cross-fire vomited death and destruction on them, they who fell falling with the shout, 'Hurrah for Hungary!' (*Hear, hear.*) And so they died by thousands, the unnamed demigods. (*A burst of cheering.*) Such was the people of Hungary. (*Renewed cheers.*)"

Among many fine things he said we quote these few:

"The tongue of man is powerful enough to render the ideas which the human intellect conceives, but in the realm of true and deep sentiments it is but a weak interpreter."

"Humanity has a nobler destiny than to be the footstool of some families."

"What could be the meaning of this sympathy? Was it only a funeral feast offered to the memory of a noble dead? God forbid; the people of England was the people of life—its sympathy belonged to the living, not to the dead. The hurrah which greeted him on these shores, the warm cheering of hundreds of thousands in the streets, he took for the trumpet sound of the approaching triumph of freedom, justice, and popular rights."

"He had the firm conviction that every state's organization was perverted, perverse, and doomed to be turned up, where single individuals or single classes had the pretension to constitute the broad basis of the society. Mankind had but one single aim; it was—mankind itself; and that aim had but a single instrument—mankind again."

"In the words of one of the Viennese politicians, they were told that Austria 'did not expect the Magyars to be contented—all they wanted was that they should pay.' Yes. The House of Austria would not be loved, but it would have pay. Well, Hungary would pay them all it owed."

"What is Austria? The loans, bayonets, the Czar,—that is all!"

"I confidently affirm that there is not a single question in your internal relations which outweighs in importance your external relations; nay, more, I am persuaded that all your great internal questions are dependent upon your Foreign-office. Danger can only gather over England from abroad."

His last words were these:—

"To be sure, I have not the pretension to play the part of Anacharsis Kloods, before the Convention of France. Humble as I am, still I am no Anacharsis Kloods; but my sufferings and the nameless woes of my native land, as well as the generous reception I enjoy, may, perhaps, entitle me to intreat you, gentlemen, to take the feeble words I raise to you out of the bottom of my own desolation for the cry of oppressed humanity, crying out to you by every stammering tongue, 'People of England, do not forget in thy happiness our sufferings. Mind, in thy freedom, those who are oppressed; mind, in thy proud security, the indignities we endure. Remember that with every down-beaten nation one rampart of liberty falls. Remember the fickleness of human fate. Remember that those wounds out of which one nation bleeds, are so many wounds inflicted on that principle of liberty which makes thy glory and thy happiness. Remember, there is a common tie which binds the destiny of humanity. Be thanked for the tear of compassion thou givest to our mournful past; but have something more than a tear, have in our future a brother's hand to give us.'"

All the company stood up and cheered for many minutes as Kossuth sat down.

M. Kossuth's speech was succeeded by one from Mr. Toulmin Smith, the barrister, upon the Hungarian wrongs. He said, he hoped that all parents present that night would teach their children next morning that Kossuth was the Alfred of Hungary. He concluded by proposing "The Future of Hungary."

The toast was drunk with great enthusiasm.

M. Pulzsky acknowledged the toast, and, in so doing, inveighed against the *Times*.

Mr. Scholefield, M.P., proposed "the health of Mr. George Dawson." (*The proposition was received with loud cheers.*)

Mr. Dawson, in returning thanks, said, that whatever any person might say to the contrary, Birmingham was the most democratic town in England. (*Loud cheers.*) That would ever be the case to the end of the chapter. (*Cheers.*) They might rely upon it that the proceedings of that day would teach the people to look in the first place to themselves.

The proceedings did not terminate until past twelve o'clock. Altogether a very striking exhibition of the English people. Perhaps, as the old banner of the "Political Union" formed part of the procession on Monday, the old spirit of the political union will arise among the people.

ADDRESS FROM BRIGHTON.

The high constable of Brighton, Mr. Montagu Scott, convened a meeting pursuant to a requisition signed by 125 inhabitants, on Tuesday evening. On the platform were Mr. William Coningham, Arnold Ruge, and other gentlemen. Mr. Coningham moved the adoption of the address. He denounced the Whig method of practising nonintervention, and he pointed out the fact that America and England were ready to combine in defence of violated liberty. From his own personal experience he testified to the extreme popularity of Kossuth in Hungary. The meeting was subsequently addressed by Dr. Ruge, Mr. Hilton, Mr. Cox, Mr. Allen, and Mr. Good. The address, which passed unanimously, and which the high constable and Mr. Coningham were appointed to present, was worded as follows:—

"TO LOUIS KOSSUTH, GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY.

"To you, Sir, as the national representative of the ancient constitutional kingdom of Hungary, and elected governor by the suffrages of its free and enlightened people; as the man who could proudly assert amidst the assembled delegates of the working classes of the English metropolis, that 'he had lived his whole life by his own honest and industrious labour,' we, the inhabitants of the Borough of Brighton, and Hundred of Whalesbone, assembled in public meeting in our Townhall, under the presidency of our chief Municipal Officer, desire respectfully to offer our sincere congratulations on your safe arrival in Britain, and to assure you of our warmest sympathy in the cause, not merely of Hungarian independence, but also of Italian, German, and indeed of

European liberty, which is inseparably bound up with the moral and material interests of all free and civilized nations.

"Before your departure for the United States of America, we trust that you will accept our earnest and hearty good wishes for your prosperous voyage out, and speedy return to your native land. May you be wafted by fair winds and on smooth waters to the hospitable shores of that New World, which has been peopled in a great measure by the descendants of those Pilgrim Fathers, who, like yourself, became exiles and wanderers, rather than submit to despotism, and who appear to have been destined, like yourself perhaps in the Old World, to found a mighty republic, in which the principles of civil and religious liberty and equality should form the common and sacred bond of union; principles which impart to all free peoples that invincible strength and indomitable courage which are the only sure defence against domestic tyranny, or foreign aggression.

"In conclusion, we would say to you and to your heroic Hungarian brothers in the spirit-stirring words of the Latin poet:—

"Vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus."

AT HANOVER-SQUARE.

The meeting for the presentation of the addresses of the metropolitan boroughs, was held on Thursday, at the Hanover-square Rooms. This was a middle class demonstration—representing a million and a half of persons according to their own estimate. Great crowds besieged the place, and all orderly arrangements were set aside. Spectators got places where they could and how they could. Not even the ladies were cared for—but that is nothing new in an English crowd either at a public meeting, the opera, or a concert. The room of course was speedily crammed. The platform was well raised, and behind it was the Star-Spangled Banner in loving proximity to the Union Jack and the Tricolor of Hungary. Lord Dudley Stuart occupied the chair; and with him, beside metropolitan notabilities, were Mr. J. A. Smith, M.P., Mr. W. Williams, M.P., and Mr. Collins, M.P. The entrance of M. and Madame Kossuth was the signal for a burst of genuine English cheers.

Lord Dudley Stuart first addressed the meeting, and the gist of his speech was the wrongfulness and uselessness of nonintervention as practised by our Government, and the worse than ridiculous waste of sympathy which ended in words. He was disposed to illustrate this by an instance.

"I was one day taking a walk in the Green-park. As I passed along I observed two little boys who had got into a dispute and a fight. One, I think, wanted to take away the other's cap, and they set to work—(laughter)—as little English boys are apt to do—to have a tussle for it. One of them was getting rather the worst of it; and it happened that just then he saw a fellow whom he knew, who was a good deal bigger than himself, though he was but a boy, and he called out to him, 'I say, Bill, no, I don't think that was his name—I think he said, 'I say, Nick—(great laughter)—Nick, come and help me.' (Renewed laughter.) And Nick was going to help him. I saw that this was very unfair. You know that if there be a phrase in the world that goes home to an Englishman's heart it is the short one, 'fair play.' I said to this great big bully of a boy—(shouts of laughter)—who was going to interfere, 'No, we'll have fair-play; you shan't interfere with that boy.' The boy looked at me, but though he was a good big bully of a boy, of course he wasn't a match for a man—(great laughter and cheering)—and so he slunk away. ('Hear' and renewed laughter.) But now, do you think that if I had said to that great, nasty, cowardly boy—(renewed laughter)—'Don't interfere between those two boys; but, mind, whatever you do I shan't touch you—I shall remain quiet,'—do you think my thus saying 'stop' would have had the least effect upon him? (Laughter.) Well, now make the application. (Cheers.)"

The next point in his speech is of some importance, and is a complete answer to those who make it a grievous charge against Kossuth that he is a Republican.

"When people say to me, 'Oh, you are not going to support constitutional liberty, but a republic,' I reply first, 'Well, I am not frightened at the idea of a republic.' (Hear, hear.) Ladies and gentlemen, do not misunderstand me. (Hear, hear.) I am deeply attached to the constitution of my country. (Cheers.) I think there could not be a better constitution for this country; and I should be as ready as any man, if need were—though, by God's blessing, there is no such need, and I trust there never will be—to come forward and shed my blood in defence of that constitution. I do not pretend to say that he is right in holding that there ought to be a republic in Hungary, nor do I pretend to say that he is wrong. (Hear, hear.) I do not profess to know; it is sufficient for me to know what is good for my country. What I do say, what I do know, is, that there ought to be independence in his country of all other countries; and, reverencing as I do the people, and steadfastly believing that there is no other source of legitimate power than the people (cheers), what I wish to see in Hungary is, not a republic nor a monarchy, but I wish to see the country completely independent, and possessing such a system of government as shall meet the wants and wishes of the people. (Cheers.) Louis Kossuth represents those principles; and as long as he does that, I care not what others may do; others may do as they think proper, I will stand by him. (Loud cheers.)"

When Lord Dudley Stuart sat down, the addresses were presented from Marylebone, Westminster,

Southwark, Lambeth, and Finsbury; and also an address from the Women of England, signed by upwards of 40,000, which was read by Mr. J. A. Smith, M.P.

Kossuth delivered an extempore reply to the addresses; the novel point in it being his special response to the Women of England represented there.

"You must allow me to answer the ladies first, because politeness and the warm sentiments they have expressed require me to do so. (Hear, hear.) Ladies, you have a glorious lot assigned to you by destiny—(hear, hear)—for the Author of Nature has decreed that every man, whomsoever he may be, whatever his condition, whatever his fate, should bear throughout his life the seal which the angelic hand of a mother has impressed upon him. (Loud cheers.) The ladies of a country mirror its character. (Cheers.) They are our refuge from the cares of life; and when we fall into adversity, where do we withdraw for consolation, but to you and to your sympathies? I speak as I found them. (Vehement cheering.) And if the struggle for a noble cause is unhappily surrounded with difficulties unforeseen, where is the source from which man draws new strength? Your approbation, ladies, your smile. (Cheers.) God bless you, ladies, for having given me this approbation. Here I swear before you and the Almighty God that you have added strength to my strength, and that I will go on in my work, to the last moment of my life, truly, honestly, and energetically."

Another point was the decided way in which Kossuth dealt with the peace-at-any-price policy of the Peace Association; introduced by a humorous allusion to Lord Dudley Stuart's story of the boys.

"What benefit has Hungary derived from this sympathy? (Hear, hear.) Why has she had none? Because to the big boy was not spoken the sentence, 'Thou shalt not do it.' (Cheers.) Had Nick—(laughter)—been told that in time, had the sympathy of England in the time thus bestirred itself, I confidently state, and history will approve my words, that it would not have cost England a single shilling or a single drop of blood, and Hungary would now be independent and free. (Cheers.) We want help; sympathy alone can produce no effect. What I want is, not to see England take up arms and to go and fight for Hungary—we will fight for ourselves if it be our destiny. (Cheers.) To fight I consider not as a glory, but as a misfortune—(hear, hear)—but still there are duties in the life of a man, and duties in the life of nations, under which the misfortune is far, far less than oppression. (Cheers.) There are cases in which it becomes obedience to the law of God, in which it becomes obedience to the law of nations, in which it becomes a duty, to fight. (Hear.)"

At the finish of the meeting, three cheers were given for Mr. Andrews of Southampton, who has again been elected Mayor.

In the evening a large company assembled to dance at Guildhall for Polish-Hungarian liberty. Kossuth appeared there, and was received with almost regal honours. A trumpet announced his entrance; he was followed by vast numbers, and escorted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; finally he stood on the dais, the company defiled before him, bowing in respect. There was a deal of hand shaking, a serious thing when you have to shake hands with a People, and that people sturdy England. On his departure Kossuth was again cheered most heartily.

PIMLICO WORKING BUILDERS' ADDRESS.

The following address from the Pimlico Working Builders' Association was presented by Mr. Edmund Stallwood:—

"TO LOUIS KOSSUTH, GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY.

"ESTEEMED SIR,—We, the Pimlico Working Builders' Association,—a body of working men banded together for the purpose of abolishing wages slavery, and elevating the labourer to the true dignity of manhood, thereby raising the condition of the toiling masses, mentally, morally, socially, and politically,—have read with deep interest the accounts of the many struggles of the Hungarian People to free themselves from the Austrian yoke; have rejoiced with them in their days of success, and wept with them in their nights of adversity.

"Noble Kossuth! with what delight did we read of your striking off the fetters from four millions of slaves! When we read of your being proclaimed Governor of Hungary, how fervid were our aspirations for your continuance as President of the true Republic of the Magyar race! How sincerely we wept when treachery again sold your glorious nation into the hands of the enemies of Hungary and of the human race! We thank the Turk for preserving thee from the ruthless hands of both Kaiser and Czar.

"We hold out to thee our toilworn hands, we extend to thee the homage of warm hearts, and cordially welcome thee to the Isle of Albion; and trust thou wilt here find a secure resting-place until that day, not far distant, when the Nations shall again rise, and, in the majesty of their might, sweep despots and despotism from the face of the earth. Then, we trust, thou wilt return to the beloved land of thy birth the chosen ruler of a great, glorious, happy, and free people.

"Signed, on behalf of the Pimlico Working Builders' Association, by the Managing Council:—

JOHN C. NOTTAGE. JOHN NAYSON.
WILLIAM STEVENS. T. SIMPSON.
B. J. KEARNEY. E. STALLWOOD.
CHARLES SKATES.

BARNABAS JENNINGS, Manager.
WILLIAM POND, Secretary.

"Done at their Office, Bridge-row, Pimlico, in the city of Westminster, this 8th day of November, 1851."

ADDRESS OF THE FRENCH PROSCRITS.

The following is the address presented to Kossuth by the French proscribers:—

"London, September 21, 1851.

"Citizen,—We are republicans, revolutionists, socialists; and consequently we are not attracted towards you by either the éclat of your title or the renown of your name. That which we come to salute in your person is the heroism of your country, the justice of its cause, and the nature of your misfortune. The Government of Louis Bonaparte has refused you passage upon the soil of France, and you have proclaimed that this refusal, full of shame, came not to you from France: we thank you for it. We felicitate you, above all, upon your letter to the city of Marseilles. In associating yourself with the great cry of 'Vive la République,' you have by that single act proclaimed the solidarity of peoples. You have declared yourself of the party of those who suffer throughout the world; of all those who are oppressed; of all those whom the cosmopolitan genius of revolution will set free. Many efforts will be made, much homage will be addressed to you, with the object of detaching you from the democratic cause. Enable us to hope that these efforts will be vain, and that the meaning of this homage will be comprehended by you. Then only you can write to the two Emperors who have made so glorious a fortune for you, that which Luther (condemned at Worms) wrote to Charles V., 'Our cause is that of all the earth.'

"Babut, workman; Barthélemy, working mechanician, proscriber; Bauer, working tailor; Bernard, proscriber; Bidet, watchmaker; Louis Blanc, ex-member of the Provisional Government, proscriber; Boura, painter, proscriber of 1832; Charles, combattant of June, 1832; Darcachy, accountant; Denis, cook; Devick, tailor; Dubois, surgeon; Duverrier, physician, proscriber; Frassart, optician; Gragnon, tailor; Heitzmann, representative of the people, proscriber; Hémond, ex-captain of the Eighth Legion, proscriber; Herzog, tailor, proscriber; Landolphe, representative of the people, proscriber; Leballeur-Villiers, waiter, proscriber; Lénars, ex-Captain of the Twelfth Legion, proscriber; Lemeille, working cabinet-maker, proscriber; Lemerrier, tailor; Liaz Bonceur, barrister, proscriber; Lionne, ex-delegate of the corporations of workmen, proscriber; Mikulowski, professor, proscriber; Montbrun, Count, ex-Captain of the Ninth Hussars, proscriber; Morre, workman, proscriber; Paget-Lupicin, writer, proscriber; Pathé, workman; Percy, curate of the parish of Acon, proscriber; Pitalowski, proscriber; Robillard, ex-director of the Populaire, proscriber; Seigneuret, barrister, proscriber; Senechal, bronzist, proscriber; Sorgeus, shoemaker; Subit, engraver; Suireau, tailor, proscriber; Shanly, agriculturist, proscriber; Vallot, workman; Vassel, cavalry officer, proscriber; Vermeulen, tailor; Willaumez, workman; Zichon, author, proscriber."

The preceding address had been written and signed on the 21st of September, before the arrival of Kossuth in England. It was on the 31st of October only that it was presented to him in London. Kossuth received with much affability M. Barthélemy, who had been commissioned to meet him in the name of those who signed the address.

The following song, written for the occasion by Mr. T. H. Gill, was sung at the Birmingham banquet.

(AIR,—*"Scots wha hae."*)

Hearts ablaze with Freedom's fires,
English hearts, whose Hero-sires
Breathed no weak and vain desires
That ye might be free;
Think upon the world in chains!
Mark each noble nation's pains;
Idly sing not Freedom's strains;
Set the captives free.

More than tears the nations lend;
More than scorn the tyrants send;
More than bootless pity spend
On dear Hungary.
Shall unscathed the tyrant smite
Freedom's fair and holy right?
Shall the deadly Musovite
Earth's fell master be?

As ye list to Kossuth's word,
Be your souls sublimely stirred;
On you be the spirit poured
That the world shall free.
Hide not your blest light divine;
Help the darkened world to shine;
Help it your true gifts to join,
Peace and Liberty.

MR. O'CONNOR AND THE KOSSUTH DEMONSTRATION.

As some discussion has arisen relative to the treatment of Mr. O'Connor at Copenhagen-fields and Highbury-barn, our readers will find the facts in the following letters:—

"Glasgow, November 11, 1851.

"DEAR SIR,—In the report which appeared in *Remond's Newspaper*, of the 8th instant, of the meeting in honour of Kossuth, you are represented as having endeavoured to exclude from the committee-room Feargus O'Connor, and you are accused of having, to effect that object, told a lie by stating that Kossuth had said he would leave the room if Feargus O'Connor was allowed to enter.

"Although I have no doubt that you are misrepresented in this matter, I yet take the liberty of suggesting to you the propriety of giving an explanation of this affair, more especially as I find that some of our Democratic friends here, who place great reliance on the reports of that paper, are very wroth with you in consequence.—I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

"JAMES WATT."

November 13, 1851.

"DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged to you for your manly and direct appeal. I am aware that my conduct has undergone the usual fate attending public men. Perhaps the working classes have begun to show a confidence in me which may be regarded as inconvenient by some who dislike any competitor for popular favour. If such persons there are, they may lay aside their fears: I compete with no man. In dealing with any man, or any party, I act solely for the specified objects in view, without regard to other objects or other persons.

"I have made it a rule in private life, and I intend to adhere to the same rule in public, never to defend myself. I will give you my reasons for that rule. My conduct is always dictated either by my sense of what is right and reasonable, or by my own inclination; but in either case it is very idle for a man to expect that others will adopt his judgment as their own; yet, to defend yourself is to attempt to persuade others into adopting your own view of your conduct. I desire to leave the judgment of others free: I have seldom much deference for an opinion opposed to my own resolve already formed, and have no value for any approval that is not perfectly spontaneous. The most that I can do, if it is needed, is to inform others what my conduct has been.

"As the newspaper to which you refer never falls within the range of my reading, I do not know what may be its claims to the confidence of the working classes. If there are any men who have formed a judgment on the statement of one side, I have no desire to gain their judgment over to my side: it can scarcely be worth having. But I can never withhold information from one who makes so frank an appeal as you do, in so excellent a spirit.

"I do not consider myself at liberty to state all that passed in the preliminary arrangements of the Kossuth demonstration; and as I withhold some particulars, I am quite willing to remain under the responsibility from which the statement of those particulars would exonerate me. I will add that, even if I could obtain licence to state those particulars, I do not think it worth while to do so. I will give you quite materials enough for making your own judgment, and have not the slightest wish to 'conciliate' a verdict.

"I was made aware that, if Mr. Feargus O'Connor were to take a recognized or prominent part in the demonstration organized by the Central Committee, M. Kossuth would not accord us his presence. I heartily agreed in the propriety of that determination on the part of M. Kossuth. I refer you to the reports in the papers for what passed at Southampton to warrant the reluctance to act on the same ground with Mr. Feargus O'Connor. I refer you to language uttered by Mr. O'Connor at the Kossuth meetings in Finsbury and in the South London-hall—detailed allusions to the person of the Sovereign against which the person of any woman ought to be sacred. I refer you to the conduct of Mr. O'Connor at the Highbury-barn banquet—his placing a chair on the table and sitting there, and passing his arms round M. Louis Blanc. Those public facts, in my estimation, are sufficient to show that he does not retain sufficient self-control to take part in proceedings of a public and formal nature. M. Kossuth did not require Mr. O'Connor's exclusion from the room, and I never said that he did. M. Kossuth dictated no details nor particular arrangements. It was for such reasons as those which I have indicated, that I invited the committee to consider the mode in which we could secure the decorum of the proceedings, in a manner the least vexatious to the individual, but effective for the purpose. The deliberation of the committee ultimately led to the plan adopted,—that of admitting only those to whom tickets had been given, by name. The committee took that course unanimously. On the Monday, to avoid a disturbance which might have marred, though it could not have defeated, the glorious demonstration of that day, I took upon myself to depart from the orders of the committee, and to admit Mr. O'Connor, on the promise which he gave, and in which a friend of his joined, that he should take no part in the proceedings. The committee have since adopted a resolution approving of my conduct at Copenhagen-house.

"Such are the facts. I will add to the naked statement but a few observations. I have been told by more than one leader of the political party to which Mr. Feargus O'Connor belongs, that what was done was right in itself, but that it ought to have been done 'under the rose,' privately. I object to doing things under the rose; I decline, for my own part, to proceed in any but a perfectly open and direct manner. I have been told that 'you cannot act so, to such a man;' and that the conduct which seems to me so objectionable must be tolerated for the sake of the past. I do not understand how any man can acquire a vested right to assist in public proceedings one instant after his assistance is *useful*. I have no personal feeling in the matter. Mr. O'Connor is not among my personal friends, I have no associations that bind me to him. I have defended him from charges connected with his land scheme; I have recognized the *heartiness* of his public service; I never thought him otherwise than a foolish man, detrimental to the popular cause. It is now painful to witness that which his friends insist upon his right to keep before the public; and I do not understand how any man of good feeling, to say nothing of democratic opinion, can recognize such a right. Secure the comfort of an old public servant in every possible way,—let his friends exert themselves in that behalf, and strangers will help them, even those who have formerly refused to admit that his services were of the best. But I deny the *right* of any man to be recognized as a public servant, an instant after he ceases to be useful.

"I do not understand this murmur of personal considerations which I hear around me. I deal only with the body of the working classes; I avow my opinions, in economy, in politics, in religion, without reserve or qualification; if my countrymen of the working class

think me useful, they will trust me so long as my actions are of an useful kind; if they thine otherwise, they will leave me. I have to thank them, indeed, for many tokens of personal confidence; I have formed among them many personal friendships which will outlast any turns of fortune; but the tenure of public confidence must rest on a sterner rule than personal regard. If I am thought harsh in my view, I do not wish to be thought otherwise. The interests of the people have been played with too long. I will not join in the game. Usefulness to the public, advancement of public objects—those are the only things which I regard. As I have done in the past, I shall continue to do in the future—I hope with more efficiency as mutual experience enables my political friends and myself to understand each other more thoroughly.

"Again, my dear Sir, let me thank you for the kind and manly directness of your appeal.

"Yours, most sincerely, THORNTON HUNT."

KOSSUTH DEMONSTRATION COMMITTEE.

The subjoined resolution was passed at a meeting of the Kossuth Demonstration Committee on Thursday night.

"That, a question having been raised respecting the proceedings at Copenhagen-house on the 3rd instant, the following statement of facts be recorded, and forwarded to the newspapers.

"The sole object of the Committee in the arrangements for Monday, the 3rd instant, was to make the demonstration as effective, and therefore as orderly, as possible.

"The Committee knew that Mr. O'Connor's conduct could not be relied upon; as his behaviour on previous and recent occasions proved that his actions were not under his own control.

"The Committee had had assurances that M. Kossuth objected to receiving an address if Mr. Feargus O'Connor took part in the proceedings, and the Committee made their arrangements accordingly.

"On the 10th instant the Committee passed a resolution approving of the conduct of the Chairman on the 3rd instant.

"A. E. DELAFORCE, Financial Secretary."

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

The majority, by the mouth of their reporter, M. N. Daru, have rejected the proposition for the repeal of the law of the 31st of May. The tenor of this sophistical apology for a law of enmity and provocation may be judged from one sentence, which affirms that "Universal Suffrage consists in the generality of those in whom the law recognizes the capacity of electors"; in other words, that a great principle is to be interpreted according to the whim of a reactionist majority, by an *ex post facto* expedient, and that an article of the Constitution, the law of laws, may be set aside by a measure of exceptional rancour, under the subterfuge of *moralization*. The report states that no measure has contributed more to the cause of order than the limitation of the suffrage; that it was a law of morality; that it excludes from the ballot none but houseless vagabonds or criminals, so that we are to believe that 3,200,000 of the population of France are in one or other of these categories. If it has done so much for the cause of "Order," how is it that every succeeding Ministry has adopted a severer policy of compression, and has resorted to acts of the most arbitrary violence on the plea of the "public safety"; that nine departments are in a state of siege; the ordinary tribunals superseded; the whole country a network of police spies and gendarmerie; every kind of liberty suspended; Paris garrisoned by an army of occupation; and, in fine, the actual situation of affairs more revolutionary and more threatening than we have seen since December '48? The truth remains that the law of the 31st of May, intended to be a *reply* of the Parliamentary reactionist majority to the Electoral republican majority who had returned three Socialist candidates for Paris, was a revolutionary act; an act of defiance, an appeal *from right to force*.

The hesitation and inconsistency of the majority in this emergency which their own blind obstinacy, as well as the President's initiative, and the reserve of the Republican party, has created, appear in a shy and furtive promise of modifications:—of "ameliorations, which justice may recommend and experience shall have indicated." Under cover of these *ameliorations* do the majority think to reserve the chance of a prudent retreat, without loss of dignity? The report says, that to consent to complete abrogation would be a guilty weakness; to sacrifice the guarantee of a three years' residence would be equivalent to abrogation. It, therefore, concludes for the maintenance of the principle, reserving the possibility of introducing modifications through the new communal law.

All the weakness of a capitulation with all the perils of obstinacy: such is this report. The Republican opposition accepts of nothing less than entire restoration of universal suffrage. The Message of the President deprives the law of limited suffrage, of all moral force, of all possibility of application. It throws the whole weight of unpopularity, and the whole responsibility of events, upon the Legislative majority. In order to protest more significantly against the execution of the law of the 31st of May,

the electors of Paris are convoked for the last of this month. As the election to fill the vacant seat of General Magnan might have been legally adjourned to January next, suspicions of the President's sincerity in desiring to reestablish universal suffrage were naturally excited by this unusual precipitation. But an article in the *Bulletin de Paris*, an official Bonapartist journal, recommends this election as a fit occasion for a decisive protest against limited suffrage by a general abstention from voting. All the Republican committees had resolved upon strict abstention; the fusion of the Bonapartist in a similar policy looks like a thorough determination to break with the majority, but as from one day to another the Ministry disavows the President and the President the Ministry, and the Assembly both; whilst the reactionist fury of the Government continues unabated, and the intemperance of M. Louis Napoleon's *imperial* addresses to the military increases in virulence, we are at a loss to conjecture the upshot of the hostilities of the Assembly and the Executive growing daily more intense as the crisis of their fate approaches. The majority, composed of the Bourbon factions (the few Bonapartist adventurers having changed sides) are united only in the suppression of liberties. They do not even maintain an upright and honest position of dignity and independence. To-day a hasty and unprovoked measure of aggression against the Executive, conceived in trepidation and insolent defiance; to-morrow, when the Ministry is challenged on the fact that a representative of the people has been insulted and assaulted by the gendarmes, an utter indifference to the principle of inviolability and to the majesty of the Assembly attacked in the person of one of its members; tacit connivance with the Executive, and the "order of the day," because the insulted member is a Republican. If there could be any chance of success for a coup d'état it would be in the disgraceful weakness and violence, the utter absence of patriotism, and the factious insolence of the majority of the Assembly.

What anarchy can equal the sayings and doings of the chiefs of the Party of Order? M. Louis Napoleon, stung by the Assembly, makes a flaming harangue to the officers of the regiments lately arrived in Paris, on the anniversary of the 18th of Brumaire.

"Gentlemen,—In receiving the officers of the different regiments of the army who succeed each other in the garrison of Paris, I congratulate myself on seeing them animated with that spirit which was our glory, and which now constitutes our security. I will not speak to you, therefore, either of your duties or of discipline. You have always performed your duties with honour, whether in the land of Africa, or the soil of France; and you have always maintained discipline intact in the midst of the most difficult trials. I hope that these trials will not return; but if the gravity of circumstances should renew them, and compel me to make an appeal to your devotedness, I am sure that I should not be disappointed, because you know that I demand nothing that is not in accord with my right (recognized by the constitution), with military honour, and with the interests of the country; because I have placed at your head men who have my entire confidence, and who merit yours; because if ever the day of danger should arrive, I will not do as the governments which have preceded me have done; I will not say to you, 'March, and I will follow you,' but I will say to you, 'I march, follow me.'"

The officers presented to the President were to the number of 500 or 600. They met at the Tuileries, and marched thence through the Champs Elysées to the Elysée, and thence to the Ministry of War.

"March and follow me." These words, in the mouth of a man who has no power to command "four men and a corporal," are sufficiently absurd. Where on earth will he lead his soldiers, unless it be to the conquest of sausages and champagne, as on the plains of Satory? Anarchy! Anarchy!

The persecutions of the press have redoubled in violence with the new Ministry. *La Révolution* is sacrificed to the manes of Carlier.

Eugène Baresté of *La République* (than whom a purer and more temperate journalist does not exist), is consigned to prison for having inserted on the faith of a subscriber a paragraph of false news, which he had hastened to rectify on discovery. Yet the reactionary journals *invented* the massacre of gendarmes by Socialists, *invented* a jacquerie, &c., with impunity.

Provincial journals and Republican almanacks *en masse*, are seized and prosecuted.

At the opening of a new Orchestral Society, some stanzas by Victor Hugo, written for the occasion, were to be recited. They are in praise of art, and peace, and liberty. Unfortunately the last stanza contains an allusion to Italy, Hungary, and Poland. This is enough for the protégé of Nicholas. After an hour and a half's waiting a *Commissaire de Police* interdicts the recitation. Imagine Walter Savage Landor's noble Ode to Kossuth forbidden at Birmingham! Such is French liberty in 1851!

As for French national honour, a letter from Vienna of November 7 says:

"The influential personages in Paris, to whose exertions Austria is indebted for the discourteous treatment of Kossuth in Marseilles, are about to receive the reward their conduct merits at the hands of this Government."

The very first act of the Emperor on his return from Galicia was to append his signature to two decrees conferring the order of Leopold on M. de Hubner, the Austrian chargé in Paris, and on M. Carlier, the ex-police Minister. It must be admitted that these personages have well deserved the honour thus accorded them; perhaps it may soften the ill-humour into which their general unpopularity has thrown them. It certainly will not diminish the latter."

A list of sentences published by the court-martial sitting at Este contains ten of death by powder and ball, twelve of twenty years' imprisonment in heavy irons, four of eighteen, and three of fifteen years' hard labour on the fortifications.

A Polish journal, the *Czas* of Cracow, of the 5th, contains the following:—

"His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, taking into consideration the services which M. Léon Faucher has rendered to the cause of order, has directed that his brother-in-law, M. Wolowski, shall receive the sum and interest thereon arising from the sale of the property of the Wolowski family, situated in Poland."

Some idea of the financial position of Austria may be formed from the following extract from a letter of the Vienna correspondent of the *Times*, dated the 9th instant, which appears in Friday's second edition of our contemporary:—

"In November, 1850, most people here believed that a war with Prussia was inevitable, and when, on the 6th of that month, a very warlike article appeared in the *Wiener Zeitung*, exchange on London rose to 12½ 4kr.; the premium on gold was 29½ per cent., and on silver 21½ per cent. On the 8th appearances were still more threatening, and London was done at 12½ 56kr.; gold stood at 32½ per cent. premium, and silver at 24½ per cent. Since that time Austria has not only contracted two loans—the Italian, and that which has just been completed—but she has received considerable sums in hard cash from Sardinia. On the 6th of November, 1851, London was quoted at 12½ 33kr., gold at 31½ per cent., and silver at 24½ per cent. Yesterday, the 8th, the nominal price of London bills was 12½ 53kr., gold was at 32½ per cent., and silver at 27½ per cent. premium; but neither the one nor the other was to be had at these prices. As you may suppose, every one is terribly alarmed at this sad state of things, and perhaps no one more than the Finance Minister himself. About a week since the Ministerial organs attempted to calm the fears of the great public by attributing the rising tendency of the precious metals to unprincipled stock-jobbing, but for the last few days they have observed a total silence on the subject. It is rumoured that an Imperial finance ordinance is about to be published, but I confess that I am not sanguine as to its producing any good results."

What is the meaning of all these mystifications? A letter from Vienna dated the 7th of November, we find:—

"A telegraphic despatch from London arrived a day or two ago, to the effect that the *Globe* newspaper gave the lie to the statement in the *Reichszeitung* respecting an apologetic note of Lord Palmerston's, addressed to this Court, wherein his lordship expressed a determination to stand aloof from Kossuth and all the demonstrations made for him, and to take measures as soon as possible for putting down the Kossuth agitation. The ministerial paper has an article to day persisting in its former assertion respecting that note, and is manifestly reluctant to withdraw a statement dictated to it for reasons that are best known to persons in the background."

Austria is governed by courts martial:—

"The extent of jurisdiction of these courts martial is really frightful. The greatest political and criminal crimes, the most venial offences, persons of all classes and all ages, are under these tribunals. If an individual be suspected of high treason, of compassing the death of the Emperor or the overthrow of his Government, he is tried by a court martial; if he beats his neighbour, or anybody else, he is tried by the same court martial; if he neglects to bow when the Emperor or any member of the royal family passes him in the streets, he is tried by a court martial; if he insults a policeman by words merely, he is tried by court martial; if he sings a political song, he is tried by court martial; if he sells a Klapka hat, or anything like it, he is tried by a court martial; if he writes or prints anything that can be distorted into disaffection, he is tried by court martial; if the merchant on 'Change endeavours to buy foreign bills to satisfy his creditors abroad, he is tried by a court martial; if a journeyman stops work, and incites his fellows to do the same, he is tried by a court martial; if an old woman is found selling prints, or anything else, without a licence, she is tried by a court martial; if a publican harbour suspicious characters, he is tried by a court martial; in fine, courts martial are employed for almost every purpose. It is true that common cases of theft and felony are tried before the ordinary law courts; but it requires only the slightest resistance on the part of the accused to bring the case before a court martial. Bayonets in the streets, and bayonets in the judicial tribunals, can alone keep what the Government calls order and internal peace."

"The accounts of the inundations arising from the late heavy rains are very bad indeed. Great damage has been done in all parts of Styria, in Croatia, Carinthia, the Venetian provinces, and the mountainous districts of the Austrian provinces. Hardly a month has passed this summer without severe floods in several provinces. The distress of the people created by loss of crops, damage to buildings, roads, &c., must be most severe. The ensuing winter will be a bad one in every respect."

"The *German Journal* of Frankfort states that the Austrian chargé d'affaires at Washington has received from his Government the order to demand his passports, in case the President or the Government of the United

States shall officially take part in the reception of Kossuth, and also that the Minister of the United States at Vienna shall receive his passports."

There is no mistake about the "solidarity" of the despotisms.

An order of the Governor of Venice has suspended the *Lombardo Veneto*, a journal published in that city. This resolution was taken at the instance of the Austrian Consul, on account of an allusion to the visit of the Duc de Leuchtenberg to Sicily, of which the Consul disapproved. The Duc de Leuchtenberg is cousin to M. Louis Napoleon.

The Milan official *Gazette* of the 3rd instant publishes a Royal decree of the King of Naples, dissolving the National Guards throughout the kingdom.

A letter from Rome, of the 31st ultimo, states that tourists are flocking to Rome for the winter season, and that Silvio Pellico has also arrived there. It is also stated in this letter that the Court of Rome is very much against Signor Farini, the new Minister of Public Instruction at Turin, and that his nomination is likely to frustrate any attempt on the part of Piedmont to obtain a concordat.

Accounts from Lisbon of the 8th instant inclusive state that the choice of the electors who were to nominate the deputies to the Cortes had terminated in favour of the Progressistas, by a great majority. The brothers Cabral, Duke of Terceira, and Marquis of Fronteira, had not even been returned as electors for their respective parishes. Exchange on London, 53½ at 90 days.

[BY SUBMARINE TELEGRAPH.]

PARIS, Thursday, Nine P.M.—The National Assembly has rejected the law presented by the Government for the repeal of the law of the 31st of May, by a majority of 355 against 348. Majority against Government, 7.—*Morning Chronicle*.

CHURCH MATTERS.

The season of visitations and charges among our bishops has been fruitful this year. We have under our notice the first charge of the Bishop of Manchester.

Dr. Lee followed the customary form of that address. It was read in the parish church of Bolton. The points of interest for us are the movement for synods, revision of formulas, rubrics, and articles, and education.

Respecting the two former he speaks in condemnation:—

"It may be not out of place to offer a very few brief remarks on the attempts now making in various quarters to effect the alteration of our service, and to revive old assemblies, changed entirely in nature and powers, and invested with authorities hitherto unknown in a Church constituted as ours is in relation to the state, for the purpose of securing for the Church what is called independent action. While I own I don't see the probability of much success to either attempt, I cannot but think the success of either would be in the highest degree calamitous; granting that, as in all things human, there are some imperfections, and even inconsistencies, in our rubric, some things which, were we called on to reconstruct the service, we might either soften, alter, or omit, I still can recognize nothing so objectionable, nothing so susceptible of certain of improvement, as to justify the opening of the many grave and momentous questions to which any revision of our liturgy, or convocation of the early Church synods, would give rise. The late convulsion of feeling which agitated the whole kingdom, on the subject of baptismal regeneration, will sufficiently show the undesirableness of attempting to enforce stricter and more dogmatic definitions than those now used, to say nothing of the danger which would attend on altering what the experience of three centuries has shown to be enough for securing amongst us the profession of the truth, even though it may be seen in various aspects by different persons, as leading out of the appeal to Scripture as the only test of its integrity in matters appertaining to salvation."

The real difficulty in which the Church is placed, appears to me to arise mainly from a desire to adopt the counsel of those who seem to mistake the weapons and resources which, at a period like the present, it is desirable they shall have recourse to. I have alluded to the inconveniences which would, I fear, attend the revival of synodal action, inconveniences which appear to me insurmountable. Even allowing the difficulties of detail, some of which were ably and lucidly pointed out in a popular periodical a few years back, to be overcome, we have still the act of submission to contend with. We may not admit, allege, claim, or put in, or promulge any new canons, acts, constitutions, orders, provincial, or by whatsoever other name they shall be called, unless the King's most royal assent and licence may be had to make, promulge, and execute the same. Granted that the admission of laymen be conceded, who shall estimate the state of things when the qualification of constituents by whom the lay representatives should be appointed, shall be discussed; or that of the lay representatives themselves as regards the test of churchmanship. Yet even supposing this to be got over, and the royal licence obtained, in the final ratification of all we must have recourse to Parliament. There are still extant on our statute book, the several enactments by which, after the passing of the Act of Submission in 1533, the power even to tax themselves was deemed necessary to be confirmed by the Parliament until the convention between Archbishop Sheldon and Lord Clarendon, by which they obtained the elective franchise, and ceased to make grants from their temporalities. What then is our surest hope and bounden duty? To abstain from all which may tend to bring the Church into collision with the state, or set

up an *imperium in imperio*; to strive earnestly and faithfully to bring the state into closer union with the Church, by striving to render the spirit of all its institutions in all respects more Christian."

On education we have an echo of the Manchester and Salford scheme.

"Premising my opinion, that education to be useful to the individual educated or safe to the community cannot exist without religious instruction—a conviction which on other occasions I have unhesitatingly asserted—I will ask you what rights we do and do not possess on this matter as citizens and members of the Church of England? The right, as heirs of immortality, to impart to others the teachings committed to us by what means that immortality may be attained—the right as Christians, for whom Christ died, to proffer to all the Gospel of his word; the right as members of the Church of England to set before all, willing to be members of that Church, its doctrines, services, and articles in all their fulness—these are rights inalienable, and which I would never for a moment consent to impair; but we have no right, can have no right, by any law, human or divine, to force the adoption of these on any human being against their will, nor have we a right to deny to any members of the state, however poor and humble, any portion of what the state provides, because he will not take the whole. If he decline to take what is intended as unsuited to his advantage the act is his, as also is the responsibility. Thus, while I never would consent to give up the use of the Catechism, the Prayer-book, and the distinctive teaching of the Church of England in our Church schools, I would restrict their use to particular periods of the week at which I would permit the child of the Dissenter at its own and parents' peril to absent himself. I would compel him to show respect at the religious services of the school where he is allowed to go, and where he is prayed for, if unable to join in them. And the like I would require from all Dissenting schools assisted by the rate. No liberty of conscience has thus been violated."

The London Church Union on Church Matters met on Tuesday, and the usual monthly report was read. It contains nothing new, being a succinct recapitulation of what has been transacted of late. The most important sentences are those approving of the opinions lately urged by the Bishops of Gloucester, Salisbury, Oxford, and Down and Connor, in favour of the revival of Convocation; and of the Derby meeting for its decided resolutions respecting Synodical action.

THE CITY MASQUERADE.

Masquerading is decidedly *not* the forte of the gentlemen dwellers in the good city of London. They cannot "get up" a show at which the mob won't laugh. Numberless are the spectators, but then they are attracted by "the fun of the thing." It is but too true—City shows are lamentable failures.

This year the "Lord Mayor's Day" was to be celebrated with more than usual magnificence; and the programme of the procession promised the performance of some important physical impossibilities, such as "Twenty Knights in armour (three abreast)." We were to have a great display. There were to be stately representatives of the "Knight of the Sheriff of London" and the "Knight of the Sheriff of Middlesex." Besides Widdicomb was engaged—and all the stud of cream-coloured nags belonging to Batty the Magnificent. Alas, for the frailty of human nature! The Knights of the Sheriffs were too *beery* to sit their horses in a knightly fashion; and it was found that no amount of City science could get twenty knights to march "three abreast." Arithmetic revolted—declared that such a division of twenty was unconstitutional, absolutist, in short; and so the famous twenty were compelled to carry their tinfoil greaves, their saucepan helmets, and Dutch-oven-like breastplates by twos—twenty not being conveniently divisible by three.

Nevertheless, there was something like civic dignity about the Lord Mayor's carriage—which contained terrestrial and amphibious potentates—the Lord Mayor being lord of land and water. There was weight and deadly certainty, no kind of sham or mistake at all, about the Twelfth Lancers and the Band of the Life Guards. There was a familiar reality about the policemen too; but the Halberdiers and the Knights and the Esquires, even Widdicomb, great as he is in heading victorious charges at Astley's, these were felt to be mere phantasmagoria and unreality.

And so with all manner of banners bearing arms and devices, all manner of "Beadles of Worshipful Companies," Watermen with "emblazoned banners," "Pensioners bearing shields," "Wardens in their carriages," and "Masters in the chariots," the Knights, in armour of Francis I. and Henry VIII., Sheriffs, Controllers, the Recorder, the City Solicitor, the Secondaries, "Mr. Swift and his Chaplain," not forgetting the Lady Mayoress in her state carriage, nor the Lord Mayor in his state carriage, nor the "Ec. Ec. Ec." who, according to the printed programme, were to form the rear guard of the procession—this wonderful exhibition of what the City can do in the nineteenth century, passed along, on Monday, from Guildhall to London-bridge. Thence, "taking to the water" in state barges and other craft, the new Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman Hunter, proceeded to Westminster to listen to his biography from the lips of Mr. Ro-

corder Stuart Wortley, and be sworn in by the Barons of the Court of Exchequer. And this latter performance having been satisfactorily gone through by the said Barons, the procession "took the water" again at Westminster, landed at Blackfriars, and proceeded to Guildhall.

In the evening there was a gorgeous City feast, honoured by the presence of Lord John Russell and Sir Charles Wood, and signalized by the absence of all the foreign Ministers. (Where was Mr. Abbott Lawrence?) The usual toasts were drunk. Lord John Russell responded to "Her Majesty's Ministers." He eulogized everybody he mentioned, from that Lord Mayor who assassinated Wat Tyler up to the present Lord Mayor; and laying down the "peace policy" as the keystone of the policy of the Cabinet. Of course there was a deal of eating and drinking done at Guildhall, much gas consumed in illuminations, and many speeches, more or less distant from what should be said, made after dinner. And so ended the City Masquerade.

THE BOARD OF CUSTOMS AND THE DOCK COMPANY.

Greatly to the astonishment of all persons interested in commerce, the London Dock Company have surrendered to the Treasury and knuckled down to the Board of Customs. A correspondence has been published between the parties. The Dock Company, on the 29th of October, applied to the Customs for information as to whether the latter intended to proceed with the pending suits, at the same time admitting that "in respect of some of the goods under seizure there have existed legal grounds for making such seizure," "on the score of irregularity," they solicit the Board of Customs to direct that the goods under seizure may be released.

Whereupon an answer, dated November 1, is received from the Custom-house inclosing a letter dated "Treasury Chambers, November 1," and signed "C. E. Trevelyan," containing an order for the release, upon certain conditions, so hard and arrogantly expressed, that as specimens of Treasury literature they deserve reprinting:—

"My lords have no reason to doubt that all the goods in question were properly placed under detention, and that in most cases they might be prosecuted to condemnation; but the object of these proceedings was not for this purpose, or to inflict any penalties on the Dock Company, but to put a stop to those irregularities of the servants of the company in the conduct of their business, which were at direct variance with the provisions of the law, and calculated to afford facilities for fraud, and to endanger the revenue. My lords are aware that, by the proceedings which were necessary for this purpose, heavy expenses have been already incurred by the parties. My lords are glad to find that the admission of the directors of the London Dock Company, in their secretary's letter, leaves the right of the Crown to make seizures under such and similar circumstances without question, and they are willing to infer from the expression on the part of the directors of their hope that confidence and harmony may be restored between the Board of Customs and the Dock Company, and of the determination of the company to leave nothing undone for this purpose, that the company will coöperate with the Commissioners of Customs to establish such regulations for the future as may prevent a recurrence of the irregularities which have led to the present proceedings.

"My lords, on these considerations, concur with you in opinion that the objects which you have had in view will have been sufficiently attained without proceeding further to the legal condemnation of the goods, and are pleased, therefore, to sanction the release of the goods from detention, upon payment of a fine of £100, in order to mark the irregularities which have taken place; and upon the further condition that all the goods under seizure shall without delay be recorded in the Crown's books for the security of the duties thereon, and the due observance of the regulations affecting the same, for which purpose the Dock Company may be permitted to pass the necessary entries."

To this epistle the Dock Company on the 4th, returned a reply which opens with an expression of the surprise they felt on reading the above, but stating also, that they see no good in opening up a renewed discussion thereon.

"They limit themselves, therefore, in saying that, without concurring in the slightest degree in the validity of the remarks contained in the aforesaid letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, wherein a justification is sought to be advanced for the legal proceedings which have been taken against this company, wholly repudiating the imputation that it was needful to have recourse to such proceedings, in order to correct any irregularities which might have occurred on the part of the company's servants at the docks, in the correction of which the company had a common, and even a deeper interest than the Crown. Affirming, moreover, that the whole amount of these irregularities, compared with the amount of business transacted in the docks, has been utterly insignificant. Protesting against the extreme injustice of having a money fine, however unimportant in amount, added to the grievances which the company has already had most unmeritedly to encounter, and finally expressing their conviction, founded on the highest legal advice, and supported by the verdict in the Court of Exchequer, that so far from all the goods having been 'properly placed under detention,' it would have been in the power of this company to have established verdicts against the officers

of the Customs in respect to many of these seizures, they have directed the sum of £100 to be paid, in order to relieve the officers of the company from the harass of further interruption in the discharge of their duties, and the funds of the company from further dilapidation in a contest conducted on such unequal terms in respect of costs."

This is as singular an instance of an anti-climax as it is of a powerful company backed by strong legal opinion, judicial opinion, public opinion, and the verdict of an eleven days' trial flinching at the last moment, and striking their flag to the Government. The question involved has yet to be contested. It is very ignominious to protest and repudiate so valiently, and then "direct the £100 to be paid"!

ADDRESS FROM THE PEACE SOCIETY.

The Peace Society have issued the following address:—

DEAR FRIENDS,—There are conjunctures in the history of every great moral reform, which require special vigilance on the part of its friends, lest they should be insensibly led into compromising their principles and betraying their trust. These times of peril are not when their cause is violently assailed with abuse and ridicule, for it is the impulse of all conscientious and earnest minds to cleave the more tenaciously to their convictions when they are made the objects of unjust aspersion and scorn. But the chief danger is when the temptation approaches them on the side of those ardent and generous sympathies of their own nature which have so much power to beguile the understanding and mislead the judgment. Perhaps there is some reason to apprehend that through such a season of trial the friends of peace are now being called to pass. A distinguished foreigner, whose name is associated with the aspirations and struggles of a brave and ancient people for the maintenance of their liberty and independence, has recently appeared among us, and stirred the heart of the nation to its depths by his thrilling and eloquent appeals on behalf of his oppressed countrymen. Few can resist the contagion of that enthusiasm which glows in his lofty and earnest soul. But amid all this tumult of excited feeling, it does not behove the friends of peace to forget, whatever admiration they may feel for his character, and whatever sympathy for the cause he advocates, that the means by which this illustrious patriot sought in the past, and proposes for the future, to effect the liberation of his country, are such as they cannot approve or sanction, without implicitly surrendering the fundamental principle of their faith. Under these circumstances, we respectfully but earnestly intreat our friends to abide firmly and faithfully, at whatever sacrifice of feeling, by their own deliberate convictions, and boldly to bear testimony to their truth whenever an opportunity occurs. The gratifications of indulging a momentary impulse of generous emotion will be dearly purchased by that lasting sense of shame and weakness which will result from the consciousness of a public inconsistency.

The principle we hold is, that an appeal to the sword for deciding questions of disputed right is as irrational as it is unchristian, and that no permanent advantage can accrue to real freedom, or to any of the great interests of humanity, from the debasing conflicts of brute force. That is a weapon which despotism knows how to wield with far more dexterity, as well as with a more ruthless and unscrupulous purpose than liberty can, until it is degraded to its level. If we needed any practical illustrations of the soundness of our principle, are they not abundantly furnished by the recent history and the present aspect of Europe? After the revolutions of 1847 and 1848 the friends of liberty everywhere committed the decision of their cause to the wager of battle. And with what result? In every case they have been worsted and crushed. Germany has seen her charters of constitutional freedom snatched back from her grasp with insult and contempt. Italy lies writhing in deeper and more degraded thralldom than before. Hungary is betrayed into the hands of her enemies by the military champion to whose sword she had trusted for deliverance. But it may be said, If men are not to take arms to conquer liberty, by what means is the power of the oppressor to be broken and enslaved nations to achieve their liberation? Do you counsel that a people should lie mute and motionless beneath the incubus of despotism until all life is crushed out of them? God forbid that we should be guilty of such treason against the dignity of our common nature, the loftiest hopes of humanity, and the declared purpose of Heaven. What agency, then, do we propose to use? In one word we answer—Ideas! Ideas that have proved themselves ever mightier than swords; ideas which have already achieved all the greatest and most enduring victories on which humanity reposes; ideas which are even now slowly and silently effecting revolutions on the earth, in comparison with which the stormy career of the greatest conqueror that ever shook the earth beneath the tramp of his armed heel, is but as the momentary sweep of the hurricane, compared with the calm and majestic processes of nature when it gradually upheaves continents, or patiently elabo-

rates through ages 'the chief things of the ancient mountains and the precious things of the lasting hills.' Surely, we, as Christians, need no proof that truth and right can prevail without the support of physical force; for were not the noblest triumphs of Christianity won when it had nothing to oppose to the power of the whole world, armed for its extinction, but its conscious possession of truth, its heroic might of endurance, and its unclouded faith in God?

Should you, dear friends, be invited to sustain measures the object of which will be to promote on the part of this country an armed intervention on behalf of the struggling nationalities of Europe, we intreat you to abstain and to protest. The only principle on which such an intervention can be grounded is pregnant with terrible contingencies, or rather with terrible certainties, for the future. And, were there no other cause for hesitation, we may well ask, what security have we that such an armed intervention will really profit the cause of liberty? All experience proves that the most probable issue of political emancipation effected by physical force is not guaranteed freedom, but military despotism. The history of England's past intervention by force of arms in the affairs of Continental nations, whether for the defence of legitimacy or constitutional freedom, is so melancholy a record of rash counsels, Quixotic enterprises, and disgraceful or abortive issues, as ought surely to deter us from a repetition of this experiment. There is scarcely a country in Europe on which we have not, at one time or another, inflicted our martial protection; and there is scarcely a country in Europe where that intervention has not eventually failed in the accomplishment of its professed object, or where its memory is not regarded with bitterness and resentment by the very people whom it was meant to save; while of the consequences to ourselves a melancholy monument still remains in our crushing and enormous national debt.

Should the cause of peace have to bear deeper opprobrium than ever from the course which we thus advise you to pursue, even then we still say, 'Falter not for a moment.' We have the most absolute and unshaken confidence, because resting, we believe, on divine and everlasting principles, that the course of events will vindicate the wisdom and rectitude of our counsel. The bitter experience which the friends of freedom are yet destined to reap, should they insist upon committing once more their great and holy cause to the hazard of war's unequal game, 'will bring forth your righteousness as the light, and your judgment as the noon day.'

JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman.

HENRY RICHARD, Secretary.

ST. ALBAN'S COMMISSION.

The revelations are now complete. What was suspected and believed is now judicially proven. Even the missing witnesses have been examined. On Tuesday these three notorious persons, who sojourned so long in France, made their appearance. They seem to be singularly meek and placid people.

George Seeley Waggett, the absconding witness, was next called. His appearance in the witness-box excited general laughter. He is a delicate-looking, elderly man, apparently moving in a very humble sphere, and seemed to be troubled with deafness. The Chief-Commissioner put the following questions to him:—

Did you vote, Mr. Waggett, at the last election?—Witness, I did.

Did you receive any money for your vote?—I did.

Whom from?—Mr. Edwards.

How much did you receive?—£5, sir.

Did you vote at the election of 1847?—I did.

Whom for?—Mr. Raphael and Mr. Repton, I think, but

I am not sure; but I know that I voted for Mr. Raphael.

Did you receive any money on that occasion?—I did.

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: I hope, Mr. Waggett, that your health is very much improved by the mild climate of France.—Witness: I am very much obliged to you, sir. (Laughter.)

Mr. Gresham: Will you ask him, sir, if £5 was all the money he received for his vote?

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: Was £5 the whole amount you received for your vote at the last election?—Witness: Yes, sir.

Mr. Gresham: Have you received any money since the election for anything else?

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: No, no, Mr. Gresham, you must not ask that.

Waggett then withdrew.

Thomas Birchmore, another of the abducted voters, and a labouring man, acknowledged to having received £5 for his vote.

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: I believe you have been abroad lately, Mr. Birchmore?—Witness: Yes, but not very lately.

Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: I believe you have returned in better health?—Witness: Yes, sir. (Laughter.)

Mr. Commissioner Phinn: You have learnt French, I dare say? (Renewed laughter.)

The witness made no reply to the last query.

James Skegg, another of the witnesses who absconded when summoned to appear before the committee of the House of Commons, was next called, and in presenting himself in the witness-box was saluted with a cry, "He is another of the Frenchmen." He is also a labouring man, and affected with deafness.

The Chief Commissioner: Mr. Skegg, did you receive

anything for your vote at the last election?—Witness: Yes, sir, £5.

Whom from?—Mr. Edwards.
Did you vote in 1847 for Mr. Raphael and Mr. Repton?—Witness: I am no scholar, sir. (*Laughter.*)
Mr. Commissioner Phinn: I thought you had learned French. (*Renewed laughter.*)
Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: Did you vote in 1847?—Witness: I did, for Mr. Raphael and Mr. Repton.
Did you get any money for your vote on that occasion?—Witness: Yes.

Mr. Commissioner Phinn: You have been to France, too. (*Laughter.*)
Mr. Commissioner Forsyth: That will do, Mr. Skegg.
The commission formally adjourned on Thursday until the 1st of December.

It is quite useless now to deny the impurities of the present system. It is rotten, and smells—pah! But the Lycurgus of Parliamentary Reform? There is not much chance of the descendant of Wriothlesly Russell, instrument of the Eighth Harry, being he.

PERSONAL NEWS AND GOSSIP.

The Court still remains at Windsor; and its proceedings are of the ordinary pedestrian, equestrian, and sporting character.

Dr. Mainzer died on Monday night, at his lodgings, in Higher Broughton, near Manchester.

The Emperor of Austria attended the theatre at Vienna on the evening of the 5th, and was received with enthusiasm.—(*Official, not true, report.*)

The King of Prussia is to open the Chambers in person on the 27th instant.

The Princess Royal of Sweden and Norway gave birth to a princess at Stockholm, on the 31st ultimo. The Princess Royal is daughter of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands.

The *Austrian Lloyd's* says that General Haynau is about to sell the large estates he purchased in Hungary, on account of the difficulty of finding labourers to cultivate them.

It is stated that the honourable R. J. Walker, late Secretary to the United States' Treasury, and now in England, will be invited to a public dinner on the 24th instant. The Liverpool American Chamber of Commerce have taken the initiative in making the necessary arrangements.

Some of the German journals state that M. de Titoff, Russian Minister Plenipotentiary at Constantinople, is about to be sent on an important diplomatic mission to Italy, and afterwards to different parts of Western Europe.

A Polish journal, the *Czas* of Cracow, of the 5th, contains the following:—

"His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, taking into consideration the services which M. Léon Faucher has rendered to the cause of order, has directed that his brother-in-law, M. Wolowski, shall receive the sum and interest thereon arising from the sale of the property of the Wolowski family, situated in Poland."

The Emperor of Russia, by an order of the day of the 12th ultimo, relieves the Duke de Leuchtenberg, the prince who visited King Bomba the other day, on account of ill health, from the command of the first division of artillery of the guard, but maintains him in his other places and dignities.

One of the last things taken to the Crystal Palace was a relic of the heroine of the Farn Islands—a beautifully and legibly written letter, in which she modestly consents to accept (but expresses herself as much too liberally rewarded already) a chaplet of oak leaves and acorns, a beautiful garland of wild flowers, and a girdle of variegated colours, proposed to be sent her by some young people of London. The autograph is dated from the Longstone Lighthouse, and is in most excellent preservation, adorned with wreaths of amaranths and immortels, surrounded by the names of fifty of the heroes and heroines of all nations, written in gold on medallions, and enclosed in a richly carved frame of Irish bog oak. It will shortly be deposited in the British Museum. It was appropriately exhibited near to the Duke of Northumberland's prize lifeboat.

MURDER IN MARYLEBONE.

About fifteen years ago Leonard Bare, a gasfitter by trade, married Louisa Nott. In process of time they had children of which two are now living. Their matrimonial life does not seem to have been felicitous, for Mrs. Bare often, of late years especially, complained to her brother, that Leonard ill-used her. In process of time, too, one of the children, a girl, became one of the unfortunate class who nightly haunt the streets; and Leonard Bare was deserted by Louisa his wife. From what motive Louisa deserted Leonard we do not know; but Leonard thought he knew, surmising that "something was wrong between Mrs. Bare and a gasfitter." About a month ago Mrs. Bare and a woman named Hands went to lodge in Brook's-garden, Bagnigge-wells-road, and stayed there four nights, when, with "two boxes," Mrs. Bare and her companion left these lodgings and retired to 33, North-street, Manchester-square. Leonard Bare, anxious for his wife, anxious that she should not become as "emasculated" as his daughter, "for he loved her after all," traced Louisa to the Brook's-garden house, and for six days regularly called, inquiring where his wife had gone to, and insisting that the landlady, Mrs. Abrahams, "must know." At length, on Saturday, Mrs. Abrahams sent him and a guide with him, in the person of a lad who had carried the boxes. Leonard Bare arrived at the house in North-street and asked for "Mrs. Bare." The landlady replied that there was no such person, but happening to mention the name of "Miss Nott," Bare exclaimed, "that's she, that's she, that's my wife, it was her maiden name." Presently the ill-fated Louisa entered, and Leonard fol-

lowed her up stairs. In a few minutes the landlord heard a "screeching," the fall of a heavy body, and silence. Leonard Bare came down with bloody hands. The occupants rushed up and found Mrs. Bare lying on the floor, her face and body punctured with sixteen wounds, life not quite extinct, but shortly to be extinct. Leonard Bare went to a public house, with his blood stained hands and face, and there he was captured. On his way to the station-house he frequently inquired how his wife was, and on being told that she was dead, he exclaimed:—"Christ Almighty! who'd have thought I'd the heart to do it? I have a daughter on the town, and a little boy in bed at a beershop. He little thinks that I have killed his mother, and I wish I was going to be hung this very moment."

Duly on Monday the murderer was taken in a cab, escorted by a yelling, furious mob, to the Marylebone Police-office, where the above facts were stated by various witnesses. Next Monday he will be brought up again, and committed to take his trial for wilful murder.

POLICE.

Caroline Oldham was charged at Guildhall, on Tuesday, with stealing a gold watch, value £10, the property Oxenford.

Mr. John Oxenford said:—Between four and five o'clock on Monday afternoon I was with a lady at the bottom of Ludgate-hill. I was endeavouring to turn into Farringdon-street to get out of the crowd, when prisoner and another woman were pushed violently against me in front. I inquired why they were pushing, and they said they were pressed forward by a man behind them. The prisoner, however, seized me on the right, while the other woman collared me on the left side. I asked why they were holding me so fast, and they said they could not help it. The lady I had with me suddenly said,—"Oh! she has taken your watch," and at the same time she seized prisoner by the wrist and held her till the officer came up. The other woman escaped. I lost my watch, but did not see who had it.

Cross-examined: I thought they caught hold of me to save themselves from the crush. I had been only a short time in the crowd, and could not have lost my watch many minutes, as I am in the habit of looking at it very frequently. I am sure prisoner is the one who collared me on the right side.

Alice M'Keller, of 3, Adelphi-terrace, said:—I was with Mr. Oxenford on Monday afternoon. I saw prisoner drawing her hand from the watch-guard, and the next moment she handed it to the other woman. I dropped my muff, and immediately seized them both, and held them one in each hand, but the other woman not in custody struck me on the hand with some instrument, which compelled me to let go my hold, and she escaped. I cannot use my hand in consequence. I detained the prisoner until the officer came up and took her into custody.

Cross-examined: The prisoner passed the watch across me to the other woman, and I saw it very distinctly as she held it between her thumb and finger. I might have snatched it out of her hand, but did not, as my hands were engaged holding the prisoner and her companion.

Sir R. W. Carden: The case seems very clear against the prisoner, but I should like to have the other woman before me, and deal with them both together. They appear to be known, and I shall therefore remand the case for a few days, to give the officers an opportunity of apprehending the prisoner's accomplice.

John M'Millan, a private in the Fusilier Guards, was placed at the bar, charged under the following circumstances:—

Mr. Robert Turner, of 16, Ludgate-hill, said:—About half-past two o'clock this morning I heard a great noise in the lower part of my house, and went downstairs to ascertain what was going on. When I got into the kitchen I found my two men there, and one was committing an assault upon my female servant. I then went upstairs and found the prisoner in bed with my nephew. I endeavoured to rouse him; but, finding that impracticable without some gentle stimulant, I went downstairs for the horsewhip, and on my return I applied it to his shoulders, which soon induced him to open his eyes. (*Laughter.*) I saw at a glance he was a stranger, as he had flung his red coat on the bed, which immediately attracted my attention. I interrogated him as to how he came into my house, and he said one of my men servants introduced him, and he thought there was no harm in taking up his abode there for the night. He was perfectly sober, I believe. I suppose he came to celebrate Lord Mayor's-day.

M'Millan said:—I was introduced into the house by one of Mr. Turner's men, and when there Mr. Turner's nephew asked me to sleep with him. I was asleep when Mr. Turner came up, and struck me across the face and shoulders. I awoke, and asked him what was the matter. (*Laughter.*) He told me to get up, and I did so, and begged his pardon for intruding.

Mr. Turner: My nephew says he never gave prisoner permission to sleep with him, and that he was fast asleep when prisoner so unceremoniously billeted himself on him. I discharged all my servants in the morning.

Robert Smith, one of the discharged men, said he was in prisoner's company on the preceding evening, and, finding he was locked out from his own lodgings, and knowing prisoner to be a respectable young man, he took the liberty of taking him home with him to Mr. Turner's, whose nephew offered a part of his bed for prisoner's accommodation.

Sir R. W. Carden: I don't think prisoner is so much to blame as the last witness. However, as Mr. Turner does not wish to press the charge, and it does not appear that prisoner was there with any dishonest intention, I shall discharge him; and, in doing so, I must say that he leaves this court without the slightest stain upon his character.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The report in the daily journals that Kossuth will not sail for the United States until the 20th instant, is quite correct.

On Monday the bakers throughout the metropolis reduced the price of the 4lb. loaf one halfpenny.
Mr. W. Lassell, of Liverpool, announces his discovery of two new satellites of the planet Uranus, interior to the innermost of the two bright satellites first discovered by Sir W. Herschel, known as the second and the fourth.

Large placards were on Friday week posted in Halifax, announcing a confirmation at the Romish chapel in that town by "the Lord Bishop of Beverley," and signed with the names of two persons as "churchwardens."

Letters from Trebizond of October 16, state that the Shah's troops had entered Herat.

A fire destroyed the interior of the house of Mr. Mainon, basket manufacturer, 1, Castle-street, Holborn, on Tuesday evening.

A letter from Venice says:—"The authorities have suppressed the journal *Lombardo-Veneto*." The Venetians have now, therefore, no local journal.

By the latest advices from the West India Islands, we learn that the weather had been generally favourable to the plantations, and good crops were expected.

A citizen from New York, Mr. Waggstaff, has at length been found to undertake the establishment of a line of packets from Galway to New York. He pledged himself at a meeting of the Galway Harbour Commissioners, lately, to run a line of steamers for six months at least, to make the passage in eight days, and to charge only £6 for each passenger.

The committee of the Dublin Protestant Association have issued an address, in which they speak of the "Irish Protestant nation." What would be said of Cardinal Wiseman if he were to speak of the English Catholic nation? Also in a confident strain they prophesy that Maynooth is doomed, because the Protestantism of the Empire has declared against it.

A meeting held in Faneuil-hall, Boston, on the evening of the 27th of October, for the purpose of petitioning the Executive to apply to the Government of Great Britain for the pardon and release of Smith O'Brien and the other Irish patriots, was largely attended. Governor Boutwell presided, and speeches were made by B. F. Hallett, Charles L. Woodbury, Colonel Isaac H. Wright, and others. The meeting adopted the form of an address to President Fillmore, praying him to make application in behalf of the Irish exiles.

Mr. Charles Adderley presided over the annual meeting of the Burton-upon-Trent Farmers' Club on Thursday week. He said that, as Protection was fairly gone, the only course left to farmers was to reduce the cost of production; and, to do that, they must reduce rent and reduce wages. Mr. Gisborne, formerly a member of Parliament, said:—"Reduce rent and improve cultivation. Farmers would never be an independent class until they got into the way of giving landlords notice that they would quit their holdings" (*Cheers.*) Mr. Ellis, M.P., concurred in giving similar advice.

A public meeting, called jointly by the Peace and Aborigines Protection Societies, was held at the London Tavern on Tuesday. The object of the meeting was to censure the Kafir war and the policy in which it had had its origin. Mr. Samuel Gurney presided. Among the speakers were the Reverend John Burnett, the Reverend Henry Richard, Mr. G. W. Alexander, and Mr. John Hodgkin. Resolutions were proposed and carried, expressing a belief that, at the present critical juncture, an intimation on our part of a desire for peace, conjointly with the establishment of an open inquiry on the spot, under the presidency of impartial and independent civil commissioners, would tend to allay animosity, and probably cause an immediate suspension of hostilities.

A meeting of the Royal Geographical Society was held last Monday, whereat Lieutenant Pim, a seaman not unfamiliar with the Arctic seas, detailed a new plan for searching for Sir John Franklin. He has come to the conclusion that Franklin may be on the coast of Siberia; and he proposes to start at once for St. Petersburg, thence to Moscow, Irkutsk, Yakoutsk, on to the river Kolyma. The mere mention of these names gives no idea of the distance, amounting to ten thousand miles; two thousand miles of search on the coast of Siberia alone. Lieutenant Pim thinks he could achieve it by 1854. It is important to add that this expedition will be accomplished by private means, the Admiralty having refused all help!

Mr. Pearson explained, on Wednesday, his plan for a central railway terminus in the City, to be connected with large receiving houses and markets, and communicating with the Northern, North-Western, and Western Railways. The main idea of the project seems to be a great trunk line on the level of the Fleet Valley, with branches and sidings. On Tuesday, the project was discussed in the Council, and resolution agreed to, referring the scheme to a Committee, and empowering the authorities to give the necessary Parliamentary notices, pending the inquiry, so that if it be favourable an act may be obtained next session.

French police abounds in romance. It is the record of French excitability and impulse. *Galignani* prints the following interesting story:—Two young men of Napoléon-Vendée, named Chigot, one twenty-six, the other twenty years of age, were tried last week before the Court of Assizes of La Vendée, for an attempt to murder Lieutenant Ligier, of the Fifty-ninth Regiment. The facts of the case were as follows. The father and mother of the accused keep a tobacco and snuff shop at Napoléon-Vendée, and have a daughter between sixteen and seventeen years of age, who serves in the shop during their occasional absence. Lieutenant Ligier, who was one of their customers, was, it appears, in the habit of visiting the shop frequently when M. Chigot and his wife were not there, and one day, on their returning suddenly,

they found Lieutenant Ligier kissing their daughter. They expressed to M. Ligier their indignation at his conduct, and he withdrew. When the sons came home, the father told them what had occurred, and, after interrogating their sister, they came to a conclusion that there had been a criminal intimacy between her and M. Ligier, and they resolved to compel him to repair by marriage the dishonour which he had brought on their family. They purchased two pistols, which they loaded with ball, and, going to the lodgings of Lieutenant Ligier, they called upon him to make reparation, and presented to him a promise of marriage for his signature. Lieutenant Ligier refused; and, according to the statement of the prisoners, which, however, was denied by M. Ligier, who appeared as a witness on the trial, in making this refusal indulged in a sort of boast of having dishonoured their sister. The brothers then fired their pistols. One ball struck Lieutenant Ligier in the hand, the other entered his side, and inflicted so severe a wound that he was confined more than six weeks to his bed. Thinking they had killed their victim, the brothers went to the prison to give themselves into custody for murder, but the gaoler refused to receive them without a warrant of commitment. They went away, but did not attempt to escape, and were soon afterwards arrested. All these facts were substantiated by the evidence; but Lieutenant Ligier declared that no other familiarity than what had been witnessed by M. Chigot and his wife, had existed between him and the daughter. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty, and the court ordered the acquittal of the prisoners. There was great applause when the verdict was returned, and a crowd assembled and escorted the two brothers to their home in triumph.

We understand that Mr. Harney will address meetings in Dalkeith, Monday, November 17; Kirkcaldy, Tuesday, 18; Edinburgh, Wednesday, 19; Pennycook, Thursday, 20; Lasswade, Friday, 21. That the week following, Mr. Harney will address meetings in Edinburgh, Galashiels, Hawick, &c.; and that letters will come to hand addressed to the "Care of Mr. Pringle, 233, Cannongate, Edinburgh."

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 1st of November, at Pau, in the Pyrenées, the Lady Louisa Agnew: a son.

On the 3rd, at Lisleen-house, Dunamanagh, county Tyrone, the wife of William Ogilby, Esq.: a son and heir.

On the 5th, at Stoke Rochford, the Lady Caroline Turner: a son.

On the 6th, at Paris, Madame N. Mori: a daughter.

On the 7th, at Watford, Northamptonshire, Lady Henley: a daughter.

On the 8th, in Gloucester-square, Lady Kay Shuttleworth: a son.

On the 9th, in Brook-street, the Marchioness of Blandford: a daughter.

On the 9th, in Bruton-street, Lady Sebright: a son, still-born.

On the 10th, Mrs. Jones, of Pantgŷs: a son.

On the 10th, Queen-street, Edinburgh, the Lady Blanche Balfour: a son.

On the 12th, at Belgrave-square, the Honourable Mrs. Horatio Fitzroy: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 22nd of September, at Hushiarpur, Punjab, Frank Russel, Esq., Fifth Bengal Cavalry, son of F. Russel, Esq., Judge of Chinsurah, to Alice Mary, eldest daughter of Sir J. Murray Naesmyth, of Posso, Baronet, Peebleshire, North Britain.

On the 2nd of October, at Christ Church, Demerara, Alexander, third son of Abraham Garnett, Esq., to Jane, eldest daughter of Matthew Steele, Esq., and granddaughter of George Bagot, Esq., High Sheriff of British Guiana.

On the 8th, at Philadelphia, Mr. Robert S. Stenton, of New York city, to Louisa, eldest daughter of the Reverend Dr. Malcolm, president of the University of Lewisburg.

On the 25th, Edward Jesse, Esq., of East Sheen, to Jane Caroline, daughter of the late John Gilbert Meymott, Esq., Cedar-grove, Richmond.

On the 4th of November, at All Saints', Knightsbridge, Scipio Macgarratt, Esq., Writer to the Signet, to Katharine, daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Lionel Hook, Sixteenth Foot.

On the 6th, at Highworth, John Duggan Patterson, Esq., of the General Register-office, Somerset-house, to Fanny, second daughter of the Reverend Edward Rowden, vicar of Highworth, Wilts.

On the 8th (by special licence), at St. George's, Hanover-square, by the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester, Peter Cracroft, Esq., Commander, R.N., late commanding her Majesty's ship Reynard, second son of Colonel Cracroft, of Backthorn, county of Lincoln, to Caroline, second daughter of the late Sir Samuel Scott, Baronet, of Sundridge-park, Bromley, Kent.

DEATHS.

On the 21st of September, at Agra, East Indies, aged sixty-three years, Henry Hamilton Bell, Esq., President of the Agra and United Service Bank, the second surviving son of the late Sir Thomas Bell.

On the 30th of October, at Geneva, aged thirty-six, the Honourable James Fitzroy Henry William Wellesley, younger son of the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington.

On the 1st of November, at Torrington-square, Thomas Galloway, F.R.S. and F.R.S.E., Registrar of the Amicable Life Assurance Office, aged fifty-five.

On the 4th, at St. George's-place, Hyde-park-corner, the Honourable Mrs. D'Arcy Godolphin Osborne.

On the 4th, at the Prætor, Shop-hire, aged seventy-one, the Honourable Thomas Kenyon.

On the 5th, at Cross-street, Elington, aged sixty-two, Robert Semple, Esq., member of the Royal College of Surgeons, for nearly forty years medical officer to the parish of St. Mary, Elington.

On the 6th, at York, the Reverend Henry Lowe, aged seventy-two, rector of Hawby, Yorkshire.

On the 7th, at Warwick-villas, Harrow-road, in his fifty-sixth year, Captain Edward Foord, M.C.S., and one of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity Corporation.

On the 10th, at Brighton, Helen Stuart, in her eleventh year, youngest daughter of William Hutchins Calcott, Esq., of the Mall, Kensington Gravel-pits.

On the 10th, at St. John's-lodge, Kensington-park, Mary, the wife of the Reverend W. Holdsworth, M.A., incumbent of Nottingham.

On the 10th, at Thoresby-park, Notts, the Right Honourable Henry Manners Pierrepont, aged seventy-one.

On the 12th, at Charlton, Kent, Major George St. Vincent Whitmore, Royal Engineers, eldest son of Lieutenant-General Sir George Whitmore, R.C.H., Royal Engineers.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The Assurance Office referred to by H. S., of Leeds, is perfectly respectable and safe.

We have numerous papers and communications in type, which press of other matter has obliged us to omit.

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, November 8.

Lambeth pronounced for Kossuth yesterday at the Horns Tavern, under the presidency of Mr. W. Williams, M.P. The spirit of the meeting was warlike and aggressive in the highest degree. Mr. Williams said, politicians affirmed that Austria must be sustained to keep up the balance of power:—

"He would say, perish the balance of power, if the price was to be the upholding of tyranny. (Cheers.) Let all these despotic powers crumble in the dust, and there was no danger but that England would at least be able to protect her own rights and liberties." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. F. Doulton, who moved the address, though bitten by Palmerston, has a right notion of the kind of support Hungary requires, but which Palmerston won't afford.

"Such expressions of opinion must have a powerful effect on our foreign policy, and we had a man at the head of our Foreign-office who would be ready to endorse that opinion. (Cheers.) We did not want a European war; we had suffered too much from one already; but the time might come when we should have to choose between action and the destruction of the liberties of Europe. (Hear, hear.) Two great nations, he had almost said the only free nations of the earth, were now united against despotism, and would resist it, whether it appeared in the person of a crowned emperor, or under the milder presidential sway. (Cheers.)"

Mr. Webber supported Kossuth, "because he represented a great principle." Mr. Slack attacked Russia, and wound up with a story.

"A few days since a foolish bull had butted against a railway train, and was soon smashed to atoms. He believed the two red emperors were in the position of that foolish bull. They were butting their heads against the great train of human events. That train might be guided by Mazzini, or it might be by Kossuth, but it would soon be in motion, and then let the red emperors beware. (Loud cheers.)"

Mr. Rose was very emphatic. He said.

"They were told to wait for France; but his advice to the two great Saxon races was, to go on and not wait for France, which seemed as if she never could settle her own affairs. (Cheers.) He (Mr. Rose) was not for war if it could be helped, but public opinion was of no use in deterring despots unless it held war in perspective."

The address was carried unanimously, and also an address to the Sultan.

A similar meeting, under the presidency of Mr. James Wyld, M.P., was held at Islington.

Yesterday, the examination of "bribed" voters took place before the St. Alban's Commission. Here are a few specimens of the Voters of St. Alban's, men who come by votes under the rational, intelligent, and common-sensical brick and mortar qualification!

Neptune Smith, a tall, brawny, and black bushy-bearded "independent" elector, said he had received £5 or £6, he did not exactly know which, "for his services."

The Chief Commissioner: Well, Mr. Smith, what services can you render? Witness: Fighting, Sir. (Laughter.) Oh, that's it, is it? Yes, Sir, I can do a little in that way. (Renewed laughter.) I am one of those as keeps the peace at election times; and when there's a row, I goes in amongst 'em, and says, "Come, my lads, let us have a pot of beer," and I finds that they had sooner fight a quart of beer than have a punch or two. (Great laughter.) I'm reg'larly employed to keep the peace.

Kentish, an old man, who gave his age as seventy-six, said: I received £5 last election from Mr. Edwards. He laid it down on my table, and I picked it up. (Laughter.) He did not say it was for my vote; he only said, "Oh, you look as you did twenty years ago." (Renewed laughter.) He did not say it was for my vote, but for a Christmas dinner. (Laughter.) I voted for Mr. Bell.

Francis Brown examined: I received £5 from Mr. Edwards a little before the last election. It was not for my vote. I sell songs, and Mr. Edwards came to my house to buy music. He gave me the £5 for the songs. He did not say anything about my vote. Cannot say what the songs were worth. Think they might have been of the value of 5s. or 10s., but I left the payment entirely to him.

George Taylor, a big, robust, "navvy"-looking man, examined: Mr. Blagg and Mr. Edwards gave me £25 between them at the election of 1847.

The Chief Commissioner: what for?—Witness: To keep me still, so that I should not bring a third man down—(laughter)—and I had to go away to fetch a voter, and I went to Hertford for him, and I came back with 7s. 6d. in my pocket, but I had bought a good new handkerchief, Sir. Mr. Blagg, who behaved always like a gentleman to me—(laughter)—said I was the most useful man of them all.

Lord John Russell visited the President of the French Republic on Wednesday.

Mr. William Wyon, the famous medal-die engraver, expired on the 29th of October, at Brighton.

Sir Robert Kane delivered an admirable address on Monday, on the opening of the third session of the Queen's College, Cork, of which he is president. His closing words are remarkably decisive and satisfactory.

"Recurring to the proper subject of this day's proceedings, and by which I was led to those observations on the necessity for a thorough reform in school education, and in those schools of public endowment through the coöperation of which the University Colleges may effect material improvement in our general education, I now beg, in conclusion, to express my sense of the excellent conduct and conformity to discipline which characterized our students during last session. To this matter the authorities of this college attach the greatest importance. In no way can the calumnies—(hear, hear)—hurled against these colleges be more triumphantly refuted than by the steady diligence and moral conduct of our students. And that refutation has been abundantly afforded. (Loud applause.) Now, for two years have we been subjected to the keen supervision of the inhabitants of this great city—this population, which, although ardent for knowledge, although prizing educational progress as only those can prize it who are themselves participators in its enlightenment, would not yet purchase the proudest wreaths of literary and scientific glory for their sons by danger to moral purity or Christian faith—this population has, since our first opening, closely observed our course. And the authorities of this college may honestly take pride in the result. (Applause.)"

The following strong and emphatic sentences are the opening words of a leader on the same subject in the *Times* of this morning:—

"The gigantic system of godless education now firmly established in Ireland is bearing fruits which ought to cover with shame its bigoted detractors and opponents, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant. Not merely are the Queen's Colleges educating together in feelings of mutual amity and good-will those who a few years ago would have been trained in reciprocal hatred and contempt for each other's creeds and persons, but the time-honoured and orthodox routine of certain denominational establishments seems likely to be materially altered and improved by the standard of excellence thus reluctantly admitted."

The *Corriere Italiano* confirms the report that the Government of Tuscany is about to entrust the Austrian Ambassadors and Consuls with the affairs hitherto transacted by Tuscan Ministers at foreign Courts. All the Tuscan embassies and consulates are consequently to be suppressed. What a farce is all the talk about "respecting the settlement of 1815," "abiding by the pledged word of our ancestors," &c. &c.! The Treaty of Vienna is the real Charter of Despotism, and the spirit which conserves it, whether found in the city of London or the city of Westminster, is the main ally of that unscrupulous absolutism which carried the Cossacks into Hungary, the French to Rome, and the Austrians to Florence.

Every journal in Madrid, on the 31st of October, except the ministerial *Orden*, condemned in the strongest terms the arbitrary act of the Ministry in suppressing the evening paper, the *Europa*. They rightly suppose that the measure is but the beginning of a *razzia* upon the public press. The *Nacion* concludes a very effective article on the subject with the parting words of the gladiator "Cæsar, morituri te salutant." The *Europa* had strongly but fairly criticised the late Allocation of the Pope, and the clerical question generally.

The next day the *Orden* came forward to defend the conduct of the Government in suppressing the *Europa*. It tacitly admits that the Government have overstepped the law; but it says that if they have done so, it is because the law never foresaw such a case as the establishment of an "irreligious" journal in a country eminently and exclusively Catholic; and it observes that Spain has never professed indifference, nor even tolerance, in matters of religion.

The Atlantic arrived at Liverpool yesterday from New York. Her papers are to the 26th ultimo. The chief point of interest for us, is the progress of the German Liberation Loan which Kinkel is endeavouring to raise, and the enthusiasm with which the project is received. It has been denounced as *flibustero* by the Government organ, the *Washington Republic*. Verily, the Government must take care. There are reasons for suspecting that President Fillmore and his Ministry are bitten by diplomacy, and have not acted faithfully up to the spirit of the people of the States, even in the liberation of Kossuth.

THE KOSSUTH FUND.

In our last Postscript we mentioned the project for raising a fund for the furthering of the Hungarian cause. Steps have been already taken to carry out that project, and a committee organized and composed of the following gentlemen:—

W. H. Ashurst, Esq., F. Bennoch, Esq., R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., Charles Gilpin, S. M. Hawkes, Esq., J. A. Nicholay, Esq., Thomas Prout, Esq., Robert Russell, Esq., James Stansfield, Esq., Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, M.P., William Arthur Wilkinson, Esq., David Witton, Esq., Trustees: R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., Lord Dudley Stuart, M.P., Charles Gilpin, Esq., David Witton, Esq., Bankers: Currie and Co., Cornhill; Coutts and Co., Strand; Commercial Bank of London.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1851.

Public Affairs.

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

ENGLAND HAS PRONOUNCED.

ENGLAND has accepted the position offered by Kossuth to the free states of Europe. Our Government may wince, shrink, and hesitate; certain timid folks, who had fallen into a routine of sleepy politics, may falter; a stockbroking press may raise up cries as false as the great Cochrane conspiracy; but England has stepped out boldly—in Copenhagen-fields, at Birmingham, at Manchester, at Birmingham again, and again in London, in the persons of the middle class—England has stepped forth, and accepted nonintervention in its complete and efficacious form.

The Peace Society protests; but it is well known that leading members of the Peace Society are active in promoting "Kossuth demonstrations." We have no quarrel with them: let them cover their consistency with protests, and we will grumble not. We can afford to be in good humour with all the world.

The *Times* is almost in alliance with the Peace Society, only the alliance would have been too laughable. The *Times* can brave public opinion, can dare the sacrifice of its own circulation and pecuniary interests, can sacrifice itself at the altar of Austrian loans—do we not see daily that noble instance of self-immolation?—but the Leading Journal cannot afford to be laughed at, so it will not be thought to be in alliance with the Peace Society. Only adversity makes one acquainted with strange bedfellows; and it does happen that the *Times* and the Peace Society, all the world being against them at this particular moment, are lying down together in one bed, pillowing their heads on Porter's *Progress of the Nation* and other lay sermons, and consoling each other in very touching strains about the expensiveness of war.

Yes, the *Times*, seeing that it can't write down Kossuth and the English people, who have somehow got face to face, and won't be written down—which the writer takes very unkindly—cunning *Times* resorts to a device worthy of Lear's ingenuity in his extreme, and comes upon them with statistics from Porter. Already before the midnight of 1851, the trumpet of freedom tries the stirring note which is to awake the morning of freedom in 1852, and the poor *Times*, seeing that the fit has seized us all, tries its hand at a counterblast of statistics. "Don't go to war," cries *Times*, "it will cost so much: Porter says so."

The argument is amusing, not only as an old wife's soothing sop tried to lull the wakening spirit of a giant, but as being of such nature that in fact it tells for the war of freedom. Let us not blink the truth: we are for a war, and we are going to have one. Our readers will testify to our earnestness in that behalf; events are testifying to our foresight. But the *Times* would have gone to Nelson, just before the first broadside at Trafalgar, and would, like any Peace man, have expatiated on the cost of each ball and pound of powder. *Times* would have represented to Washington the expensiveness of bandoliers; and would have asked Lafayette if he had pre-calculated his bill. Too late, good Leading Journal! If you want to keep your lead, go buy you a manual of tactics, and engage a few half-pays to report for you in 1852. Too late with Porter now!

The argument is magnificent which the *Times* digs up from Porter's archaeology of the British Empire. We have spent during the present century, saith *Times*, sitting over its Porter, £1,200,000,000, more than half in actual war; we gave subsidies to the tune of £46,000,000, and more; we spent £1,500,000 in arms and supplies for our allies. Most true; we are spending nearly £30,000,000 yearly as the consequence. But why did we spend all that money? To set up Austria and Russia. We have, as the *Times* says, yielded up Sicily to Naples; "Russia, Prussia, and Austria

have to thank us for immense subsidies; and what is the return?" "During the war we gave much substantial assistance to Russia. What is there to show for it?" The *Times* puts the question, not we. It is engaging to see so much naïveté still surviving in the atmosphere of Puddle-dock. But we must quote more:—

"France has twice exercised her natural and inalienable privilege of settling for herself how she shall be governed; the heir of the man we chained to the rock of St. Helena, now presides at St. Cloud; and deep in the heart of every Frenchman there lurks the scarcely secret hope that France will one day have the last word with her conquerors. Belgium, which we united to Holland at so much cost and pains, has long thrown off that yoke, and it is no thanks to us that she is not a mere appanage of the crown of France. Holland, whom we endeavoured to aggrandize, has a standing quarrel with us, only unimportant because we have not succeeded in making her even a second-rate power. We are nowhere so unpopular, either with Peoples or with Courts, as in Portugal and Spain, the chief objects of our costly and heroic interference. Nowhere are we so insulted, and with such impunity. Our interference in behalf of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies has not obtained either a single political right or the performance of one Royal promise in favour of the island we rescued, preserved, and restored. The Pope, whom we were so forward to reinstate in his lost independence, has since used it incessantly to promote disaffection among our own people, and abridge the prerogatives of our Crown. In Greece, if a British subject has his house pulled down over his head, and his property destroyed, so little disagreeable is the occurrence to the Sovereign we created or the people we made free, that we must back our bill of damages with five sail of the line. Whether we are on the best possible terms with Austria, and whether the many millions we have spent in her behalf have been spent to a political advantage, we leave to those who now ask our interference between the house of Hapsburg and the finest provinces of the Austrian empire. Whatever our gains by our countless expenditure in Germany, we cannot flatter ourselves that we have much promoted the cause of constitutional government. It is almost forgotten that during the war we gave much substantial assistance to Russia. What is there to show for it?"

Well said, *Times*: but what does all this teach us? That it has been a losing game to set up a few crowned families and their official retainers against the Peoples of Europe. That is true. And it is a losing game, still, to keep up those families. To keep them up, we keep up the system of huge Standing Armies and huge National Debts, at a cost to ourselves of millions sterling. And we have "nothing to show for it"—nothing!

But we are going to change the tune. Yes, for all the trepidation of the *Times* and the Peace Society, the great demonstrations of London, Birmingham, and Manchester, comprising as they have done all the active men of the working and middle classes, prove that England—not the official England of a bureau, but the real, hearty, substantial England itself, is going to revise its policy. And with what results? First, as Kossuth said at Manchester, "the oppressed nations will be of good cheer;" as John Bright said, there is to be "a glorious resurrection of the trampled nations." "The alliance of despots," says Kossuth, "is a fact;" these demonstrations attest the instinctive sense of the English people, that a turning point has come in the history of the world, when that alliance must consummate itself in the subjugation, not only of France, already offered to it by mercenary traitors, but of England, unless it be met by an alliance of the Peoples. America perceives the same fact, and the glorious young Republic of the West, forgetting her differences with us as we forget ours, is preparing to join the mighty union from which England will not be excluded. Kossuth has already conferred upon us the inestimable blessing of awaking us out of our slumbers; he has pledged himself to promote the union between England and America. God speed him.

The English People will not be blinded by the nonsense that would not deceive children. A howl of delight was raised by the enemies of Kossuth and national independence when he avowed himself a republican. What then? In the first place, the English are not, as they once were, to be frightened by names. Our best trust is henceforth to be—if our official folks do not spoil and prevent it—an alliance with a Republic, the great Republic of America. Next, what if Hungary do choose a republic? Each nation to be independent, and choose its own form of government—that is Kossuth's proposition; and it is accepted by London, Birmingham, and Manchester. Hungary was

monarchical, and she implored to remain so; but the perjury of her Kings has worn out her reliance on the whole craft. She had a succession of Charles Stuarts, and Englishmen will not blame her for cutting off the entail.

But why should it lie with a few crowned families and official servants to keep the nations apart? That is the true bad economy,—that is the costly war disguised in the semblance of "Peace." Manchester is pledged to a truer policy. "Free trade," said Kossuth, "is not carried. Cheaper bread is carried; but free trade is not carried. Free trade will be carried, when the products of England's industry shall have a free accession to the markets of Europe, from which, by the Absolutist principle, they are now excluded." "The liberty of Europe's Continent is more than a dispensable complement to the free-trade school." That would, indeed, be free trade, that would be peace, that would be a real Holy Alliance.

Now, we say, the choice of the English people lies between that free trade, that peace, that alliance of the civilized world, and a progress of despotism which will not cease until the Cossack waters his horses in the Thames; the choice lies between fighting the battle of defence here in England,—on our own land, on the very banks of the Thames, or on the distant lands of Hungary and Italy. But the choice has already been made.

ARE WE PROSPEROUS?

THE Trade and Navigation Returns continue to exhibit a most satisfactory increase in our exports of all kinds of manufactured goods. The coffers of the Bank of England are crammed to repletion. "We have just concluded a harvest," says the *Economist*, "which, taken altogether, has perhaps never before been equalled for quantity and quality." Another reduction has taken place in the price of the four pound loaf, which now ranges from 4½d. to 6d., and all other commodities are equally plentiful and cheap. And yet the golden age of Saturn comes not. To a large portion of the industrious classes it seems as far off as ever. The streets of Paisley are said to be "thronged with workmen wandering about" in search of work, and even in thriving Manchester, the trade circulars speak of the mills going on short time, because "several descriptions of our staple fabrics are produced and sold without a margin of profit." We know very well how Mr. George Frederick Young, or Mr. Chowler, would explain such a state of things at Paisley and Manchester; but that is not what we care for. How does Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright, account for it on free trade principles? Has legislation done all that it can do towards improving the condition of the people in their estimation? If they think it has not, what must be our next move?

OUR COLONIES IN THE COMING YEAR.

It is now some months since the *Leader* was the first to herald the necessity of a close alliance of England and America in what has since been pre-saged by official lips as the "coming war of opinion." This island of ours stands as a breakwater between the decrepit despotisms of the Old World and the boundless destinies of the New. We are the advanced sentinels of freedom; the land beyond the ocean, her last refuge.

John Bull, secure in liberties at home, is the constitutional friend of Cossack "order" abroad. Liberty, if not according to the British constitutional gospel, is anarchy: better be allied with the right divine of despotism than with the right primeval of Democracy.

Nevertheless, we had cast our bread upon the waters, and after many days it comes again to us—with interest! The idea has been caught up far and wide. With electric rapidity it traversed the Atlantic, and already binds the parent state and her giant offspring by closer bonds than those of interest or blood.

Announced at Southampton by the man who may be future President of the United States, as a sure and certain promise; echoed by diplomacy itself! escaping for a moment from secrecy and shadow in the person of our own Minister at Washington; proclaimed unceasingly by Hungary in the person of Kossuth, as the earnest of Europe's redemption—the alliance of free England and free America against the crowned coalition of European tyrannies is no longer a voice cast on the wind and waiting for an echo—it is an instant necessity, a living fact. It is a beacon-fire in this night of European desolation to the quaking thrones, to the heart-famished exiles, to the silent and expectant Peoples.

Now, what is England's condition within and

without her borders, as we approach an inevitable contest?

Within? ah, *within*, there is still, notwithstanding all our yawning miseries and crying sins of misrule, the union that makes force; the freedom that peacefully regenerates, the forgiveness of injustice, and the fusion of divided classes in the presence of a common foe. But without? How do we find our world-embracing colonial empire? The arteries, as Kossuth has finely said, of our dominion.

Is England sound at heart, with disease in all her scattered members? Do we find our colonial possessions united to the mother country by gratitude, affection, interest, mutual contentment? Are they the happy outposts of our power, ready to render back with interest our generous protection, our kind and equitable administration, our aid in time of need, our enlightened and anxious vigilance? or is it but the news which every mail proclaims trumpet-tongued, that our whole colonial empire is a running sore of disaffection and discontent? Is it a fact that in every colony English enterprise has planted, we have a nascent enemy to England; that official provocation has ripened into a disastrous precedent, and American emancipation is treasured up as a contagious example? That wherever our own offspring have set their foot, to hew out a new England under the shadow of the ancestral flag, there we find a crop of petty official exaction, of official interference, official jobbing—vexatious, inquisitorial, offensive—growing in rank luxuriance? That the comfort and prosperity of every settlement waits on the miserable caprice, nay, on the fits of spleen and indigestion, of a feudal autocrat, sitting in a Downing-street back parlour, and trying to girdle the earth with tape? That Rotten-row, the Clubs, and Coppock, are the nursery of colonial officials, who descend, like a flight of locusts, to prey on the vitals of the infant state?

The *Times*, an unexceptionable, because an independent, authority in colonial affairs, exposes the whole disease under which our colonies are labouring, with merciless precision.

To the petulant vagaries of the Colonial Secretary's ill temper and vanity the *Times* ascribes "the present disastrous condition of affairs." "To his mischievous meddling the outbreak of the Kafirs is solely attributable."

There, in South Africa, the colonists are first driven to the verge of rebellion by the bad faith and vexatious tyranny of the Minister; then into an internecine struggle for very existence, hampered and bewildered, prepared for revolt, but not for defence.

So alarming is the position of affairs, that the Home Government "talk of five fresh regiments in addition to the ten either on their way to, or serving in South Africa."

We are in the thick of a harassing and impracticable war, of which it is impossible to see the termination; but which *must* be terminated at whatever cost, in the final and complete subjugation of the savage tribes, at the risk of seeing the whole colony devoured.

But it is not the Cape alone that testifies to the virtues of *Family Government*. Lord Grey touches nothing that he does not wither. It is the same system in all our Colonies, so long crying out for, and so long deprived of self-government.

The secret of the whole evil is contained in the following statement of the *Times*:—"A colony at present is considered by every Administration a *patronage preserve*. Self-governed, it would cease to be a subject of interest in Downing-street." Canada is at zero in Downing-street, "simply because now Canadians fill a large proportion of the offices in their own Government, which consequently affords but a small harvest of patronage to the Administration here."

To such a point has the corrupt disinclination to grant self-government reached, that "every improvement is steadily resisted, and every shift is resorted to, every mischief recklessly braved, in order to continue the mischievous power of official patronage."

But not to the Colonial-office alone is the blame. "The apathy of the public and of Parliament" in the intervals of peace and quietness gives official incapacity and corruption a full swing. There may be and "is discontent, indeed, in all" our colonial possessions, "and at all times;" but until we are called upon to pay for some catastrophe, or to sink a paltry surplus in a "little war," we do not cry out; and even then it is only a cry, and not a decisive interference.

If our colonial empire is not to dwindle away, we must apply the searching remedy of self-government

to all. For (says the *Times*) "the rule that is good for Sydney is good also for New Zealand and the Cape. The men who have founded the colony of South Australia are of the same race, have the same education, habits, thoughts, and feelings as those who established Port Phillip. The constitutions which the one set of colonists need, the others also require; and the representative constitution that would work well in New Zealand, would be equally useful in South Africa."

To our whole colonial system, and to all our colonies, Parliament must apply the same rule. Better the abolition of the Colonial-office, than the estrangement of our colonies. We shall awake some fine morning to find our dependencies, as the Colonial-office loves to call them, hostile independencies.

Now, what a prospect is this, we do not say for a distant, but for an immediate future! The hour is coming when England may demand the sympathy and the succour of all her children. We shall call to them, but they will not answer; their averted gaze will be set towards a dawning light; the light that once guided Washington, and which official tyranny may kindle, but never quench.

OUR STREET FOLK.

THE labours of Henry Mayhew are of national importance. Emerging from obscurity in 1849, he was first publicly known as one of the staff of the *Morning Chronicle*, employed in the Home department. The honesty of his "Revelations" compassed his dismissal from that staff, since which event he has started on his own account, and unveiled the mysteries and miseries of London Life, among the proletarians and prostitutes. Mr. Mayhew in his own words is "neither Chartist, Protectionist, Socialist, Communist, nor Coöperationist; but a mere collector of facts, endeavouring to discover the several phenomena of labour with a view of arriving ultimately at the laws and circumstances affecting and controlling the operation and rewards of the labourer, as well as of showing the importance of the poor and the working classes as members of the state."

Mr. Mayhew has given us the result of his researches in his *Revelations of the state of industry throughout the country*, published in the *Morning Chronicle*, and in his numbers on *London Labour and the London Poor*, which have appeared weekly since December, 1850. These consist of a cyclopædia of the social condition and earnings of—1st. Those who will work. 2. Those that cannot work. 3. Those that will not work. The life, character, and morals of the Costermongers occupies a prominent part of the pages in these numbers, besides which Mr. Mayhew has, moreover, published since July, 1851, weekly numbers on the condition of the London Prostitutes. The general result that has hitherto accrued from his researches, is the discovery of the iniquities perpetrated on working men, through the fines imposed by the slop tailors of the metropolis, the stopping system practised in the cabinet trade, the pence demanded from the sawyers for the use of their tools, and other infamies, showing the necessity of a protective Act of Parliament.

Another result is the discovery of the heathenish condition of the London costermongers and other street folk, showing that they form a dangerous class, and that something must be done to raise them.

Another result is what Mr. Mayhew himself styles "the prodigious shortcomings and jumbings of Political Economy, the dogmas of which are enunciated with the same confidence as if they were matters of Revelation, constituting as it were the Bible of Selfishness, the Gospel preached by Mammon, giving us the last new commandment, 'Do your neighbour as your neighbour would do you,' in contradistinction to that higher code of kindness and charity which Edinburgh reviewers and Manchester men do not hesitate now to rank as morbid sentimentalism."

Lastly, Mr. Mayhew's researches show the continual reduction of wages in many branches of industry, necessarily resulting from the improvements of the age in machinery, &c., and terminating in the ruin and starvation of whole masses of the community.

These results may be summed up thus:—

1. The present condition of labour shows a *crecendo* of over work and under pay to be the lot of the working classes in the "laissez-faire" system of society.

2. The great want felt by the proletarian class is the *protection* of the workman against the tyranny

of capital, and the protection of female virtue, endangered and exposed as long as famine is the reward of honesty.

A remarkable feature of the pictures displayed in Mayhew's works is the overstrain of society in its race after happiness, and the prevalence of foul play resulting from the licence given to competition, which establishes the oppression of the weak by the strong. Not that the evil is confined to any one class or to be cast at any one door. The mechanism of the existing state of things evidently leads to this consummation. We know of few things more stirring to the soul than the appeal made to our better feelings in these startling revelations of White Slavery and Prostitution.

Take the instances of the poor journeyman tailor driven to blindness for fear of starvation, the shivering flower girls coming forth with their fragrant nosegays from the haunts of corruption and ruin; take the white slavery of the old wife toiling away in patient despair to find wherewithal to keep her poor bedridden husband from the dreaded workhouse; take the multitudes who slave all day, and not unfrequently all night, to obtain the wretched weekly 4s. or 5s. that scarcely cover their rent.

Follow Mayhew where Jesus loved to go, to the haunts of the publican and sinner, to the daily walks of the halt, the lame, and the blind. He shows us swarms of children, prematurely old in mind and vice, doomed to a life of long, brutalizing drudgery, ignorant of schools and church and God, a heathenish generation in our midst. He shows us their amusements, which exhibit extravagancies in obscenity and sensuality, exciting tears of laughter in the infant scarcely able to walk about alone. And he shows us, under a thick crust of foul and diseased humanity, bright and pure fountains of heroism and natural nobleness gushing forth from the inmates of the lazaret-house, the brothel, and the gaol.

There are solemn lessons in these pages, dark with the shades of spiritual death, and yet illumined here and there with beams from brighter worlds. It were well for portly millowners and mellow country gentlemen to ruminate upon them over their wine, in their easy chair, by their bright hearth, with the curtains snugly drawn. Let them follow the writer into the daily and nightly haunts of misery and infamy, and let them see on all sides over work and under pay and the principle of individualism stretched to cracking.

We are glad that the instrument of these revelations cannot be pronounced as belonging to the Socialist camp. His grand exhibition of the flaws of our civilization is not an *ex parte* statement. It is difficult to rise from a perusal of his pages without becoming a Socialist; but his facts have not proceeded from a Socialist pen. Henry Mayhew cannot be classed with any strongly pronounced section of economists. He has happily escaped from the exhausted receiver of antique political economy, and is not yet enrolled in the ranks of the new army of martyrs. He belongs to a neutral party, forming the centre between this *gauche* and *droite*; and as such he was admirably calculated for the work that he has so bravely done. We are not, however, without our hopes that one who has probed so deeply the wounds that are inherent in our society, will at no distant time find a warmer comfort than that held out by the quackeries emanating from the meagre pharmacopœia of conservative economy and politics.

The fact that the only substantial plans, such as mutual pension societies, for alleviating the miseries of the distressed, which are advocated by Mayhew, by sundry good Samaritans, and by the patients themselves, involve more or less the principle of association, is a favourable omen. The instincts of benevolence and sound reason combine with a famished experience in pronouncing this as the remedy for the ills which all flesh, but especially pauper flesh, is heir to. It is our hope that the despair, the agony, and the heroism of the poor, as disclosed in these *Revelations*, will rivet the thoughts of those who have breathing time in the fever of life, and can rest on their oars to look around them.

A LESSON FROM THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

WERE there any democrats looking at the Lord Mayor's show on Monday? This is a perplexing question. Either the whole population can be drawn forth, and yet the absent democrats be so few that they cannot be missed—or there were, in the immense concourse that witnessed that ancient array, good store of democrats. We incline to the latter

supposition. Probably some of the sterner patriots kept a philosophical reservation in their minds, and, being there only to observe, looked on to criticize, not enjoy; but at all events they felt enough interest in the pageant to come.

Perhaps, in spite of democratic scepticisms, there is no aspect which any public body can take so popular as that of a pageant. And the respect for it will be just in proportion to the skill with which the pageant is set forth and performed. There is an important truth at the bottom of these facts, which it behoves democrats to consider, and not to avoid with averted eyes. Facts may be very inconvenient to those who are interested in promulgating abstract theories; but by ignoring facts you do not abolish them, any more than you remove the post which stands in your way by ignoring it.

Democrats cannot keep from pageantry themselves. As soon as they have the opportunity they, too, acquire the taste for colours, for processional order, for the tinkling cymbal and sounding brass. In the demonstration of Monday week colours were at a premium; wands of office were prized; much pride was displayed in banners and flags; in the evening, a seat at "the committee table" was not despised; and few things were more gratifying than the general recognition of good order and imposing array.

This is in the nature of things. Vigour and efficiency naturally tend to symmetry of order and to outward completeness. Nations addicted to manly and soldierly activity have always inclined also to orderly displays, to picturesque costume, martial music, and pomp. You cannot have effective action or movement without order. You cannot witness the manual skill of the swordsman, or the orderly motion of soldiery, without admiring the beauty of action and order for its own sake. The trappings of action fitted to the demands of celerity and efficiency acquire the symmetry of a picturesque "uniform." Conscious power becomes proud of its costume, and anticipates some of its triumphs by the very force of its victorious aspect. The most admired part of the Lord Mayor's show—that of which the admiration was least reserved and qualified—was the body of Hussars, under whose comeliness lay the most of strength and of the trained power for destruction.

That party in any state will possess the sovereign power, which can command the largest amount of the vigour and spirit embodied in such men.

A CHEAP DEFENCE.

It is predicted that the Cossack will water his horses in the Thames.

We advise that all reports of the Board of Health shall be suppressed forthwith, and suspended throughout 1852; for if the Cossack should come, and should seek to refresh his horses in the natural manner, we could not have a more deadly resource against the enemy than the waters of the Thames. But if the Board of Health were to tell him, would he be so mad? Cossacks learn to live on beans, but even a Cossack horse could not stomach Thames water.

Thanks to a far-seeing Government which has preserved to us that true Anti-Cossack Elixir!

SOCIAL REFORM.

"NOTES OF A SOCIAL ECONOMIST."

THE COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS OF ENGLAND.

IX.

"What different lots our stars accord!
This babe to be hail'd and woo'd as a lord!
And that to be shunn'd like a leper!
One to the world's wine, honey, and corn,
Another, like Colchester native, born
To its vinegar only, and pepper."—T. Hoon.

In the course of a brief tour recently made through some of the manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, I discovered but one *bonâ fide* Coöperative Association, and that one in debt to the amount of £12 or £14, and without credit sufficient to obtain even the materials necessary for feeding the looms. I have since heard that the pecuniary difficulties of this, the "Universal Family" Association in Salford, have been removed by the generous assistance of some gentlemen connected with the *Christian Socialist*, a journal containing much valuable and interesting information concerning the coöperative movement. The "Universal Family" Association is a coöperative society, composed of some fourteen weavers, which supplies a Store in connection with it with calicoes,

* "Chacun des associés apporte à la Société son industrie et son travail."—ROMAND. *Manuel des Associations Ouvrières*.

shirtings, &c. At the time that I visited this association, there were but three hands employed; William Stork, the manager, James Hoyle, and a little girl, the daughter of one of the Associates. I had some difficulty in finding my way to the manufactory, situate in one of the narrow streets of Salford, and after mounting an external ladder or flight of stairs from a back yard, I entered a kind of loft, containing ten looms, six of which were idle; the necessary steam power was rented from the proprietor of an engine on the ground floor.

I was informed by Mr. Stork, that the first meeting for the purpose of forming an association, was held on November 12, 1848, at a Temperance coffee-house in Salford, and that their very small capital was raised by voluntary subscriptions, or rather by free gifts. The non-success of the little community appears to have arisen from a deficiency of capital at starting, and from the want of business habits, and of that skill, knowledge, and experience which are indispensable to success in the conduct and management of every trading or manufacturing concern;—by no means from any want of union or good fellowship among the individual members of the society; and I afterwards found that the members of other associations in Manchester took a lively interest in the proceedings and welfare of the "Universal Family," and warmly sympathized in the efforts and struggles of these earnest experimental Communists. The following curious and interesting document is the Prospectus of the Universal Family Association:—

"ADDRESS.

"A number of persons, inhabitants of Salford and the vicinity, having met and discoursed upon the wretched and deplorable condition of the labouring portion of society, came to the unanimous opinion that something more was needed than mere parliamentary reform; that a moral and social change must be effected before the circumstances of the working man can be materially improved; that notwithstanding our voluminous code of laws, with all other means and appliances to boot, men either will not or cannot do as they would be done by. Interests being so divided, and competition and individual aggrandizement carried out to such an extent, that all idea of right and wrong seems to be lost in that of lawful and unlawful; and each has become as it were a child of Ishmael, 'his hand against every man's hand, and every man's hand against his.' Individual interest and duty are seldom seen together, and wealth-seeking is become so much the business of men, that duty is well nigh lost sight of altogether. Why, they would ask, does it occur that there exists such an amount of physical suffering through hunger and want? Is it because there is a scarcity of the means of subsistence? Certainly not; the Giver of all good gives not life without means for its support; it would be doubting his goodness to suppose that he created beings with wants which could not be gratified. Life has been given for the purpose of happiness, and to live and be happy is the right of all men. In the time of Franklin it was computed that, if every man and woman would labour at something useful, for four hours a day, sufficient would be produced to procure all the necessities and comforts of life, want and misery would be banished from the world, and the rest of the twenty-four would be leisure and pleasure. For whose benefit, then, have all the boasted improvements been made since his time? What becomes of all the advantages derived from England's geographical position on the globe, her mines, her almost unlimited labouring force in steam and water power, her railways and canals, her ships, her machinery, and all other improvements in the instruments of production? By whom are they enjoyed? Certainly not by that class whose labour produces all the necessities and luxuries of life. No! The working man finds himself necessitated to toil continually for a bare existence, whilst others enjoy luxury and amusement with little or no exertion, or are but eminent in their expertness in snatching up the fruits of other men's labour. These circumstances have a natural tendency to produce disaffection, envy, and bitterness of heart; he (the working man) feels that he is neither cared for nor respected by others, and he sinks lower and lower in the scale of morality in proportion to the decrease of his physical comforts. Thus it will be seen that the moral depravity of the poor man, in a great measure proceeds from his physical wants being ill supplied; and the great cause of this is the interest of the nation is divided into interests of classes and individuals, and it must be so, so long as one man's gain is another man's loss. Who is there amongst us when he sees and considers the wretched and sunken condition of the labouring man does not say to himself something is wrong, a remedy is needed, a remedy must be applied. It is not for us to say where the present system will lead to; but one thing is certain, justice is not done, or the producer of all the wealth would have a better share.

"It therefore becomes the duty of all the well disposed to endeavour to bring about a change; for he who does not perform a part in advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his means and abilities, is not only useless but mischievous, inasmuch as he takes his share of the profits and leaves his share of the burden to be borne by others, which is the cause of most of the suffering which we have to complain of; and as those whose duty it is to direct the energies of the nation and enforce equal justice, declare, by their actions as well as their words, their inability to remedy the evil, it therefore resolves itself into this:—*The working classes must do justice to themselves as far as their power will admit.*

"It may be said by some that the power of that class is very limited; they have little or no share in the making of the laws, and moreover they are poor and at the mercy of their employers. These obstacles, great as they may appear to be, have little or no effect if the working classes would unite their energies and interests; the only real difficulty is the want of moral principle amongst their own body. No one will deny the abundance of the raw material of wealth, and the existence of a power of production sufficient to supply all our necessary wants; all that seems to be required is a just system of production and distribution, and to effect this there needs but a union of the will and individual disposition of the industrious and well-disposed, based upon true moral principles, where all interest and benefits shall become as one. We shall then be as one harmonious family, rejoicing in each other's happiness rather than in individual accumulation of wealth, which is the great cause of all the divisions amongst society, setting class against class, families against themselves, and individuals against all; making the earth one vast Babel of confusion and misery, where all might be order, peace, and enjoyment.

"Entertaining these views, they therefore resolved themselves into a committee for the purpose of forming a Society based upon the following objects and principles:—

"OBJECTS.—1. To effect a union of all the industrious and well-disposed upon the principle of universal brotherhood; to spread as widely as possible the principles of universal charity and love, by the education of the mind and the removal as far as possible of all those causes which have a tendency to generate vice and immorality; to encourage and promote the practice of virtue and good moral conduct; and proclaim the glad tidings of 'Peace on earth and good will towards men, without money and without price.'

"2. To raise a fund as early as possible for the purpose of procuring raw materials, tools, and working capital, for the employment of labour, upon the principle of combined interests to promote the general happiness and increase the physical comforts of a great portion of society, by more just arrangement in the production and distribution of wealth, so that all who are competent and willing to labour may have employment, and enjoy the fruits of the same in accordance with the principles of justice and equity.

"3. To place the means for the attainment of knowledge within the reach of all, so that each individual may have full, free, and equal opportunity for the exercise and development of his intellectual faculties, and so to instruct the mind that all who have natural capabilities may become useful and enlightened members of society.

"PRINCIPLES.—1. That all mankind have one common nature.

"2. That man is a being endowed with faculties and desires which render him capable of being happy.

"3. That the motive to all voluntary human action is the desire of happiness.

"4. That society is the true natural state of the human race.

"5. That the earth was given to man for the common good of all the human race.

"6. That the ordinary means of happiness may be placed within the reach of all by a just arrangement of human institutions.

"7. That man's duty to man consists in his acting in strict accordance with that heavenly injunction laid down by the great Founder of Christianity, when he said,

"Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

"In pursuance of the foregoing, a society has been established under the denomination of the 'Universal Family,' which is now rapidly increasing in the number of its members. They hold friendly meetings every Sunday evening, to which the public have free admission; discourses are delivered by the members and friends explanatory of the objects and principles of the association; a mutual conversation is opened upon the same and other questions affecting the general happiness of society, in which strangers are allowed to take a part; and all who are desirous and willing to assist in bringing about the system of things in which the whole human family shall dwell in peace, concord, and unity, are invited to attend, and if wishful to become members.

"The object of the 'Universal Family' being the good of the whole, they deem it necessary to state that they wish to avoid as much as possible all re-

ligious disputations, having respect for the honest and sincere opinions of men of every creed and every faith. Their motto is:—"Do unto others as you would that others should do unto you."

"Place of meeting, Large-room, Temperance Coffee-house, Irwell-street, Salford, every Sunday evening at six o'clock."

In Pendleton, another of the numerous suburban townships of Manchester, there is a joint-stock association, with sixty looms at work, the Whit-lane Weaving Company, in which a portion only of the operatives employed are shareholders, having a voice in the management. This association was established on the 28th of December, 1850, in consequence of a "strike" which took place in the extensive mills of Sir Elkanah Armitage in Pendleton: the operatives asserting that their wages were lower, the masters, that they were "not inferior to any paid in the cotton trade." It is, in reality, THE UNEMPLOYED WHO DETERMINE THE RATE OF WAGES; but the daily improvement in machinery, or rather the substitution of machines for men, while it diminishes the necessity for manual strength, skill, and labour, at the same time increases the ranks of those "who determine the rate of wages." If a master, for instance, who employs one hundred operatives in some manufacturing process, purchase or invent a machine which will perform the labour of fifty of them, he is at once enabled to discharge these fifty operatives, who are thus driven into the ranks of "the unemployed, who determine the rate of wages;" and, by the inexorable law of competition, must perforce beat down the wages of the other fifty. So that the master, not merely takes the whole profit arising from the difference between the cost of labour of fifty operatives and the cost of labour of a fifty-man machine power, but he also takes the sum of the reduction in wages of the fifty operatives whom he still continues to employ: until his profits also be reduced by the competition of other machines, i.e., capital, or accumulated labour. Yet the political economists still continue to assert that under the competitive system the interests of the employed and the employers are identical—the sordid money profit interests, by no means to be confounded with the true moral and social interests of the whole community, which must sympathize more or less acutely, consciously or unconsciously, with the sufferings of each one of its members; with the dying curse of the starving Irish peasant, and with the final exit of "the first gentleman of Europe," whose funeral was celebrated in London by a general holiday.

I must postpone, till next week, the first half-yearly report of the Whit-lane Weaving Company.

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

JULIAN, THE APOSTATE.—Julian, the apostate, was a type of this party. He, too, had his retrograde philosophy which nourished itself upon the Past. He thought that the Myths of Paganism were capable of answering all those moral needs which Christianity came to answer; and he insisted that his subjects should accept them, believe them, live by them. It never occurred to him that, if the garments still fitted men, they would not have been cast aside; and that, if men had outgrown them, it was evidence of the garments being no longer suitable. It was in vain he proclaimed the Christians *ασεβεις* and *αθεοι*, because they would not believe in the antique gods—those gods "under whom millions had been happy." Christianity was not to be set aside by royal edicts; it answered to the moral needs; the antique gods were broken in their temples, and the nations gathered round the new Teacher.—*Brit. Q. Rev.* No. 28.

PEACE AND WAR.—We are not inobservant of the talk of many of our "Peace Society" friends. But in our grave judgment the tendencies not a little of that talk are anything but wise, anything but humane. We have a deep horror of war—of the war which destroys by the sword. But we have a deeper horror still of the war that destroys by the many thousand forms of lingering death that are ever taking place beneath the dark wings of the demon of absolutism. To die in the battle-field may be terrible—to die in the night, and loneliness, and foulness of the dungeon is a thousand-fold more terrible. We lament that thousands should perish as seamen or soldiers; but we lament with a sadder grief that millions should be dwarfed in mind, corrupted in heart, thrust down from their place as men, to be used up as so much mere material—and all that a certain family may rule, or that some chance possessor of power may continue to possess it. Absolutism is the Upas tree of mind. It inverts every principle of morals. It knows nothing of religion except as an engine of state. Man ceases to be man as subject to its pressure. We have no wish to see the world at the bidding of such masters. The cost must be great that should not be freely incurred to place it in far other hands. To bear with absolutism, wherever it can be put down, is to be false to humanity and to God.—*Ibid.*

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.*

BEAUTIFULLY and profoundly was it said by the great TURGOT, that no virtue could dispense with justice—"Aucune vertu, dans quelque sens qu'on prenne ce mot, ne dispense de la justice"—and yet how constantly injustice is committed in the "cause" of virtue! Were it not for the atheistic jesuistry of "doing evil that good may come" and of "lying for God," how otherwise could be explained the terrible fact that preachers of a Gospel of Love, Charity, and Truth, should so shamelessly resort to the weapons of Malignity, Uncharitableness, and Falsehood? How is it that the orthodox polemic can justify to himself procedure such as his heterodox opponent would indignantly disclaim?

An example lies before us. The *Guardian* and the *Church and State Gazette* have commenced warfare with the *Leader*, and commenced in a spirit which we own pains us—pains us on far other than personal grounds. To such an organ as the *Church and State Gazette* we cannot even award the dignity of contempt; the *Guardian* is, both by position and character, an enemy whom we would fain combat with the courtesy of respect. But what are the facts of the present case? In a recent number of this journal, among the reports of the news, there appeared the report of a funeral oration delivered by Mr. HOLYOAKE over the grave of EMMA MARTIN. Observe, it was a report, not an article written for our journal. It took its place among various other reports of current events, occupying precisely the same position which a report of a papal aggression meeting or a Bible society meeting would occupy. It was introduced by these words:—"In the current discussions on reformation affecting women, the public will learn with regret the decease of one able to have made valuable contributions to such a question." We also stated that "it will be news to many classes that such things are thought and said in this metropolis" as those in Mr. HOLYOAKE'S oration. To furnish such reports was obviously our duty as journalists. Mere difference of opinion, however extreme, has never excluded anything from our columns; men of all parties have written in them, opinions of all shades have found free utterance; we have permitted our correspondents to attack our opinions vehemently, cogently. *Freedom* has been our watchword, and it has gained us friends in all directions—among Catholics, High Church, Low Church, Nonconformists, Unitarians, Sceptics; the *English Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Dublin Review*, the *North British Review*, the *British Quarterly Review*, and *Tait*—all assuredly above suspicion of complicity with our views,—have quoted and mentioned us with respect: we say it to their honour. And the cause of this has been that the public has felt that we were performing a just and honourable part in giving publicity to all opinions while unequivocally setting forth our own.

The *Church and State Gazette* fastens upon the report just mentioned, and without hinting that it is taken from our news department, says, after describing EMMA MARTIN, "Such is the sort of woman that the *Leader* deems fit for the crisis in which society is now supposed to be plunged." It then declares that the writers in such a paper deserve to be held up to public notice, and, accordingly, it "gibbets" some of our contributors. The *Guardian*, although in a more gentlemanly style, does the same thing. Now, we appeal to any conscience, however obtuse, we appeal even to the *Church and State Gazette*, and ask what is the justice of such a charge? Why, when our own opinions are stated so frankly, have recourse to such disreputable subterfuges as taking a news article for the point of attack? Why endeavour by dastardly and dirty means to hurt the reputation of the distinguished men who have availed themselves of our tolerance of variety in opinion to enlighten and

amuse our readers, by "gibbeting" them as supporters of views which they would repudiate?

We have studiously abstained from paper warfare. Our combats have been with principles. If our antagonists insist upon it, war they shall have, and to the knife!

Appropos of war, in the last *North British Review* there is a long and curious history of the Peace Congress, said to be by Sir DAVID BREWSTER. We must say, however, that whatever force other arguments may have, the religious argument is singularly weak in this question. "Thou shalt not kill," stands a law without exception in the statute book of Heaven; and the Creator, who made of one blood all the nations of the universe, has nowhere given express permission to the creature to appropriate a single drop of the life-giving unity." How is this reconciled with the very title of Jehovah as Lord of Hosts, with the great warlike spirit of the magnificent David, and with two thirds of the Bible? How does it accord with that one striking and universal fact of incessant warfare in the creation, all life supported by other life, all organisms living on the destruction of other organisms, and man himself in the savage state spontaneously killing and devouring his fellow?

It is quite true that Humanity says, "Thou shalt not kill;" true that Religion says so most emphatically; but it is not true that the Bible says so in the sense of forbidding war; and our early prelates were not ill-placed among the leaders of warlike expeditions. But times change, and bring their changes with them: our ideal is not now of universal conquest, but of universal brotherhood; and Peace is the aspiration of the foremost minds,—not the Peace of servitude, not the Peace which shuts its eye to wrong, but the Peace which springs up from universal conviction of its efficacy.

Complaints of literary piracy are as old as MARTIAL, who sighs to think that the Gauls are delighting in his verses, and he none the richer for it—

"Dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus.

Quid prodest? nescit sacculus ista meus."

A sigh which many a French and English author heaves when he casts his eye on Brussels or America. But as there is no cause however bad which cannot find a *Church and State Gazette*, the Brussels pirates have found an advocate in the writer of a small volume, *La Réimpression*. He affixes an epigraph which, while it exquisitely characterizes the book, has at the same time an agreeable audacity quite amusing. "Literary property is not property: la propriété littéraire n'est pas une propriété." In other words, literary dishonesty is not dishonest: a maxim which we offer to the *Church and State Gazette*. The advocate is very strong in philanthropic considerations; he objects to copyright as a "monopoly"—the poor, he says, are thereby deprived of good books; but he forgets to add that they are also deprived of pines, porcelain, carriages, yachts, and opera boxes. He objects to the term piracy—*contrefaçon*; he says it is a branch of "useful industry," and ought to be called *Reprinting*; and after explaining the advantages of that industry, naïvely adds, *En Belgique, ces vérités sont depuis longtemps comprises!*

Among the new works we hasten to announce one from GUIZOT, with the promising title of *Méditations et Études morales*; a novel by the Countess D'ORSAY, called *L'Ombre du Bonheur*; and an important work by GIOBERTI, *Di rinascimento civile d'Italia*, the first part being devoted to the Errors and Schemes of the day; the second to Remedies and Hopes. To those who love pure literature we know not what more agreeable volume to recommend than the one just issued of SAINT BEUVE'S *Causeries du Lundi*. It contains some of the best portraits he has ever drawn; and a charming gallery they make. We pass from RABELAIS to VAUVENARQUES, from the Duc de SAINT SIMON to FREDERICK the Great, from DIDEROT

to the Duchesse de MAINE, from CAMILLE DESMOULINS to Madame EMILE DE GIRARDIN. The necessity for limiting his articles to the exigencies of a newspaper has forced SAINT BEUVE into a concision both of style and exposition, which greatly improves his sketches; and we know not which to admire most, the variety of his attainments or the skill of his pencil.

While on this subject of announcements, we must not forget two new works by HEINRICH HEINE, a volume of poems under the title of *Romanzen*, and a prose work, *Der Doktor Faust*, which he calls *eine getanzte Tragödie*! Anything from the pen the "Dying Aristophanes," as his friends christen him, must excite the curiosity of all German readers.

Who has forgotten *Jérôme Paturot*? The author of that immense extravaganza is now publishing a similar one, *Athanase Robichon, candidat perpétuel à la présidence*. The first part is very amusing, but it threatens to become wearisome before the close. Athanase Robichon is a patriotic Toymaker. He works for the glory of France. He wishes to place France above all Europe in respect of Toys. He defies Nuremberg: alone he sustains the combat—for twenty years sustains it, often wounded, never beaten, and drawing fresh energy from the spectacle of his wounds. At last he succeeded in manufacturing a doll: Europe adopts it! Brilliant prospects are opening for France—her toys will become supreme! This noble ambition, however, receives a new direction. He awakes one morning and finds himself one of the sovereign people. He is a sovereign; and, as all may aspire to the Presidency, why not he? What is to prevent him? The duty of a President is to make the people happy; he has all the requisites—*je suis en fonds pour cela; on me verra à l'œuvre. Je l'inonderai de félicités ce peuple, je l'en accablerai!*

We cannot follow him in his course. Enough has been said to indicate the tone.

PROGRESS OF PHYSIOLOGY.

Principles of Physiology, General and Comparative. By W. B. Carpenter, M. D. Third Edition. Churchill.

THE progress of the Science of Life, or Physiology as it is inaccurately called, rapid as it has been of late years, would have been still greater had the Method been more Scientific. Such progress as we have made has been mainly owing to an approach to this Method. Of late years we have learned how little can be done by *direct* observation and experiment, and how much may be done by *comparison*. Since we have turned our thoughts to Comparative Physiology—since we have undertaken to study Life in its less complex forms, we have become convinced that as Nature herself obviously proceeds *from the simple to the complex*, we shall best penetrate the secret processes she pursues if we study her from the simple to the complex, and commence our investigations of Life with the lowest of the organized forms, not with Man, the highest.

This seems almost a truism when thus stated. The most casual inspection of physiological works will show, however, that this philosophical canon is followed but dimly when it is followed, and is mostly neglected altogether. Not only are Students introduced to Physiology, through what is called *Human Physiology*,—not only do they, and professed physiologists confine themselves mainly to the study of Man, seeking merely illustrations in the broad field of comparative study—not only are they, therefore, called upon to investigate the most complex forms of life without previous knowledge of the simpler forms (as if to begin Euclid at the twelfth book!)—but when they come to write treatises, either for Students or for advanced Inquirers, they construct these works in complete disregard of the processional Method, seeming to imply that the complex may rationally take precedence of the simple. Even Dr. Carpenter, who has devoted, and successfully devoted, so much of his time to Comparative Physiology, and who knows as well as any one the absolute necessity of that prelude to Human Physiology, when he composes a treatise on the latter subject, the canon we allude to is entirely disregarded by him. To our astonishment we find him *commencing* with the Nervous System—that is to say, with the latest and most complex form of Animal life! From this he de-

scends to Digestion, Circulation, Nutrition, Secretion, and Reproduction. How unscientific this arrangement is will appear from the following considerations.

Taking a broad survey of all its manifestations, we find that Life has two grand divisions—Vegetative and Animal; or, to use Bichat's language, into Organic Life and Relative Life. We see Plants and Animals,—the latter feeding on the former; but we also see that the Animal itself is only distinguished from the Plant by the possession of certain faculties, over and above those of organic or vegetative life, viz., the faculties of sensation and locomotion. Equally to the Animal as to the Plant are organs of nutrition and reproduction indispensable; and Cuvier's notion of an animal being able to live for a moment by its *Animal Life* alone, betrays a profound misconception of the Problem of Life. As in nature it is the vegetables which supply Animals with food, so in Animals it is the *vegetative* life which supports the *relative* life.

Physiologists have not sufficiently borne in mind that although in Man the Animal Life has a pre-dominance over the Vegetative Life, nevertheless it is only superposed on the vegetative, and can never for an instant be independent of it. Nature presents to us a marvellous procession from the Plant, which has only organic life, to the Zoophyte, which exhibits a commencement of animal life, up through animals to Man, with a gradual complexity of organism, and gradual enhancement of the animal life; so that from simple processes of assimilation and reproduction our investigation rises to locomotion, sensation, intelligence, morality, and sociality! The great change from inorganic to organic, that is to say, the first vital act, is assimilation; add thereto the act of reproduction, and you have the whole life of a *cell*, the simplest of organisms.

"A cell," says Dr. Carpenter, "in Physiological language is a closed vesicle or minute bag, formed by a membrane in which no definite structure can be discerned, and having a cavity which may contain matter of variable consistence. Every such cell constitutes an entire organism in such simple plants as *Red Snow* or *Gory Dew*; for although the patches of this kind of vegetation which attract notice are made up of vast aggregations of such cells, yet they have no dependence upon one another, and the actions of each are an exact repetition of those of the rest." The cell in short is a plant: minute, yet individual, and its powers of reproduction (*i.e.*, of throwing off cells similar to itself) is so great that extensive tracts of snow are reddened quite suddenly by the *Protococcus nivalis* (Red Snow). "In such a cell," continues Dr. Carpenter, "*every organized fabric, however complex, originates*. The vast *tree*, almost a forest in itself—the *zoophyte*, in which we discover the lowest indications of animality—and the feeling, thinking, intelligent *man*—each springs from a germ that differs in no obvious particular from the *permanent condition* of one of those lowly beings."

Is it not clear, then, that to understand Life we must ascend through its simpler to its more complex manifestations, and that to begin our study with the more complex is to violate an obvious canon of Methodology? The point is of great importance, and in introducing Dr. Carpenter's work we felt bound to insist on it; for many a student alarmed by the bulkiness of this volume and the magnitude of the study, will be apt to ask "Why should I bother myself with Comparative Physiology?"

To the student, to the philosopher, nay even to the "general reader," this work of Dr. Carpenter's presents itself with urgent claims. As a survey of the laws of animated beings it must interest all except the most frivolous; and although we have many and serious objections to some of the views here set forth, yet mindful of his preface we will estimate his work by its merits, and not by its shortcomings.

The Principles of Physiology, then, is a ponderous volume of 1080 closely printed pages, illustrated by 321 woodcuts, and estimated merely as a classified collection of facts it would demand a place in every scientific library; it is, however, much more than that, it is a comprehensive and luminous treatise, compensating by the multiplicity of its facts and the clearness of its exposition for the want of that philosophical power which alone can render such treatises permanent. To convey a notion of its value as a reflection of the present state of the Science we need simply repeat what we find stated in the preface, that of the 1080 pages which compose this third

edition, not above 150 belong to the previous edition. It is in fact a new work. As editor of the *British and Foreign Medical Review*, Dr. Carpenter is necessarily well informed of all the discoveries which Continental inquirers are making, and in this respect alone his work will be a most valuable indication of the condition of each problem.

The *arrangement* is philosophical—showing how when treating the *whole* subject he was naturally led to follow Nature's order. After the preliminaries on the general characters of organized structures, the nature and conditions of vital phenomena and the tissues, he describes the distinctive characteristics of the Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms. He next passes in review the details of the Vegetable Kingdom from the Cryptogamic to the Phanerogamic Plants; this is followed by a similar survey of the Animal Kingdom from Zoophytes to Mammalia. A chapter on the general plan of organic structure and development concludes this portion. The second portion is devoted to special and comparative Physiology. He begins with Aliment, passes to Absorption in vegetables and animals, thence to circulation, thence to respiration, thence to exhalation of aqueous vapour, and to Nutrition and Secretion. The evolution of Light, Heat, and Electricity is then considered. Next we have Reproduction, which concludes the phenomena of vegetative life; those of animal life, viz., sensible motions, and the functions of the nervous system, being rightly left till the last.

We are not insensible to the value of such writers as Dr. Carpenter: men in whom an inordinate appetite for facts has been developed somewhat at the expense of the philosophic power; and it is not by way of diminishing our praise of his work that we note in passing a want of power. There is no such work in our language, so that were it tenfold less estimable we should feel bound to recommend it. Let the student draw his own conclusions—there are the facts in abundance, well grouped and well stated. If the reasonings do not always strike him as very cogent, let him pass on: it is not as a speculative book that it should be read; yet even as a speculative book he will find it quite equal to many of great reputation—the very variety of Dr. Carpenter's studies having guarded him against the narrow views resulting from the absurd "division of labour" carried on in science.

We are stating in general terms our deliberate opinion. This is not the place for a detailed examination of the opinions Dr. Carpenter sets forth. We thank him for his work; the public also has reason to thank him. In the face of so much that is excellent it would be worse than churlish to fasten on defective details. What book, as Martial says, is without its good, bad, and mediocre parts?

"Sunt bona, sunt quædam mediocria, sunt mala plura,
Quæ legis: aliter non fit, Avite, liber!"

PRIDHAM'S KOSSUTH AND MAGYAR LAND.

Kossuth and Magyar Land, or, Personal Adventures during the War in Hungary. By Charles Pridham, Esq., B.A., late correspondent of the *Times* in Hungary. Madden.

THE reader of this book will be somewhat puzzled when he considers the two striking facts it presents of Mr. Pridham's enthusiasm for Kossuth, and his position as "*Times* correspondent." Did the *Times*, when it sent out a gentleman of such decidedly anti-Austrian views, intend to favour Kossuth? We cannot imagine that journal employing Mr. Pridham in ignorance of his opinions; did it wish to have correspondents of both colours, in order to be ready to side with the victor, as it usually does?

Be that as it may, Mr. Pridham is in no sense to be understood as taking the *Times* view of the Hungarian struggle, and that makes it more provoking to find nothing really about Kossuth or the Hungarians in this book. He deserves a severe reprimand for such a misleading, catch-penny title; but severer than any reprimand will be the effect produced upon the reader, who, disappointed at not finding what was promised, will fail to appreciate what really is amusing in the book. Had Mr. Pridham contented himself with the title of "*Personal Adventures*," he would have gained a pleased audience; but he has made a false step at the outset, and must bear the weight of a frustrated reader's indignation.

"For the fastidious reader," Mr. Pridham says, "who demands and is satisfied only with the supremest elegance of diction, this little book neither was, nor could be written." We are satisfied with something less than the "supremest elegance of diction," but yet, without being over-

fastidious, we may suggest that "doing ample justice to a repast"—"whether or no"—"embryo conflicts," and similar phrases, can scarcely be called felicitous; nor can we greatly admire such superb diction as that which makes *Punch* the "hebdomadal laugh-compeller"—makes the "sun strew over the landscape his orient pearl"—and expresses the fact of women having disguised themselves as soldiers thus:—"A nation, methinks, must be in earnest when its women spontaneously don the panoply of war." What say you to the turn of that sentence? "Coat and trousers" sounds very tame and prosaic, elegance of diction requires "panoply of war"! Mr. Pridham does not seem endowed with a lively sense of bathos; we thought "panoply of war" was not to be surpassed, yet here is a sentence which surpasses it:—

"Zamoitski was always ready to fly to the assistance of his country; to serve her he had served Hungary, and had lost a finger in a cavalry charge!"

We must make room for one of his political tirades, which we have read with considerable attention, and failed altogether in comprehending. He is in Vienna, and is supposed to allude to Metternich:—

"Yet none could gainsay that the modern Machiavelli had perfected his singular destiny. Humanity bore everywhere its sickening traces. Absent though he might be from the laboratory, his spirit triumphed still in his successors. There he sat, still the guiding automaton. What if Gentz were supping with Pluto, Werner still survived to proclaim the divine right of kings, and to make men crouch before the abstractions he had set up. All those chemical processes, which had emasculated the soul of man, were again in motion, distilling drop by drop from the mental pores.

"That infamous market, where the robbed senses of humanity had so long been trafficked in, had been closed only for a brief interval; what, if a resistless impulse of the popular will had for a time reinstated man in his pristine dignity, he was again despoiled of all his spiritualism, and the same system which he fancied he had overthrown was again in full activity. Henceforth nature seemed to decree that any remnants of political energy should alternately subserve the anarchy of despotism, or combine to exhaust their force in the paroxysms of an anarchy scarcely less fatal,—that of the revolution."

Now why Metternich should not be absent from a laboratory, and why he should still sit there a guiding Automaton,—as if that was peculiarly the sphere of an automaton, and as if automata were remarkable for "guiding"—puzzled us. Was Mr. Pridham making a vague dash at the classical, and confounding Automaton the Driver with a piece of mechanism? The suggestion receives colour from the subsequent allusion to Pluto. But why Automaton should sit in a laboratory, and superintend the "chemical processes" which have "emasculated the soul," remains still unexplained. What can be meant by the "market where the robbed senses of humanity had so long been trafficked in"? What are the robbed senses of humanity, and of what are they robbed?

Without insisting upon "supremest elegance of diction," from a writer who speaks of having completed a long and laborious literary undertaking, we feel that such slipshod style ought not to pass unnoticed. Having noticed it, we may now say that in spite of its faults the volume is very amusing, as the narrative of some extraordinary adventures. One feels all the interest of romance in his baffled persistence; he resolves to enter Hungary, let Austria say what she will. And he enters. To give you a taste of the adventurous quality of these pages, we extract a passage from the account of his arrest. It is only necessary to preface it by saying that he had entered Hungary without a passport, and after passing several outposts—

"In turning suddenly a corner of the road, I came quite unexpectedly upon an Austrian post, and before I had time to effect a retreat, I was greeted by a sentinel on the look out with the startling challenge, 'Wass machen Sie?' The guard turned out in a twinkling. Every officer chanced to be absent from the post, or my fate might have been reserved as heretofore, but the soldiers in their ignorance were naturally disposed to view the incident under its more serious complexion, the more that they were unable to decipher a syllable of my passport; and after a long consultation as to what was best to be done under the circumstances, it was finally resolved that I should be forwarded to the next post in charge of three of the men. I gathered from my guard that we should find a subaltern stationed there. Having once been stopped, however, the officer, regardless of the prospect of the port afforded of my having passed through the post, and Pinkafeld unmolested, decided to proceed with his subordinates, on

sending me to his superior at the next post; and in this manner I was ultimately transferred to Friedberg. The civil commissioner happened to be on session. I entered the bureau of the police with a cigar in my mouth, but removed it immediately upon coming in presence of the magistrate. He eyed me, however, in a manner so vindictive, and assumed a scowl so savage and insolent, that, on perceiving he intended to continue smoking himself, I instinctively resumed it, determined rather to commit a breach of decorum than manifest the slightest symptom of trepidation. He ordered me to extinguish it. I replied, that I should be happy to comply, the instant he set me a better precedent. For a moment he hesitated, and then removed his pipe; but while in the act of following his example, my cigar was dashed from between my teeth by one of the bailiffs in attendance. A momentary scuffle ensued between myself and my assailant, but I was in an instant surrounded, while the latter retreated in the rear.

"I now underwent a most rigorous search, and my scanty baggage was dragged from its receptacle and overhauled. At the same moment, my braces and cravat were duly probed, and my unfortunate brandy-flask was returned to me smashed in the inside. The searchers passed their hands several times up and down my legs. Fortunately, I had previously turned up the part of the gaiters overlapping the shoes, and thus removed the greatest source of peril. But too cognizant of their dangerous contents, I could distinctly hear the crackling of the silver-paper on which the letters were written, yet, by a miraculous interposition, their ears were as much at fault as their sight and sense of touch, and I, for the first time, escaped the terrible ordeal in triumph.

"At this stage of the proceedings, the colonel of the regiment stationed at Friedberg entered the court, and seated himself by the side of the local magistrate. He seemed disposed to adopt a summary course of proceeding, and talked of shooting me without any ceremony. I must do the commissioner the justice to say, that he on every occasion interposed to check the violence of his coadjutor. Both, however, concurred in the opinion, that I was neither more nor less than a Hungarian spy, and appealed from the passport, which declared me to be an English advocate, to what they were pleased to call my military aspect and bearing, and even to the dress I then wore.

"At length, a suggestion of the commissioner's, that I should be sent off under escort to Grätz, in order that the pleasure of the Imperial Government might be taken as to my fate, prevailed; and I was removed to the den in which I was destined to pass the night, and remain until one o'clock the next day. The place was about six feet square, and dismal enough to make a dog howl. The money I carried on my person had been seized; no food was provided, and a dirty earthenware pot of water was placed at such a distance from without the bars of the cage that it could not be reached.

"I passed as good a night as the litter of dirty straw provided for me would permit; and at one o'clock was summoned again to appear before the commissioner. I was once more searched. No inquiry was made as to whether I had tasted food for the last twenty-four hours, and, however faint and weary, I was myself too much absorbed, at the possible discovery of the gaiters, to ask for any. Intense as was the heat at mid-day, I was brought out to march at once to Hartberg, between a file of soldiers with fixed bayonets.

"And well did the soldiers fulfil their brutal mission. Not a drop of wine or water was I permitted to taste during the first stage of eight miles, and it was not until we had reached the next stage (the escort, it may be mentioned, was relieved every eight miles) that I was permitted a moment's refreshment. In vain I adduced the insufficiency of the food so dearly paid for; I was forbidden any further rest, and when in a state of exhaustion I attempted to snatch a brief respite on a bank by the road-side, I was struck by the escort with the butt-end of their muskets, and experienced every kind of evasion at the next post, when I endeavoured to obtain the name of the principal offender.

"The third party, composed like the preceding of savage Croats, fitting agents of such a Government, behaved, if possible, more brutally still, and actually proceeded so far as to prick me with their bayonets, for the purpose of expediting my movements, when I suddenly started up, and pointing to my heart, intimated that they might run me through, but that I neither could nor would then move. Seeing that I was determined they desisted from their persecution, and, sitting down by my side, lit their pipes. It needed the soothing influence of the weed to tame their baffled passions, and I watched with some interest its slow but sure effects on their swarthy fiend-like countenances.

"A subsequent brutal proceeding of these men so exasperated me, that for an instant I canvassed in my mind the chances I should incur were I to seize the bayonet of the man before me, and transfix him in my rear. I was, saved, however, from a very dangerous, but I feel not an altogether impracticable attempt by the approach of two officers, to whom I

repeated in broken German the brutal treatment I had experienced. They addressed the men in some Slave dialect, so that I could not comprehend their observations; but they spoke in an admonitory tone, for the remainder of the march was performed in peace, though in the most intense agony, produced by the swelling of the instep and the appearance of a sore. This becoming aggravated by the friction of the leather and the intense heat, resolved itself into a frightful ulcer by the time I reached Hartberg, and rendered me for a long time unable to put on a shoe.

"At Hartberg I was left for some hours in the barrack-yard, among the soldiers, without refreshment, until a senior officer, less devoid of humanity than the others, happening to be passing, and seeing that I was half insensible, ordered my removal to a bed.

"Soon after the commissioner arrived. I must acknowledge that while he performed his duty to the letter, he displayed considerable feeling under the circumstances. Our conversation was in Latin, for he could not speak French; but as neither of us could express ourselves sufficiently fluently in a *lingua mortua* at such a moment of excitement, we found it necessary to betake ourselves to the rector of the place, who spoke French. To him I declared that I never had the slightest intention of joining the Hungarian army in a military capacity, but that I had merely wished to be in as close proximity as possible to the scene of the war, in order the better to carry on the correspondence with which I was entrusted. My statement appeared in some degree satisfactory, and the commissioner resolved that I should be permitted to take up my quarters at an hotel for the night; but he intimated that he should deem it his duty to keep a light burning in the room, and to place a sentinel by my bed side. As a preliminary, I was taken to the bureau to be once more searched. Nothing was discovered; but still the danger was not a whit the less imminent.

"After supper I was shown into my apartment, and now I foresaw that the real crisis of peril was at hand. I had hitherto been couched on straw, and had therefore remained in my clothes; now, however, it became necessary to disrobe. Fortunately, the commissioner was not present while I was getting into bed, and that little accident, together with the circumstance of the sentinel's being aware of my having been previously several times searched, it was which offered me a ray of hope at this forlorn moment. I resolved, therefore, to seize every opportunity that an imperturbable coolness could alone furnish me with for carrying out my designs. Taking off the dreaded gaiters with the same *sang froid* with which I had taken off my coat, I contrived by a little sleight of hand, in getting into bed, to whip them under it. Five minutes afterwards the commissioners entered the room, and inquired of the guard whether they had perceived anything of a suspicious tendency, and whether I had attempted concealment in any shape. They replied that I had divested myself of everything in front of them without hesitation, and that there was nothing to warrant a remark.

"So the commissioner retired, first giving orders, at my request, that the lights should be extinguished and the sentinels should remain outside. Neither of these instructions, were for some reason or other, obeyed; and if I contrived to doze for a few minutes, the gleam of the pale moon beams piercing through the windows, and lighting up the soldiers' bayonets, effectually dissipated sleep. The soldiers, too, dozed once or twice for a few moments during the night, till, disturbed from some cause or other, they would suddenly start up, as if under the impression that I was making my escape. Then for an hour or two they would direct their glistening orbs upon the spot where I lay as they thought asleep, watching my very breath.

"During one of the occasions on which I found them napping in this manner, I contrived to draw up the gaiters from their concealment under the bed, and to place them on the chair alongside of my other garments. As soon as it was light I rose, and put on every article of apparel in the same open manner that I had divested myself of it on the night previous. As soon as the commissioner arrived, he put the same questions as before to the sentinels, and they gave a similar answer. I now began to breathe more freely. After breakfast, the commissioner conducted me to a landau in waiting at the door, and gave orders to the two Italian corporals, my conductors, that I should be driven to Grätz."

CHEEVER ON THE SANDWICH ISLANDS. *Life in the Sandwich Islands; or, the Heart of the Pacific, as it was and as it is.* By the Reverend Henry Cheever. Bentley. *The Island World of the Pacific; being the Personal Narrative and Results of Travel through the Sandwich Islands and other Parts of Polynesia.* By the Reverend Henry Cheever. Collins.

THESE two works present evidence of Mr. Cheever's ample experience of the Sandwich Islands; with it he might have written an excellent book, had he known the way. As it is, they can only be acceptable as materials. Odds and ends of observation are thrown together,



much as they would be in a note book. We are treated to a fatiguing amount of moral reflection, not of the most suggestive, not of the newest; we have also "something too much" of Missionary labours and the "money value of Christianity"—the union of the Missionary and the Commercial Yankee not being altogether agreeable. When he tells us that Christianity has changed in the course of one generation a warlike, ferocious, infanticide race, sacrificing each other to their gods, into a race now so remarkably peaceful and gentle, that property and human life is safer among them than on any other part of the globe, he speaks like a minister of the Gospel; but when he launches out into statistical and rhetorical enthusiasm in favour of the "money value of Christianity," and winds up with the declaration "that if men wish to invest their money where it will yield a dividend of eighteen hundred per cent., they had better put it into the treasury of the missions"—then the Yankee disagreeably predominates.

Besides the Missionary advocate, we see here the traveller and observer; he gives us descriptions of natural productions, observations, and disquisitions on volcanoes and coral reefs, and tables of exports. The whole is a confused mass, but the details have interest. From *Life in the Sandwich Islands* we extract a passage or two for our philological friends:—

"The Hawaiians were particularly fond of annexing wai, water, if possible, in the names of places. It is like the Eastern word wadi, water, that occurs so often in the names of places in Arabia, as Wadi Mousa, Wadi Seder, &c. Undoubtedly it is the same word, with the mere ellipsis, for euphony's sake, of the consonant d.

"And it might be remarked in passing, that not a few of such verbal analogies go far towards proving the original identity of the languages of Polynesia and the East. Almost all valleys in Hawaii-nei, and places that have the precious boon of water, are called Wai with some descriptive epithet, as Waiohinu, sparkling water; Waialua, two waters, or double water; Kawaihae, broken waters, &c. . . . Some of the idioms are very peculiar and curious. There is no auxiliary verb 'to be,' nor any word to express the abstract idea of being or existence. Good idiomatic Hawaiian is, therefore, in short sentences, or clauses thereof, and the same word may be a noun or a verb, according to the sense to be expressed, without change. This, and the destitution of general terms, while specific ones are numerous, constitutes a state of the language favourable to the art of poetry.

"There are no variations in nouns for case, number, or person; but the mood and tenses of verbs are pretty clearly distinguished by simple prefixes and suffixes. The mode of conjugating verbs, the existence of a causative form, and the derivation of words from roots of two syllables, are thought to indicate a resemblance and cognate origin with the Hebrew and other Oriental tongues.

"The use of the particle 'no' in the way of affirmation or affirmative emphasis, like 'yes indeed,' 'no indeed,' is very peculiar, as being so the reverse of all the languages of Europe, where it is negative. Tell an Hawaiian to stop or leave off anything he is doing, as, ua oki, ua oki pela, and he answers, I stop indeed, oki au no, or, stop no!

"Ask a man a question to which he does not know or wish to give the answer—as, What did you do it for?—and the reply commonly heard will be,—He aha la! what indeed! Ask a native about the climate of a place—as, whether it is rainy or not—and he will think he gives you a very wise answer, though it is a most amusing and unsatisfactory one to the asker: Ina ua, ua no, If or when it rains, it rains; Ina aole, aole no; If not, no indeed; Ina ua pinepine, pinepine no; If it rain often, often indeed it rains; A i hiki i ka manawa ua, ua no, And when the rain-time has come, there is rain indeed!

"So, when you ask a native, sometimes, where he is going, he will answer you very respectfully, E hele au makahi E hele ai, I am going where I'm going, or what amounts to the English expression, without any of its impudence, I am following my nose! Ask a man whom you are employing what shall be done in any exigency, and he generally answers, Eia no ia oe, That's with you, that's for you to say.

"There is one Hawaiian word which, for its singular convenience and expressiveness, I would be glad to get domesticated into English, and that is 'Pilikia.' They use it to signify any strait, or difficulty, or perplexity a man is brought into by accident or sickness, or the mismanagement or ill conduct of others.

"In the speech of the King at the forced cession of the Islands to Paulet, it occurs very aptly. 'Hear ye! I make know to you that I am in perplexity (pilikia), by reason of difficulties into which I have been brought without cause; therefore I have given away the life of our land. Hear ye! But my will over you, my people, and your privileges will continue, for I have hope that the life of the land will be restored when my conduct is justified.'

This word *pilikia* would present no difficulty to

an expert derivator: what, he would say, can be more obvious than that our *pickle* is a corruption of this Hawaiian word? "A pretty pickle" being currently used for an "awkward perplexity." Oh, these derivators!

HOPE.

"The compound word for hope is beautifully expressive; it is *manaolana*, or the swimming thought—faith floating and keeping its head aloft above water, when all the waves and billows are going over one—a strikingly beautiful definition of hope, worthy to be set down along with the answer which a deaf and dumb person wrote with his pencil, in reply to the question, What was his idea of forgiveness? 'It is the odour which flowers yield when trampled on.'

From the same volume we extract a passage that will interest all naturalists:—

THEORY OF CORAL FORMATIONS.

"While on the subject of corals, it is in place to mention an inference which Williams makes in his *Missionary Enterprises*, in regard to the formation of corals, from the fact of their being carbonate of lime always in solution with salt water. His remarks are, that, 'As corals are carbonate of lime, and as they are found to exist only in warm climates, where, by the process of evaporation, there is abundance of materials supplied for these insects to build with, instead of secreting the substance, or producing it in any other way, they are merely the wonderful architects which nature employs to mould and fashion the material into the various and beautiful forms which the God of nature designed it should assume. In the Museum at Liverpool, among the specimens of coral, there is a branching piece of coral which is a calcareous crystal, formed in the evaporating-house of the saltworks of the King of Prussia.'

"So, in regard to sea-shells, instead of saying that the animals secrete the calcareous coverings which they inhabit, he thinks that they emit or secrete a gluten, to which the calcareous particles adhere, and thus form the shell. Let there be a chemical precipitation of the minute calcareous particles floating in sea-water by any means, and there might be formed a reef; agreeably to the experiment, in which the passing of a stream of electric fluid through water having calcareous and silicious particles in solution, produces stones.

"The lightning of tropical regions, and the electric fluid engendered by sub-marine and other volcanoes which abound in the South Seas, may thus produce an effect adequate to the formation of those wonderful and 'invaluable' structures. This is a much more rational theory to account for the existence of the immense coral reefs and coral islands of the Pacific, than that alluded to above, which supposes them wholly the work of saxigenous polypes or lithophytes.

"The so-called saxigenous, or rock-making, polype builds upon the reefs, and cements his singular tree-imitating structures to them; but this agency, we cannot but think, is altogether inadequate to the formation of immense islands. The more solid and compact texture of the coral rock, often stratified, would also lead one to ascribe to it a different origin from the corals, whose exact and beautiful cellular structure evinces an animal agency as plainly as the honeycomb of a bee-hive.

"It is, therefore, quite unnecessary to suppose the calcareous coral rocks either secreted by insects, or the exuviae of the insects, or the dead bodies of the insects themselves; but they are simply carbonate of lime precipitated from the sea-water which holds its particles in solution, mixed and cemented together with broken shells and pieces of corals. The coral, properly so called (that which is to be seen in museums and cabinets), is what is built upon this rock as a foundation, by the coral insect.

"These observations made on corals as seen in the beds where they grow at the Sandwich Islands, and recorded on the spot, have induced me to compare the results thus obtained with what has been written on this subject by certain late authors.

"In a recent article from the *North British Review*, by Sir David Brewster, he says:—'Our readers, no doubt, are aware that the coral rocks which form islands and reefs hundreds of miles in extent, are built by small animals called polypus, that secrete from the lower portion of their body a large quantity of carbonate of lime; which, when diffused around the body, and deposited between the folds of its abdominal coats, constitutes a cell, or polypidom, or polypary, into the hollow of which the animal can retire. The solid thus formed is called a coral, which represents exactly the animal itself.

"These stony cells are sometimes single and cupped, sometimes ramifying like a tree, and sometimes grouped like a cauliflower, or imitating the human brain. The calcareous cells which they build remain fixed to the rock in which they began their labours after the animals themselves are dead. A new set of workmen take their places, and add another story to the rising edifice. The same process goes on from generation to generation, until the wall reaches the surface of the ocean, where it necessarily terminates.

"These industrious labourers act as scavengers of the lowest class; perpetually employed in cleansing the waters of the sea from impurities which escape even the smallest crustacea; in the same manner as the insect tribes, in their various stages, are destined to find their food by devouring impurities caused by dead animals and vegetable matter in the land.

"Were we to unite into one mass the immense coral reefs, three hundred miles long, and the numberless coral islands, some of which are forty and fifty miles in diameter; and if we add to this all the coralline limestone, and the other formations, whether calcareous or silicious, that are the works of insect labour, we should have an accumulation of solid matter which would compose a planet or a satellite—at least one of the smaller planets, between Mars and Jupiter. And if such a planet could be so constructed, may we not conceive that the solid materials of a whole system of worlds might have been formed by the tiny, but long-continued labours of beings that are invisible?"

"Now here is a mixture of fancy and fact, which a single personal inspection of a coral reef by the learned theorizer would have very considerably modified. He would become satisfied, I think, that the great reef itself, as it appears at the Sandwich Islands, so far from being the work of insect labour alone, is the basis which Nature herself lays, in the way before referred to, by the precipitation of carbonate of lime, through electrical agency, from seawater, for the coral insect to build upon and garnish with his beautiful structures. This basis, it is true, is increased from time to time by the decay of the coral fabrics, but it is never reared by them alone from the depths of the sea."

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

An Introductory Address, delivered at King's College, London, October 1, 1851. By William Bowman, Professor of Physiology.

J. W. Parker and Son.

It is difficult to avoid commonplace in such addresses, and not possible, perhaps, to say much that is new; with this reservation we may recommend Professor Bowman's Address as an excellent one, and as presenting thoughts for the Medical Student worthy his meditation.

Christian Iconography; or, the History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages. By M. Didron. Translated from the French by E. J. Millington. Vol. I. (Bohn's Illustrated Library.)

H. G. Bohn.

A curious and valuable work. On its completion we shall notice it at some length; meanwhile, we commend it to our readers.

The Ethnology of the British Colonies and Dependencies. By R. G. Latham, M.D.

Van Voorst.

This volume is an expansion of six lectures Dr. Latham delivered at the Royal Institution, Manchester. It contains a large mass of ethnological facts; but it looks more like notes for a work than a work, and is somewhat drier than it might have been.

French Extracts for Beginners. By Felician Wolski, Master of the Foreign Language Department in High School, Glasgow. Third Edition enlarged.

Oliver and Boyd.

This book will be found useful. It consists of short and pleasant extracts from the whole range of French Literature, with the *liaisons* marked (an excellent plan) as thus, "j'ai lu dans une relation," showing that the *s* should be sounded before the *u* (as *dan sune relation*); and a vocabulary is added for the assistance of the learner.

Sketches of European Capitals. By William Ware, M.D.

Literature and Life: Lectures by Edwin P. Whipple.

John Chapman.

The two first specimens of Chapman's *Library for the People*, an elegant shilling volume series issued for the Rail. The "Sketches" are by a clever man, and will wile away a pleasant hour, without leaving any very distinct impression behind. As for Mr. Whipple's *Literature and Life*, the Lectures belong to the tedious Emersonianism of American Literature, which baffle our efforts to read on—we fairly broke down in the second lecture, and no sense of duty has been strong enough to urge us to mount the breach again.

A History and Description of Modern Wines. By Cyrus Redding. Third Edition, with Additions and Corrections.

H. G. Bohn.

Mr. Bohn's *Illustrated Library* this month presents us with Cyrus Redding's popular *History of Modern Wines*: the illustrations being inferior to those usually given in this series. Mr. Redding appears to have made considerable additions to this edition, and it is now a pleasant and reliable book.

HOW MEN OBSERVE.—Man is born an observing animal, and his powers, it would appear, are at once excited into action by the beautiful creation which is spread around, and the wonderful influences by which its beauty, its life, and order are sustained. But we do not find him at first asking Nature to reveal her mysteries; he invests her with a robe of clouds, and, surveying the mirage of his own imagination shadowed upon the mist, he worships the ideality, and leaves the bright reality unsought.—*British Quarterly Review*, No. 28.

The Arts.

JULLIEN AT DRURY-LANE.

On Monday evening one of those assemblages occurring only at the bidding of some idol of the popular mind, gathered at Drury-lane. Long ere the performances commenced, the theatre was crowded in every part; and during the evening numerous rows ensued, more absurd than terrible. The annual concerts of Jullien have attained an immense popularity. The orchestra is now quite equal to former years; and in addition we have Bottesini, the celebrated performer on the contrabasso, and Miss Dolby as a vocalist. The performances of the former elicit tumultuous applause. His style is perfectly unique. On an unwieldy instrument he performs the most rapid violin passages with a pure and luxurious tone. The instrument used by Bottesini is a full-sized double bass, but strung as lightly as a violoncello. His bowing is "over-handed"; and the performance is in reality a performance on a large violoncello. Amid several classical compositions were interspersed Polkas, Waltzes, and the "Great Exhibition Quadrille," which seemed as satisfactory as ever to the majority.

Popular as Jullien is, he has many detractors, who support their objections by referring to the large amount of polkas and light music to be found in his programmes. They aver that such "trash" has a tendency to "deprave and lower the taste of the people." It would be difficult to deprave and lower that which has no existence. Such critics must first show that the generality of the people had any taste in music; it will then be time to question whether polkas and waltzes, as played by Jullien's band, were calculated to lower it. It is more probable that the present taste for good music owes its origin to the concerts of Jullien and those who followed in the course he indicated.

The music of the drawing-room is even now not at all remarkable for its taste or intelligence. But the polka has somewhat infringed the mawkish insipidity of young lady music. Its accent is iterative and unmistakable. If listeners have an iota of rhythm in their organization, it must be developed by the polka, and those who possess an atom of intelligence can scarcely fail to apply the knowledge they thus acquire, to higher purposes.

A very short time has elapsed since the symphonies of Beethoven were pronounced unintelligible by the principal musical society of the metropolis. And yet Jullien dared to offer the despised works of the great German to the polka-loving public. The Prince of the Big Drum depended on the "depraved taste" of the people, and they nightly crowded to Covent-garden Theatre each night of the week devoted to Beethoven's works.

Jullien undoubtedly understood the English mind, and thoroughly estimated the precise amount of taste possessed by the people. From the very first he smuggled in among a herd of trifling compositions a few gems of the first masters; works which but a short time before were unknown to the profession, but which now met with a ready appreciation. Had Jullien prepared nothing but Beethoven symphonies, he might have had empty benches for his audience. Many a man will go to hear light and merry music who would be horrified at the idea of sitting out a symphony. Progressive education is the only education worth anything. Children are taught the rudiments of learning by the aid of pictures and diagrams. The emanations of genius are not to be comprehended by the ignorant, but people educated to understand will soon appreciate them. A mixed multitude may be drawn together to hear music suited to their capacity, which, performed in a refined style, will gradually lead them to the appreciation of that which requires a higher grasp of the intellectual.

When Jullien announced his "Beethoven Festival," how few imagined that such treasures would be tolerated by the people! The light and shade of an Overture, a rippling melody following and succeeded by a burst of harmony, are ever attractive. But the exquisitely poetic and highly wrought themes of the greatest writers were listened to with profound attention. The love-breathing "Adelaide," the quatuors and romanzas, above all, the entire Symphony in C minor, were received with that hurricane of applause which the English so well know how to express.

A condemnation of Jullien can be nothing less than stupid detraction. Hail to his great drum—his monster concerts—his polkas—his quadrilles—his melodramatic effects! Jullien draws the

people together, they become more acquainted with the power of Music; and while Art suffers not, the interests of Artists are advanced.

ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY.

The time of "Grand" Concerts, where the only instrument was the pianoforte, is waning, and an acquaintance with orchestral effects, while it has expanded the minds of the people, has led to much activity in the profession. However interesting boudoir music may be to the parties concerned, it is to the orchestra we must look for the advancement of the art. An Orchestral Society is about to commence a series of concerts with a view to the production of "works in the highest class of orchestral music, with especial reference to new, untried, or comparatively unknown compositions." There have been several attempts to bring forward works of young composers, but jealousies or other causes have conspired to frustrate the expressed intention. England is perhaps the only civilized nation which represses the genius of its sons, and prefers even the commonplaces of aliens to the best writings of its own people. The Council of the Orchestral Society, containing the names of Blagrove, Howell, Hullah, Lucas, and Nicholson, being above these pettinesses, and will be deserving of the support of every member of the profession, as well as of the public. The orchestra, conducted by Mr. Hullah, contains the élite of the Opera bands:—

FIRST VIOLINS: Mr. H. Blagrove, principal; Messrs. Dando, Thirlwall, Mellon, Banister, Watson, Patey, Mori, Doyle, Zerbini, Browne, and Eames. SECOND VIOLINS: Mr. Watkins, principal; Messrs. Newsham, Loder, Payton, W. Blagrove, Jay, E. Perry, Marshall, H. Griesbach, Kelly, J. J. Calkin, and Clementi. VIOLAS: Mr. Hill, principal; Messrs. R. Blagrove, Weslake, Trust, Webb, Hann, T. Westrop, and Waud. VIOLONCELLOS: Mr. Lucas, principal; Messrs. W. L. Phillips, Hancock, W. F. Reed, Guest, G. Calkin, and Aylward. DOUBLE BASSES: Mr. Howell, principal; Messrs. C. Severn, F. Pratten, Castell, Mount, Edgar, and Reynolds. FLUTES: Messrs. R. Pratten and King. OBOES: Messrs. Nicholson and G. Horton. CLARIONETS: Messrs. Lazarus and Maycock. BASSOONS: Messrs. Baumann and Larkin. HORNS: Messrs. C. Harper, Rae, Mann, and Standen. TRUMPETS: Messrs. T. Harper and Ward. TROMBONES: Messrs. Cioffi, Antoine, and Winterbottom. DRUMS: Mr. F. Horton.

Science.

This week we have had the Inaugural Lectures at the Museum of Practical Geology, and Professor Owen's Lecture on the skulls of the Negro, the Chimpanze, and Oran Utan at the Zoological Society.

Of the former little need here be said. Inaugural Lectures are all of a class. Each professor undertaking to prove the importance of his speciality—a somewhat superfluous task, since, if students are not prepared to admit the importance, they will not attend to what the Professor may bring forward. Sir Henry de la Beche, in his general introduction, insisted on the importance of having a Museum such as that of Practical Geology; and carried away by his subject offered illustrations which might be urged with terrible force against him. Such, for example, as his contrast of the enormous development of our mining operations with those of the Continental states. These states, he said, in spite of their scanty operations, have every one an institution such as the Museum of Practical Geology; yet England, with her gigantic mining, had hitherto boasted of no such institution. Might not this very predominance of England be owing to her freedom—to her miners being left to themselves instead of being "cared for" by Government?

Professor Edward Forbes gave a very interesting Lecture on Natural History, in which he pointed out how from apparently the most trivial indications—the merest modification of a shell—the geologist might aid the miner, and often save him from wasting vast sums in fruitless search.

But we hasten to Professor Owen's Lecture at the Zoological Society. It was one of the most instructive and interesting we have heard. Its object was to point out the differences and resemblances presented in the skull of the African, the Papuan, the Chimpanze, and the Oran Utan; and this was done with a minuteness and clearness equally admirable and surprising. The conclusion to which Professor Owen arrived was that, although the resemblances were many and striking, nevertheless the differences were such as to discredit the idea of any transmutation of species.

Here we must venture, with all possible respect, to observe that the Professor's facts, instead of discrediting the idea of transmutation, seemed strikingly in favour of it; since by demonstrating that the Papuan was *intermediate* between the Chimpanze and the Negro in wanting the frontal sinus—and by adverting to the fact of the African skulls showing an *increase* of development when selected from slaves who have lived in a civilized country—he furnished us with evidence which would outweigh tons of such counter-evidence as may be drawn from the minute differences he pointed out. Moreover, consider how unnecessary it is to insist on *differences* as counterbalancing the great and essential resemblances! Of course the Chimpanze, *because* he is a Chimpanze, and not a man, *must* be different from man: his habits, the conditions of his existence, require it. Besides, we have only recently learned to know the *Troglodytes Gorilla*—the highest of the tribe yet discovered—and if he approaches so closely to the lowest tribes of man, that in many respects we can see no lines of demarcation—it is not improbable that further investigation may discover either a lower tribe of man or a higher tribe of chimpanze; and, although it is not allowable to control *known* facts by facts which *may* hereafter be discovered, it is allowable to point to probabilities when they lie in the direction of known facts—and we think that the known facts of resemblance between the lowest tribes of man and the highest of the chimpanze are of the highest import.

Organizations of the People,
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

The chief business of the Executive of the National Charter Association, which met as usual, was the consideration of how best to resuscitate the Chartist movement in the metropolitan districts. And for this purpose the Executive agreed to call a meeting of all the Chartists of London, for Sunday, November 23, at the Literary and Scientific Institute, Leicester-place, Ray-street, Clerkenwell. It was also agreed, after hearing Mr. Collet, "that a series of public meetings should be held as early as convenient" to aid in the repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge.

REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—On Sunday, November 23, Mr. Henderson will deliver two lectures in Manchester, on "Communism and Coöperative Stores." It is intended to have a series of lectures and discussions on "Social Science," in Leeds, this winter, for which arrangements are now being made. Moneys received for the week:—Leeds, £1. 8s. 1d.; Etruria, per Mr. Wilbraham, 5s. 9d.; Longton, per Mr. Riley, 1s. 8d. Building Fund:—Leeds, 4s.; Etruria, 8d. Propagandist Fund:—1s. 6d.—JAS. HENDERSON, Secretary.



Open Council.

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

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much 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 SUFFRAGE AGITATION—HONESTY THE BEST POLICY.

Mauchline, Ayrshire, November 4, 1851.

SIR,—In the article headed "Agitation at its Ebb," in the *Leader* of October 25, you are pleased to once again championize "the little Charter," and to lecture those who refuse to be seduced from their support of the principles of justice and equal right embodied in the Charter.

I cannot but express my surprise that the editor of the *Leader* should deprecate "criticism" on "the shortcomings" of the moderate Reformers. Hitherto I have supposed it to be not the least important part of the mission of the *Leader* to encourage criticism on all subjects and all parties, with the view of eliciting truth and encouraging political honesty. Can it be

that you desire to protect the Little Pedlington propagandists from that freedom of examination you accord to the questions of "our religion, morals, and social institutions"?

Your inconsistency is the more apparent, seeing in the selfsame article, you severely—and, let me add, justly—criticise "the shortcomings" of the working classes. In that criticism I fully concur. But, while censuring the slavish apathy and criminal indifference of the great body of the working classes to their own rights and welfare, let me add the expression of my firm belief, that the course least likely to inspire the people with political virtue is for their instructors and leaders to show themselves uncertain, unstable, and "blown about by every wind of doctrine":—

"To one cause constant never."

You are pleased to speak of the difference between Democratic, and the Moderate, Reformers, as "a fight about words and fractional distinctions." The fight—if fight it be—is over matter much more serious. On the one side, it is desired to enfranchise all; on the other, to exclude the poorest those who most need the protection of representation. On the one side, it is desired to establish a system which will enable the people to select their representatives from any class, not excepting the poorest, hand-loom weavers and agricultural labourers; on the other, to perpetuate in practice the property qualification for representatives. On the one side, it is desired to make the representatives the delegates of the people's will; on the other, to make them the people's masters by giving them a three years' lease of power.

Call you these differences "fractional distinctions"? The distinction is just this:—The advocates of the Charter desire to establish the reign of Democracy. The advocates of "the little Charter" desire "to garrison the existing institutions of the country against the encroachments of the democratic spirit."

You repeat your version of the meaning of the Parliamentary Reformers' programme. Permit me to ask, Do you speak with the voice of authority? Do you share in the Councils of the Poultry? Will Sir Joshua and Co., endorse your interpretation of their doubtful revelation? Can they not speak for themselves, and thereby dispose of all doubts. You affirm that "nothing is said about rate-paying clauses." Truly. But I affirm something was said, to wit, "that the voters shall consist of those who 'shall be rated, or shall have claimed to be rated to the relief of the poor.'" Has that qualification been thrown overboard, or has it not? If dispensed with, what is the new system of qualification, or registration, adopted by the Reformers? Plain answers to these queries will oblige.

As regards the country in which I am at present sojourning, any system of suffrage mixed up with any kind of poor-law qualification, would be as absurd as unjust. One fourth of the parishes of Scotland are not rated to the relief of the poor at all; and in the remaining three-fourths there are several modes of assessing the poor's rates—I believe to the number of four or five—and these modes are continually changing.

The poor's rate system of Scotland is not more varied, and varying, than are the principles (?) of those who forsake "explicit and unqualified universal suffrage," for some half-hearted compromise. Mr. Fox, we are told (*Leader*, November 1), "is in favour of more extended reform than that proposed by the National Association;" but nevertheless supports that which he admits to be incomplete and therefore unjust. Mr. Hume, on the other hand, evidently holds himself at liberty to vote for something less than the above-named scheme, should any such turn up and obtain the sanction of the middle classes. His recent exhibition at Edinburgh presented the pitiable spectacle of a political leader (!) destitute of a political principle. Don Quixote, Dr. Syntax, and "the gentleman in search of a religion" were never more bothered than the member for Montrose appears to have been, in his travels in quest of a party and a programme.

Like yourself I "do not undervalue vigorous language," if honestly employed. But by politicians language is too often employed, not to express, but to conceal, their real aims; in fact, to use a homely simile, "for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the people." You declare your "little respect for politicians whose words are larger than their achievements." I agree, for I have not forgotten the Reform Bill agitation. You, too, must remember "the vigorous language" of that time: the orations of "Slashing Harry" (not then "Lord") Brougham, who—not long after "the three glorious days"—promised the people of Yorkshire a game at football with King's heads; and the multitudinous speeches of other "vigorous" orators who held forth in the same style. Regard for your space forbids me supplying quotations. You know the grand "achievements" of those "bold" and "hearty" orators: "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill;" "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

It may be that in spite of all warnings the masses will allow themselves to be again "taken in and done for." But can an honest man find any justification

for aiding and assisting in, or conniving at, the proposed experiment on popular credulity?"

You profess to "have little agreement with politicians who tell the people they ought to have the Charter; since we believe that a people united and resolved can have whatever it demands." No one will dispute the truism of the last part of the above sentence. But how will you get the people united and resolved to have the Charter without indoctrinating them with a knowledge of its principles and a sense of its value? With as much (or rather as little) reason I might reply, "What folly for the editor of the *Leader* to advocate an amended Poor Law, Coöperation, Mutual Assurance, Secular Education, National Aid to Oppressed Nations, seeing that the people, if enlightened, united, and resolved, could have all they need for their own welfare, and could break the chains of their brethren." "If ifs were horses, beggars might ride." If the people were all as enlightened and resolved as the Editor of the *Leader*, your journal would be a superfluity.

Over-estimating "the little Charter," you underestimate the Charter. "It is not," say you, "the Charter that we desire, but the power to exact the Charter." Why not desire both? Popular power, the exercise of which should be undefined, would be anarchy. In the state of New York (in other of the American States also) there is a party of "Land Reformers." That party is by a long way in a minority. But by the help of voice and pen, by continually telling the people they ought to have a just system of landholding, the Reformers hope in the course of time to command public opinion, influence a majority of their fellow-citizens, and obtain their object through the peaceful instrumentality of the ballot-box. But if universal suffrage had no legal existence, could the American Reformers hope to achieve their aim by other than violent means? There might come a time when they would be possessed of "power," but it would be the power of revolution; the power of a party successful through civil war.

In humble imitation of that arch-impostor, Daniel O'Connell, who denounced those who would not be dragged by him through the mire of expediency as "Tory-Radicals," you fling at men like myself the nickname of "Chartist-Conservative." What next? This new coinage will not circulate. Singularly infelicitous is the designation of "Conservative," applied to men against whom you make it a matter of complaint that they desire to "get the seven-leagued boots" to go over "the whole journey" of political progress "at a stride." Would to Heaven that all Conservatives were of the same stamp; and that all Progressionists were as conservative of principle as are the men you so unfairly stigmatise!

You say, "We estimate politicians in part by their success—one real test of merit." A sentiment one might expect from a worshipper of Cobden, but which reflects no honour on the Editor of the *Leader*. Raspail is in a dungeon, and Louis Bonaparte fills the chief place in the Republic. Measure these men by your estimate, and do homage to your hero. For my part I am content to admire the unsuccessful politician, the life-long martyr,—teacher, worker, sufferer,—veritable Ami du Peuple.

You say, "Our objects include matters which the orthodox Chartists of the old school used not to take into account." This assertion, if true, would be ungraceful, unnecessary, and provocative of a rejoinder as to the past political conduct of Social Reformers—both orthodox and heterodox. Having no wish to transform differences into divisions I abstain from that rejoinder. But I insist that your assertion is incorrect. I need not recapitulate your list of objects, enough that I make the counter-assertion, that years before the *Leader* existed the Chartists did seek all your objects. This is a question of fact. Reference to the history of the party, the speeches of Chartist advocates, the official documents of Chartist bodies—especially the petitions addressed to the legislature—will prove the incorrectness of your assertion.

Even supposing Chartism meant nothing but Charterism, would you mend your prospects as a social reformer by abandoning the Chartists for "the little Chartists"? The enactment of the little Charter meant the reign of Cobden, Bright, Roebuck, with aristocrats of the Newcastle and Graham stamp. Would these men give you the kind of poor law you seek? Would they aid your coöperative schemes and Socialist experiments? Let the history of the past answer! Let the bastilled poor, the factory workers, the miners, and the London bakers testify!

Need I add to the above? Need I more than remind you, without comment, of the network of fraud and delusion wove about Kossuth to inspire him to glorify our villainous "constitutional" system, and at the same time ruin himself and his cause in the estimation of the European democracy? Was ever perfidy more profound, more execrable? Yet the *Leader* would have the people follow the guidance of the perfidious!

What! when in France the question is simply "Unqualified Universal Suffrage, or Revolution," shall Britons, the eldest born of modern freedom, content themselves with any miserable modicum of franchise it may please aristocrats or shopocrats to

fling to them? But you say the people have not the necessary spirit to insist upon their full emancipation. Will you inspire them with that spirit by advising them to "move" for something less than their emancipation? If the masses will not save themselves, so be it. But let not the Editor of the *Leader* sully his fair fame by sanctioning injustice and delusion.

In conclusion, I will trouble you with a quotation from the words of a man who would not forsake principle for expediency, who saw through and repudiated the moderate Reformers of his day; and whom, therefore, the Editor of the *Leader* may designate a "Chartist-Conservative,"—a former Duke of Richmond. His words may be useful to gentlemen in search of a principle, and may help to decide the doubting, those of whom Burns speaks as showing—

"A hankering swither to stan' or rin."

Writing to Colonel Sharman, Chairman of a Reform Committee in Belfast, August 15, 1783, the Duke of Richmond observed:—"The great objection, in my opinion, to every narrow and contracted plan of reform is, that it proceeds upon the same bad principle as the abuse it pretends to rectify; it is still partial and unequal. . . . But in the more liberal and great plan of universal representation, a clear and distinct principle appears that cannot lead us wrong—not expediency, but right. . . . Let us, then, determine to act upon this broad principle of giving every man his own, and we shall immediately get rid of all the perplexities to which the narrow notions of partiality and exclusion must ever be subject."

Yours, faithfully, G. JULIAN HARNEY.

P.S. Allow me to express my admiration of the talent displayed in your articles on Continental Politics, and of the tone which generally pervades them. I say generally, for I must make one important exception. The above letter is already too lengthy, or I would have shown cause for my respectful but earnest protest against your new-born sympathy with President Bonaparte, and your censure of the consistent, unswerving Republicans who have rightly refused to support that incarnation of perjury and villainy. As to Girardin, your special favourite, "the practical man" *par excellence*, you know, from his antecedents, that his fickleness (to use no harsher term) is as notorious as his talents. He is as variable as the wind, and as untrustworthy as a quicksand. May the brave French Republicans, confiding in neither traitors nor tricksters, trust only to themselves for their own and their country's salvation!

REFUGEES AND THE "TIMES."

18, Queen Ann-street, Cavendish-square,
November 11, 1851.

SIR,—I beg of you to make a place in the columns of your journal for these few lines in answer to the *Times* of Monday, the 10th instant, in which, in a leading article about the address presented to Kossuth by the French refugees, it says:—

"When the truth is known, M. Kossuth is not a whit more mischievous to us than the tribe of fugitives who speculate in different ways on the careless hospitality of England."

To this I reply that the refugees of all nations residing in England—1. They do not "speculate" upon the English hospitality. 2. This word hospitality is here improperly used.

1. They do not speculate on English hospitality; because, if they praise some of the English institutions, they say the truth, because there are some to be praised; if they speak against some others and preach truth, they do not do it in their own behalf, but for the welfare of mankind, therefore they act right. In fact, if they say that in England liberty is a fact and not a principle, they say the truth; if anybody will have a proof of that, it will be enough to examine any institution whatever in this country, there shall be found to exist in principle some privileged classes; while, in fact you shall find that those who are not so privileged are equal to the first, never, however, in principle nor yet in all respects; such is the electoral system, that of property, &c. &c.

If they say that it was not right for England to act as it did against the Established Church of Rome, here, too, they say the truth; because England herself has an Established Church, and how absurd this is it is useless to say, because it has been thoroughly demonstrated already; the fact is, that the members of dissenting sects represent the majority in England; and if this Established Church is not so tyrannical and insolent as that of Rome, it is not by reason of the qualities of its members and ministers, or the truth of its doctrines; but because it is situated in the midst of a free and enlightened society as the English is, and because here the opposition is not so lively as it is in Italy: the proof of it is that, as soon as the Church of Rome attempted to penetrate into England by sending Cardinal Wiseman and company, everybody knows what a war was raised against them, and by what foolish and pusillanimous means. But this is enough as respects England, because I do not undertake to write a treatise upon it.

2. Hospitality is a word improperly used. Ac-

cording to my opinion, every stranger residing in England exercises but his own right, whatever the reasons of his residence, and whatever his opinions may be. A stranger has as much right to reside in England as an Englishman has to reside in Italy, Germany, or Hungary, &c.; and if they say to me that here we are free and there they are slaves, I answer that for the present the Government of those countries, though illegal because not acknowledged by the public opinion, must be respected by the Englishmen who go there, just as we residing in England must respect the laws of this country, though some of them are unjust. If the hospitality means the sympathy expressed by the English democracy for all the political refugees, then I assure you that we are all grateful for it.—I am, Sir,

P. CARUSO, Advocate, an Italian refugee.

HOMŒOPATHY.

41, Ludgate-street, St. Paul's, November 11, 1851.

SIR,—As a humble minister of the therapeutic gospel of homœopathy, I thank you for the valuable articles on that subject, which you have published in your leading columns. Not less thankful am I for the opportunity you have afforded two of the opponents of homœopathy, "Video" and "Hephaistes," to expose the weakness of their cause in your "Open Council" of the 1st and the 8th instant. "Video's" flatulent dogmatism has received a dignified reproof from your correspondent "Earnest." Will you now permit me to analyse the indictment preferred by "Hephaistes" against my colleagues and their system, and to show what skumble-skamble stuff Allopathy can talk with a grave face, and fancy all the while, poor dear old dotard, that she is giving utterance to earth-shaking oracles?

It is not often our opponents venture upon the perilous field of argument. Abuse is easier and safer, and they generally stick to it. When they do pretend to argue, they invariably make liberal use of that kind of sophism technically called *ignoratio elenchi*, which means the trick of falsifying your adversary's case, imputing to him doctrines he never professed, and claiming the honours of victory when you have demolished your own flimsy fabrication. "Hephaistes" deals largely in this sort of false logic. Perhaps he cannot help it. For my part, I can easily forgive a man for misrepresenting my meaning who does not know his own, or cannot express it intelligibly, not to say grammatically.

1. "Hephaistes" says that homœopathy "denies all the established laws of physics and chemistry." That is not true: it admits them all.

2. He says, "it asserts that matter of a certain kind, and almost of every kind, increases in power as it decreases in bulk." That is not true. Homœopathy makes no such assertion. Moreover its axioms are expressed with philosophical precision, and not in such slipslop as "Hephaistes" writes. "We know the contrary," he continues. "We know that the greater the quantity" (before it was bulk) "the greater the power, and in exact proportion." The electrical power of a body, if that means its capacity for receiving and giving off free electricity, varies as its surface, and not as its quantity. "Matter," he says, "acts physically in proportion to its quantity." Electric matter does not act in proportion to its quantity alone; but in a ratio compounded of its quantity and its intensity.

3. He says homœopaths assert that "minuteness gives power." That is not true. No such ambiguous proposition is contained in the homœopathic creed. What does he mean by power? Power is a relative term, and among the things it relates to is some effect or other to be produced. Minuteness will not give to a bar of steel the crushing power of a sledge hammer; but the minuteness of a couching needle's point is one of the elements of its power of penetrating the coats of the eye without rending or contusing them. The true artist economises power; the bungler (*i.e.*, the allopathist) uses it in pernicious excess. The homœopathist diminishes the doses of his medicines down to a point short of that at which their curative power ceases; but far beyond that at which their power of injuring the patient vanishes. He finds by hourly experience, independently of all speculative reasoning, that in the process of diminishing the dose the latter limit is attained much sooner than the former. He finds, too, by hourly experience that whilst the diminution of his doses thus increases their curative power relatively, their comminution increases that power positively—that it dynamizes them (not dynamizes, as "Hephaistes" writes. Plain English Mr. Smith might be excused for such a solecism; but Smith sublimated into "Hephaistes" ought to be better up in his (Greek). He, therefore, lays it down as an axiom that the diminution and comminution of specific medicines (for none other are homœopathic) within limits not yet practically determined, do greatly increase their curative power.

4. Hephaistes says that we homœopaths "use small quantities, but of the most powerful medicines, as much of them as the faculty dare to do. . . . such powerful medicines that small quantities are alone possible." That is untrue, flagrantly untrue, both in spirit and in the letter. If it were true, his case would fall to

the ground by his own showing; for the gravamen of his indictment against us is that our doses are million-fold smaller than those which allopathists prescribe. It is true, but not in the sense in which he puts it, that we use most powerful medicines. All our medicines are in our hands most powerful to cure, because we know how to apply them rightly, but many of them consist of substances disdained by the old school as feeble or totally inert. What does that school know of the natural magic latent in an oyster shell, in the point of a blacklead pencil, or in a bit of burnt beefsteak? *Du reste*, your readers will not have failed to notice the supergentle air of this writer in the arbitrary and exclusive use he makes of the denomination "the faculty." I am afraid I must set this down as rather snobbish.

5. He commends the dietary of the homœopaths, but says "they attribute its effects to their medicines." That is not true. Their well-attested success in rapidly subduing the most violent acute diseases, in relieving strangulated hernia without the fearful and uncertain aid of the knife, in the medical treatment of lying-in women, of infants at the breast, and of domestic animals, can by no possibility be due to the effects of diet.

6. Lastly, he denounces homœopathy as a spurious science, "which has avowedly a mere theory for its foundation, not yet supported by facts, but contradicting known facts." And that is not true. Homœopaths make no such avowal. On the contrary, they hold that no man who had fairly studied the history of their science, could fail to see in it a most beautiful example of the inductive method of philosophy. The misfortune is that our opponents will not engage in that study. In the true spirit of allopathists, whose practice is founded on *a priori* reasoning, they try homœopathy, not by the test of experiment, but by that of their own preconceived opinions.

So much, Sir, for what homœopathy is not; if your allopathic readers desire to know what it is, they will find plenty of competent persons among my professional brethren always ready to afford them that information. If the allopathists are so well assured of the truth of their doctrines as they tell us they are, and so sincere in their pity for our deluded followers, why do they not meet us in a full and public discussion, and expose, if they can, the hollowness of our pretensions? Any of them who are willing to make the attempt, shall have the opportunity afforded them if they will communicate their wishes to,

Your obedient servant,
WALTER K. KELLY, M.B.

November 5, 1851.

SIR,—Thanks to you for devoting the space you have to this subject. I say so because "Video" who calls it humbug, and thinks he argues when he calls names, has given you a specimen of Allopathic rebuke forgetting to reason.

Allopathists think they cure when they torture; that they strengthen by weakening, and set men up by bleeding and drastics.

"Video" tells us that Liebig says homœopathy is humbug; he wishes us to infer that allopathists should leech, bleed, and purge us, and that when we see our infant children restored to us by mild and gentle means, we should believe they are cured by the force of imagination!

If we were to believe this, should we or "Video" be entitled to the name of "Johnny Green." I am sorry he is so unripe as to think that he can make drastics go down by scolding those who won't gulp them. Poor Video! he can't see that if imagination can cure us we need conjurors and not allopathists.

EDWARD SEARCH.

BAKUNIN, THE RUSSIAN MARTYR.

Mauchline, Ayrshire, November 11, 1851.

SIR,—I have read with painful emotion the notice in your paper of the execution of John Bakunin, the glorious Russian Republican. I pray you to obtain and publish in your paper the date, that it may be remembered, and the particulars, that they may be borne in mind, of the hero's martyrdom.

My heart is wrung with grief. Once, and once only, and but for a few moments, I met Bakunin. It was at the office of the *Réforme*, in Paris, a few days after the February revolution. It was evening, and seeing him but for a few moments, by a not very brilliant gaslight, my recollection of him is too imperfect to enable me to minutely describe his person. I remember, however, that he left upon my mind the impression of being one of the noblest-looking beings (he was very tall) my eyes ever saw.

The *Demokrata*, and the *National* have reminded Europe how he combated with tongue and pen, and sword, for liberty and universal justice. On the barricades of Dresden he was the bravest of the brave. Vanquished by the homicidal mercenaries of that pair of liberal scoundrels, the kings of Saxony and Prussia, he was dragged from dungeon to dungeon, and transferred from king to kaiser, and from kaiser to autocrat, until, after suffering tortures which, in all probability, will be found on inquiry, to have equalled those inflicted on Konarski, Bakunin found relief from his sufferings at the hand of the executioner.

His chains are broken; the blood-drops of agony stand upon his brow no more;—

"And he is Freedom's now, and Fame's,
One of the few immortal names,
That were not born to die."

Again I entreat you to publish the particulars of Bakunin's martyrdom (one of a multitude of martyrs) that the democracy of Europe may know, treasure up, and avenge.

Not many years ago we were visited by the king of Prussia, the king of Saxony, and the accursed Tsar. Would to God they would repeat their visit! Some signal lessons are needed to strike terror to the souls of these royal murderers. O thou redressor of the wronged, thou consoler of the afflicted, thou terror to tyrants, Nemesis named, hasten thy conquering footsteps, make bare thy red right hand!

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

It was shown in the report for the last week of October that the mortality was considerably diminished; it now appears that, concurrently with a great fall in the temperature, it has again risen to nearly the same amount as prevailed during the earlier part of last month. The deaths registered in London in the week ending last Saturday were 989. In the ten corresponding weeks of 1841-50 the average was 967; but the population has increased since that period, and the average, if corrected in proportion to the increase, is 1064, compared with which last week's mortality shows a decrease of 75. The increase in the previous week is visible amongst the young, the middle-aged, and persons of advanced life. It is also observed in all those classes of disease which make the largest contributions to the mortality. As in former weeks, scarlatina and typhus predominant.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE

FRIDAY.

Consols have gradually risen this week. On Monday they were quoted at 98½; and by Thursday they had reached 98¾. The opening prices this morning were—Consols, 98¾.

It is reported by the sagacious, that we are about to witness a mining mania, owing to the plethora of capital in the City. Remember railways in '45.

The fluctuations of the week have been, Consols, 98½; Bank Stock, 214 to 215; Exchequer Bills, 52s. to 55s. premium.

Foreign Stocks were yesterday officially quoted at the following prices:—Mexican, 24½ and ¼; Portuguese Four per Cents., 33½; Russian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 102½ and ¼; Sardinian Five per Cents., 81½, ¾, and ¾; the Scrip, 3½ discount; Spanish Five per Cents., for the account, 20½ and ¼; Passive, 5½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 59; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 90½.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32 for the week ending on Saturday, October 25, 1851.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

£	£
Notes issued 28,614,515	Government Debt, 11,015,100
	Other Securities 2,984,900
	Gold Coin and Bullion 14,581,140
	Silver Bullion 33,375
£28,614,515	£28,614,515

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

£	£
Proprietors' Capital, 14,553,000	Government Securities (including Dead-weight Annuity) 13,241,768
Reserve 3,151,112	Other Securities 12,813,838
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) 5,175,353	Notes 7,916,280
Other Deposits 10,474,704	Gold and Silver Coin 617,650
Seven-day and other Bills 1,265,367	
£34,619,536	£34,619,536

Dated October 31, 1851.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	214	214	214	214	214	214
3 per Ct. Red	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 p. C. Gov. Ans.	97½	98½	98	98½	98½	98½
3 p. C. An. 1726	98	98½	98	98½	98½	98½
3 p. Ct. Gov. Ac.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
3 p. Cent. An.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
New 5 per Cts.	7	7	7	7	7	7
Long Ans., 1860	264	264	264	264	264	264
Ind. St. 104 p. ct.	59 p	59 p	63 p	59 p	59 p	59 p
Ditto Bonds	51 p	55 p	57 p	55 p	55 p	55 p
Ex. Bills, 1000l.	54 p	55 p	61 p	55 p	55 p	55 p
Ditto, 500l.	54 p	55 p	57 p	55 p	55 p	55 p
Ditto, Small	51 p	55 p	57 p	55 p	55 p	55 p

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 4th day of November, 1851, is 23s. 8d. per cwt.

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	90	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	25½
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct.	88½	Small.	26½
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	44	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	87½
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	101½	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	87½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	101½	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	32½
Danish 5 per Cents.	59	4 per Cts.	32½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	90½	Annuities	—
4 per Cents.	90½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	101½
Ecuador Bonds	3½	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	20½
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris	90.70	Passive	5½
3 p. Cts., July 11, 56. 10	—	Deferred	—

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.		BANKS.	
Aberdeen	9½	Australasian	—
Bristol and Exeter	—	British North American	45
Caledonian	13½	Colonial	—
Eastern Counties	6½	Commercial of London	25½
Edinburgh and Glasgow	27	London and Westminster	30
Great Northern	16	London Joint Stock	18½
Great S. & W. (Ireland)	88½	National of Ireland	—
Great Western	88½	National Provincial	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire	57	Provincial of Ireland	41
Lancaster and Carlisle	—	Union of Australia	35½
London, Brighton, & S. Coast	93	Union of London	14½
London and Blackwall	7	MINES.	
London and N.-Western	115½	Bolano	—
Midland	50½	Brazilian Imperial	—
North British	6	Ditto, St. John del Rey	19
South-Eastern and Dover	—	Cobre Copper	34½
South-Western	—	MISCELLANEOUS.	
York, Newcas., & Berwick	18½	Australian Agricultural	15
York and North Midland	20½	Canada	49½
DOCKS.		General Steam	27½
East and West India	142	Penins. & Oriental Steam	67½
London	116	Royal Mail Steam	83
St. Katharine	75	South Australian	23½

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, Friday, November 14.—The supplies of grain during the week have been moderate, and prices are firmly maintained.

Arrivals from November 10 to November 14.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat	2170	—	7280
Barley	3130	—	4570
Oats	320	8330	5490

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Nov. 7.

Wheat, R. New	33s.	to 35s.	Maple	30s.	to 33s.
Fine	35	— 37	White	27	— 28
Old	36	— 38	Boilers	30	— 31
White	36	— 38	Beans, Ticks	25	— 27
Fine	38	— 40	Old	28	— 30
Superior New	40	— 41	Indian Corn	27	— 29
Rye	25	— 27	Oats, Feed	17	— 18
Barley	23	— 24	Fine	18	— 19
Malt	27	— 28	Poland	19	— 20
Malt, Ord.	48	— 52	Fine	20	— 21
Fine	54	— 58	Potato	19	— 20
Peas, Hog	28	— 29	Fine	20	— 21

FLOUR.

Town-made	per sack	37s. to 40s.
Seconds	—	35 — 38
Essex and Suffolk, on board ship	—	33 — 36
Norfolk and Stockton	—	31 — 34
American	per barrel	19 — 22
Canadian	—	19 — 22
Wheaten Bread, 6½d. the 4lb. loaf.	Households, 5½d.	—

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.

WEEK ENDING NOV. 1.

Imperial General Weekly Average.

Wheat	36s. 6d.	Rye	21s. 10d.
Barley	25 7	Beans	28 6
Oats	17 5	Peas	27 5

Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.

Wheat	36s. 2d.	Rye	21s. 5
Barley	25 3	Beans	28 1
Oats	17 5	Peas	27 1

BUTCHERS' MEAT.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL.*

SMITHFIELD.*

	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef	2 2 to 3 2	—	3 2 to 3 6	—
Mutton	2 6 — 3 6	—	3 8 — 4 0	—
Veal	2 4 — 3 10	—	2 10 — 3 10	—
Pork	3 0 — 4 2	—	3 0 — 3 8	—

* To sink the offal, per 8 lb.

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Friday.	Monday.
Beasts	1181	5280
Sheep	5740	26,786
Calves	318	360
Pigs	620	500

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Best Fresh, 11s. 6d. to 12s. per doz.	—
Carlow, £4 0s. to £4 3s. per cwt.	—
Bacon, Irish	per cwt. 50s. to 51s.
Cheese, Cheshire	42 — 70
Do, Derby, Plain	46 — 50
Hams, York	56 — 64
Eggs, French, per 120, 6s. 6d. to 6s. 9d.	—

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, November 7.]

BANKRUPTS.—E. KITSON, Fenchurch-street, saddler, to surrender, November 14, December 16; solicitor, Mr. Buchanan, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street. J. B. L. BUCKLAND, Threadneedle-street, and Regent-villan, Avenue-road, Regent's-park, insurance agent, November 14, December 16; solicitor, Mr. Cox, Pinner's-hall, Broad-street; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings. G. BARN, Walter's-buildings, Old Kent-road, corn merchant, November 16, December 18; solicitor, Mr. Moss, Gray's-inn-

square, Holborn, and Asylum-road, Old Kent-road; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street. A. R. STACE, Strood, ironmonger, November 21, December 20; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrance, Plews, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street. W. JAMES, Plumstead, builder, November 19, December 16; solicitor, Mr. Hensman, College-hill; official assignee, Mr. Graham. W. SIMMONDS, Brighton, grocer, November 18, December 15; solicitors, Mr. Sowton, Great James street, Bedford-row; and Mr. Kennet, Brighton; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street. A. RADCLIFFE, jun., Chichester place, Gray's-inn-road, window glass merchant, November 9, December 15; solicitor, Mr. Taylor, South-street, Finsbury-square; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street. W. J. MIAL, Ingram-court, Fenchurch-street and St. Peter's-terrace, Islington, cement manufacturer, November 21, December 18; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Sise-lane, Bucklesbury; and Messrs. Cobbold and Pattenon, Bedford-row; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street. F. P. BRAGGIOTTI, Highbury, merchant, November 25, December 18; solicitor, Mr. Cotterill, Throgmorton-street; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street. G. M. MOWBRAY, Hove, Sussex, builder, November 25, December 15; solicitors, Mr. Sowton, Great James-street, Bedford-row, and Mr. Evershed, Brighton; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street. J. TOY, Wolverhampton, innkeeper, November 18, December 16; solicitor, Mr. Hayes, Wolverhampton; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Birmingham. S. HALL, Tipton, Staffordshire, miller, November 20, December 16; solicitors, Messrs. Mottram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Valpy, Birmingham. J. PHILLIPS, Birmingham, druggist, November 17, December 9; solicitors, Messrs. Chaplin, Richards, and Stubbin, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham. J. B. CADBY, Malmesbury, stationer, November 21, December 18; solicitors, Messrs. Church and Son, Bedford-row; official assignee, Mr. Hutton, Bristol. C. ISACCS, Bristol, furrier, November 21, December 17; solicitor, Mr. Bevan, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. Miller, Bristol. H. CANNIFORD, Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, innkeeper, November 19, December 10; solicitors, Messrs. Coleridge and Son, Ottery St. Mary; and Mr. Terrell, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Hirtzell, Exeter. E. HINDLEY, Liverpool, coal merchant, November 18, December 8; solicitors, Messrs. Fletcher and Hull, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool.

Tuesday, November 11.

BANKRUPTS.—G. CHEETHAM and G. W. GILL, of Strood and Fin-bury, Kent, shipwrights, to surrender November 18, December 22; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings; solicitors, Messrs. Crosby and Compton, Church-court, Old Jewry; and Mr. J. T. Hoyle, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. F. SELFE, Sheerness, watchmaker, November 15, December 20; official assignee, Mr. W. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street; solicitors, Mr. H. H. Beckitt, South-square, Gray's-inn; and Mr. J. Ward, Sheerness. W. TURNER, Gravesend, butcher, November 21, December 16; official assignee, Mr. J. F. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street; solicitors, Messrs. Fearon and Clabon, Great George-street, Westminster. J. KNIGHT, senior, and J. KNIGHT, junior, Walham-green, Middlesex, butchers, November 25, December 18; official assignee, Mr. J. F. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street; solicitors, Messrs. Jenkinson, Sweeting, and Jenkinson, Lombard-street. W. HOLMES, Crofters-cottages, Bedford-street, Poplar, builder, November 25, December 18; official assignee, Mr. E. Edwards, Sambrook-court; solicitors, Messrs. E. and G. Hilleary, Fenchurch-street. C. WHEELER, St. Martin's-lane, woollendrapery, November 25, January 1; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street; solicitors, Messrs. J. and J. H. Linklater, Sise-lane, Bucklesbury. D. MACLEOD (late of Tirhoot, Bengal), a prisoner in the Queen's Bench Prison, November 18, January 1; official assignee, Mr. H. H. Cannan, Aldermanbury; solicitor, Mr. J. Dangerfield, Craven-street, Charing-cross. J. LICHFIELD, jun., Birmingham, pork butcher, November 20, December 17; official assignee, Mr. R. Valpy, Birmingham; solicitor, Mr. A. Harrison, Birmingham. D. H. WALDRON, Birmingham, grocer, November 22, December 13; official assignee, Mr. J. Christie, Birmingham; solicitor, Mr. B. Cheshire, jun., Birmingham. J. WILLMORE, Leicester, woollen draper, November 21, December 19; official assignee, Mr. T. Bittleston, Nottingham; solicitors, Messrs. Barr and Nelson, Leeds; and Mr. J. Suckling, Birmingham. H. THOMPSON, Belper, Derbyshire, draper, November 21, December 19; official assignee, Mr. T. Bittleston, Nottingham; solicitor, Mr. T. Ingle, Belper. J. J. NICHOLAS, Newport, Monmouthshire, timber merchant, November 25, December 23; official assignee, Mr. E. M. Miller, Bristol; solicitors, Messrs. Tilson and Co., Coleman-street; and Messrs. Abbott and Lucas, Bristol. E. ANDREWS, Iwerne Compton, Dorsetshire, farmer, November 25, December 17; solicitors, Messrs. Chitty and Syer, Shaftesbury; and Mr. Stogdon, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Herniman, Exeter. M. RUSHWORTH, Huddersfield, milliner, November 25, December 16; solicitor, Mr. Nixon, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Hope, Leeds. G. BREAKE, Wakefield, innkeeper, November 25, December 16; solicitor, Mr. West, Gresham-street, London; and Messrs. Barr and Nelson, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Hope, Leeds. J. JOHNSON, Liverpool, and Seacombe, Cheshire, grocer, November 24, December 16; solicitors, Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Morgan, Liverpool. E. T. LEMING, Manchester, hosier, November 24, December 22; solicitors, Messrs. Reed, Langford, and Marsden, Friday-street, London; and Messrs. Sale, Worthington, and Shipman, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Pott, Manchester. J. ROBERTS, Rhyl, Flintshire, innkeeper, November 21, December 18; solicitors, Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Bird, Liverpool.

NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION.

Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY, M.P., President.

John Williams, M.P., Treasurer.

The OFFICES are REMOVED from 11, Poultry, to 41, Charing-cross. Members are enrolled, and subscriptions received daily, from Nine to Seven.

By order, Z. HUBBERTY, Secretary.

ENAMELLED DAGUERRETYPES, by

Mr. BEARD, 85, KING WILLIAM-STREET, CITY; 31, PARLIAMENT-STREET; and the ROYAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTION, REGENT-STREET; also 31, CHURCH-STREET, LIVERPOOL.

Mr. R. BEARD has recently introduced an important improvement, by which his Daguerreotype Miniatures are enamelled, and thereby secured from that susceptibility to tarnish and become obscured, which all others are liable to; the colours also attain the brilliancy, depth of tone, and permanency of an oil painting.

LONDON to DUBLIN (via Holyhead) in

THIRTEEN HOURS and a HALF.

Three communications daily on week days; two on Sundays. Sea passage, Four Hours and a Half. First class, £3; second, £2. Return tickets (available for a fortnight), first class, £4. 10s. second, £5. Children under twelve half-price.

For full particulars of the booking-through system between England and Ireland, see "Bradshaw's Guide," page 122; "Walsh's Irish Guide," page 20; "Fisher's Irish Guide," page 2.

KOSSUTH DEMONSTRATION COMMITTEE.

A GENERAL MEETING of the above Committee will be held at 10, Wellington-street, Strand, on TUESDAY Evening next, November 19, 1851, for the purpose of receiving a statement of the Income and Expenditure, and to consider the future proceedings of the Committee.

THORNTON HUNT, Chairman.

JOHN PETTIE, Secretary.

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

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

GREAT WESTERN and FOREST of DEAN COAL COMPANY.

Capital, £25,000.

In 25,000 Shares, of £1 per Share, paid-up.

Provisionally registered pursuant to the 7th and 8th Vic., cap. 110.

Temporary Office—No. 3, Bridge-street, Westminster.

TRUSTEES.

Colonel Salwey, M.P., Egham-park, Surrey.

James Harmer, Esq., Ingress-park, Greenhithe, Kent.

BROKERS.

Messrs. Lind and Rickard, No. 3, Bank-chambers, Lothbury.

SOLICITORS.

Messrs. Coombe and Nickoll, No. 3, Bridge-street, Westminster.

This Company has been formed for the purpose of working some of the most valuable property in the Forest of Dean. The well known capabilities of the coal fields in this district have long been known and partially worked. The recent opening of the South Wales Railway, which skirts the Forest of Dean, will give this Company great advantages in supplying not only the entire district in connection with the South Wales Railway and the Great Western Railway, but in the great metropolis itself.

Applications for the remaining Shares to be made, in the usual form, to the Brokers, as above, and the Secretary, at the Office of the Company.

By order of the Directors, HENRY CAPPER, Secretary.

November 3, 1851.

APPLICATIONS OF GUTTA PERCHA.

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

The Gutta Percha Company, Patentees, 18, Wharf-road, City-road.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.

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

The next extra Steamer will be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria on the 3rd of April next, in combination with an extra Steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about March 20. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded, by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY.—The Company will likewise despatch from Bombay, about the 17th of December and 17th of February next, a first-class Steam-ship for Aden, to meet there the Company's ships between Calcutta and Suez, in connection with their Mediterranean Steamers leaving Alexandria about the 6th of January and 6th of March, affording direct conveyance for passengers, parcels, and goods from BOMBAY to Southampton. Passengers, parcels, and goods from BOMBAY and WESTERN INDIA will also be conveyed throughout in the Mail Steamers leaving Southampton on the 20th of December and the 20th of February next, and the corresponding vessels from Suez to Aden, at which latter port a Steam-ship of the Company will be in waiting to embark and convey them to Bombay.

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

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

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

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

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Office, 133, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

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

AMUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION.—The public are admitted, without charge, to the British Museum, National Gallery, East India Company's Museum, London Missionary Society's Museum, and to the Splendid Exhibition of Art and Industry, on view from 8 in the morning till 8 at night, at Benetfink and Company's Emporium for Furnishing Ironmongery, 89 and 90, Cheapside, London. The splendid stock comprises every variety of Electro-plated Wares, Chandeliers, Lamps, Tea-urns, Tea-trays, Cutlery, Iron Bedsteads, Baths, Stoves, Fire-irons; in short, every requisite either for the Mansion or the Cottage.

At this establishment you cannot be deceived, because every article is marked in plain figures, and at such prices as can be offered only by a house whose gross sales are so enormous as to enable them to sell the best articles at 10 or 15 per cent. less than any other house in the kingdom. That we can furnish a mansion, is demonstrated by the continued patronage of the nobility and gentry; and to prove that we can also suit the necessary and judicious economy of those moving in a more humble sphere, we are enabled actually to furnish an eight-roomed house for £5, and the articles, too, of the best quality and workmanship. This may appear incredible; but as we are the largest buyers of iron goods, to say nothing of those of our own manufacture, in London, we can do it, and subjoin a list of the requisites:—

1 Hall-lamp	0 10 6
1 Umbrella-stand	0 4 6
1 Bronzed Dining-room Fender and Standards	0 5 6
1 Set of Polished Steel Fire-irons	0 3 6
1 Brass Toast-stand	0 1 6
1 Fire-guard	0 1 6
1 Bronzed and Polished Steel Scroll Fender	0 8 6
1 Set Polished Steel Fire-irons, Bright Pan	0 5 6
1 Ornamented Japanned Scuttle and Scoop	0 4 6
1 Best Bed-room Fender and Polished Steel Fire-irons	0 7 0
2 Bed-room Fenders, and 2 Sets of Fire-irons	0 7 6
Set of Four Black-tin Dish Covers	0 11 6
1 Bread-grater, 6d., Tin Candlestick, 9d.	0 1 3
1 Teakettle, 2s. 6d., 1 Gridiron, 1s.	0 3 6
1 Frying-pan, 1s., 1 Meat-chopper, 1s. 6d.	0 2 6
1 Coffee-pot, 1s., 1 Colander, 1s.	0 2 0
1 Dust-pan, 6d., 1 Fish-kettle, 4s.	0 4 6
1 Fish-slice, 6d., 1 Flour-box, 8d.	0 1 2
1 Pepper-box	0 0 4
3 Tinned Iron Saucepans	0 5 0
1 Oval Boiling-pot, 3s. 8d., 1 Set of Skewers, 4d.	0 4 0
3 Spoons, 9d., Tea-pot and Tray, 3s.	0 3 9
Toasting-fork	0 0 6
	£5 0 0

NOTE.—Any one or more of the articles may be selected at the above prices. And all orders for £5 and upwards will be forwarded free to any part of the kingdom. Note, therefore, the address, BENETFINK and Co., 89 and 90, Cheapside, London; and if you are about to furnish, and want to buy economically and tastefully visit this establishment.

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

Trustees—Edward Vansittart Neale, Esq. (Founder of the Institution); and Thomas Hughes, Esq. (one of the Contributors).

Commercial Firm—Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co. Central Establishment—76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-sq., London. Branch Establishments—35, Great Marylebone-street, Portland-place, London; and 13, Swan-street, Manchester.

The agency is instituted for a period of 100 years. Its objects are to counteract the system of adulteration and fraud now prevailing in the trade; to deal as agents for the consumers in purchasing the articles for their consumption, and for the producers in selling their produce; to promote the progress of the principle of Association; to find employment for co-operative associations by the collection of orders to be executed under especial guarantee to the customers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Particulars of the nature and objects of the Central Co-operative Agency, with a Digest of the Deed of Settlement, are to be found in the printed report of a meeting held at the Central Office of the Agency. To be sent by post to parties forwarding 4 stamps.

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

Particulars, Rules, List, and Catalogue will be forwarded immediately on receipt of ten postage stamps.

All communications to be addressed to MM. Lechevalier, Woodin, Jones, and Co., at the Central-office, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

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

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

DIRECTORS.

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

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

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

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

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

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

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Shareholders of this Association will be held at the Offices, No. 40, Pall-mall, London, on MONDAY, the 24th of November next, at Eleven for Twelve o'clock precisely, for the reception of the Annual Report, for the declaration of a Dividend, the election and re-election of Directors, and for any other general business usually transacted at an annual general meeting.

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

IMPORTANT TO LIFE ASSURERS. NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

Completely Registered and Incorporated.
Capital £50,000 in 10,000 shares of £5 each.
Deposit £1 per share.
Offices, 34, Moorgate-street, Bank, London.

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

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

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

Applications for agencies requested.
By order of the Board, J. W. SPRAGUE, Manager.

THE MERCHANTS AND TRADESMAN'S MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 5, Chatham-place, Blackfriars, London; 53, Dale-street, Liverpool; and all the principal Towns in the Kingdom.

TRUSTEES.
John Macgregor, Esq., M.P.
Quarles Harris, Esq. David Fergusson, Esq.
Jeffery Smith, Esq. Thomas How, Esq.

DIRECTORS.
Chairman—John Macgregor, Esq., Princes-terrace, Hyde-park, M.P. for Glasgow.

John Carter, Esq., South Molton-street.
Francis Edwards, Esq., Westbourne-terrace, Hyde-park.
David Fergusson, Esq., Eastcheap, and Champion-park.
Thomas How, Esq., Eastcheap; Gordon-house, Turnham-green.
Benjamin Hooper, Esq., Seething-lane.
Daniel McFarlan, Esq., Fenchurch-street.
William Northcott, Esq., 13, Rood-lane, and St. Mary's-road, Peckham.

Charles Snewin, Esq., Lloyd-square.
MEDICAL OFFICERS.
Archibald Billing, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Park-lane.
R. W. Tamplin, Esq., F.R.C.S., 33, Old Burlington-street.
Daniel Hooper, Esq., B.A., M.D. Lond., 18, Trinity-square, Southwark.

Assurances on Lives and Survivorships; Annuities for Old Age; Endowments for Children; and every description of Life Assurance may be effected in this office.

Policies indisputable, except in cases of Fraud.
All the Profits go to the Members.
Prospectuses may be had at the Offices, or of the Agents.

GEORGE THOMSON, Manager.
THOMAS MUSGRAVE, Secretary.

* Active persons required as agents where they are not already appointed.

LOUIS ROSSI, HAIRCUTTER and COIFFEUR, 251, Regent-street, opposite Hanover-square,

inventor of the TRANSPARENT HEAD-DRESSES and PERUKES, the Hair of which is singly attached to a thin, transparent fabric, rendering the skin of the head perfectly visible; and being attached to a foundation constructed on geometrical principles, renders them superior to all others hitherto invented.

Sole proprietor of the CELEBRATED PERUVIAN BALM, which is universally approved and admired. This BALM, containing neither ardent spirit, pungent essential oils, nor other injurious materials, cleans the Hair expeditiously, renders it beautifully bright, and imparts to it the delicate fragrance of Flowers. The Hair when washed with this Balm soon becomes pleasantly soft, and luxuriant in growth; and although by improperly employing injurious extracts to clean it, the Hair may have been rendered harsh, or turned grey, it will soon be restored to its Natural Colour and Brilliance by using the PERUVIAN BALM.

DEAFNESS—SINGING in the EARS.

Extraordinary Cures are effected daily, in cases long since pronounced incurable by the Faculty. Even in cases of total deafness, which have existed a lifetime, a positive cure can be guaranteed without pain or operation, by a newly discovered and infallible mode of treatment, discovered and practised only by Dr. FRANCIS, Physician, Aurist, 40, Liverpool-street, King's Cross, London. Dr. F. has applied this new treatment in the presence of and on several of the most eminent medical men of the day, who have been utterly astonished at its magical effect. All martyrs to these distressing complaints should immediately consult Dr. Francis, as none need now despair, however bad their case. Hours of consultation daily from Eleven till Four, and Six till Nine. Country patients, stating their case by letter, will receive the means of cure per post, with such advice and directions as are guaranteed to render failure impossible.

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

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

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

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

The prospectus containing every instruction with printed form of application, &c., will be forwarded, post free, to any address (either real or fictitious in the first instance) on receipt of 3 postage stamps, by the Chief Secretary GREGORY THOMSON, Esq., 10, Chichester-place, King's-cross, London.

CURES OF ASTHMA, COUGHS, &c., by DR. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.

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the reach of every sufferer from this distressing and truly disagreeable affliction by the use of Dr. COOPER'S infallible but perfectly simple remedy, which may be used without the least inconvenience or danger, by patients of both sexes and all ages, with the utmost certainty of success; and by it Dr. C. will guarantee instant relief and permanent cure for the most aggravated cases of either blind or bleeding piles. Dr. COOPER, Professor of Medicine and Physician Extraordinary to the Eastern Counties Royal Medical Institution, has had 15 years' experience of the efficacy of this remedy, having during that period applied it in some hundreds of inveterate cases weekly, both in private practice and in various Hospitals in England, on the Continent, and in America, and can positively assert that it has never failed in a single case, therefore, he with confidence offers it to the public, and will send it (post free) to any part of the kingdom upon receipt of Post-office Order for 7s. 6d., payable at the Colchester Office, and addressed to ALFRED COOPER, M.D., High-street, Colchester, Essex.

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(Signed) “WILLIAM SMITH,
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CAUTION.—A self-styled ten shilling doctor (unblushing impudence being his only qualification) who professes to cure rupture, deafness, and other incurable complaints, is also advertising under a different name, a highly injurious imitation of these Pills, which, to allure purchasers, he incloses in a useless abbreviated copy of Dr. De Roos' celebrated "Medical Adviser," slightly changing its title; sufferers will, therefore, do well to see that the stamp round each box is a "Bonâ Fide Government Stamp" (not a base counterfeit), and to guard against the truthless statements of this individual, which are published only for the basest purposes of deception on invalids and fraud on the Proprietor.

TO PREVENT FRAUD on the Public by imitations of the above valuable remedies, her Majesty's Honourable Commissioners of Stamps have directed the name of the Proprietor, in white letters on a red ground, to be engraved on the Government Stamp affixed to all his Medicines, without which none is genuine, and to imitate which is forgery and transportation.

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One person informs Mr. Smith, Times Office, Leeds, that these celebrated Pills are worth a guinea a box.

N.B. Persons wishing to consult the doctor by letter may do so by sending a detail of the symptoms, &c., with the usual fee of £1, by post-office order, payable at the Holborn Office, for which the necessary medicines and advice will be sent to any part of the world.

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"Lincoln's-inn Fields, April 15, 1835."

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RUPTURES EFFECTUALLY CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS.

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AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS, to prove the accuracy of which inquiry is solicited of the writers themselves, whose addresses are given in full:—B. Hayworth, Esq., Hull Bank, Hull: "I feel great pleasure in adding my testimony to Dr. Roos's remedy for rupture, which has effectually cured mine." Mr. Samuel Stocker, timber merchant, Clewer-fields, Windsor, Berks: "I was cured last summer by your invaluable remedy, and have not found the least inconvenience since." Mr. Robert Rogers, Staveley, Derbyshire: "My baby, I am happy to say, thanks to your excellent remedy, is quite well." Mr. James Chessum, Ickevell-house: "By the blessing of God, my rupture of ten years' standing is perfectly cured by your remedy." Mr. Sapcote, brazier, Market-Weighton: "I am glad to tell you that I am quite cured by your remedy; and so is the little boy who was ruptured on both sides,—thanks to you, Sir."

"A respected correspondent desires to call the attention of such of our readers as are his fellow-sufferers to an announcement in our advertising columns, emanating from Dr. De Roos, the eminent physician of London. Of this gentleman's ability in treating ruptures, our correspondent speaks in the highest terms, having availed himself of the same, and thereby tested the superiority of his method of treatment over every other extant, all of which he has tried to no purpose. He feels assured that whoever is so afflicted will find a cure by paying Dr. De Roos a visit, his method being, as our correspondent believes, beyond improvement."—The above appeared in the *Tablet* of Saturday, September 29, 1849. The gentleman alluded to is F. Graham, Esq., an intimate friend of the editor's, who may be referred to.

CAUTION.—Sufferers are cautioned against useless imitations, by a self-styled doctor, who copies this announcement, and who also professes to cure deafness, with various other wonderful feats; and to render the abominable deception more complete, concocts "testimonials" as glaringly truthless as they are numerous. The utter fallacy of these may, however, be easily detected by writing to the pretended authors, whom it will be found have existence only, in the imagination.

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With this week's number is given a splendid portrait in Lithography, on superior platepaper, with Autograph, of the Reverend Charles Kingsley, also a List of the Working Men's Associations and Coöperative Stores throughout the Kingdom, with the amount of business done by each.

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THE CABINET OF REASON; a Library of FREE THOUGHT, POLITICS, and CULTURE.

Edited by G. JACOB HOLYOAKE.

The purpose of this Library is to supply accredited Works in the departments of Instruction above indicated. The volumes will be issued "occasionally." The larger volumes will form a Shilling Series; the smaller, a Sixpenny Series. Their appearance will be announced in the *Reasoner*, and through the Newspapers.

Rationalism (understanding by it the development of the Reasoning habit in matters of Religion) has proved itself susceptible of progress—Morality has ever been a thing of growth—Politics is enlarging its sphere, and is being allied to Social Science—yet few special expositions of these subjects have, of late years, been offered to the people, who have been left to the guidance of the uncertain periodical, or the hasty disquisition of the newspaper. The nature of the instruction wanted has prevented the usual teachers of the public from attempting it. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge excluded this class of topics altogether—or what was equivalent, accorded them only one-sided treatment. Publishers of Information for the People, and devisers of popular Libraries, keep on the side of conventional opinion, affecting, like Mechanics' Institutions, to take a neutral course, but in reality giving advantages to the dominant party, and imposing silence on the weaker.

Another evil to be corrected, is the irresponsibility of popular advocacy. An opponent now may take up any of the nameless or unrecognized publications issued, holding Freethinking responsible for every incoherent utterance made in its name—or the *Times*, and its elaborate echo the *Quarterly Review*, may attach to Democratic Politics the onus of answering for every expression of opinion which ignorance, excitement, or adroit absolutism, may present ostensibly in its cause.

Several eminent friends of the people have desired to remedy this dangerous deficiency in popular literature, but have been deterred by difficulty of agreement, and by the consequences of personal implication. Publishing houses standing on the side of the people and Free Thought, shrink from this course for commercial reasons. If the object is to be accomplished, it must be undertaken (as we have ascertained by repulsed entreaties and deferred hope) by those who cast their lot with unfriended truth. To propose to do what is here indicated for the public at large, would be a presumption which would be punished—as all presumption ought to be—by public distrust. But, in a relative sense, it may be done for the Class identified with Freethought and the Political Sovereignty of the Individual.

The programme of progress includes three elements, viz., Destruction, Construction, and Culture. In the first of these departments, the parties represented in this prospectus are credited with having attained proficiency. They will try to win some credit as to usefulness in the remaining respects.

An essential object is to create or bring together in a portable form a Literature by which we may consent to be judged, which shall be a well advised and dispassionate expression of principles not taken up in antagonism, but adopted in conviction and enforced as a protest alike against that progress which is anarchy, and against that Order which is merely prostration in Intellect, and despotism in Politics.

If we except a few earnest and eloquent books which have lately appeared—not, however, in price or style addressed to the many—we may say that a wide field is open to us between the delinquent Scapism of gentlemen, and the undisciplined Rationalism of the poor—a field which no one occupies, and no one will occupy; and not to invest it ourselves were to betray an incapacity to comprehend what the destiny of the day places in our hands, or to avail ourselves of the opportunity which those who perished in the cause of Free Thought (intellectual and political) won for those of this generation who stand on their side.

Very likely we shall not be able to realize our own ideas at once, but the names of writers we may hereafter be able to announce may create confidence in our attempt. The works to be included in the "CABINET OF REASON" will be Secular in character, and will include Controversy, Government, Social Science, and Education (juvenile and adult), in the sense of Exposition, Discipline, and Development.

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London: Published by Smith and Son, Booksellers, Strand; Piper Brothers and Co., Paternoster-row. To be had of all Booksellers. Price 6d.

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