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The Leader

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

Contents :

NEWS OF THE WEEK—	Page	The Delicate Investigation.....	195	New Blood for the Ministry.....	201	Lines on the Death of Mr. Shelley..	205
The Ministerial Crisis	190	The Devil and the Priest	196	The Libel Law Again.....	201	THE ARTS—	
Meetings of the People	192	Murders.....	195	Why don't they Build more		Macready's Leave-taking	203
The Waltham Protection Programme	193	Miscellaneous	197	Churches?	201	Mr. Hershey's Oratorio "David" ...	203
Incorporation of Marylebone	193	PUBLIC AFFAIRS—		The Caucasian Mystery.....	201	That Odious Captain Cutter	207
The Great Exhibition	193	The Crisis	199	LITERATURE—		The Tour of Europe	207
Continental Affairs	193	Right of Asylum in Switzerland	199	Letters on Man's Nature and Deve-		PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE—	
Protestantism and Popery	194	Incorporation of Marylebone	200	lopment	201	Letters to Charities.....	207
Parliament of the Week	195	The Suffrage and the Newspaper		Sir Philip Hetherington	203	OPEN COUNCIL—	
The Sailors' Strike	195	Stamp	200	London Labour and the London Poor	203	Spread of Atheism among the Work-	
Exportation of Irish Paupers to Lon-		The Next Budget	200	Books on our Table	204	ing Classes.....	208
don	195	Rights of Catholicism	200	PORTFOLIO—		COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—	
Deaths of Eminent Persons	195	Payment of Members.....	200	Sketches from Life.....	205	Markets, Gazettes, &c.	208-9

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News of the Week.

SINCE Lord John Russell threw up the Government in a pet, the whole affair of the Ministerial arrangements has been a state of doubt. The very cause and commencement are still in obscurity, which was not dispelled by Lord John Russell's explanation in the House of Commons. It was manifest that the causes which led to the resignation were not superficial, but that they had to do with the narrow majority on Mr. Disraeli's motion, the adverse majority on Mr. Locke King's, the prospect of "defeats from time to time"—these were patent to every newspaper reader; who might have added the impracticability of going on with Sir Charles Wood's over-ingenious little Budget; or Lord John's Anti-Papal Bill. But it was generally believed that there were yet deeper causes—splits in the Cabinet; such as one between Lord John and Sir Charles about the Budget, or between Lord John and Lord Grey about the Anti-Papal Bill. The Queen knew on Friday that Lord John intended to resign; on Saturday the resignation was formally accomplished, and Lord Stanley was sent for. From that hour, each day, Sunday not excepted, saw a succession of efforts to form a Cabinet by various leaders with various combinations. Lord Stanley gave up his first attempt on account of some condition in the terms not yet explained; Lord John tried to reconstruct his Cabinet with modifications, excluding Sir Charles Wood and including Sir James Graham, but in spite of Lord Aberdeen's offices as go-between, he failed to secure Sir James. Lord Stanley resumed the task, and summoned Mr. Gladstone from the Continent, only to receive from that gentleman's lips a prompt but courteous refusal; Lord Canning also declining to enter into the Ministry. Other combinations have been talked of—a Stanley-Graham Cabinet, a Graham-Gladstone and Newcastle Cabinet, a Grey-Palmerston-Clarendon Cabinet.

While the public has been watching the comings and goings of invited and declining statesmen, each proposed combination has suggested some fatal objection: if Lord John were in the Cabinet, it must continue the impracticable Anti-Papal Bill; Lord Stanley must try to renew impossible Protection, and must give Mr. Disraeli one of the first posts; Sir James Graham has no personal adherents; Lord Clarendon could not fall in with the Protestant zeal excited by Lord John, nor could Mr. Gladstone; Lord Grey could scarcely give up Sir Charles Wood, who is, excepting Lord Grey himself and Mr. Haves, the most damaged man of the Whig party. It really looked as if, with the ends of the financial year fast approaching, it would be impossible for her Majesty's Government to be carried on, throwing upon the loyal and gallant Duke of Wellington, once more, the chivalrous en-

[TOWN EDITION.]

terprize of undertaking all the duties of government at once.

Two facts were noted through all the cross purposes—Mr. Cobden does not appear to have been offered a place, and Sir James Graham had not been admitted to the presence of the Sovereign. On Thursday, however, some approach was made to a more direct communication, by letters which passed between the Sovereign and Sir James. Sir James was immediately aware of the fact that this was the case. Sir James was still regarded as the only man of all to get at such a juncture; but his unpopularity among Parliamentary men recurs to the mind at each recurrence of the question why he was not "sent for," substantively.

While we write, the last report is, that Lord Stanley has given up the impracticable effort to make a Protectionist Ministry; and the prevalent notion is, that Lord John will again be the man to accept the Premiership, which goes begging. The failure of a Stanley Administration, if it had been founded on general Conservative principles, we regard as a misfortune; since an excursion into the regions of Opposition might have been useful to the political health of the Liberals, which has been sickly for so long a time. But at the failure of a Protectionist Ministry we rejoice, though not on the usual grounds. We have not the slightest fear that Protection can be renewed—it is totally exploded; but a Protectionist Cabinet would have restored to us the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, with all its bitterness and hubbub, and with its cant redoubled; for it would be but half a reality. An agitation against the shadow of a buried foe would be like a new rebellion against King James the Second—necessary if any dreaming Legitimist in office should think of issuing decrees in the name of King James, but a most vexatious surplage to the hindrance of all real business. Nor have we any desire to see a false Liberalism reared again on a pretended resurrection of old enemies. We have had enough of that.

Meanwhile, the country is improving upon Lord John and Sir Charles Wood, in preparing trouble the most embarrassing for the next Ministry. The metropolitan parishes have met to insist on the total and unconditional repeal of the Window tax. The Parliamentary and Financial Reformers are moving; the Protectionists have begun to stir with incomprehensible hopes. The last are speaking very big at county meetings, but the events of this week ought to teach them better than to waste their time in trying to raise that ghost.

The work really before them will be best presented if Lord John be reinstated—a Minister who acknowledges "agricultural distress" without a thought of trying to mend it. Distressed the agriculturists are—landlords losing rent, farmers living on their capital, and labourers scarcely living at all. No Ministry that can be formed holds out any hope of a remedy: Protection is off the cards, and Free-traders will not admit the possibility of doing any good. The prospect is, therefore, that the distress

which is admitted in the Queen's Speech, reiterated by the meetings of the week, and felt by the farmers in ruin, by the labourers in hunger, must go on until it shall breed some monstrous necessity to force a change upon our legislators, blinded by prejudices and half-true doctrines.

The most formidable resistance to a measure, which few Governments will be strong enough to throw aside after the Durham letter agitation, is that prepared in Ireland against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; the argumentative memorial of the Dublin bar, the martyr-like call to prayer of the mild and intelligent Archbishop Murray, are backed by a popular agitation, which puts in its front rank twenty-six Bishops and three thousand Priests. The English People will probably strive to prevent any Ministry from drawing back from the Anti-Papal bill; but it is even more evident that any Minister carrying on the Anti-Papal bill will have to face a determined resistance in Ireland—possibly rebellion and civil war. Under the dread of those contingencies, the Duke of Wellington granted the Catholic Emancipation Bill of '29.

The Sailors' strike is scarcely yet suppressed. Since our observations last week, it has been contended on behalf of the statute against which they are agitating, that it is, in part at least, permissive, but it is clear that if their interests have been considered, their wishes have not been consulted.

Progress has been reported this week in some vast improvements; next season Whittlesey Mere will be ready for the plough, the sea dyked out; the Norfolk Estuary Company is prosecuting its works with vigour, and another company is applying to Parliament for powers to reclaim land on the Lincolnshire side of the Wash. These works ought only to be the beginning of improvements to render the soil of England more productive.

Foreign affairs present no great novelty. A phenomenon of yearly recurrence during the reign of Louis Philippe, is now as regularly reproduced under the President Louis Napoleon, though at a different period of the year; that is, the Government is always afraid—we almost said desirous—that the anniversary of a revolution should be the occasion for an émeute, and the people of Paris seem as constantly resolved that such hopes or fears should be disappointed. The Fêtes de Février passed off as quiet and dull as the Fêtes de Juillet had proverbially become.

The Dresden Conferences are all aground. Austria is still bent on her great scheme of Arch-Imperial aggrandisement. Prussia tries to resist, and would fain bring Germany back to the Diet of old. How well the country would thrive under such a diet, neither Manteuffel nor his old German *Rhyme-sake*, will easily tell us. Bavaria, after vain efforts to play Fox between Tiger Prussia and Lion Austria, is now fain to play only jackall to the latter brute.

Switzerland sacrifices the political refuge of those that are not turned out of the country to be put "out of the way of mischief."

THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

We resume our narrative of the proceedings connected with the breaking up of the old Ministry, and the attempt to form a new one, at the point where we left off last Saturday.*

It appears that the *Times* of Saturday was rather premature in announcing that Ministers had resigned. Owing to the absence from town of the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, although he had made up his mind on Friday to tender his resignation, awaited the return of his colleague before carrying his resolution into effect. On Saturday morning those two members of the late Cabinet waited upon her Majesty, when a long consultation took place, the result of which was a resolution to give the Protectionists an opportunity of trying to form an administration. At half-past two o'clock the Queen wrote to Lord Stanley, commanding his immediate presence at the Palace. What took place at the interview between the Queen and his lordship is not known, as he did not consider himself at liberty to give any explanation on Monday evening. The rumour current among the Protectionists is that he refused to undertake the responsibility of conducting the Government unless he had her Majesty's consent to dissolve Parliament, as he could not expect to have a working majority in the present House of Commons. The Queen, it is said, refused to give any such pledge, and the *Standard* supplies the reason by innuendo. It asks, "Was nothing said of the danger that a general election might spoil the show in Hyde-park; or that the show in Hyde-park, concurring with a general election, might give opportunity for tumult to the ill-disposed?" The official statement is merely that "Lord Stanley said he was not then prepared to form an administration;" from which it is inferred that he wished to have the aid of Mr. Gladstone, for whom a messenger had been despatched hot haste to Paris, and who was not expected home till Wednesday. No sooner had Lord Stanley left the Palace than a second missive was sent after him so suddenly, that it reached his residence, in St. James's-square, before he returned there.

"The contents of this letter," says the *Daily News*, "we pretend not exactly to divine; but certain it is that after its reception no further steps were ostensibly taken to fulfil the task ascribed to him, while other councillors were summoned to take part in the deliberations of the Sovereign. Had Lord Stanley declared himself ready to attempt the duty of forming a Cabinet, it is impossible that a constitutional Monarch should suddenly retract the offer thus made. But if, on the other hand, the truth be that Lord Stanley admitted frankly his unpreparedness to submit the names of an Administration, but expressed a hope that, if time were given to send for Mr. Gladstone, then supposed to be at Paris, he might be in a condition to submit a list for her Majesty's approval upon Monday, then the riddle is easily read. The Queen may have speedily come to the conclusion, that to suspend the whole Government of the empire until a courier should be able to find a secondary personage like Mr. Gladstone, would hardly be considered a wise or seemly exercise of the royal discretion. To tell the assembled Parliament that they must adjourn their sittings, and to tell the nation at large that its wants and duties must be suspended until the ambiguous representative of Oxford should be caught and coaxed back to England, could hardly fail of appearing rather absurd; and the Queen, although she may have been unwilling to give a peremptory negative to the proposition when orally made, unquestionably acted with her usual judgment in speedily apprising Lord Stanley of her sentiments on the subject."

Be that as it may, a sudden change seems to have taken place in the deliberations at the Palace. Lord John Russell had been exceedingly busy all Saturday afternoon, having had interviews with Lord Palmerston and the other members of the late Cabinet separately. At half-past five o'clock the whole of the members of the retiring Ministry were summoned by a "private and immediate" communication to meet Lord John at Downing-street. After half an hour's consultation he proceeded to the Palace once more, where he remained in consultation nearly two hours. Before leaving he received orders from her Majesty "to attempt the reconstructing of a Government that would command the confidence of the country." What steps he took for that purpose we can only gather from the meagre notices in the daily papers of the movements of the Whig and Tory leaders. The current rumour on Monday, was that Sir James Graham, with the Duke of Newcastle, the Honourable Sidney Herbert, the Earl of Clarendon, and the Honourable Fox Maule would endeavour to form a Ministry, with the aid of some others of the Russell Cabinet.

As to Lord Stanley, the statement of the Protectionist organs is that he was jilted in a somewhat unaccountable manner, after he had been received with much "graciousness, condescension, and kindness of manner," and had accepted her Majesty's command to form an Administration. The *Morning Herald*, of Monday, in an edition published in the afternoon, says:—

"We can state positively that Lord Stanley has not failed in procuring the adhesion of such persons as would form a strong administration, should he be called upon to fulfil the duty entrusted to him on Saturday. This, however, may not be demanded from him to-day, in consequence of circumstances which have occurred since the interview which his lordship had with her Majesty on Saturday—circumstances over which Lord Stanley had no control. At the present hour Lord John Russell is busily occupied in the endeavour to re-construct a Cabinet—an office undertaken by him in a way which will not appear to redound to the political character or credit of some of the parties concerned. We can say that there are difficulties in the way of this re-construction which ought to be insurmountable, and that it is very likely his lordship's object will not be accomplished."

"The explanations in reference to this affair in Parliament, when the matter is there discussed, will be curious and edifying."

Among the movements which came to light on Monday morning was the statement that Lord Aberdeen arrived in town, from Blackheath, about six o'clock on Saturday, in compliance with a note from Prince Albert, requesting his immediate attendance at the palace, where he went at half-past nine, and remained in consultation with the Queen and Prince Albert till nearly midnight. On Sunday morning the noble earl and Sir James Graham visited Lord John Russell; and at a later period of the day the Earl of Aberdeen visited Lord Stanley, to inform him, no doubt, that Lord John had resolved to make another attempt at cabinet-making rather than throw the country into disorder by a sudden dissolution. In the evening the noble earl received a note from Prince Albert, requesting his attendance at the palace at nine o'clock, where he had another long conference with her Majesty and the Prince Consort. On Monday morning Lord Palmerston and several other members of the late Cabinet, visited Lord John Russell at Chesham-place, soon after which the latter proceeded to Buckingham-palace. Sir James Graham called upon the Earl of Aberdeen at noon, and remained two hours in consultation with him. Mr. Disraeli and other leading members of the Protectionist party called upon Lord Stanley. At five o'clock the Earl of Aberdeen received a letter from her Majesty (those on the two previous occasions had been from Prince Albert) commanding his lordship's presence at the palace at nine o'clock; Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham arrived at the same time, and the result of the proceedings up to that time, according to the *Chronicle*, "left the task of forming an Administration in Lord Stanley's hand."

The proceedings in Parliament, on Monday evening, threw very little light upon the state of affairs. The House of Commons was unusually crowded at an early hour. The least incident was anxiously watched, and one which created a vociferous burst of cheering and laughter was the entrance of Mr. Monckton Milnes, who walked up the house and inadvertently sat down in Lord John Russell's usual seat. At five o'clock

"Lord JOHN RUSSELL rose, and, amid breathless silence, addressed the House as follows:—Sir,—On Friday evening last I promised the House that I would, on this day, state the reasons that induced me to propose on that evening an adjournment of the Committee of Ways and Means to the present time. I now rise to acquit myself of that engagement. The House will remember that immediately after the commencement of the session a motion was made by the hon. member for Buckinghamshire calling upon her Majesty's ministers to take immediate measures for the relief of the distress prevailing among the owners and occupiers of land. Every member of this House, and every person in the country must have considered that that motion was a motion to take out of the hands of her Majesty's present Government, the conduct of the measures which it is the duty of a Government to propose. The honourable member for Bucks took a perfectly parliamentary course on that subject. He stated that he had in vain appealed to the Government during the previous session, and that he now had no resource but to appeal to the House of Commons. I do not in the slightest degree complain of the course adopted by the honourable member, I merely wish to state what must be the effect in the view of every one if that motion had been successful. Two hundred and sixty-nine members of this House voted for that motion, and two hundred and eighty-three against it, and, therefore, the majority of those present consisted of only fourteen members. Now, sir, upon a question of that kind brought forward in hostility to the Government at the very commencement of the session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer having given notice of his intention to bring forward the financial statement of the year, a majority of only fourteen must tend to weaken any Government, it being impossible to carry on the business of the country with so small a majority in the House of Commons. But it appeared to me, that although the majority was small, yet that if there was a determination on the part of all the members forming the majority to maintain those principles of commercial policy which in effect were in question on that day, that that union might have made up for the smallness of the majority, and that the Government might have conducted successfully the affairs of the country. But on the 20th of February a motion was made with regard to a certain question of Parliamentary reform; and on that question, though in a thin House certainly, there being scarcely more than a hundred members present—the Government was beaten by a majority of two to one. Now, sir, if that had occurred

in ordinary circumstances, I might have thought that it was owing to the thinness of the House, and to those who were in favour of the motion having brought down a considerable number in support of it, and that probably on the discussion of the bill, which must have been introduced founded upon that motion, there would have been a majority in accordance with the views of the Government. But in the circumstances in which we were placed, I did consider, that though honourable gentlemen may have acted entirely with a view to the particular question before the House, and not at all with reference to the result upon the Ministry, I did think that, though that being their intentions and views, yet in effect having the whole of the financial and other measures before us, and the probability, as I am inclined to think and believe there was, that on those other measures and on other incidental questions we might meet with similar defeats—(hear, hear)—I came to the conclusion that the Government was not in a position to conduct satisfactorily the business of this House during the present session. (Hear, hear.) I thought that it was for the public interest, that if that was the case the House should not be called upon to go into discussions of our financial measures, and to form decisions on those questions, when it was probable that the Government would not be able to go successfully through the session. I thought, likewise, that it was a dangerous and very disadvantageous thing for the country that a Government should continue liable to defeats from time to time, having but a small majority at any time, and carrying on, therefore, but a lingering existence during the great part of the session yet to come. I therefore assembled the other members of the Cabinet, and stated to them that in my opinion the best course we could take, as a Ministry, was to tender our united resignations to her Majesty, and to leave her Majesty free to form another Administration. (Hear, hear.) Sir, my colleagues in the Cabinet concurred with me in that opinion. (Cheers from the Ministerial side of the House.) One very important member of that Cabinet, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Lord President of the Council, was at the time absent in the country, and I did not formally tender our resignations on that day (Friday) to her Majesty without having first consulted him. Therefore it was that I asked the House to consent to an adjournment till to-day. (Hear, hear.) Early on the following morning the Marquis of Lansdowne came to town. He met me at Buckingham Palace, and stated that he concurred with me entirely in the view we had taken. I thereupon proceeded at once to lay before her Majesty the unanimous resignations of the members of her Administration, which resignations her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept. Her Majesty was also graciously pleased to inform me that it was her intention to send immediately to Lord Stanley, and to entrust him with the charge of forming a new Government. Later in the day—in the afternoon—I was requested to go again to Buckingham Palace, and, on arriving there, I was informed by her Majesty that Lord Stanley had stated that he was not 'then' prepared to form a Government. Her Majesty then asked me to undertake the charge of reconstructing a government that might be able to obtain the confidence of the House of Commons. Sir, I thought it my duty, in these circumstances, to attempt the task her Majesty was graciously pleased to impose upon me. And I assured her Majesty that I would undertake it, though I was perfectly aware of the many difficulties surrounding such an attempt. The House will, I think, agree that I should only add to those difficulties and be, at the same time, acting most improperly if I were to state anything further on this occasion. (Hear, hear.) I have only, therefore, to request the House, without passing to any discussion or to any judgment as to what has taken place, to adjourn until Friday next, when I trust some definite result will have been come to; and that I shall be able to say either that I have succeeded or that I have abandoned the task that I have undertaken. In either case the House will then learn what is likely to be the result. (Hear, hear.) I beg, sir, now to move that the House do adjourn till Friday next. (Cheers.)

"Mr. DISRAELI, who rose amidst cries of 'Order,' and other symptoms of impatience, said: I feel it my duty, after the statement of the noble lord, to occupy the attention of the House for a moment. It is most true—and, indeed, a matter of public notoriety—that Lord Stanley has had an audience with her Majesty, and when he shall receive her Majesty's gracious permission to state what transpired at that audience, he will do so publicly and in a constitutional manner in his place in Parliament. But there is one observation which fell from the noble lord I feel it my duty not to pass unnoticed. When the noble lord states that Lord Stanley stated to her Majesty that he was not prepared to form an administration—

"Lord J. RUSSELL: Not 'then' prepared. (Cheers.)

"Mr. DISRAELI: Not 'then' prepared to form an administration, the correction of the noble lord does not affect what I am about to state. I must express my conviction that when the noble lord said that Lord Stanley stated to her Majesty that he was not 'then' prepared to form an administration, he made a statement to the House which on further reflection he will, I think, acknowledge was not founded on what actually occurred. (Hear, hear.)

"Lord JOHN RUSSELL: After what the honourable gentleman has stated, I will only say that Lord Stanley will no doubt at the proper time when he shall think fit to do so, and have received the permission of her Majesty, state what really occurred. My belief is that the statement which will then be made by Lord Stanley will bear the construction I have put upon it.

"Mr. ROXBURGH: I have one observation to make as to the extraordinary statement which the House has just heard. We are about to adjourn till Friday. The noble lord is about in the meantime to endeavour to reconstruct his cabinet. The noble lord may fail, and then, without

*Our country readers will find in page 198 the first part of the narrative, which appeared in our latest edition last Saturday.

the House of Commons having the slightest opportunity to express any feeling of its own, her Majesty will be obliged—I may so use the phrase without disrespect—to send for somebody else to make an administration. Now, I do hope that the noble lord who has hitherto as the leader not simply of a great party in this House, but as heading and representing a great principle, that he will not forget in all the proceedings which are about to take place that that principle is now in his hands—that in a great measure what will hereafter take place as to the great principle of financial arrangement in this country will depend on the proceedings he may pursue; and on him will be the responsibility if we have again to fight the battle of free trade. (*Cheers.*)

The motion that the House adjourn to Friday was then put and carried.

The statement made by the Marquis of Lansdowne in the House of Lords, was substantially the same as that of Lord John. The most noteworthy passage was what he said respecting "the forbearance which the noble lord (Stanley) has exercised." Lord Lansdowne's explanation was as follows:—

"My lords, on Friday last, in consequence of divisions which had recently taken place in the other House of Parliament, her Majesty's servants communicated with each other. Domestic circumstances prevented me from being one of the number on that occasion; but my colleagues communicated with each other, and on that day her Majesty was led to believe that it was probable her Majesty's servants would resign on the day following. Early on Saturday I came to town, and that resignation was most respectfully and unanimously tendered by her Majesty's servants to her Majesty. In the course of the day the noble lord whom I see opposite (Lord Stanley), as I am informed, was invited to attend at the palace, and a proposal was made to him to construct a Government. I am informed that the noble lord stated in reply that he was not then prepared to undertake that responsibility. On that communication being made to her Majesty, recourse was then had to other parties, and more particularly to my noble friend lately at the head of the Government, and he was entrusted with the task of reconstructing an Administration. This, my lords, is the present state of affairs; and all that I have in my power to state to your lordships is, that my noble friend, lately at the head of the Government (Lord John Russell) has, on reflection, thought it to be his duty towards her Majesty, and towards the public, to attempt the reconstruction of his Cabinet. Beyond this, my lords, I have nothing to say. I have spoken as the organ of a Government which, in fact, exists no longer; but which is in office nominally only, and of which I am the representative only, so long as it is nominally in office.

"Lord Stanley then said: None of your lordships will, I am sure, make any opposition to the proposal that the House shall adjourn until Friday, as no public business of importance could be conducted in the present state of affairs. My lords, I am unwilling to offer any comment on the statement made by the noble marquis. Circumstances as the country now is, it is impossible that complete revelations should take place of what has occurred; and I feel that it would not be consistent with my duty to offer any explanation which must necessarily be of an imperfect character. I will now only say, that on Saturday I had the honour of a lengthened audience at the palace, in which I laid before her Majesty, fully and unreservedly, my views upon the state in which the country and parties now are. Nothing could exceed the graciousness, the condescension, the kindness, if I may use such a word, of her Majesty throughout the whole of that audience. Of what passed at that interview—either as to what advice I humbly tendered, or as to what was stated by her Majesty—I think, at the present moment, I should ill requite the confidence and favour with which I was honoured, if I say a single word. When the time comes that this political crisis shall have passed over, I shall be prepared to state fully and unreservedly to your lordships, and to the country, the whole substance of the advice I tendered, and of the course which, as a public man and a privy councillor called to the councils of my sovereign, I felt it my duty to suggest.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE rejoined: After the forbearance which the noble lord has exercised, we unquestionably ought not to deprive him of the right fully and freely to state what has passed when a convenient time shall arrive—the time which the noble lord shall consider most fitting for his own honour and most conducive to the public good. In the meantime, I beg your lordships to believe that in the short statement which I have made, I have stated nothing of which I have not been distinctly informed."

On Tuesday morning at half-past ten o'clock, Lord Stanley received a letter from the Queen commanding his attendance at Buckingham Palace, where he instantly went, and remained in conference with her Majesty for more than an hour. After leaving the Palace Lord Stanley proceeded to Mr. Disraeli's house in Park-lane, where he remained some time. He afterwards called on Viscount Canning, at his residence in Grosvenor-square, and then returned home. In the afternoon the Earl of Aberdeen had an interview with Lord Stanley, and, at a later period, Viscount Canning had a long interview with him. In the evening the Queen addressed a second letter to Lord Stanley, to which he immediately replied. Nothing else of a notable character transpired on Tuesday. The general understanding was that no progress had been made in the formation of a Cabinet, and that nothing would be done till Mr. Gladstone's return.

On Wednesday the quidnuncs at the "Carlton," the "Reform," and most of the other clubs were in

a state of delightful anxiety from an early hour in the morning. First of all it was ascertained that the Queen had sent for Lord Stanley immediately after breakfast, and that, after a long audience, he returned to St. James's-square about noon. A few minutes later, information was received that Mr. Gladstone had arrived from Paris. What course would he take? Would he join Stanley or refuse? Would he unite with Graham in the event of rejecting Stanley's offer? The number of wagers at the "Carlton" was incalculable, but all anxiety was soon dispelled by the entrance of Mr. Tadpole with the alarming intelligence that Gladstone had only remained a few minutes with Stanley, and was now closeted with Aberdeen. The official statement corroborates the information furnished by Mr. Tadpole. According to the *Times*, "the interview between Lord Stanley and Mr. Gladstone was of very short duration. Mr. Gladstone subsequently proceeded to Argyll-house, to pay a visit to the Earl of Aberdeen, with whom the right honourable gentleman had a long conference." Nevertheless, the *Herald* continued to publish hourly editions all Wednesday, announcing that Lord Stanley was doing all he could. The latest bulletin was to the following effect:—

"Mr. Gladstone is arrived.

"Lord Stanley is employed in communications with various influential individuals for the purpose of forming his Cabinet.

"Nothing certain can be known as to the results till to-morrow afternoon."

Long before that time, however, it was generally rumoured that the attempt to form a Stanley Administration had failed. Mr. Gladstone and Viscount Canning, both free-traders, had been asked to join the new Tory Cabinet, and both had refused. What was to be done next? The current Protectionist *on dit* was, that Lord Stanley was to be allowed till Friday to try what he could do, but most people fancied that there was something else in the wind. The Earl of Aberdeen had been visited on Wednesday morning by the Duke of Newcastle, Viscount Canning, and the Right Honourable Edward Ellice. That looked as if some arrangement of a Whig and Tory Free Trade Ministry were possible. Then, again, Sir James Graham paid a visit to the Earl of Aberdeen after the levée, on the same day. What could that mean, unless a Free Trade Government, leaving out Lord John? The *Post* of Thursday morning, cannot get over the wonderful way in which the Earl of Aberdeen is mixed up with all the Cabinet-making negotiations.

"The noble earl has, indeed, fluttered like a gnome in a pantomime over every group of statesmen, of every shade of politics, who have met in consultation on state affairs within the last few days. Whether Lord John Russell, or Sir James Graham, or Lord Stanley, or Mr. Gladstone, is the principal figure on the political scene, he (the said principal figure) is sure to glide towards a shadowy appearance in some corner or another, which, when carefully examined, turns out to be no other than 'ce cher Aberdeen.' There is something in this mysterious and seemingly purposeless ubiquity, calculated to excite general wonder if not anxiety, and amongst the revelations of Friday next we cannot help expecting, that the least marvellous will not be that which shall let us into the secret of a phenomenon at present so unaccountable."

The latest items of miscellaneous intelligence relating to Wednesday's proceedings were as follows:—

"Viscount Canning paid a visit to Lord Stanley after the levée.

"Lord John Russell received a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen on Wednesday morning.

"The Earl of Ellenborough received a communication from Lord Stanley on Wednesday.

"It is said that Mr. Disraeli has been so closely engaged during the past three days at his mansion in Park-lane, that no other person than Lord Stanley has been admitted to an interview with the honourable member.

"The heads of the Protectionist party dined with the Earl and Countess of Glengall on Wednesday evening, at their mansion in Grosvenor-street. Lord and Lady Stanley, the Earl of Lonsdale, Mr. and Mrs. Disraeli, the Earl and Countess of Chesterfield, and Viscount Canterbury were among the guests."

On Thursday afternoon the evening papers were looked for with much anxiety, in the hope that they would furnish some reliable information as to what had been done or was likely to be done. The *Globe* contained very little information. The sum of it was that, "in the event of Lord Stanley's forming an administration, the Marquis of Salisbury will be Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland." In reference to former transactions it mentioned that "Viscount Canning and Mr. Gladstone not only declined the propositions made to them by Lord Stanley, but did so in the most summary manner consistent with courtesy."

The *Standard* was rather more communicative, although no great reliance was placed in its predictions, which were to the following effect:—

"We have the best reasons for believing that the Ministry is not yet formed, but that Lord Stanley is proceeding most satisfactorily in the task assigned to him by her Majesty; and that, before many hours elapse, the list will be completed, and then officially proclaimed to the country. His lordship has given interviews to several

noblemen and gentlemen this morning, whose services he was anxious to secure in the new Cabinet. If Lord Stanley have met with any difficulties in the negotiations his lordship has been carrying on, we believe that they have arisen out of the consideration as to the best means that should be adopted in order to repel the aggressive measures of the Roman Pontiff; but we have no doubt whatever that those obstacles will be eventually and successfully overcome. Reports are abundant in the clubs and in the daily journals as to those who are likely to take office, and those who have already refused to take office; among the latter are said to be Lord Canning and Mr. Gladstone. It is impossible, in the present uncertain state of things, to know who will or who will not form part of the new Ministry; and, therefore, all such rash speculations as those to which we have alluded should be treated with distrust, as they only tend to embarrass and mislead the public mind.

"One of the morning papers says that the question of a Dissolution of Parliament stands thus:—'If such a course is deemed absolutely necessary by Lord Stanley, her Majesty will give her consent; but it is fully understood to be the Sovereign's wish that a dissolution shall be avoided, if possible.'

"A meeting of Peelites assembled this morning at Mr. Sidney Herbert's mansion in Carlton-gardens, at which were present, in addition to that gentleman, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, and others."

Yesterday morning the formal announcement was made that Lord Stanley had given up the task of trying to form a Protectionist Government. In the clubs the fact had been pretty generally known the previous evening. "Until past five p.m.," says a correspondent of the *Chronicle*, "it was currently believed that Lord Stanley was making rapid progress in the formation of a Government. The bulk of his followers were in the highest spirits, and the bare probability of a failure was scouted by his organs in the press. They were in the very height of their exultation, when a noble earl, known to be in Lord Stanley's confidence, suddenly walked into White's, and stated that he was desired by Lord Stanley to mention that he had failed in the attempt to form a Government." All doubt on the subject was dispelled by the following official statement in the morning papers of Friday:—

"Another day of intense excitement has closed with the resignation by Lord Stanley of the charge entrusted to the noble lord by her Majesty, of forming a Cabinet.

"At five o'clock Lord Stanley proceeded to Buckingham Palace, and at an audience of the Queen expressed his inability, at the present moment, to form an Administration. This proceeding is understood to have resulted from the unwillingness of Mr. Gladstone and Viscount Canning to agree to certain arrangements, under which Lord Stanley proposed to carry on the Government.

"Sir James Graham called upon Mr. Gladstone yesterday, and had an interview with the right honourable gentleman.

"After Lord Stanley had placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen, a despatch, written by his Royal Highness Prince Albert, was forwarded to Lord John Russell, at the noble lord's private residence, in Chesham-place.

"At eight o'clock last night a communication from Sir James Graham, addressed to her Majesty, was received at Buckingham Palace. The right honourable baronet shortly afterwards received a communication from her Majesty.

"The Earl of Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Cardwell have been in constant communication during the day."

The commentaries of the various daily papers on this chaotic state of affairs do not supply much information. The *Post* could see only "one possible conclusion—the natural, the just, and the most desirable result is, that to Lord John Russell should be re-committed the trust of providing from his own parliamentary resources the means of carrying on the Queen's Government." The *Belgravian* oracle, which aims at being the organ of the Ministry for the time being, promises him its unqualified support:—

"Every loyal subject will readily lend his aid to relieve the Crown from embarrassment and the country from suspense. And, under all the circumstances, should Lord John Russell address himself, by her Majesty's command, to this arduous undertaking, we cannot doubt that the great party, whose leader has himself just failed in forming a Government, will lend the noble lord every support which consists with the maintenance of its public principles."

The *Herald* would not admit that the Protectionist leader had fairly given up the attempt, at any rate, if he had, it could not have been from any want of exertion on his part. "If he should fail in constructing a Cabinet," says the *Herald*, "which we should regard as a national calamity in the present crisis, we have not the slightest doubt that the causes which may have contributed to so unfortunate a result will be attributable to his fixed and unalterable adherence to a constitutional policy, to his unflinching determination to uphold the prerogatives of the Monarchy, and the Protestant, and Reformed character of our Established Church."

The *Times*, after stating that Lord Stanley had given up the task in despair, says:—

"Our anticipations of yesterday are thus verified, and with the results we had already ascribed to this transaction. The Protectionists, separated from almost all that

is powerful or trustworthy in the Conservative party, have been for forty-eight hours masters of the government of Britain. The failure of their opponents and the voluntary abnegation of their rivals left them a wide field for the display of all their policy and all their resources. The urgent want of an Administration to conduct the business of the country was never more strongly felt. All the powers which the constitution places in the hands of a Minister on his accession to office were in their possession. Even their own followers had begun liberally to discard the encumbrances of their creed. All was in vain. The bigotted adherence of the Protectionists to a lost cause has reduced them to the fraction of a party, and Lord Stanley arrived by the exhaustion process at the demonstration that no Tory Government can now be formed out of the materials he possesses, or upon the principle of commercial protection.

"It now, therefore, becomes imperatively necessary to terminate the present crisis by a return to the most practicable of the combinations already attempted, and to make whatever sacrifices or concessions are required to give the utmost possible strength and effect to that combination. This is not a moment at which any sort of personal recrimination would be in place. The embarrassments of the past week have been too great, the stoppage of the whole business of Parliament at the outset of the session is too deplorable, the duties of the immediate future, especially in the present year, are too pressing, for us to stoop for a moment to the gratification of any personal predilections. The only question worth asking, since we have now completed the round of all the known combinations of party, is, *How is the Queen's Government to be most efficiently carried on?*"

"This is not a time at which any accession of strength can with impunity be thrown away. It is understood that the members of the Whig Administration will meet this morning in their private capacity at Lansdowne-house, to consider the course that it becomes them to pursue, since they are thus thrown back to office by the failure of all competitors. But we trust that it will be admitted by those who are most anxious to promote the stability of the Government, that a mere repetition of the performances which terminated last week will be hailed with no satisfaction by the country. It will leave the abrupt resignation of the Prime Minister wholly unaccounted for, if, within eight days he is to resume his place in the House of Commons, as if his Government had suffered no defeat, or had become insensible to what it suffered. Too much sensitiveness then would only be followed by too much indifference now; and the transaction would pass with the world for little more than a piece of legerdemain. To remove these impressions another vigorous effort should be made to obtain for the Administration that increase of strength which it requires. In political life nothing is so hopeless as to attempt a return to the past. That ever-shifting sphere effaces in a few hours the traces of what has ceased to be, and the seat which is once left vacant has already crumbled away. Not an address, not a meeting, scarcely a journal, has signified the faintest desire to revive the identical Administration which expired last week; and if this crisis has destroyed the last illusions of the Protectionists, it has more clearly demonstrated the necessity of uniting the great divisions of their successful opponents."

At a later hour yesterday the *Herald*, in a third edition, announced that Lord John and his friends were "again endeavouring to reconstruct a Cabinet." "This evening at five o'clock," says the *Herald*, "Lord Stanley will state all the facts which have been connected with the strange events in English history which have left the nation for a week without a really responsible Minister; and we doubt not that his lordship will prove by his statement who ought to be at the helm of Government."

We understand that on the meeting of the House of Commons on Friday Mr. Cobden will give notice that he will submit a resolution expressive of the determination of the House to refuse its support to any Administration that is not prepared faithfully to adhere to the free-trade policy adopted in the year 1846. Such a motion will have the effect of discovering the intended policy of Lord Stanley's Government, should such a Government be formed.—*Times*.

MEETINGS OF THE PEOPLE.

The country is gradually beginning to move. On Saturday a manifesto from the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association was issued; but it does not seem to have attracted any notice. Several meetings have been held during the week to condemn the budget, and the Ministers who proposed it. One of the largest was held in St. Pancras, on Tuesday evening. The large vestry hall in which the meeting was held is calculated to hold at least 2000 persons, and hundreds were unable to obtain admission. The spacious galleries, and even the lobbies of the building, were literally crowded. The senior churchwarden presided, and was supported on the platform by Viscount Duncan, Lord Dudley Stuart, Sir B. Hall, Mr. T. Wakley, Mr. Jacob Bell, and a large number of members of the vestry and delegates from the various metropolitan parishes.

The whole of the speakers condemned the budget, but especially that part relating to the house tax. Every allusion to the present crisis was caught up most eagerly by the meeting, and anything like a bold allusion to Parliamentary Reform was warmly cheered. Sir Benjamin Hall, after referring to the proposed Stanley Administration, said:—

"It was idle to suppose that they could go on with such a Ministry as was now formed, and with a certain

right honourable gentleman on the Treasury bench, from whom he (Sir B. Hall) said 'Good Lord deliver us.' (*Cheers and laughter.*) It was the absurd financial measures of the late Government that turned them out and nothing else—(*hear, hear*)—and Lord Stanley was at that moment the Prime Minister of this country. (*Tremendous hisses, groans, and uproar, with cries of 'We won't have him.'*) All he (Sir B. Hall) could say was, that so far as his vote went, he would not have him. (*Cheers.*) He would do all he could by his vote to turn him out—(*cheers*)—because if Lord Stanley in the one House, and his representative, Mr. Disraeli, in the other, must, if they act honestly, attempt again to inflict a heavy duty on the food of the people. (*Groans, and 'Let them try it.'*) The men of Marylebone, it would be said, are difficult to please; they had turned out the Whigs, and now did not like Disraeli. (*Hear, hear.*) What on earth did they want? (*Cries of 'Cobden,' and cheers.*) He could tell them what they would have. They would have reform and retrenchment; and if they could not get both at once, only let the House of Commons give them the first, and they would get the other themselves. No Ministry could stand at the present day who did not carry out these principles."

Lord Dudley Stuart did not know whether Lord Stanley would venture to appeal to the country. Let him do so, however, if he liked. The sooner the better. (*Cheers.*) An address to the Queen was carried unanimously, praying her to take only such persons to her Councils as will carry out Reform and Retrenchment.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of St. Andrew Holborn, was held on the same evening. Several of the speakers spoke in condemnation of our representative system, and resolutions were passed condemning the land and income tax as unequally and unjustly assessed, causing loss to the revenue and dissatisfaction among the people; and declaring that realized property should be fairly and equally assessed to the support of public burdens.

The electors of Southwark met on Wednesday evening at the Bridge-house Hotel, London-bridge, which was crowded to excess. Mr. Thomas Pococke, the chairman of the meeting, said they must have a modification of the income tax:—

"For himself, he desired to see removed all imposts that pressed upon the poor man—(*cheers*)—and he preferred that the taxes should fall directly upon realized property. (*Renewed cheers.*) He was, he thanked God, the holder of a large portion of realized property; and so long as it was realized he was quite willing to pay his fair share of taxation. (*Cheers.*)"

Mr. T. Walker condemned the present system of representation as a mockery and a pretence. "The House of Commons, instead of representing the people, represented an oligarchy and nothing else." Mr. Howard thought "it was quite sufficient for the aristocracy to have the House of Lords to themselves; and what he wanted was to see the House of Commons a true representative of the opinion of the country."

Alderman Humphery, M.P., said that no man in his senses would attempt to go back to protection. The country would never consent to an alteration which would raise the price of food.

Sir William Molesworth was decidedly of opinion that the window tax should be immediately repealed. But if the people of this country wished to maintain the national credit, they must make up their minds to pay such an amount of taxation in some shape or other as would enable the income to meet the expenditure. The largest portion of that expenditure was the interest on the debt "that could not be curtailed without an act of national bankruptcy, and rather than consent to so disgraceful a deed, he would agree to pay his last shilling in the shape of taxes. (*Cheers.*)"

"The other portion of the expenditure of the country was on account of the general government and defence of the empire. Now, in an old country, with a dense population, holding the position of this country among the nations of Europe, with territories in every portion of the globe, and carrying on a trade with all mankind, it was impossible that the expenditure on account of its general government and defence could ever be an inconsiderable sum, even with the strictest economy. (*Disapprobation.*) It was true that at times the expenditure of the country had been excessive. As one of their representatives, he had laboured to reduce unnecessary expenditure. For three years consecutively he had sat upon a committee appointed to inquire into the military and naval expenditure of the country. In consequence of that inquiry, her Majesty's late Ministers had made considerable reductions in expenditure, and he believed that if they had continued in office they would have made still further reductions. (*A laugh.*) It was not the fact, as stated by a previous speaker, that the officers were exclusively or chiefly scions of the aristocracy—(*uproar*)—and, considering everything, the army and navy were certainly hardly worked, and not overpaid. (*Uproar.*) He thought further reductions could be made without detriment to the public service, especially in the expenditure on account of the colonies; and partly with this object in view he had endeavoured to obtain for the colonies complete self-government in local affairs. (*Cheers.*) He must, however, repeat that, supposing every reduction to be made in national expenditure which could be made without detriment to the public service, yet the expenditure on account of the debt, the general government, and the defence of this empire, must always amount to a very considerable sum of money. (*Hisses.*)"

That seemed to him to be a self-evident position, and, therefore, he held it to be the duty of the representatives of the people, in order to maintain the credit and honour of their country, not to attempt to take off a tax, unless the income of the country exceeded its expenditure by the whole amount of the tax. Some persons wished for a general and immediate revision of the whole taxation of the country. They wished to substitute for those taxes which they thought most burdensome other taxes which they considered to be less burdensome. He did not affirm that the existing system of taxation was perfect, nor did he deny that a better system could be devised, if they had to begin afresh to tax the country. (*Hisses*) But he doubted that it would be practicable, even if it were expedient, to make a complete and immediate revision of the whole taxation of the country. (*Hisses.*) He doubted the expediency of so doing: for, though every tax was in itself an evil, the evil of a new tax was more sensitively felt than the evil of an old tax. When a tax had been long imposed, men made arrangements and acquired property under the expectation of its continuance, and became accustomed to it. (*A laugh.*) A new tax disturbed existing arrangements, and altered the value of property, and the novelty of the thing produced discontent. (*Oh!*) He doubted also the practicability of so doing, for there was a great difference of opinion, not only as to what taxes ought to be taken off, but as to what taxes ought to be imposed in the stead of those which might be taken off. In fact, every tax pressed, or appeared to press, unequally upon some portion of the community; those persons upon whom a particular tax pressed most heavily, were generally most anxious to get rid of it; and, if they could not hope to do so in any other manner, they not unfrequently endeavoured to transfer it to other persons, who were equally unwilling to accept it. (*Hear, hear.*) What men generally meant by a complete revision of taxation was, to get rid of their own burdens, by increasing the burdens of other men."

When there was a surplus he would repeal the most oppressive and obnoxious tax first. At present there was a surplus which would enable them to repeal the window tax. "Next, he would wish, when the financial condition of the country would admit of it—(*derisive cheers*)—that the taxes on knowledge should be repealed." His general views on finance and taxation he summed up as follows:—

"First, and above all things, to maintain in the highest degree the pecuniary credit of the nation; to reduce unnecessary expenditure; to adhere to free trade; and to carry out the financial policy of the late Sir R. Peel. By acting up to these views he hoped to deserve and obtain their approbation. (*Cheers and disapprobation.*)"

Several questions were put to Sir William respecting his Parliamentary votes which did not seem to give satisfaction to his constituents.

The inhabitants of the parish of St. Anne, Westminster, met in the theatre, Dean-street, Soho, on Wednesday. The meeting was addressed by Lord Duncan and Sir De Lacy Evans.

A resolution was passed declaring—

"That the window tax, having been condemned by the people and surrendered by the Government, no future Minister will be allowed any longer to enforce it. That the substitution of any impost in its place is unnecessary because reductions ought to be made in the expenditure of the country to an amount sufficient to enable the Government to remove not only this but other taxes which pressed upon the industry of the community; and that the various members of Parliament be requested to oppose all grants of money till this grievance be reduced."

The Liverpool Financial Reform Association held a meeting in the Music-hall, on Monday evening, to discuss the budget and the Ministerial crisis. The chief topic was the blundering budget and the incapacity of such a man as Sir Charles Wood to manage the financial affairs of this country. Mr. Boulton, after stating his belief that "the social progress of the nation, the happiness of the masses, and their progress in intelligence and education, depended more on a thorough alteration of the system of taxation, the setting free the energies of the people, than anything else," went on to say:—

"The Chancellor had made a wonderful discovery that we can raise £46,000,000 a-year of taxes from excise, customs, stamps, &c., without severe pressure. Had he ever heard what were the wages of the agricultural labourers, handloom weavers, poor curates, clerks, &c., and the state in which the smaller tradesmen were all over the country; for any man to make such a statement at this time of day betokened a callousness and an ignorance which, in a Cabinet Minister, was most discredit-able and unpardonable. (*Loud applause.*) The principles propounded by the Financial Reform Association were, that a system of taxation ought to be carried out by which every man, woman, and child should be allowed to earn a living, without restriction, whensoever and wherever they pleased. (*Applause.*) The national burdens ought to be fairly levied in proportion to the amount of the means of those called on to pay; not, as at present, where the weight was laid on the poor man, and a lesser proportion on the rich. (*Applause.*) He begged to move, that the dissolution of the Administration, since this meeting was summoned, affords to all now assembled the opportunity of expressing their opinion that the recent embarrassment of the Cabinet, which has long been supported owing to the principles they professed, and the personal character of its chief, has arisen from its want of progress in a progressive age, and the utter incompetence of its financial Minister, both these defects being attributable to the fatal policy of selecting

men for high official station, not on account of their fitness, but in deference to their family connections."

The resolution was carried unanimously, after which several other gentlemen addressed the meeting. Mr. Charles Rawlins said the only way in which they could obtain those desirable reforms of which Mr. Boulton had spoken was by "a strong pressure from without." No valuable reforms could be obtained in England without that.

The following is the manifesto of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association:—
"The Council of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association to the People.

"Fellow-countrymen,—It devolves upon us to address you at a moment of grave interest.

"The Government of Lord John Russell is virtually defunct. A new Administration must forthwith be formed; and the nation will possibly be required to express its opinion upon public policy.

"Parliamentary and financial reformers of every class and of every shade of sentiment are deeply concerned in the event. It now becomes our duty to give full expression to our demands. We are required to be bold, energetic, and decided. We have great and sacred ends in view; the moment has arrived when we must nerve ourselves for their achievement.

"Fellow-countrymen, let us review our position.

"The Radical Reformers of the United Kingdom, having objects of common interest, have for years lacked common union. It has, indeed, been no selfish motive that has distracted us. Our want of union has mainly arisen from fear of injuring a Government in which, though none of us shared, some of us confided. Our very latest experience of the Administration, on questions involving parliamentary and financial reform, may serve indeed to show that the fear was as groundless as the confidence was misplaced, and may teach us all to lay to heart how far preferable to dependence on a party is reliance on our own energies and earnest efforts.

"Fellow-countrymen, these apprehensions need no longer affect any of us. Our path is cleared of the one great difficulty; we may now unite to tread it in pursuit of our common end. Our requirements are just. We ask—

"For Free Trade, in all its integrity.

"For Parliamentary Reform, immediate and complete.

"For Financial Amelioration, economical and equitable.

"This is the British Reformer's Bill of Rights; and, if they ask for nothing more, the British people can assuredly be satisfied with nothing less.

"Such being our reasonable requirements, how may we best attain them?

"It is known to all of us that the aristocracy, although one exclusive oligarchy, is severed into two factions, each faction with its followers. Being nearly equally divided, these factions, in a political crisis, are compelled to bid one against the other for the people's favour. The administration of Lord Melbourne offered as a boon a fixed duty upon corn; the Government of Sir Robert Peel subsequently outbid them by proposing a total repeal of every tax on our food. In like manner other tenders for our favour will be made by the various factions now bidding for place and power. Setting aside all other considerations and prejudices whatsoever, to secure that the party which is allowed to rule provides for us nothing less than the full measure of justice we demand.

"The Parliamentary and Financial Reformers of Great Britain—comprising the independent voters of the empire and the great masses of the industrial population—are those whose favour public parties, of necessity, must seek. Fellow-countrymen, the people hold the balance; our weight thrown into either scale may turn the beam. Let us bear in mind, then, the importance and the responsibilities of our position, not merely as they affect ourselves, but as they affect the entire unenfranchised and over-burdened people. Let us pledge ourselves one to another, and to society at large, to be earnest, energetic, and united in the performance of the duty now devolving on us. Let us pledge ourselves to accept no Government falling short of full acquiescence in our three demands; and, if a Government be formed distinctly recognising, and implicitly pledging itself to carry out, our principles, let us not be diverted from our object by any other cry, but let acquiescence in those principles be our single test. To the people neither the support of factions nor the aggrandizement of families can, or ought to be, matters of concern. 'Whig' and 'Tory' are nothing to us, save as they will advance the People's Bill of Rights.

"Upon parliamentary and financial reformers who, under the present limited system, are electors of the United Kingdom, it now devolves to advance the interests of the bread-eater, of the tax-payer, and of the unenfranchised man of intelligence. The council are anxious to impress the immediate necessity of preparation. Arrangements cannot too soon be made to bring forward competent and faithful candidates for Parliament, prepared to fight the people's battles, upon the people's principles. In making their selection, let electors take non-electors into their confidence; and, sinking for the future every minor difference, unite in obtaining a complete expression of the nation's feeling in favour of the People's Bill of Rights.

(By order of the Council),

"JOSHUA WALMSLEY, President.

"Saturday, February 22, 1851."

THE WALTHAM PROTECTIONIST PROGRAMME.

The only remarkable demonstration among the Protectionists this week has been at Waltham, where

a numerous meeting took place on Wednesday, attended by the Marquis of Granby, Lord John Manners, Lord Charles Manners, Mr. Farnham, M.P., Mr. Frewen, M.P., Mr. G. F. Young, and other gentlemen. Mr. Fletcher Norton, the president of the Waltham Agricultural Society, explained that the meeting had been called to consider the present state of the agricultural interest, and stated that the Earl of Wilton would have been present had he not been suddenly summoned to London. He then proceeded to show that Free Trade was producing universal discontent among the agricultural classes. The farmers were suffering severely, and the labourers would suffer also:—

"He would ask if they expected, in the present competition, to continue to give their present wages to their labourers, and which, according to the computation of 600 years, was equal to a peck of wheat? Now, let any man calculate what a day's labour would be worth at 40s. a quarter. Why, 1s. 3d. Had the price of wheat been, as was promised, 50s. a quarter, a fair rate of wages might, perhaps, have been given; but that was difficult, if not impossible, under the present price. That, then, was the worst part of the evil—the low price of wages to the labouring classes. (*Hear, hear.*)"

Mr. Hardy, of Grantham, who, from "his position as a banker," knew the condition of the farmers in that district pretty well—

"Could state that none of them had been able by their farms to meet their current expenses, but that all had been drawing upon their capital—(*hear, hear.*)—and he felt assured that unless there was a speedy rise in prices, or a diminution of expenses, they would be all involved in general insolvency. (*Hear, hear.*) It was not for him to say how this was to be brought about, but he knew that something must be done, and done quickly, or the consequences would be dreadful."

A Mr. Newball said the workhouse in his own neighbourhood of Sleaford was fuller now than it had ever been before, and if things did not take a turn soon, it would not be able to contain all the paupers.

Mr. Frewen having announced to the meeting, amidst loud cheers, that when he left London on Tuesday evening it was distinctly understood that Lord Stanley had accepted office, the Reverend N. Morgan said they must now go for the abolition of the malt duty and the income tax. But "it was Protection, and Protection alone that would benefit them. (*Loud cheers.*)"

"Let no sop be put into their mouths but that—no reduction of taxation, such as that insult that was offered them the other day, when £30,000 was offered to the farmers of England, Scotland, and Wales, for their clover seed. Was not that exceedingly generous? (*Hear, and laughter.*) Let them remember then, Protection and no surrender. (*Applause.*) They would have it or they would fight for it. (*Laughter.*) He had no doubt that by perseverance and good conduct—by not being rebellious, they would gain their point. (*Applause.*)"

Mr. G. F. Young made a long speech on the general question. He endeavoured to show that the boasts of manufacturing prosperity were not well founded. As for the shipping interest it never was more depressed than at this moment. The farmers must not look for any substantial relief from reduction of this or that duty. With wheat at 50s. the farmers could do pretty well. An import duty would give them that, but an import duty could not be got perhaps without a struggle:—

"Well, then, if it came to a struggle, though he did not like to hear the word, he was not the man to shrink from it. But what struggle were they to expect. A few blustering speeches from the Anti-Corn Law League—a threat from Cobden that he would march a body of men from Leeds. (*Laughter.*) If they were going to struggle he hoped they would struggle for something worth having. (*Great applause.*)"

But they must not embarrass Lord Stanley by asking men to pledge themselves before they get into power, or by raising a storm for the repeal of the malt tax, or any other tax, unless the new Government thought such a course best. "All must repress their anxiety for instant relief from their difficulties at the hands of the new Government. The country must forbear for the present. The time was close at hand when they would have to fight their country's battle on the hustings." The Marquis of Granby and Lord John Manners both addressed the meeting, but all they said was merely to indorse Mr. G. F. Young's statement, that they must not seek to pledge Lord Stanley, but take what they can get.

The agriculturists of Cambridge had a demonstration at Ely, on Thursday. Their language was much more warlike than that of the Waltham men. Mr. Ball, of Burwell, said:—

"He believed that there were numbers in this country who would prefer marching against Manchester to marching against Paris. Let them take the language of the *Times*, which the other day said they would resist Protection to the last appeal. Let them say 'Amen' to it. (*Cheers.*) It was a hopeful thing that Lord Stanley was at the head of affairs. Let them recollect his lordship's injunction to agitate the country and wait the command of 'Up, Guards, and at them.' That time had now come, and the reply should be, 'On, Stanley, on.' Let them risk all, brave all, and dare all, to be reinstated in that position of which they had been so wrongfully deprived. (*Loud cheers.*)"

INCORPORATION OF MARYLEBONE.

The people of Marylebone have begun to agitate in favour of the incorporation of that borough. A meeting of the East Pancras Parochial Association was held last night week, at the Globe Tavern, King's-cross, to consider the propriety of applying for a charter. Most of the speakers were in favour of the proposal. A slight opposition was made on the ground that "corporations are corrupt relicts of by-gone days," and that the affairs of the London corporation are not well managed. After a good deal of discussion it was unanimously resolved that a committee should be appointed to communicate with the various associations in the borough, in order to ascertain what advantages are likely to accrue from applying for a charter of incorporation for Marylebone.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

The preparations for the opening of the Crystal Palace, on the 1st of May, have been proceeding this week with as much energy as before, notwithstanding the Ministerial crisis, and the danger of Colonel Sibthorp being allowed to put down the whole affair as a conspiracy against the farmers. Complaints are made that the persons intending to exhibit have not been hitherto so prompt in forwarding specimens as is requisite. Such a number has, however, been already received as to give some idea of the immense wilderness of wonders which the palace will form when the preparations have been completed:—

"The nave of the building will be a magnificent sight, embellished, as it will be, with the rarest and most remarkable specimens from each of the thirty sections into which the whole collection has been classified. Colossal statues—great fountains—a gigantic telescope—pillars of granite and coal—an extraordinary dome of glass and iron, east at Coalbrookdale, and forty feet high—crystals of spermaceti oil as representing animal substances, and which cost their exhibitor £1000—crystals of alum several feet high—models of the Britannia-bridge and of the great Russian chain-bridge thrown by Vignolles over the Dnieper—a model of the glass palace itself—a model of Chance's lighthouse—a display of feathers by Adcock—a clock by Dent—a trophy of silk manufacture from Spitalfields,—such are among the objects with which the western, or British, half of the lofty centre aisle is to be adorned. To this list will, no doubt, yet be added many other attractive contributions, and as an illustration of the desire which is felt to concentrate on this point the most remarkable things in the country, we may mention that a hope is entertained that the section of precious stones may be represented here by Runjeet Singh's great diamond—the Kohinoor. It is intended that all the stalls shall be covered with red cloth or pink calico, by which means not only will the unsightly wood work be concealed, but a warmth of colouring will be imparted to the whole ground-area of the building, which, combined with the great mass of blue overhead and the yellow stripes on the columns, will produce a most harmonious and brilliant effect."

CONTINENTAL AFFAIRS.

All the February anniversaries are happily over, and Paris never was quieter since its foundations were laid in the mud. A solemn mass was said in Notre Dame; at St. Mary and other churches a sort of funeral service, in commemoration of what nearly all parties in France seem now agreed to look upon as a very melancholy affair—the revolution that ushered in a republic.

The Paris students, above one thousand in number (some say considerably fewer) went in a procession to the Place de la Bastille, on Sunday, to lay their *immortelle* wreaths on the pedestal of the Column of July.

An ultra-Democratic demonstration was to come off on Saturday last; but the suspected quarters of the boulevards and faubourg were most provokingly still and orderly. The Government were not, however, to be baffled of the pleasure of carrying on their vexatious measures; an inquiry is to be instituted by the police, by order of the President, against the perpetrators of the disturbance that never took place. The prefect of the police, M. Carlier, was absent during the most critical period of the anniversaries—he was at the time at Sens.

Nothing, it seems, has power to tempt the Parisians out of their equanimity. A famous letter of the Count de Chambord, from Venice, has failed to produce a sensation. Newspapers of all parties have reported it without one word of comment.

The scheme for a general amnesty, and the bill for municipal reform, are both abandoned for the present. All is at a standstill in Paris, if we except the diplomatic body, which is being stirred and shifted throughout. General Aupick, late Minister at Copenhagen, and M. de Talleyrand, first secretary of legation at St. Petersburg, are destined for the London legation. M. de Marescalchi, now chargé d'affaires in London, is promoted to be Minister Plenipotentiary at Stockholm. New appointments and promotions in great number appear in the same Gazette. What struck us in all that nomenclature was the frequent occurrence of high-sounding aristocratic names. Nor is it merely in diplomacy, but in all the branches of administration the ancient noblesse never made its way to power and distinction

so readily as now, since the utter abolition of caste. The old *sang-bleu* floats by virtue of its ethereal buoyancy.

In the French National Assembly on the 25th, General Randon, Minister of War, demanded an extraordinary credit of 6,800,000 francs for the construction of works necessary for the defence of the harbour of Cherbourg.

The 17th commission of parliamentary initiative met on the same day at twelve o'clock, and conferred with the Ministers of the Interior and Justice on the subject of the proposition relative to the amnesty. The ministers opposed the proposition on the ground of its being dangerous to the public tranquillity, and a censure on what has been decided by the tribunals. After a long discussion the commission, by a majority of nineteen votes to three, rejected the proposition. M. Piscatory is charged with training up the proposition.

M. Arago, who was represented as lying dangerously ill, has so far recovered as to attend the sitting of the National Assembly.

The resignation of Count Siccaldi is at last officially announced in the *Piedmontese Gazette*. The King of Sardinia has appointed the ex-Minister First President of the Court of Appeal. Both Houses of Parliament have for some time been busy with the final demolition of some pitiful remnants of feudal rights and privileges still lingering in that old-fashioned community, especially in the island of Sardinia, where the most barbarous laws had taken deep root throughout the Arragonese and Spanish dynasties. Equitable measures have been taken to indemnify the sufferers from all losses at the expense of their respective communes. The law for the abolition of these old abuses has been adopted *en bloc* in the Lower House by a majority of 98 votes against 44, on the 19th.

The Pope and his friends were relieved from great anxiety upon receiving the Queen's speech, and still more so on becoming acquainted with the extent of the measures proposed by Lord John Russell for the repression of their usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in this country.

The omniscient correspondent of the *Times* is sure that his Holiness is burning with desire to play once more the part of the Clement and Benevolent Pope. A second amnesty in behalf of all political offenders is said to lie in his Pontifical bosom. Some ruthless advisers of Pius IX., however, will not suffer the humane edict to come into light. The same infallible authority has for the last few months been preparing us for the abdication of the Pope. The novel Celestine is to lay down his triple diadem, and retire into a hermitage in the course of next June. Pius IX., is to be met with about the streets of Rome accompanied only by a few of his noble body guards. Free from apprehension for his personal safety, the Pope dispenses now with the escort of his dragoons. All French and Roman troops have equally been dismissed from the Palace; the Pope either needs or trusts none but his honest Swiss. Bitter animosity exists between the French and the native Roman troops, arising from jealousy and wounded pride on the one side and sheer contempt on the other. At a late review the wretched *Papalini* shrank in a corner with a hang-dog look, and were looked down upon by their Gallic comrades as little better than prisoners.

The Pope has appointed Colonel Filippo Farina acting Minister at War.

Count de Bermand, a French officer, lately appointed commander of the staff of all the Papal troops, died at Rome on the 13th.

The anniversary of the Republic passed off without commotion at Rome. Some wags amused themselves with tricolour Bengal lights, which caused much unnecessary alarm to that valiant garrison. The Roman nobility and gentry are amusing themselves with balls and masquerades.

One hundred executions have taken place in the four provinces of the Legations since the first establishment of court-martials, consequent upon the Austrian occupation from 1848 to 1860.

A score of the robbers of the Passatore band are said to have been arrested soon after their dramatic attack on Forlim-popoli. The authorities in Bologna have proscribed a kind of country gigs—biroccini, by the aid of which the brigands were said to perpetrate their predatory feats, driving about the country in the garb of peaceful farmers going to market. None of the rakish-looking vehicles will be allowed to go about except with number and badge after the fashion of London hackney-cabs. Another party of the Passatore highwaymen was pursued by the armed force up the mountains towards the Tuscan frontier, and bloody skirmishes had taken place on the 16th and 17th, in which several soldiers had lost their lives, and the final result of which was not known when the courier left Bologna on the 18th.

A few journeymen printers at Milan have been condemned to hard imprisonment for five, three, and two years, being convicted of the clandestine circulation of seditious writings.

The Florentine journal, *Lo Statuto*, is now allowed to see the light, after a long silence of a month. All the most odious measures adopted by the Grand Du-

cal Government fail hitherto in gagging the lively Tuscans, who will sooner die than hold their tongues.

Private letters from Switzerland assure us that both the number and activity of the German, Italian, and other refugees have been greatly exaggerated by foreign newspapers. Strong measures are adopted with a view to allay the fears of neighbouring governments, and to anticipate their demands. The refugees are to be removed from the frontier cantons. The Germans from Basle, St. Gallen, &c., the Italians from Ticino, the Grisons, as well as from Vaud and Geneva. Mazzini has been hunted down from one to the other of those cantons, and has at last been driven out of the country; he is now in London, where he arrived early this week. Altogether there are not more than 600 refugees of all nations in Switzerland, men, that is, who profess themselves political exiles, and apply to the Government of the Cantons for hospitality; but there are numbers of others living as private and independent persons, upon whom the Diet can exercise no legal control, especially as not a few amongst them are in the enjoyment of the rights of Swiss citizenship; and some of the most active political agitators belong to this category.

The Dresden conferences seem at last to be drawing to a close. Crestfallen and cowed as she is into abject submission, Prussia could not, would not, submit to the exorbitant demands of Prince Schwarzenburg. There seems now no resource left but in a return to the old state of things, and a restoration of the grotesque old diet to the exercise of its lethargic functions. It is not easy to propose any plan to which the minor German Governments will more readily accede, whatever the German nation may think or feel about the matter. It is something for the petty German princes to escape, nominally at least, with a shadow of independent existence. In sober fact, however, the absolute sway of Austria and Russia over them all, is neither to be resisted nor evaded.

The Prussian Chambers are eagerly rivetting the chains that are to crush down thought in their country. The paragraphs of a more than Vandalic law on the press are being daily carried one by one in the upper house. No printer, lithographer, publisher, bookseller, or antiquar (dealer in second-hand books) is to open shop or carry on business without a license from the district Government; no such license to be issued, except to persons of deserving character; the local authorities alone to decide on the merits of the applicant. No book or pamphlet to be published without presentation of a copy to the police, to be made twenty-four hours previous to publication; for newspapers, immediately after the impression is made. Military and civil employees are to be allowed no connection with the periodical press, except by an authorization from competent authorities. With these precautions alone, and not otherwise, are Prussian subjects to be trusted with the great two-edged tool of modern civilization.

The King of Wurtemberg has issued orders to his army for the abolition of the national German colours, which had been adopted in March, 1848.

Austria, however apparently strong and steady at the centre, is threatened with organic disorders at the extremities. The visit of Jellachich to Vienna has given rise to some sinister surmises respecting the disaffection of the Croatian and South Slavonian provinces. The Ban arrived at Vienna on the 17th, and returned to Agram, after a few days' stay in the imperial metropolis.

The rumours of some differences between Austria and the Porte have as yet acquired no material consistency.

Count Buol von Schapenstein, ambassador of Austria at St. Petersburg, has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in London. Baron Koller is appointed minister to Belgium.

The King of Sweden has opened the 13th storthing of the Norwegian Parliament, on Feb. 11. He congratulates his subjects on their escape from the "calamities produced by exaggerated hopes, founded on delusive theories, which have desolated other countries." He recommends the attention of the Chambers to a project of railway between Christiana and the Lake of Injösen, and applauds himself on the good countenance and firm assistance afforded to his brother of Denmark, in his late differences with the German confederacy.

PROTESTANTISM AND POPERY.

An address on the Papal aggression question was lately presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by 2746 members of the Church of England, including 29 clergymen. In his reply he corroborates what was stated by Lord John Russell, last night week, as to the probability of some law being passed, with a view to complete the Protestant Reformation. After expressing his sorrow "that doctrines should have been preached in any of our churches, closely approximating to those of the Church of Rome," the Archbishop says:—

"The power which the ecclesiastical laws confer of restraining these innovations is very limited, and might perhaps be advantageously enlarged. A short time will

prove whether it may be needful to seek any fresh enactments, or whether the strong expression of public opinion which has been manifested may not supersede the necessity of additional legislation."

The Catholics of Manchester have had a grand demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, for the purpose of expressing their grateful acknowledgements for the establishment of a Catholic hierarchy in England, and petitioning Parliament against any aggression upon their civil and religious liberties.

Most of the speakers repudiated in the strongest terms the doctrine that their obedience to the Pope in spiritual matters interfered in any degree with their "unshaken and long-proved attachment to the constitution of their country."

A Mr. Richardson, in speaking of the prospects of Catholicism, said:—

"There could be little doubt that the Church of England would soon perish. Already had most of her gifted and pious clergy made their peace with Rome, and the flower of her nobility were following in their train. And when the blessed day should come—when the men who now persecuted the Roman Catholics should rejoice in this patriarchal hierarchy—when the successor of St. Peter should hold his ecclesiastical sway in England—they would acknowledge that the Pope had done wisely in the step he had taken."

A number of resolutions were passed, the substance of which is embodied in the following petition, which was finally agreed to:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The Petition of the Roman Catholic Laity of Manchester and Salford, in public meeting assembled,

"Sheweth—That the Catholic laity of Manchester and Salford solemnly declare to your honourable House that the obedience which, as a matter of faith and conscience, is rendered by them to the Pope, as head of the Church upon earth, and to their more immediate prelates and pastors in communion with him, has relation to spiritual matters alone; and that this obedience does not in anywise interfere with or affect their perfect and undivided allegiance to their temporal sovereign, their unwavering loyalty to the throne, or their unshaken and long-proved attachment to the constitution of their country.

"That they gratefully, and without qualification, recognize in the reestablishment of a hierarchy in their Church in England, the fulfilment of long-cherished hopes and wishes; it being the only means whereby their spiritual organization can be rendered efficient and complete.

"That it is the opinion of your petitioners, that, in the reestablishment of the hierarchy in this country, no law has been infringed, nor any act done, which was not contemplated at the passing of the Emancipation Act, and intended to be permitted by it; that any legislation now, which seeks to prohibit the exercise of their rights, whether in the forms and functions of their spiritual government, or in the legal investment of funds for religious or charitable purposes, is an infraction of our rights as British subjects, and a retrograde step in legislation.

"That, in the face of the delusion which has been practised upon the people of this country, and which your honourable House has been called upon to sanction by a new and unjust law, your petitioners disclaim any attempt to procure temporal ascendancy for their church, and every wish to interfere in the ecclesiastical organization of any community which differs from them; but, immoveable in their determination to adhere to their own faith, and deprecating every measure which may induce or impose upon them the necessity of disregarding or evading the provisions of a law, they humbly implore your honourable house to refuse assent to the bill entitled, 'Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill,' now before your honourable House, or to any bill which shall interfere with their full religious liberty.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray," &c.

The statement which has been running through the papers that ground had been obtained by the Roman Catholic body, in the line of new street now in course of formation between the Houses of Parliament and Pimlico, for the purpose of erecting a magnificent cathedral, to be called St. Patrick's, is erroneous. The commissioners have declined to grant land for the purpose.—*The Builder*.

Lord John Russell was burned in effigy on Sunday night last in this town by the people, on account of his Anti-Papal Aggression Bill. The procession was preceded by a band, and the windows were broken in the houses of some Protestant inhabitants. There was no other disturbance, nor any interference with the proceedings by the police.—*Tralee Chronicle*.

The Irish agitation against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill becomes more and more brisk. The City met on Thursday week, the city of Limerick on Saturday, Drogheda on Sunday, and the city of Cork on Tuesday. At the Dublin meeting, the Reverend Dr. Cooper said the agitation would be backed by twenty-six bishops and 3000 priests. The pastoral of Archbishop Murray, calling on the people to pray against the proposed enactment, was read from the altars in all the Roman Catholic chapels of the archdiocese on Sunday.

The Roman Catholic members of the Irish bar have protested against the bill, which they condemn for the following reasons:—

"We view the proposed measure as retrogressive and penal in its character, an infringement upon religious

liberty, an unwarrantable interference with the discipline of our Church, and a departure from the policy recently pursued by the Legislature in facilitating the voluntary endowment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and clergy of this country.

"We object to this measure because, by subjecting our religion to special legislation of a vexatious character, it will place the Roman Catholic people of Ireland in a position of inferiority to their fellow-subjects.

"We object to the measure because it will create new difficulties in the administration of charitable and religious trusts connected with the Roman Catholic Church, unduly control the free disposition of property, interfere with and endanger settlements made upon the faith of existing laws, and in its results be productive of great embarrassment and irritation.

"Finally, we object to the measure because it has been conceived and framed in a spirit of hostility to the Roman Catholic religion, and because it is calculated to revive animosities which have been so baneful to our country, and which in latter years had been happily subsiding."

There are altogether eighty-eight names attached to the document, including two Queen's sergeants (Hawley and O'Brien), several assistant barristers, and others holding official appointments under the Crown.

The Freemasons of Nottingham held a public meeting on Thursday week to protest against the establishment of nunneries or monasteries in Great Britain. The chairman stated that a female, confined in a nunnery adjoining the Roman Catholic Church, Derby-road, Nottingham, endeavoured to effect her escape the other day, but was caught in the attempt and "again immured within the convent." It was afterwards resolved that Dr. Mulligan should be summoned before the magistrates to explain why women were incarcerated after they had expressed a wish to be liberated. A resolution was also passed, calling upon Ministers to insert a clause in the Anti-Papal Bill, providing for the abolition of all nunneries and monasteries now existing in the United Kingdom.

The inhabitants of the village of Oldcoates, near Blythe, and also of the surrounding neighbourhood, have been astounded by Edward Chaloner, Esq., of Goldthorpe, giving upwards of an acre-and-a-half of ground in a field south of Oldcoates, whereon to erect a Roman Catholic church, a house for the priest, a school and a burial-ground. That gentleman has also, we hear, invested £4000 towards its completion. Messrs. Weightman and Hadfield are to be the architects.—*Nottingham Guardian*.

PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

The only business transacted by Parliament this week has been the discussion and rejection of the Marriages Bill in the House of Lords, on Tuesday evening. The Earl of St. GERMAN, who moved the second reading of the bill, referred to the strong feeling in favour of the measure throughout the country. The facts elicited by the commission appointed to obtain information on the subject were sufficient to convince any one, not prejudiced, of the necessity for such a measure as the present. The House of Commons had already decided in its favour by a majority of fifty-four. The Archbishop of CANTERBURY opposed the bill, because "the concurrent opinions of the Church of Christ, and for many ages of the religious men connected with that Church, was opposed to such marriages"—with a deceased wife's sister. He moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. The Bishop of EXETER seconded the amendment. He considered that marriage with a deceased wife's sister "was incestuous and forbidden by the law of God." They must remember that if they passed the measure they would be called upon to go further. The late Bishop of Llandaff held that it did not go far enough, and that "there ought to be a thorough revision of the law of marriage." The Bishop of St. DAVID's did not believe that the Bible forbade such marriages, but still he was opposed to the bill, on the ground that one of the evils which it proposed to remedy is of a varying and uncertain nature, while the other is inherent in human nature. The Bishop of NORWICH would not oppose the bill on the ground that it infringed the Scriptural canon, but because it tended to encourage immorality. The question was one which he left to the decision of the women of England, 99 in every 100 of whom, he believed, to be decidedly opposed to the removal of the existing restrictions. Viscount GAGE thought the opposition to the measure was inspired by a morbid sensibility. Lord CAMPBELL opposed the bill on the ground that it would make a fatal change in the law. The agitation of this question had been begun by those who had violated the law, and it was now continued in conjunction with those who had entered into engagements that the law forbade. After discussing the legal part of the question, he concluded by expressing a hope that the bill, which he resisted on principle, would be rejected by a large majority. The Bishop of LONDON argued that if the principle of the bill were carried into effect by a positive law, they would be offering a positive premium for immorality. Lord BROUGHAM and the Bishop of OXBURY both opposed the bill, which was rejected by a majority of 34.

THE SAILORS' STRIKE.

The strike on the Tyne terminated on Saturday, on the Wear on the previous evening. There was a

large demonstration at Shields on Saturday morning. No less than 4000 men, with music and banners, walked through the principal streets of North and South Shields. The men then went on board their respective vessels. There were altogether from 400 to 500 vessels, for all parts of the world, ready for sea, in the Tyne, on Saturday.

The wages agreed to by the men are £4 10s. in winter and £3 10s. in summer.

At Yarmouth the disputes between the seamen and the shipowners led to a riot on Saturday in which several persons were injured. The dispute has been chiefly regarding wages. The regular rate lately has been 60s. per month in winter and 50s. in summer. The men formed an association for the purpose of obtaining an equalization of wages all the year round. They demanded 55s. a-month for the whole year, which the employers refused to give. If any alteration of the old arrangement was attempted, they said they would consider all understanding between themselves and the men at an end, and would take men wherever they could get them, on the cheapest terms. The consequence of this declaration was a strike on the part of the seamen, who have since been parading the town with flags and bands of music.

On Saturday a rather serious riot took place in consequence of the sailors endeavouring to prevent any one from going a voyage on the old terms. The mayor and magistrates, accompanied by the police, having started from the Town-hall with a sailor for the purpose of escorting him to his vessel, they were attacked by a crowd of seamen. A regular fight took place, in which the police, though dreadfully beaten, contrived to take twelve of the rioters into custody, and during the engagement the authorities managed to get the man on board. The seamen, exasperated by the seizure of their comrades, assembled in greater force with a firm determination to rescue them. About 2000 of them proceeded to the station-house, carrying the mast of a ship, which they used as a battering-ram, in order to break down the door and rescue the prisoners. The mayor read the Riot Act, and caused 100 special constables to be sworn in. In addition to this force there were 20 policemen, 9 militia-men, and 30 men from a revenue-cutter lying at Yarmouth. This force, however, was considered not strong enough to cope with so formidable a mob. A telegraphic message was, therefore, sent to Norwich requesting a detachment of military to be sent by special train. Two troops of the Eleventh Hussars were accordingly sent by railway, who quickly cleared the streets, and in a few hours quiet was completely restored.

A meeting of the sailors of the port of London was held at the Albion Tavern, High-street, Shadwell, on Monday evening, to protest against the unjust restrictions imposed upon them by the Mercantile Marine Act. One of the speakers said the worst evil in the new act was that, while it gave an increased power to the shipping agent and master, it took away what little right the seamen had previously. Another grievance was the infliction of fines, "which almost went to the extent that if a man even squinted on board an outward-bound vessel a day's pay would be deducted for it." As for the grievances of which the sailors had always complained, the bill hardly touched one of them. Sailors were often ill used by unfeeling masters, but it was hardly possible for them to obtain redress. He complained also of the present mode of keeping the log-book. Whatever fault any sailor might commit was duly recorded, but the master or the mate might do as they pleased, without a word of it appearing in the log-book. The bill was condemned altogether as tending to destroy the spirit of the British seaman, and a committee was appointed to draw up a petition to Parliament, praying for the modification or repeal of the obnoxious Mercantile Marine Act.

EXPORTATION OF IRISH PAUPERS TO LONDON.

If any proof had been wanting of the evils resulting from the want of a proper poor-law in Ireland, it would be furnished by the evidence given at an inquest at Rotherhithe, on Wednesday. The subject of the inquest was a child four weeks old, which had died on the deck of an Irish steamer, on its passage from Cork to London. Ann Connell, the mother of the child, said:—

"Her age was twenty-two. She was a single woman, and had been confined in Cork workhouse about four weeks since. She left London some time back to seek her mother, who was dead when she reached Ireland. On Thursday morning, at seven o'clock, witness paid 2s. as passage-money on board the Pelican steamer, which left the harbour that morning for London. They were on deck without any covering, three days and three nights, exposed to the wind and weather. There were 750 men, women, and children, all huddled so close together, that they could scarcely move. It rained several times on the passage. Witness had not sufficient clothing for the child, and she was of opinion that the deceased had died from the cold and exposure. She found the child dead shortly before they were landed. She pawned some articles of clothing to pay her passage-money."

The Coroner said he had good reason to believe

that these unfortunate people were supplied with money to carry them to London by the parochial authorities of Ireland. The summoning officer said he had known as many as 1000 being brought at one time, at from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per head. The jury, after a short consultation, returned the following verdict:—

"That the deceased child had died of cold and exposure to the weather, by reason of the mother being a passenger on the deck of the Pelican steamboat, while on its way from Ireland to London; and the said jury further state that it is to be deeply regretted that Government did not take some steps to prevent persons being brought over from Ireland in such a manner, without sufficient and proper accommodation for the preservation of life."

DEATHS OF EMINENT PERSONS.

Joanna Baillie, whose literary life stretches back into the last century, and whose early recollections were of the days of Burke, Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the great men who figured before the French Revolution, expired on Sunday evening, aged 89. She always lived in retirement, and latterly in strict seclusion, in her retreat at Hampstead. The literary fame which she had acquired by her own works, aided in no small degree by the long and loudly-expressed admiration of Walter Scott, who always visited her when in London, never succeeded in drawing her generally into society.

During the greater part of her life she lived with a maiden sister, Agnes—also a poetess—to whom she addressed her beautiful *Birthday* poem. They were of a family in which talent and genius were hereditary. Their father was a Scottish clergyman, and their mother a sister of the celebrated Dr. William Hunter. They were born at Bothwell, within earshot of the rippling of the broad waters of the Clyde. Joanna's child-life and associations are beautifully mirrored in the poem to which we have alluded. Early in life the sisters removed to London, where their brother, the late Sir Matthew Baillie, was settled as a physician, and there her earliest poetical works appeared anonymously. Her first dramatic efforts were published in 1798, under the title, *A Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger Passions of the Mind, each Passion being the subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy*. A second volume was published in 1802, and a third in 1812. During the interval she gave the world a volume of miscellaneous dramas, including the *Family Legend*, a tragedy founded upon a story of one of the Macleans of Appin, and which, principally through Sir Walter's endeavours, was brought out at the Edinburgh Theatre. She visited Scott in Edinburgh in 1808. In the following year the drama in question was played with great temporary success, and Sir Walter Scott's enthusiasm in its favour communicating itself to Edinburgh society, the drama ran fourteen nights. In 1814 it was played in London. The only "Play of the Passions" ever represented on a stage was *De Montfort*, brought out by John Kemble, and played for eleven nights. In 1821 it was revived for Edmund Kean, but fruitlessly. Miss O'Neil played the heroine. In fact, like all Joanna's dramatic efforts, it was a poem—a poem full of genius and the true spirit of poetry—but not a play. Scott, however, was strongly taken by it; his lines are well known:—

"Till Avon's swans—while rung the grove
With Montfort's hate, and Basil's love!—
Awakening at the inspiring strain
Deem'd their own Shakspeare lived again!"

In 1836 the authoress published three more volumes of plays. Previous to this, in 1823, a long-promised collection of *Poetic Miscellanies* appeared, containing Scott's dramatic sketch of *Macduff's Cross*, with, *inter alia*, some of Mrs. Hemans' poetry and Miss Catherine Fanshawe's *jeux d'esprit*. Scott's criticism of the former lady's productions deserves perpetuation, "Too much flower and too little fruit."

The late Dowager Countess of Charleville died on Monday last, at the advanced age of ninety. Her maiden name was Dawson, and she was nearly connected with the Cremorne family. Her first husband was a gentleman of family and fortune in the county of Louth. He died in 1797, and in the following year she married the late Earl of Charleville. Her reminiscences of Dublin in its brilliant days, during the concluding quarter of the eighteenth century, were exceedingly interesting. She was with Grattan in his last illness, during the memorable interview with the late Lord Castlereagh, when that noble lord announced to him that he was to be buried in Westminster Abbey. She was the person to whom Lord Clare communicated the remarkable fact (left unnoticed by Moore), that when Lady Edward Fitzgerald entreated Lord Clare (then Chancellor) to give her an order to see her husband in prison, Lord Clare replied: "I have no power to give you an order, but I can take any one I like with me to visit any prisoner, and my carriage is at the door."

"Her name," says the *Chronicle*, "has been popularly associated with literature in a manner which always gave her unmitigated pain. Early in 1798, and prior to the marriage, the late earl (a very clever and accomplished man) printed for private circulation a translation

of Voltaire's *Pucelle*. In one of the notes to a satirical poem from the pen of an Irish barrister (now an English privy councillor of no inconsiderable note in politics and literature), it was insinuated, that 'lawn sleeves and gauze petticoats' had been associated in some manner with his lordship in this work. The 'lawn sleeves' were understood to belong to the late Bishop Marlay, and the 'petticoats' to indicate that Lady Charleville had lent her aid. The work is now exceedingly scarce, and much prized by book-collectors; and, to enhance its value, it is almost invariably advertised as by Lady Charleville. The fact is, she had nothing whatever to do with it. Her distinct disavowal (for which we can vouch) will fully satisfy all her personal acquaintances on this point; for she was the soul of truth and honour. They also—at least those who lived much with her—must know that nothing could be more alien from her tone of mind, taste, and intellectual tendencies than the translation in question. It is rendered into vernacular English, and abounds in phrases with which no woman in Lady Charleville's rank of life could be familiar. She thoroughly enjoyed wit, but had comparatively small relish for humour, and was instinctively repelled by the smallest approximation to vulgarity. Now, in this translation, the wit of the original is very frequently broadened into humour, and coarsened without warrant from the text. Judging, therefore, solely from internal evidence—we should no more believe that the English version was, wholly or in part, the work of Lady Charleville, than that a woman was the author of *Tom Jones*."

Dr. Jacobi, the celebrated professor of mathematics at the Berlin University, terminated his long and distinguished career on the 20th of February.

THE DELICATE INVESTIGATION.

An action for libel, brought against the *Daily News*, was tried at Nisi Prius last Saturday, before Lord Campbell, which deserves notice. The plaintiff was a lieutenant of the 86th Royal Regiment, and his complaint against the publisher of the *Daily News* was, that he had published in that paper the following report of a trial at the Thames Police Court last October, in which the lieutenant had been the defendant. The following is the article which was said to be libellous:—

"DELICATE INVESTIGATION.—Miss Julia Ann Court-nay, a young lady of very prepossessing manners and appearance, appeared for the fourth time before Mr. Ingham to prosecute a charge against Lieutenant Edward Baker Weaver, of the 86th Royal Regiment, son of Captain Weaver, the secretary of the Pentonville prison, for refusing to deliver to her a set of blue enamelled diamond studs, set with gold, valued at 10 guineas, which she had lent to the gallant officer. It may be necessary to mention that upon former occasions it was stated that Lieutenant Weaver was a suitor for the hand of Miss Court-nay, and promised her marriage, and while the courtship was going on he sent her a great many letters expressing attachment and affection, and addressing her as my dearest girl, my angel, &c. All this time the gallant and gay Lothario was paying his addresses to Miss Pongarden, the daughter of a gentleman residing at No. 8, Barnes-place, Mile-end, and to whom he has been married two months. The injured and deceived complainant instructed her solicitor, Mr. Graham, to bring an action against Weaver, for a breach of promise of marriage, and also to sue him, for the recovery of a set of studs worth ten guineas, that she had lent him. A summons was originally taken out at Mary-lebone Police-office, but upon its being returnable, it was stated that Weaver and his bride were on their wedding tour, and the summons was dismissed. Miss Courtney subsequently traced her faithless swain to the Mile-end-road, where he was residing with his wife, and caused four writs to be served upon him. The case has been postponed from time to time in consequence of a negotiation between the solicitors for the settlement of all matters in dispute. Mr. Jennings, the solicitor in defence, put in a general release signed by the attorney for Miss Courtney. It was suggested that the release was void for want of a stamp, and that Mr. Graham had received most positive instructions not to settle the matter as he had done. Miss Courtney was cross-examined by Mr. Jennings, and it was elicited that she had first met Weaver at a dance at a public house in Dean-street, Soho, and had afterwards accompanied him to Greenwich and other places. Mr. Ingham said the case was made out, and the studs must be given up."

Mr. Sergeant Wilkins, as counsel for the plaintiff, contended that this account of the affair had been "dished up to suit the public taste." Indeed, the whole was a fabrication, utterly unjustifiable.

The Solicitor-General, who addressed the jury for the defendant, characterized the action as one got up "to put costs into the attorney's pocket." He admitted that there might be a word or two in the report which ought not to have been used, but in a case of this kind there was an irresistible tendency to make it a little piquant. All must feel that the publication given to the proceedings in our Courts of Justice was of the most essential advantage and value to the rest of the community.

Several witnesses were examined, from whose evidence it appeared that the terms of endearment in the paragraph had never been mentioned in the court, but that the report was substantially correct.

Mr. Sergeant Wilkins, in replying, argued that there was no defence to the action. It would be a strange thing if gentlemen acting as reporters were to take on themselves a discretionary power of condensing matters which vitally reflected on the character of others. Why should they pay greater respect

to the editor of a newspaper who had done wrong than to any other man?

Lord Campbell, in summing up, said that after the speeches they had heard they must calmly and deliberately, according to the evidence, give their verdict, and that would depend upon this question: whether that publication complained of as a libel was a fair account of the proceedings at the Thames Police Court, between Miss Courtney and Lieutenant Weaver? If it was a fair account of those proceedings, then he was of opinion, in point of law, that the defendant was entitled to their verdict. Some question had been raised as to how far it was legal to publish police reports, which were mere preliminary examinations of persons charged with crimes; but that question did not arise here, because this proceeding came before a judge who had final jurisdiction, and was, therefore, in the nature of a civil action. There could be no doubt that a fair account of that proceeding, although it might reflect upon any party whose name was mixed up with it, the law would justify, for it was of the last importance that the public should be furnished with fair reports of the proceedings in courts of justice for the benefit was infinitely greater than the evil. It was not necessary that there should be a report of all that took place, for, if that condition were imposed, the liberty of the press would be utterly useless, because it was not possible that all that took place should be put in print. They had heard some very very eloquent speeches, but although it might be said that "Sergeant Wilkins eloquently replied," and that "Lord Campbell summed up to the jury," that would not be unfair. If it were garbled, then that would be another thing. It was, however, for them to say whether they considered the evidence for the plaintiff so contradicted the evidence given by Mr. Elnor, who, it appeared to him, had acted with great propriety, as to induce them to think that the report was not fair.

The jury having retired for some time, came back into court, and expressed a wish to know if a farthing damages would carry costs.

Lord Campbell, in accordance with the precedent set by his learned brethren, declined to answer the question.

The jury then gave a verdict for the plaintiff—Damages one farthing.

Lord Campbell: Gentlemen, I may now tell you that will not give the plaintiff costs.

THE DEVIL AND THE PRIEST.

About ten days ago all the population of Brunn, in the Austrian States, were thrown into commotion by the appearance of the Devil, *in propria persona*, surrounded by gendarmes with drawn swords. His Satanic Majesty was, as he is always represented, perfectly black, with two enormous horns, goat's ears, a body covered with hair, horse's legs, and cloven feet; but he seemed decidedly out of spirits, and it appeared that he was undergoing the indignity of being conveyed to durance vile. The old men and women of the place fell on their knees, and prayed to all the saints to protect them against the terrible Prince of Darkness; but the young men had the impiety to laugh and scoff at him. On inquiry the following facts were stated:—A few days before, as a peasant woman named Hent was lying in bed after having been delivered of a child, the devil suddenly leaped through a window, clanking a chain, and demanded that she should either give him the child to be carried to the regions below, or make over to him a sum of 100 florins in new silver, which he knew she had collected. The poor woman, greatly terrified, at once produced the money, and the devil pocketed it; after which he went away. The next day the woman told the parish priest of the visit she had received, and added that she had collected the 100 florins penny by penny to pay for religious services on her accouchement. "Did you tell any one that you had the money?" asked the priest. "Only the midwife," said she. "Well, tell the midwife that the devil was mistaken in supposing that you had only 100 florins, for that you have 50 florins more; and say that you are glad he did not compel you to give them up. The devil will perhaps pay you another visit after that, but I will be there to exorcise him." The woman told the midwife what the priest had said. The next night the devil reappeared and demanded the fifty florins, but at the same moment the priest rushed forth, seized him by the neck, and charged him with being a thief. The devil, it turned out, was the husband of the midwife. He was fastened in a room, and the next morning was taken to prison.—*Galvani*.

MURDERS.

Another case of wife-poisoning has come to light within the last few days. The victim was a Mrs. Hathway, landlady of the Fox beer-house in the quiet village of Chipping-Sudbury, Gloucestershire, and the persons implicated are her husband, aged 30, and a young woman named Carey, aged 20, formerly his servant. Mrs. Hathway is said to have been a fine young woman, much younger than her husband, and very respectably connected. At the time of their marriage Hathway had with his wife a fortune of several hundred pounds, nearly the whole of which he has spent in irregularities with the girl Carey and other women. From the evidence given at the inquest it appeared that the poor woman had had a very unhappy life, owing to her husband's cruelty and neglect. Some time before her death she expressed a fear that "the set" her husband was connected with would murder her. There seemed no doubt as to the fact of her having been poisoned, as several grains of arsenic were found in the stomach after her death. The inquest was, however, adjourned to Wednesday, in order to give time to obtain more conclusive evidence as to the guilt of Hathway and Carey.

The inquiry respecting the death of Sarah Roberts, who was found dead in a small pool of water three miles from Hereford, about a fortnight ago, has ended in a verdict of wilful murder against the husband, Isaac Roberts.

The inquest on the body of Maria Clark, who was murdered at Bath, by her husband, last Saturday week, was brought to a close on Wednesday. The evidence of the witnesses showed that he had been guilty of very foul and unnatural conduct towards her on the evening of her death. On a *post mortem* examination, there were found the marks of a recent blow immediately below the *meatus urinarius*; there was also a wound on the external parts, about an inch in diameter, which had evidently been inflicted by a blunt-pointed instrument; this wound, it was believed, caused the death of the woman, by occasioning hæmorrhage. The jury returned a verdict of "Wilful Murder."

A singular case of violent death took place in Finsbury on Saturday week. William Dear, a plasterer, was sitting at supper with his wife, who was holding an infant of five months in her lap. The child having cried, Dear slapped its head. The mother seized the first object which came to hand, which happened to be a fork, and either threw or thrust it at him, penetrating the back of his hand. The wound swelled, an abscess formed, and fever supervened, of which the man died. The wife has been committed on a charge of manslaughter.

A man named James Hare has been found guilty at the Wicklow Assizes, of the murder of his wife, Mary Hare, by cutting her throat.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen held a levee (the first this season) in St. James's Palace, on Wednesday. Her Majesty and Prince Albert arrived from Buckingham Palace shortly before two o'clock, and immediately entered the Throne-room, attended by the royal suite. The Queen wore a train of dark blue terry velvet trimmed with sable, the body ornamented with diamonds. The petticoat was of white satin, trimmed with tulle. Both train and petticoat were of British manufacture. Her headdress was formed of velvet and gold, ornamented with diamonds. Owing to the excitement caused by the resignation of Ministers the attendance at the levee was greater than usual.

The Duchess of Kent arrived at her residence, Clarence-house, St. James's, from Frogmore, on Tuesday. On her way to town she visited the Duchess of Gloucester, and in the afternoon returned to Frogmore.

The Right Honourable Sir John Cam Hobhouse is created a peer by the title of Baron Broughton de Gyfford, in the county of Wilts. The Reverend Hibbert Binney, Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford, is appointed Bishop of Nova Scotia. Mr. W. Dougal Christie, Consul-General at the Mosquito Shore, is appointed Secretary of Legation in Switzerland. The Consul-Generalship at Mosquito will, probably, be abolished.

Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, Bart., and Helena, second daughter of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Speaker of the House of Commons, were married on Wednesday, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at St. George's, Hanover-square, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of friends and relatives. A numerous reception would have taken place at the Speaker's residence after the ceremony, but for the recent death of Captain George Mildmay, which melancholy event also prevented the Misses Mildmay attending as bridesmaids. Sir Henry and Lady St. John Mildmay left town immediately after the ceremony for Cardington, Bedfordshire, the seat of Samuel Whitbread, Esq.

In consequence of the elevation of Sir John Cam Hobhouse to the peerage, a vacancy is created in the representation of Harwich. Two candidates are already in the field, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, and a Mr. Crawford.

The election of a member of Parliament for North Staffordshire, in the room of Lord Brackley, took place last Saturday, when Mr. Smith Child, a Conservative country gentleman of that neighbourhood, was returned without opposition.

Sir George Tyler has been elected for Glamorganshire in the room of Lord Dunraven, who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. There was no opposition.

Mr. T. Baines, President of the Poor-law Board, has announced that it is not his intention at the next general election to offer himself as a candidate for the honour of again representing the borough of Hull in Parliament.

The *New York Tribune* says that it is probable Sir Henry Bulwer will shortly resign and return to England, on account of his infirm health.

The *Aberdeen Herald* contradicts the statement that Sir Charles Lyell has declined being put in nomination for the Lord Rectorship of Aberdeen College, and says: "Sir Charles has consented, and has further promised that, if elected, he will (his engagements permitting) attend personally at the ceremony of installation."

The letter of the Comte de Chambord has created quite a revolution in the Faubourg St. Germain, that citadel of Legitimacy. The salons of the old noblesse are no longer closed against the world. The late adherents of the House of Orleans are no longer excluded, and MM. Guizot, Duchâtel, Dumon, de Salvandy, de Barante, &c., are now the honoured guests in houses from which they have been excluded for the last twenty years. Among the first who have fêted the new coalition, are the Duchess de Maillé, the Comtesse Pozzo di Borgo, the Duchess de Chevreuse, the Marchioness de Pastoret, and the Duchess de Noailles. In all these houses there have been splendid *réunions* during the past week in honour of the fusion of the Orleanists with the Legitimists. The only important leader who holds out against the fusion is M. Thiers, who still clings to the fortunes of the Duchess of Orleans and the Comte de Paris.

The Socialist journal, *La Voie Universel*, was tried on Wednesday, before the Assize Court of Paris, on the charge of having published an article tending to excite the citizens of the Republic one against the other. The article was signed with the name of M. Charles Robin, and headed "To the Peasants." The jury brought in a verdict of Guilty against the accused, and without ex-

tenuating circumstances. The sentence of the court was, that the director of the journal be imprisoned for one year, pay a fine of 8000*fr.*; and that the author of the article, "as accomplice of the offence," be imprisoned for six months, and pay a fine of 1000*fr.*; and that the journal itself be suspended one month.

The House of Deputies in Turin is busy with the discussion of a bill for the suppression, or thorough reformation of a monastic order, named the *Compagnia di S. Paolo*, a charitable institution in its origin, but now suspected of a coalition with the Jesuits.

The Minister of the Interior proposes to reduce all national festivities in Piedmont to one solemn day, and to appoint the second Sunday in May for that purpose.

The Ministerial papers in Turin contradict all the sinister reports occasioned by the resignation of Count Siccardi, and declare that this act was merely the result of the inability of the Ex-Minister to continue in the discharge of his duties, owing to his declining health.

Letters from Rome state that the judicial investigation into the assassination of Count Rossi is still proceeding. Several persons are in custody, but as the assassins, forty or fifty in number, had bound themselves by solemn oath not to make any revelations, it is most difficult to get at the truth. One of the principal accused, Felice Neri, died in prison a few days ago. Some persons suspect that it was he who plunged the dagger into the neck of M. Rossi.

Nine highwaymen were condemned to death at Bologna; eight of them shot on the 18th. Monsignor Bedini, in his proclamation, insists that the Government have done their best to screen the population from the attacks of the brigands, and that the country alone is to blame if the whole band does not fall into the hands of the public force. A fight was raging on the 16th and 17th between the Pontifical and Austrian troops and a detachment of the Passatore band, on the Apennines between Romagna and Tuscany. Two of the soldiers were killed; several were badly wounded; and up to the departure of the mails, no decided advantage had been gained against the desperate marauders.

A Consistory was held at Rome on the 17th ultimo, in which the Pope delivered an allocution on the religious affairs of Switzerland. His Holiness complained bitterly of the oppression which weighed on the consciences of Catholics in that country, in consequence of the conduct of the Liberals, of the obstacles to the free exercise of the Catholic religion, of the exile of several of the spiritual leaders, and of the spoliation of churches and destruction of convents. He at the same time praised the moderation of the Swiss episcopacy and clergy in the oppressed cantons.

Letters from Spain bring frightful accounts of the misery and crime prevailing in various parts of the country. Catalonia, Murcia, Valencia, and Andalusia are overrun with brigands. In the fertile province of Jaen, the districts of Arjona, Marto, and Santiago de Calatrava have been thrown into consternation by the seizure of several affluent individuals for whose ransom from death large sums are demanded. In some instances the miscreants have carried their villany to the extent of murdering their captives after the sum demanded had been paid.

By news received from Egypt at Trieste on the 16th inst., we learn that the differences which had arisen between the Ottoman Porte and the Viceroy had been arranged. This arrangement is stated to be due to the influence of France.—*Cologne Gazette*, Feb. 22.

A petition to Congress from the American Peace Society has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, who have reported a resolution that it would be desirable for the Government of the United States to secure a provision in its treaties with other nations for referring all future difficulties to the decision of umpires before the commencement of hostilities.

A railway convention was held at Kingston, on the 6th of February, to take into consideration the steps necessary for the construction of a railroad from Kingston to Toronto—the line to run through the rich and populous country on the borders of Lake Ontario. The convention was principally composed of delegates from county municipal councils. Meetings have also been held upon the subject in different parts of the province; and the public mind is gradually becoming more aroused to their utility and necessity. One county council has voted £50,000, and another £30,000, towards constructing portions of the Kingston and Toronto railway.

A destructive fire took place in Valparaiso at the end of last year, consuming houses and other property to the amount of 250,000 dollars. The principal sufferers are among shopowners, mechanics, and small tradespeople. The whole number of persons who have been burned out, including families, tradesmen, and mechanics, amounts to 34.

The Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress received nearly two hundred members of the Court of Common Council and their wives at dinner, in the Egyptian Hall on Monday. At this entertainment there were present the Common Council of his lordship's ward and twelve other wards.

The promoters of an amendment in the patent law held a meeting at the Belle Sauvage, Ludgate-hill, on Monday evening. Several gentlemen addressed the meeting in illustration of the particular grievances under which inventors labour. Mr. Rogers, a barrister, enlarged upon the very great expense which attended the working of the present patent laws. It was only by an association of parties directly interested as inventors in the question that a reform could be expected. The question which occupied the immediate attention of the meeting, was the rights of inventors in the objects to be sent in to the Exhibition of May. It is well known that there are many valuable inventions which would do honour to the talent of this country, and must be withheld from the Exhibition, unless Government instantly pass the proposed protective law, to secure to inventors the property in their respective patents.

The following reductions have been made in the expenses of the diplomatic service, to take effect from the 6th of April next:—There are to be in future but two British Ministers abroad with the rank of Ambassador, namely, at Paris and Constantinople. The Paris embassy is reduced from £10,000 to £8000 a-year. The Madrid mission is reduced from £6000 a-year, and £550 for house rent, to £5000 a-year, and £700 house rent. The Vienna mission is reduced from £9000 a-year, and £900 house rent, to £5000 a-year, and £900 house rent. The Secretary of Legation of Vienna to have £550, instead of £900, hitherto paid to the Secretary of the Embassy. These reductions, in addition to the abolition of the Consuls-General at Syria and Algiers, and other reductions, which we have already announced in the consular department, will effect a considerable saving in the expenses of the Foreign-office.

Extraordinary exertions have been made to erect the marble arch in its appointed place, at the Oxford-street entrance to Hyde-park. The works are now so far advanced that the massive gates have been fixed in their places, and the whole of the superstructure is in a very forward condition. It is the general opinion that the arch shows to greater advantage than in its former position, in consequence of the present site being much more elevated, and, owing to its prominent position, the elaborate ornaments and devices on the front of the arch are now seen to the greatest possible advantage.—*Times*.

A company has been formed and is about to apply to Parliament for an act enabling them to reclaim 30,000 acres of land lying on the Lincolnshire side of the Wash.

Whittlesea Mere is now free from water, and next year will no doubt be under the plough. Various articles in gold and silver have been taken from the bottom; among other things, a gold censor, very many swords, and a valuable chandelier, which when lighted up, represents the west front of Peterborough Cathedral.—*Cambridge Paper*.

The Norfolk Estuary Company held their half-yearly meeting at Gray's inn Coffee-house this week. The report stated that the works authorized by an act passed in 1846 had been commenced. A provisional contract, to the amount of £143,000, had been entered into with Messrs. Peto and Betts, and the first sod was turned on the 8th of November. About 800 men and 300 horses are employed on the works at present; and it is expected that the whole of the works will be completed within the time specified by the Act of Parliament. Mr. George Game Day and Mr. Wing were elected joint solicitors of the company.

The first report on the progress of cotton cultivation in Jamaica speaks favourably of the experiment. The manager at Greenwall has seventeen acres planted with cotton, from which he anticipates obtaining three or four bales of white, and one of yellow cotton.

A pair of young male lions were landed at St. Katharine's Docks, the other day, from the Thomas Henry, which has recently arrived from Table-bay. Although only about six months old they consumed twenty-one sheep during the voyage, a quantity sufficient to have kept a Suffolk workhouse in mutton for a twelvemonth.

Sir W. Owen Barlow was seized with sudden illness at the Reform Club, on Monday evening, after dinner, and was conveyed home to his chambers in the Temple, where he died early next morning. He was in his 79th year, and has left a large fortune, which is entailed.

A fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Cuthbert, tallow-merchants, Paternoster-row, on Thursday evening, a little before six o'clock, by which the premises were totally destroyed. A great many complaints have been made by the neighbours at various times, and the danger to the surrounding property from the liability of Messrs. Cuthbert's premises to take fire has been represented, but all to no purpose, and it has remained for the accident of Thursday night to put an end to the nuisance of a tallow-melting business in the very heart of the City of London.

A fire took place at Brighton, on Monday, at the residence of Mr. Boxall, coachmaker and general dealer in leather, ironmongery, &c. The fire was most destructive, and the family of Mr. Boxall had a very narrow escape from loss of life. In two or three hours the house was completely gutted, and the stock, valued at £2000, was entirely consumed. Mr. Boxall's carter, named Winder, hearing of the fire, ran to the spot in a state of great excitement and fright to save his horses, and almost immediately after he entered the yard he dropped dead into the arms of one of his fellow-workmen.

William Gray Smith, surgeon, Vauxhall, was brought up at Lambeth Police-court, on Thursday, for further examination, when four distinct capital charges were established against him, and one of criminal assault. One of the girls was only thirteen years of age, and the others were under seventeen. The prisoner was again remanded, in order that further evidence may be brought forward against him.

A prize fight took place at Leeds on Monday last, between two men, named Richard Scarfe and Richard Kelvey. Having pommelled each other for a considerable time, Scarfe acknowledged himself vanquished, and Kelvey was declared entitled to the stakes. Kelvey was so elated at his victory, that he ran across the field in which the fight took place, and jumped the enclosure. Immediately afterwards he reeled, complained of his head, and was conveyed to the Dog and Gun, where medical aid was procured, but he died in two hours afterwards. A verdict of manslaughter against Scarfe has been returned, and he has been committed for trial.

The hens of Egypt now lay eggs for the Londoners. Thirteen casks were lately landed at Southampton from Alexandria.

An affecting incident occurred on Saturday at the exhibition of paintings at the Palais National. A decently dressed workman, while looking at a picture representing a scene after the *Insurrection of June*, with a wounded garde mobile in the back-ground, suddenly

exclaimed "Oh! mon frere Stanislas!" fainted away and was carried out. On his recovery, he said he thought he had recognised his brother, who had died of his wounds, in the picture of the garde mobile; that at the barricade when his brother was wounded in the cause of order, he had himself unfortunately been on the other side with the insurgents, and had frequently since had his mind afflicted by the idea, that the ball which destroyed his brother had come from his musket. The picture at the exhibition had revived this idea with such intensity, that he sunk under its effect.

A curious story is in circulation, the details of which are so delicate as to oblige me not to name directly the parties concerned. A near female relation of an exalted person, married to a Russian prince, has had the misfortune to lose half her pin money, through the displeasure of the Czar, at whose express command the said pin money, amounting to eight thousand pounds sterling, had been hitherto paid to her. It seems that the father of this lady, whose habits of expenditure have been, probably from the circumstance of his having once occupied a throne, disproportioned to the modest income which he receives as the director of a hospital, was accustomed to make frequent appeals to the generosity of his daughter, in order to eke out his narrow means. Meanwhile the princess, whether wearied with the constant repetition of these claims upon her filial duty, or dreading "that climax of all earthly ills, the inflammation of our weekly bills," gradually turned a deaf ear to these paternal importunities, and finally sent the suppliant ex-king empty away. The consequence was that a letter full of revelations, by no means calculated to raise the character of the princess, whose youth and beauty expose her to more than ordinary temptation, reached her husband. This letter was sent to St. Petersburg, and laid before the Czar. Hence the ukase clipping the allowance of the lady.—*Paris Correspondent of the Daily News*.

A singular instance of the mode in which judicial penalties are carried into effect in Prussia is announced in the Berlin papers. The editor of a democratic journal was recently condemned to four months' imprisonment; but pleading ill health as an excuse for submitting to the penalty, it was decreed that he should be examined by the medical superintendent of prisons, Dr. Casper, who made his report, whereupon it was decided that the condemned person should submit to a system of alternation of prison and freedom—that is, he is to go into and remain in gaol four days, and then come out for eight days; and so on until the whole period of four months' imprisonment shall be made good.

A horrible tragedy in domestic life was lately enacted in Mississippi. An engagement had existed for some time between a Mr. Tate and Miss Shepherd, in the Harlem Creek District, Holmes County, to which the father of the young lady refused his consent. The young couple had agreed to run away for the purpose of getting married, and for that purpose were to start from a wedding party held in the immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Tate met the young lady, as arranged, at the party, and asked her publicly whether she was ready to fulfil her promise and go with him, and, on her declining, he drew a pistol, shot her dead in the room, and attempted to destroy himself, but failed, and was immediately sent to Lexington gaol on the charge of murder.

The Reverend John J. M'Bride was recently indicted, in North Carolina, for presenting a little slave girl with a copy of the Ten Commandments. He was found guilty, and his sentence was, "to stand one hour in the stocks, receive thirty lashes on the bare back, and be imprisoned one year in the common gaol."

The extraordinary libel case of "Wynne v. the Marquis of Westmeath," which commenced in the Irish Exchequer *nisi prius* on Monday week, was brought to a conclusion on Tuesday evening, after a seven hours' charge by the Lord Chief Baron. The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, found a verdict for the plaintiff, to whom they awarded £2000 damages and 6*d.* costs. The libel consisted of certain charges which the marquis brought against Captain Wynne to the effect that he had compelled the relieving officer, in spite of his remonstrance, to place upon the list a woman of bad character, with whom he was living, and that upon the officer's refusing to do so, and informing him that she had ground, and was not in need of relief, he persisted in bringing the case before the vice-guardians, who ordered her relief; and that this was done upon three several occasions.

So brisk at present are that class of our capitalists who are engaged in the manufacture of machinery for flax spinning that the steam-engines in most of their workshops are running night and day. Stands are not to be had, for love or money, either in Scotland or England. Several new mills are unable to start, partly from want of their machinery and partly for lack of operatives. About 70,000 spindles more than last year will be at work in a couple of months, every hundred of which will employ seven hands. This alone will circulate about £2000 weekly in Belfast. The manufacturers of linens, damasks, and sewed muslin, are busy in their preparations for the Great Exhibition; and so numerous are the females employed in the latter class of establishments that, when they turn out at meal hours, a stranger might really suppose that half-a-dozen great factories had been let loose in every street. Other branches of manufacture are equally active.—*Ulster Gazette*.

One of the most promising of joint-stock companies recently started is that of the Metropolitan and Provincial Joint-Stock Brewery Company, which, by the association of capital, will enable the company to furnish unadulterated beer at prices lower than those of ordinary breweries. Everything depends upon the management of such a scheme. Well managed, such a speculation must be profitable; everything hangs thereon.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

The conclusion of the letter on "Sir Edward Sugden and the Court of Chancery" will appear next week.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

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

All letters for the Editor to be addressed 9, Crane-court, Fleet-street, London.

POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY, March 1.

Both Houses of Parliament were occupied last evening in listening to long and very unsatisfactory attempts on the part of various noblemen to answer the question, "Why is the country without a Government?"

Lord JOHN RUSSELL began by vindicating his statement that Lord Stanley had said he was not prepared to form a Government. To prove that he had simply stated the truth he read the following letter from Prince Albert, which he received on Saturday afternoon:—

"Lord Stanley has, after a conference of more than an hour, declined undertaking the formation of a Government at present, until it should be clear that no other Government could be formed. The Queen has sent for Lord Aberdeen and Sir J. Graham, and wishes to see you immediately."

In further corroboration of his former statement, he read the following report, drawn up by Lord Stanley, of what took place in the interview which that noble lord had with the Queen, and which had been forwarded to her Majesty on Saturday evening:—

"After stating to your Majesty the position of the three main parties into which the House of Commons is divided, Lord Stanley observed that the policy of the present Administration had met with the general approval and support of the most distinguished men of the party which adhered to the late Sir R. Peel, and that they had never yet met with a defeat from Lord Stanley's political friends; that a very important member of that party, Sir J. Graham, had publicly declared his opinion of the necessity of 'closing their ranks' to resist the presumed policy of Lord Stanley's friends; and, as your Majesty had been pleased to inform that no communication had been made to any one previous to that with which your Majesty honoured him, he ventured to suggest that, in the first instance, your Majesty should ascertain whether it were not possible to strengthen the present Government (Whig) or partially to reconstruct it, by a combination with those (the Free Trade Conservatives) who, not now holding office, concurred in the opinions of those who do, and professed their opinion of the necessity of union; that, failing such a combination, a portion of that third party (Peelites) might be willing to combine with Lord Stanley, whose difficulties in such a case would be greatly diminished; that if it should appear that both of these arrangements were impracticable, and if personal considerations stood in the way of the formation of a Government of those whose opinions appeared to prevail in the House of Commons, Lord Stanley, not underrating the extreme difficulties which he should have to encounter, would, if honoured with your Majesty's confidence, prefer any responsibility, and even the chance of failure and loss of reputation, to that of leaving your Majesty and the country without a Government—(loud cries of 'hear, hear')—and he added that he believed an Administration formed under such circumstances would be more likely to meet with support, even from moderate opponents of their views than one which should be hastily formed, without giving time to show the impracticability of a different arrangement."

He then stated that the attempt to form a coalition with the Earl of Aberdeen and Sir James Graham, had failed solely on account of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, to which both of those statesmen were opposed. He had expressed his willingness to agree to "very considerable alterations and modifications of that bill, but would not give it up, and the result was that they declined to join with him. Lord Stanley had then been sent for, as they were aware, and, after trying to form a Government, had resigned the task on the previous evening. That morning (Friday), her Majesty had sent for the Duke of Wellington, with the intention to ask advice from him, and to pause awhile before she again commences the task of forming an Administration." He then gave a somewhat irrelevant statement of his views on things in general. He had not resigned through fear, he was still as much of a free trader as ever he had been, and he still held the same views on the Papal aggression, but would modify the bill considerably, especially that part relating to Ireland. He had purposed bringing forward his Parliamentary Reform Bill next year, with a view to the general election in 1853. He was not prepared to say what kind of a Reform Bill it would be or would have been, but he "should dread any change in the representation which deprived our House of Commons of those Conservative elements which ought to belong to it." He concluded by quoting a passage from Burke, about the importance of consorting with the most

virtuous and public-spirited men, and stated that he (Lord John) had always done so, and would continue to follow the same course.

Mr. DISRAELI explained why he interfered on the previous Monday evening. He had happened to see Lord Stanley immediately before he entered the House, and the noble lord had authorized him to say, "if by any chance it should happen—what he thought was very improbable—that the noble lord opposite (Lord John) should state that Lord Stanley was not prepared to form a Government—he wished that such a statement should not pass unanswered." In making the contradiction he did not mean to be discourteous or peremptory. If he had been so, it must have been owing to "physical depression" from which he was suffering. But he adhered to what he had formerly said. The statement of the noble lord as to Lord Stanley, however unintentional, was calculated to convey a false impression:—

"It was as much as to say, 'Here is a political party professing certain principles, and declaring that they would take office at the first opportunity; and yet when an opportunity is presented to them they decline to act upon it'—as if we had been trifling with the Parliament, with the country, and with the Sovereign. (Hear, hear.) Now I hope the noble lord clearly understands the reason why I made the observation I did on Monday last, and that he will admit that, under the circumstances, I was authorized to make it, although I did not do it so felicitously as if I had prepared myself."

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE, in the House of Lords, made a statement substantially the same as that of Lord J. Russell. He had waited upon the Queen, by her Majesty's command, and she had told him that, "after making every effort it was in her power to employ for the construction of a Government composed of those persons best qualified from their position to undertake such a task, and having failed in those efforts, it was her desire to pause before she took further steps, and to obtain the advice and the opinion, in this unforeseen contingency, of a noble and illustrious duke." The noble marquis went on to say that the only differences which had arisen throughout the late negotiations had been honest differences of opinion. He deprecated, in strong terms,

"A prolonged attempt, under any circumstances, to carry on the public business of this country without the promise of that amount of support which is indispensable to all Governments for the purpose of enabling them to maintain the honour of the Crown, and to maintain and promote the efficient carrying on of the public service. (Hear, hear.) Such a state of things if prolonged, can never fail to be detrimental to the honour of the Crown, injurious to the best interests of the country, and profitable only to those—not the most respectable class of politicians—who, in such circumstances, find a consequence which does not naturally belong to them, and which they would not otherwise possess. (Hear, hear.)"

The Earl of ABERDEEN said he had endeavoured, in conjunction with Sir James Graham, to assist in the reconstruction of Lord John Russell's Government, but had found it impossible to unite with him, on account of his invincible repugnance to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

Lord STANLEY had spared no pains to form a Government, but had failed for two reasons. The Peelites, who seemed determined to remain "in that unfortunate position for any party of statesmen to be in, of being unable to form a combination with one or other of two conflicting parties, yet of not being able themselves to assume office, and, consequently, with all their ability, power, and influence, of only rendering the formation of a Government, on either side, impossible"—would not join him, and the Protectionists could not furnish sufficient number of men of ability to form a Cabinet. After two days of unremitting exertion, the deliberate conclusion of him and his friends was,

"That, although I might have been enabled to present to her Majesty a list of names of gentlemen who would have been fully competent, with the aid of a majority in the House of Commons, to carry on creditably and practically the business of the country, yet I could not lay before her Majesty a list strong enough to face a powerful majority in the other House of Parliament."

He gave a pointed contradiction to the statement that he had wished to obtain the Queen's consent to a dissolution of Parliament, and that she had refused. Had he recommended a dissolution she would have given her consent, but, for many reasons, he did not think a dissolution would have been advisable. He then gave an outline of what he would have done, had he been able to form a strong Government. He would have applied the surplus to the reduction of the income tax, to one-half or two-thirds of its present amount, and would have imposed a fixed duty on corn, which would have yielded a sum large enough to enable him to repeal the income tax altogether. As regards the Papal aggression, he felt as strongly on the subject as any man, but was opposed to hasty legislation. "Better not legislate at all, than legislate ineffectually"—

"While I contend that religious freedom ought to be strictly guaranteed, I say, on the other hand, that Papal aggression ought to be as strenuously resisted now as it was resisted in the days of our ancestors (hear, hear);

but I frankly say that I am not prepared to legislate upon this subject at the present moment."

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, who was warmly received by the House of Commons, stated why he had not been able to form an alliance with Lord John. He agreed with him on the subject of free trade, he was favourable to an extension of the suffrage, but he could not be an assenting party to any measure abridging the rights of the Roman Catholic population. From the very first agitation of the subject he had held that opinion. Lest any should suppose that this was an afterthought, he could give them the "most irrefragable evidence in proof of this. In November last, when attempts were making to hold a county meeting to address the Crown, he addressed a letter to Mr. Howard, of Graystock, a cousin of the Duke of Norfolk, stating why he thought it was not expedient to call a meeting. He proceeded to read the following extracts from the letter:—

"Netherby, Nov. 23, 1850.

"It would give me cordial satisfaction to coöperate with you on any public occasion in this country. But, although I am a sincere Protestant, and resent the haughty tone assumed by the Pope in his bull, and by Cardinal Wiseman in his pastoral letter, yet I am unwilling to join in the no-Popery cry, or to ask for the revival of penal laws or for any new enactment which might fetter the Roman Catholics in the full and proper exercise of their religious discipline within the realm. When I supported emancipation I knew that the Roman Catholics acknowledged Papal supremacy, and would be guided in all spiritual matters by bulls from Rome. I knew, also, that religion is episcopal; and when I fought on their side for perfect equality of civil rights I was aware that the Pope might nominate in England, as in Ireland, archbishops and bishops. I did not attach much importance to the safeguard proposed by the Duke of Wellington, who did not himself place much reliance on it, that the Popish hierarchy so nominated should not assume the title of English or Irish sees occupied by Protestant prelates. I myself was a party to the recognition by statute of the dignity of Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops in Ireland; while I adhered, however, to the settlement of 1829, that the enactment prohibiting the assumption of local episcopal titles identical with Protestant sees should be withheld, I proposed in the House of Commons, on behalf of Sir Robert Peel's Government, the remission of the penalties which attached to receiving bulls or other similar instruments from Rome; and out of office I supported Lord J. Russell's measure, which authorizes the renewal of diplomatic intercourse with the Roman Pontiff. I took these steps deliberately, and I do not regret them. I believe them to have been necessary for the good government of Ireland, and I cannot believe that it will be possible to have one law for England and another for Ireland with respect to Roman Catholic discipline and worship. I am offended, indeed, by the arrogance and folly of the language which the Pope and his Cardinal have thought fit to employ in announcing an ecclesiastical arrangement which I believe to be lawful, and which I do not consider dangerous. But my displeasure will not induce me to treat with disrespect the religion of 7,000,000 of my countrymen, or to contemplate for one moment the revision or the reversal of a policy which, in defiance of the no-Popery cry, I have supported throughout my public life, which I still believe to be sound, and which is indispensable, unless by a melancholy necessity the vast majority of the Irish people are still to be treated and considered as our national enemies."

He knew that these sentiments were not popular. If he were desirous of pandering to popular passions he should have carefully abstained from stating them. But he was afraid, if they commenced this kind of legislation that they would be dragged, step by step, into a system of penal persecution.

Mr. HUME, Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE, and Mr. WALKLEY complained that none of the explanations threw any light upon what was to be the future policy of Government. Mr. SPOONER, Sir ROBERT INGLIS, and Mr. NEWDEGATE took Sir James Graham to task for his lukewarmness about the Papal aggression. The House then adjourned till Monday.

It appears, then, that the whole affair turns upon the "Anti-Papal aggression." Lord John having stirred up the bigotry of the country by his "epistolary rashness," finds himself opposed by all the eminent statesmen in the country. He has created a nuisance which has broken up the Government and prevented any other from being formed; and all he can say in his own defence is that he was compelled to do so by the aggression of the Pope. On the same principle, any foreign secretary, by an assumption of baseless power, can force our Government to oppress any religious class in this country. For example, there is at present an insane Calvinist clergyman in Switzerland, who believes that his wife is about to bring forth the Messiah. Suppose he were to parcel out England as a new Presbyterian theocracy, Lord John would be bound to adopt repressive measures against the Scotch who deny the Queen's supremacy.

A meeting was held at eleven o'clock yesterday, at Lansdowne-house. Present—Lord J. Russell, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Minto, Sir G. Grey, Lord Palmerston, Earl Grey, Sir C. Wood, Sir F. Baring, Lord Broughton, Mr. Labouchere, the Earl of Carlisle, the Marquis of Clanricarde, and Mr. Fox Maule. The meeting broke up at twelve o'clock, at which hour the Marquis of Lansdowne went to Buckingham Palace.

The Leader.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 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.

THE CRISIS.

FOR some days England has been under the rule of a Provisional Government. Lord John Russell suddenly converted his Cabinet into a Provisional Administration. There was no obvious necessity for the rash act; no blow had yet been aimed at it severer than Whig Cabinets have been accustomed to bear; but the Executive of the country broke down through sheer failure of Government. It could not go on. It was not killed, but died of decline.

And when the duty was thus cast upon the Crown of providing a new Administration, Queen Victoria experienced the utmost difficulty in finding any man ready to take Lord John's place. The crisis continued without any obvious reason, and every day was expected to plunge the country into confusion through the sheer incompetency of any party to take a fair hold of "power." Not a man felt himself to be strong enough.

The little difficulties, the small motives, which actuated our statesmen at the juncture, exhibit their pigmy state, and show what sort of degenerate men it is that we have ruling at the top of this great nation. The stories current in lobby and club may not all be strictly "correct," but that some of them are substantially true, that all picture the real truth, we know. Much mystification was created by the act of Mr. Disraeli in doing what people have popularly called "giving Lord John the lie": Lord John had stated in the House of Commons, on Monday, that Lord Stanley had declared himself "not then prepared to form an Administration"; Mr. Disraeli intimated that that was not a true statement; and Lord John appealed to Lord Stanley. It is observed that Lord Lansdowne made the same statement in the House of Lords uncontradicted by Lord Stanley; but we observe that Lord Lansdowne thanked the other for his "forbearance." What, then, was the suppression of truth in Lord John's statement? It is understood to be that he suppressed the terms which supplied Lord Stanley's reason for declining—that the Queen refused to grant a dissolution of Parliament because it would spoil Prince Albert's Exposition of Industry! It is not probable, indeed, that the Queen would give so "unconstitutional" a reason, but much more likely that a fear of confusion at that busy and crowded season was the real motive. Much has been said in club and drawing-room of the discrepancy chronological between the fact and Lord John's statement that he resigned on *Saturday*; whereas he is said to have resigned on *Friday*, in a huff, without the knowledge of all his colleagues; and his friends are not slow to circulate an anecdote confuting his statement: it is related how he met a junior Lord of the Treasury, going down to the House on Saturday, and considerably said, "You need not go down unless you like: I have resigned." Lord Lansdowne supplies the explanation: the formal resignation was made on Saturday, but on Friday "her Majesty was led to believe it was probable her Majesty's servants would resign on the day following:" so that Lord John had virtually resigned on Friday. Besides the ridicule thrown upon his colleague's budget, the close division on Mr. Disraeli's motion, the total rout on Mr. Locke King's, the desertion of Irish allies alienated by his Anti-Papal Bill, and the defection of Conservative allies no longer able to keep up the damaging acquaintance—besides those public events which rendered the future formidable to Lord John's view, one slight occurrence is understood to have stung him to his sudden resolve: Mr. Cobden had ventured, in the name of "the country," to express satisfaction at the suffrage measure which Lord John had promised if he were in office "next session!" and Mr. King seemed so far impressed by the Radical approbation of Lord John's

pledge that he looked as if he meditated a fulfilment of it by abstaining to press his motion; but a free-trader not less distinguished than Mr. Cobden, —a sturdy man, whose very prejudices partake of the stoutness of the old Puritan Commonwealthman, cried, in a loud voice, "Don't trust him": Lord John looked angrily towards the speaker. As the division approached, Sir James Graham—object of so many speculations—deliberately took his hat and walked out.

That Lord John might have obviated the fatal embarrassment which brought on his downfall, is tolerably certain, if he had only possessed the strength of will so erroneously ascribed to occasional fits of vehemence. That Mr. Herries had come to a conclusion in favour of remitting the Income-tax was known, known that the Stanley party had deliberately accepted Mr. Herries's view. It also became known that Sir James Graham had been attending to matters of finance, and by an independent process of calculation had come to the same conclusion with Mr. Herries. Lord John heard of this instinctive coincidence of opinion; "Let us take that," he said; but Sir Charles Wood, wiser in his generation, refused—and produced the Wood budget! Lord John is not answerable for that invention, but he is responsible for permitting it; and the more he disapproved of it, the more does his permission stamp him with incompetency to command.

Such have been the little motives and small difficulties besetting that class which arrogates to itself the privilege of supplying our rulers. The old Ministry broke down like an old cart on the smoothest of roads, foundered like an old ship in a calm; and when Queen Victoria wanted a new Ministry, not a man felt strong enough to undertake the office of forming it. For some hours, it was supposed that Lord John would get rid of Sir Charles and his budget, and patch up his crazy Administration with a Graham alliance; but what could he have done with his poor Anti-Papal Bill; or how could Sir James have consented to govern Ireland in conjunction with "Lord Mummery John," how consent to be party to such a suffrage bill as could pass through Lord John's little hand? Lord Stanley was "sent for," but he hesitated: how was he to avoid an attempt at renewing "Protection," how to succeed in any such wild revulsion? The Queen sent for Lord Aberdeen: how could he follow suit on the Continent after Lord Palmerston; why should Europe be handed over to him, when the Liberal Viscount had helped to get it into the Absolutist entanglement which is preparing another inevitable revolution? One journal modestly hinted that Lord John might have found strength in a recruitment from "the more advanced section" of the free-trade party, and people were thinking that the hundred headed by Cobden and Hume might have crept into a share of office: but what public strength has that party? Its strongest men, just now, are gagged by its more timid "average."

In fact, there is no party that is strong in the confidence of the People, not one. The Financial Reformers might have obtained a good position out of doors, in their "Parliamentary" avatar; but they too are the victims of "averages," and the manifesto which they have just put forth is so clipped and softened that it cannot possibly attract a single acclaim of popular feeling. Lord John himself might have issued it.

Not one party leader possesses the strength derived from the confidence of the People, because not one has thrown himself upon the People. Not one has devoted himself to material reforms which would, directly and manifestly, conduce to the comfort of the great body of the People. Not one that has not studiously held back from complying with the long and clearly expressed wishes of the People. Not one that could go forth saying, "I will be your leader," and be carried into office on the shoulders of the People. Public men are now feeling the inconvenience of forgetting or studiously omitting the People from their plans: we have had a political crisis, the part of the People omitted by special desire, and not a party has found itself able to command: it has been a miserable conflict of tea parties. Such is the degenerate state of England in her public men.

The Future?—It is dark to all the political parties whose Leaders expect to be "sent for." The same difficulties which have hindered the construction of a Cabinet paralyse the future action of parties. Any Ministry with Lord John Russell at its head can hardly fling over his Anti-Papal Bill, and must, therefore, face civil war with Ireland. [We have

enemies on the Continent.] The Protectionists must try Protection—with a new Free-trade commotion. The Peel lieutenants have done nothing to acquire a position or following—they can only enter office on speculation; and would Mr. Gladstone consent to satisfy the Protestant furor which Lord John has raised? The Radicals, call them by what name you will, are known to the People as those who studiously keep short of truly popular measures.

Now is the time for some stronger men to come forward, if such men there are. Any one with will strong enough and heart bold enough to make the appeal, ingenuously and clearly, could have the support of the largest of all parties—the People. Such a man would save the country from the confusion which weaker men can provoke but cannot avert.

RIGHT OF ASYLUM IN SWITZERLAND.

REACTION is making the tour of Europe. All bends or breaks before it. It has now taken the last bulwark by storm. The turn has come for Switzerland.

Little or nothing is known of the designs of the German powers, great or small, against the Swiss Confederacy. There were hundreds of thousands gathering on the frontiers of Baden and Bavaria. The bullying, at any rate, has been prodigious. Switzerland, we grieve to say, knows neither how to resist with spirit, nor how to yield with dignity.

With the internal affairs of the country, with the various experiments that are being applied, both to the Central Government and to the constitutions of the several Cantons, Nicholas of Russia himself would not venture to interfere. Swiss democracy is even more venerable by age than Russian autocracy. It is woven into the great web of European policy. It lives by sheer force of Conservatism.

Nor is the question of Neuchâtel of greater moment. Prussia has enough to do to keep the breath in her own body. She has gambled away her great destiny: made her own name and that of Germany a bye-word among nations. Were she ever so strongly backed by insidious Austria, were she ever so tempted by the faction of purse-proud watch and trinket-makers in the old Principality itself, she could not seriously dream of a revindication of her unmeaning titles over that petty territory. It would be here the case to repeat the words of Louis XIV., when the Genoese came to negotiate for the cession of their country to the French crown, "Vous vous donnez à moi, et moi je vous donne au diable."

No, no; the real point at issue is simply this. Is Switzerland to continue in the enjoyment of unlimited right of asylum? Are the "mischief-makers" of all nations to establish their headquarters amongst the mountain fastnesses of the central European chain, hence to organize expeditions and perpetuate civil wars? Austria and Germany, occasionally also France and Sardinia, contend that it should not be suffered. The Swiss Diet itself shifts and shuffles, stands up for her rights to day, and gives in on the morrow.

The question, be it observed, is neither new nor accidental. Remonstrances, threats, actual violence, have equally been resorted to against Switzerland in the palmy days of Guizot and Metternich. The Diet had to parry the thrusts of Conservative diplomacy as it best could, by shifts and dodges, by anything but a manly and straightforward course. The refugee that was nominally banished from Geneva was allowed to play hide and seek at Lausanne. The printing-press that was broken up at Lugano came out with redoubled activity at Capolago. Between the time-serving Diet and its blustering neighbours there was a kind of drawn game, certainly neither fair nor dignified.

Nor is Switzerland, seemingly, now in a condition to look her difficulties full in the face. She seeks to evade, not to define and determine, the law of nations. She knows not how to choose between her interest and her honour. She forgets that refugees are her guests, not her prisoners; that she has no right to confine them to a peculiar district, to prevent them from choosing their own residence, pursuing their own course, forwarding their own objects, subject to no restraint, save only the laws of the country. Switzerland should not legislate for the benefit of Bavaria or Austria. So far as individual liberty and freedom of the press are concerned the stranger within her doors must be put on a par with her own citizens.

It is not just that it should be otherwise—it is not expedient—it is not practicable. Does it not exceed all limits of absurdity to hear France,

Austria, and all Europe dunning the Swiss Diet about the safe refuge Mazzini is allowed to find at Geneva, when the same agitator has it in his power to travel unmolested from Rome to Geneva, and hence again to London, again and again, we say, eluding all pursuits, baffling the thousand tram-mels of passport and police regulations? There was a hunt after him in 1833, which lasted more than three years. Proscribed from canton to canton, sure of the hospitality of all honest men, he tarried in the country so long as it answered his purpose; quitted it; returned to it whenever his business required. He has lately been subjected to the same senseless persecution; he has baffled it, given in to it, with his wonted dexterity. He is in London at the present day, or rather, we should say, he *was*, for ere the ink on this paper be dry he may, for aught we know to the contrary, be peacefully sailing on the placid waters of the Leman again.

But, supposing even Switzerland to have it in her power to exercise over the refugee a control which France and Germany evidently have not, we ask, is it fair to demand of her this hateful surveillance over the unfortunate which the great wreck of decrepit states daily throws on her hospitality? Are the neighbouring Governments, are the complainants themselves, Austria and Germany especially, at all scrupulous in the fulfilment of their own part of this international compact? Are royal refugees and plotting aristocratic vagabonds turned out of Vienna or Venice; or are they even prevented from holding levées at Wiesbaden? The law of nations, strictly interpreted, binds Switzerland to oppose an armament against friendly powers. Even this is not found practicable at all times, as the Strasburgh and Boulogne hero, now so squeamish on such matters, should best know. For one harumscarum expedition that ever set out from Geneva in 1834, how many adventurous mad-caps have given the hundred-eyed coalition of the great despotic powers the slip?

We understand such matters clearly enough here in England; and with the exception of the very shabby trick once played at the General Post-office, there is no instance of our Government going out of its way to interfere with political exiles of any country or party. Even the unpopular Alien Bill is seldom resorted to, except in self defence. As for foreigners dealing with our printing-offices, our steam-navigation companies, or our gun-manufactories, what is that to us? The shops are open for all customers. We are bound to discountenance armaments; but as to arms—why we are only thankful to any enterprising gentleman likely to increase the demand.

There is no reason in the world why this should not equally be the case with Switzerland. Her neighbours put forth demands for which they offer no reciprocity. Nay, after the base intrigues and downright treachery by which Catholic Europe conspired against the peace of that country during the disgraceful affairs of the Sunderbund, nothing can well equal the insolence with which Switzerland is expected to perform the duties of the lower police, to secure sound slumbers to the very Governments who never scrupled, never would scruple, to invade, lay waste, dismember, and parcel the Confederacy—if they only dared.

Yet Switzerland, we are grieved to see, bows down and complies. Nay, she meets despotic arrogance with duplicity and evasion. She dares not hold up right against might. She screens her exile guests by denying their existence; by marching them up and down the country, hushing them up, like an old hen hiding her chickens when the hawk hovers about in the air.

The spirit of old Switzerland is broken. Her rich possessions on the plain, her flourishing manufactories, her princely caravanserais make her also a utilitarian. She would show pluck enough if hard driven on some matter of local interest; but as to a proud vindication of inalienable but unprofitable rights—as to a chivalrous protection of the weak against the oppressor—bah! The winter is soon over. The flock of English wild geese is about to wing its flight towards its favourite haunts at Vevey or Interlaken. The downy birds must not be scared away by the din of political agitation, by the prospect of brawls, “alarums, excursions.” Those poor devils of refugees were never known to stop at the “Three Crowns” or “Three Kings.” Nay, they would fain find fault with the most loyal titles on our tavern sign posts. “Away with them, and let us have a full season; let us keep a quiet household, so that our rocks and glaciers, our *kulms*, and our *horns* be turned into bread!”

INCORPORATION OF MARYLEBONE.

THE movement commenced in the Parish of St. Pancras to obtain a charter of incorporation for the borough of Marylebone, ought to succeed. The object is sure to be obtained sooner or later, since the arguments in its favour are of a substantial and enduring kind; the main argument against it belongs to what we cannot help regarding as a crotchet of the day.

It is on every ground a mistake to suppose that mere outlay of public money is a valid objection to any public institution, unless it be urged on the ground of absolute poverty in the nation. A nation so poor as the Swiss may be compelled to forego many useful appliances, simply because there is not cash to provide them. In England there cannot be the same reason. That there are poor amongst us in great numbers is miserably true, and the fact ought to modify the incidence of taxation, for state or local purposes; but the country at large can always afford to pay for that which is worth purchase. Local government is admitted to be one of our most valuable institutions, and it is not at all probable that the cost of its extension with the growth of our population, can be so great as to counter-balance the advantages. London has topographically outgrown the boundaries of its ancient Corporations, and the *onus probandi* lies on those who would deny the expediency and justice of placing the important district of Marylebone, already a parliamentary borough, on a level with London or Westminster as respects the advantages of local government. Economically, we believe that local government will be found to “pay.”

Indeed, we should carry this idea further than most public economists would be willing to allow. We are convinced that it is a great mistake, in matters both of state and local government, when Reformers make so dead a set as they do at mere retrenchment. The amount saved by that kind of process is usually insignificant; it very seldom tells with much force upon the outlay of the individual contributor. The two great objects to secure are *these*—a just incidence of the burden, and a fair return for the money expended in work done. Those objects secured, we are satisfied that a true public economy not only permits but requires a spirit of handsomeness in the outlay of money. Independently of the pure question of profit, a spirit of handsomeness is conducive to a spirit of zeal and energy in the servant. The love of power, of distinction, of a wide field for activity—every form of what is called public spirit—will give a preference to public employment over private employment, even in spite of mere money interest. We saw lately that Mr. George Nichols preferred to take £1500 as a poor-law commissioner to £2000 as a director of the Bank of England; and Lord Ebrington threw up his post as secretary to that commission in disgust less at the diminution of his income than at the depreciation of his value and rank. A spirit of meanness or mere trading is not wholesome for any community, and the administrators of a corporation may usefully set the example of a better spirit. Even the decorative expenditure of a public body is not without its beneficial influences, provided it be not more untasteful than ample.

But one of the most manifest advantages of local government is the opportunity which it affords for the political training and activity of every man. It is local government alone which supplies the occasion for constant attention to subjects of polity; it imparts habits of public action, stimulates public spirit, and supplies a training school for self-government even in its highest departments.

THE SUFFRAGE AND THE NEWSPAPER STAMP.

If any question of reform hangs upon another, by its nature and consequences, the free knowledge question hangs upon that of the suffrage. When the people ask for political knowledge, they are told they have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them; when they ask for the franchise, they are told they are too ignorant to have a share in the making of the laws. True, the very parties who give these answers bestow the franchise exclusively on the most ignorant of the working classes, and violently declaim in favour of the rights of the most corrupt of that body; but there is a natural connection between knowledge and power which cannot be overlooked. While we have no fear of mischief from the extension of the franchise to a people still deprived of Public Education, we desire to see their power at once strengthened and enlightened; hence we cannot understand those Members of the

House of Commons who are willing to give the People political rights but who would withhold the freedom of the press. The twenty-seven Parliamentary Reformers who opposed, and the forty-eight who neglected to support the motion of the 16th of April, for the repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, are open to just suspicion, if not of insincerity, at least of incompetency to their own professions. Last year they had the excuse that Lord John threatened to resign if they put him in a minority; but as they have now dared to put him in a minority on their own question, they might—in the improbable event of their still finding him on the Treasury bench—not scruple to add one to his expected “defeats from time to time,” when Mr. Milner Gibson shall again submit his motion to the House. About Lord Stanley, of course, or any other “Tory” Premier, they could have no scruple. We must get the repeal of the knowledge taxes out of the next Ministry.

Even if any Member should be nervous about the amount of loss to the revenue from the remission of the paper duty, there is no such excuse as regards the stamp. The net amount of revenue obtained from this source cannot exceed £150,000; and that sum might evidently be retained by a judicious system of cheap postage on all publications.

We, therefore, cordially concur in the demand made by the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee, that the supporters of Mr. Hume’s motion should, in a body, demand the abolition of the newspaper stamp; an imposition so indefensible in principle, and so impracticable in its application, that to enforce it is to enforce a censorship of the press, to declare openly that Government not only is but ought to be carried on without even the cognizance of the governed. At the next general election we hope every Liberal Member will be obliged to clear himself from all suspicion of participation in this doctrine.

THE NEXT BUDGET.

WHAT will be proposed by the gentleman who next occupies the unenvied post of Chancellor of the Exchequer? The question is more easily asked than answered. The “Men of Marylebone” have cut a notch in the stem of the window tax; Sir Charles Wood has cut another; so that go it must. The substituted house tax is condemned by all London. The farmers at Waltham, with clerical sanction, threaten not to pay the income tax, except under compulsion—a “passive resistance;” and Mr. Herries has set his mark upon it. “Hopes have been raised,” and the next Chancellor of the Exchequer will hesitate to disappoint them. Many other taxes clamour for repeal, and the next Ministry can hardly afford to be unpopular with any interest. On the other hand, Lord John’s Durham letter has occasioned an official demand for *more troops* in Ireland; more money will be wanted to pay for those troops. Taxes to be struck off, expenses to be stuck on; what *will* the next Chancellor of the Exchequer do? One thing most certainly will he do—excrete his predecessor.

RIGHTS OF CATHOLICISM.

THE Roman Catholics of Manchester have set an example to their co-religionists of insisting on their rights—they insist on equality with other sects, they deprecate the notion of temporal encroachment, and they rebuke the unchristian bitterness of enmity which the organization of their hierarchy has provoked. Those who have been led away by prejudice rather than by genuine Protestantism, might usefully keep three points in view.

The Roman faith is but one form of the eternal Catholic religion, which ought to make fellow creatures feel that whatever the errors of their brethren, they are all the children of one God, whom they all believe in, and all desire to obey.

It is impracticable to counteract a moral or spiritual influence, however dreaded, by secular coercion: you can only counteract bad moral influences by better influences, by education.

The true mode of disarming a priesthood of undue authority is to debar it from temporal power.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

SHOULD a dissolution of Parliament take place during the next few weeks, what is the worst difficulty which the Reform party would have to struggle against? Is it not the want of proper candidates? Of wealthy, retired manufacturers or millowners, and discontented squires or ambitious younger brothers, there is no lack at any time. But there is always a scarcity of honest, intelligent, and earnest men, able and willing to give up the whole of their time to the task of legislation. If we ask the cause of this we find that it is another branch of that great Money Question, upon which everything seems to turn in England. At present, professional men, and

working men, are equally unable. If Members of Parliament were paid, as they ought to be, there would be no difficulty in finding men who would really represent the People. The expense to the public would be a mere trifle—a drop in the ocean compared with the annual income of the clergy. Hardly a word is said about giving an ecclesiastical overseer £10,000 or £12,000 a-year, and yet we cannot afford to pay our legislators at the rate of a few hundreds a-year.

NEW BLOOD FOR THE MINISTRY.

A COGENT question is put by an esteemed correspondent, whose long experience is informed by a large and manly heart:—

"Is it not a grievous thing that no suggestion is thrown out of introducing into the Government the practical and staple mind of the country from the democracy; that the commerce and the interests of this great country should be transferred to an aristocracy uneducated for the purpose, who are essentially behind the age; who know nothing of Government but as it has come down in practice from their class,—that class knowing nothing as a class, but the system of patronage—place—waste? Surely we ought now to insist upon the necessity of commercial men, and of men having the confidence of the People being admitted into the Government.

"The difficulty the aristocracy find in forming a Ministry shows that the knowledge and exigencies of the People are growing beyond the capacities of the aristocracy as a class.

"We want practical men who know something of the business of life; they would give us men who have been mostly born to fortunes, educated in creeds and the dead languages by the priests of a sect; men who have been educated in the past, whose teachers believed that the creeds of dead men were still to rule the quick as though society were still in long clothes, and that the silk apron and silver spoon-school is always to nurse it and keep it in mental babyhood?"

THE LIBEL LAW AGAIN.

ANOTHER case is reported in our paper to-day, in which the iniquitous operation of the libel law is signally exhibited. The alleged libel consisted of a report of certain proceedings which had taken place in the Thames Police-court, and which were said to be garbled. The reporter by whom it had been written was produced for the defence, and proved the general accuracy of the account; even the warrant officer of the police court, who was produced on the part of the plaintiff, deposed that "the report was fair and accurate, and that the terms in which the statements of the witnesses were reported were very moderate." And yet, notwithstanding all this, the jury thought proper to return a verdict of one farthing damages, the effect of which is to make each party pay their own costs.

By the same rule, every publisher of a newspaper in the kingdom might be found guilty of libel any day in the year. How long is this state of things to last?

WHY DON'T THEY BUILD MORE CHURCHES?

At a dinner given by Charles James, of London, to some of his clergy, the conversation turned upon the new Army and Navy Club, the ground for which cost the sum of thirty thousand pounds. A heavy sigh escaped from the over-burdened bosom of the prelate (he had dined) as he exclaimed, "that money would have built two churches!" It is a fearful thought. Thirty thousand good honest pounds which might have been so much better employed! Carlyle has told us how churches multiply as religion decays; but considering that the bishop cannot keep his existing churches in order, what rage for ecclesiastical architecture is it which makes him sigh because more are not built? And, if the demand is for churches not religion, why does he not justify his taste by building them on his own ample grounds at Fulham? There is room for a dozen churches there, all in a bunch!

THE CAUCASIAN MYSTERY.

THIS significant announcement appears in the formal accounts of the Ministerial Crisis on Thursday:—

"It is said that Mr. Disraeli has been so closely engaged during the past three days, at his mansion in Park-lane, that no other person than Lord Stanley has been admitted to an interview with the honourable member."

"Significant" we call the announcement, because it evidently signifies something, though what we cannot divine. It seems too profound for penetration. What was the Author of the *Wondrous Tale of Aloy* doing in that strict seclusion? Composing a programme for Lord Stanley's refusal? Writing a Royal Speech for the opening of the next Parliament? An address to his own electors? A manifesto to foreign Courts? A history of the present crisis? A proof of Lord John's having said "that which, on reflection, he would acknowledge not to be founded on what really occurred." Or a new novel in the intervals of crisis? It tantalizes conjecture to know that the great statesman-romancist is at work, and not know at what.

We have it! It was a plan for creating a new-old Anglo-Venetian office, especially for himself—to disarm objections successively urged against his taking any of the existing offices: we are to have a State Gonfaloniere, or standard-bearer, in Venice yclept Pianta-leone, or Plant-lion. The chief Protectionist commoner is going to hoist the British Lion, Venetianized, and endowed with a high Caucasian nose. From Pianta-leone we English derive Pantaloon; but Mr. Disraeli will prefer the less degenerate title of Gonfalonier.

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.*

If ever there was a peaceful, honourable career, modest amidst its laurels, and dignified in its seclusion, surely the career of JOANNA BAILLIE, now closed in its eighty-ninth year, deserves that praise. From her seclusion she sent forth anonymously, while yet a girl, works in the highest class of composition, which took at once a lofty place among the works of her contemporaries—those contemporaries having names that "bear an emphasis"—and, although she gained a poet's name, a renown "not loud, but deep," not the blatant, placarded, noisy renown, which is noisy from its very emptiness—but genuine, quiet, enduring admiration felt by competent admirers;—although her name came to be associated with those of our literary giants, JOANNA BAILLIE preserved the same unobtrusive dignity, and to the last kept aloof from lionizing circles and literary cliques. That quiet Scotch girl, reared in a Manse near Glasgow, was not to have her head turned by the incense of a world she divined rather than saw. And yet—strange contradiction!—this sequestered mind did not choose for the sphere of its creations pastoral scenes of idyllic quiet, but plunged into the great tumultuous world of Passion as agitated in the intenser forms of tragedy! She who knew nothing of the world, except what was mirrored in her own feelings, boldly chose the subjects which, for adequate treatment, demand intense and comprehensive knowledge of the varying forms of life—and chose, moreover, that peculiar Art—the dramatic—which being in its nature an *applied* form of poetry demands a thorough knowledge of the stage, its conditions, its perils, its artifices, and its effects. Genius is great and will prevail. It is the peculiar privilege of genius to anticipate the tardy conclusions of experience, and to see as in a flash what others learn in years of observation; therefore, could JOANNA BAILLIE write plays which are remarkable as poems, and exhibit a real tragic power. But no Genius can dispense with experience in the applied forms of Art. Astronomy is not navigation. HERSCHELL must give place to a Gravesend pilot in getting a ship out of the channel. JOANNA BAILLIE could not, therefore, write *successful* dramas; although her poetic reputation caused several experiments to be tried with her plays, and JOHN KEMBLE with Mrs. SIDDONS gave *De Montfort* the aid of their talents.

She has now passed away. Honourable and honoured has been her career, its placid uniformity untroubled by the distractions of feverish popularity, untroubled by the jars and discords of literary life, mixed up in no cliques, living like an English gentlewoman, and dying as she lived. One cannot deplore her loss as an event. She has lived her time. But if the news of her death falls not like a calamity, it will yet bring a shade of sadness over many minds, recalling their first acquaintance with *De Montfort* and *Henriquez*.

We have little else to record. Those who remember the extraordinary freshness of pictorial beauty, and the fine remark which illustrated the strange papers in *Fraser's Magazine*, under the quaint title of *Yeast*, will be glad to learn that they are being reprinted, and on the eve of publication in a more convenient form. As the authorship is not avowed—(it is no secret in literary circles)—we must withhold the name; but we have little doubt that the public will soon detect the signature in every page. Another book is eagerly expected, ROEBUCK'S *History of the Whigs*, of which we hear enough to excite great curiosity. Madame PULSZEY has finished the last sheets of her new *Hungarian Legends*, which we announced some time ago as in preparation; and Professor GALLENGA (better known as MARIOTTI) is speedily to give us—for the first time—a full and true history of Italy in 1848.

Of continental gossip we have only this: On the 27th January, 1686, the Canton of Fribourg despatched Colonel GADY and the Burgomaster REYFT to Paris. Their mission was to obtain a repayment of the sums of money lent by the Canton to FRANCIS I. and CHARLES IX. At Paris they were kept dancing attendance, put off with every possible and impossible excuse, till January, 1688. During the whole two years REYFT had the laudable patience daily to enter in his journal an account of every stage of the negotiation, as well as the things which struck him in that strange city of Paris. The MSS. entitled *Diarium der Parisischen Verrichtung* has just been discovered, and all lovers of history will welcome its publication.

The "scandals of literature" need a DISRAELI. Among the most unjustifiable are those wherein a writer's works are wrenched from their true sphere into the service of personal or political malignity, and are made the missiles by which his reputation is assailed. To judge of a man by his works is scarcely just, the more so when the judgment is formed upon your *interpretation* of his works. You do not measure a parson by his sermons!

The *Morning Chronicle* of Thursday calls for these remarks by its wanton and disgraceful attack on Lord JOHN RUSSELL in the shape of a review of the novel he wrote when a young man. Our readers know the little sympathy we feel for Lord JOHN as a statesman; but with all our antagonism, we have not yet descended to such polemics as those of the *Chronicle*, and at such a time! The article is extremely clever, and insinuates poison into the wounds it makes while smiling—

"C'est médire avec art:
C'est avec respect enfoncer le poignard."

But when we inform you that the drift of the article is to exhibit Lord JOHN as the writer of licentious fiction, "anticipating Madame DUDEVANT and EUGENE SUE" (a writer who piques himself on knowledge should not repeat this vulgar error of calling Madame SAND Madame DUDEVANT) whom it is insinuated he influenced as "HUME influenced VOLTAIRE!"; also as anticipating Puseyism, and cultivating generally a low tone of morals; when we inform you that this is the kick given to the dead minister by the living—journalist, you will appreciate the honourable warfare to which politicians will descend! The article is one to make a "sensation;" but it is a blot on the chivalrous escutcheon of a paper generally conducted on such high principles as the *Chronicle*.

LETTERS ON MAN'S NATURE AND DEVELOPMENT.

Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development. By H. G. Atkinson, F.G.S., and Harriet Martineau. John Chapman.

"AMONG the few things of which we can pronounce ourselves certain," says Miss Martineau, "is the obligation of inquirers after truth to communicate what they obtain: and there is nothing in the surprise, reluctance, levity, or disapprobation of any person, or any number of persons, which can affect that certainty. It may be, or it may not be, that there are some who already hold our views, and many who are prepared for them and needing them. It is no part of our business to calculate or conjecture the reception that our correspondence is likely to meet with." Brave and noble language, to which we respond with our whole heart, though we are among those who must unequivocally dissent from the opinions it ushers in.

Space renders it impracticable to discuss the numerous and interesting questions opened by this volume; we shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to the brief consideration of two only, viz., the existence of a Deity and the Immortality of the Soul (both of which are emphatically denied in these *Letters*), reserving for a subsequent paper more special account of the contents of the work.

There is a formula we have frequently used in this Journal which now more than ever seems to demand iteration, and it is this: *The soul is larger than Logic.* There are more avenues to the soul than those of syllogism. There are many things which we can truly be said to know, which, nevertheless,

we can neither define nor prove. There is, so to speak, a logic of emotions and a logic of instincts as well as a logic of ideas; and most of those who have meditated profoundly on the great speculations which have immemorially solicited the attention of mankind, have been led, some by one route others by another, to the conclusion that in the soul of man there resides a faculty which may be called altogether *transcendent*, the province of this faculty being precisely those ideas which the Understanding or common Logic of man has failed to grasp. Kant is the last great systematic psychologist who sets this notion clearly forth. We are not Kantists, but detect in his system the indistinct expression of that consciousness of a transcendent faculty we feel within ourselves, and which we see so powerfully operating on man.

We may therefore admit without scruple, that the existence of a God is not to be proved; if by proof be meant a Q. e. d. of logic. The man who renounces Faith for Logic must, we think, be beaten in this argument, if logic is to be the measure of truth.

We cannot know God. In every sense he is inscrutable. In every sense the infinite must be incomprehensible to the finite. We reflect with pride on our magnificent telescopes which enable us to sweep the heavens, and discern millions of worlds in all the choral grandeur of "music of the spheres," but even in the exaltation of our pride we are forced to own that we are now, as on the first day, and shall be for evermore, ignorant of the real nature of the simplest pebble or blade of grass; and that to hope to penetrate the inscrutable is a wild and baseless delusion. We cannot know God. We cannot prove his existence. The question is a *transcendent* one.

If any reader unversed in philosophical speculation should be startled by this admission, and imagine it must lead us to atheism, we will reassure him in a moment. The existence of God is not demonstrable. But neither is the existence of an external world! Nothing is more certain to those who have fully investigated the subject, than that the arguments with which Berkeley and Fichte deny the reality of matter, reduce the question to this narrow ground: There is *no* proof of its existence, but you must choose between the *hypothesis* of matter, and the *hypothesis* of a direct action of the Deity upon our minds.

In truth, the existence of an external world is also one of the transcendent questions; but because logic fails you, are you to be sceptical? Not so. Nor are you to deny a Deity because you cannot prove your hypothesis. The arguments are very similar. It is said: "If I cannot know *what* the Deity is, how am I to believe in him?" To which the answer is, "I cannot know *what* the universe is, I cannot form the faintest possible conception of what it is *apart from my present conceptions, which are impregnated with my own sensations*; but, nevertheless, I believe that the universe exists, though I believe it to be wholly unlike my conception of it. So with God: I do not know, I believe."

Have we any philosophic justification for a belief transcending logic? That there is danger in disregarding logic every one must perceive, and only on very satisfactory grounds should it be permitted. But we think an irresistible case can be made out for such a process in the present question. We will not employ the "argument from design." Design is a human notion. "Man designs, Nature is," as Mr. Atkinson aphoristically phrases it. Nor will we take advantage of the deification of Law which Miss Martineau and her friend substitute for God, though surely she must admit that we can know as little of Law as of God, that Law is but the name we give to the Mystery of which only *appearances* are vouchsafed to us? We will take our stand on broad philosophic ground, and say that while science teaches us that we are profoundly ignorant of *causes* and *realities* (and must ever remain so while on earth) it becomes us not to dogmatize upon what we *cannot* know; and that if there are other avenues to the soul than those of direct demonstration (as we affirm) surely it is wise to give some heed to them, and to be modest upon our ignorance? In plain language: as it is confessed we cannot have direct immediate knowledge of God, so neither can we know that he is not. To assert there is *no* God is an unwarrantable dogmatism. So that on the ground of strict Logic, if you cannot prove the existence of God you are equally incompetent to prove his non-existence.

Quitting Logic, let us now ask if there is any evidence for the belief; any reason for making this a question of transcendental logic? Yes; just the

sort of evidence there is for believing in an external world—the irresistible evidence of our instincts! Instinct may seem a fragile prop for philosophy, because in our arrogance we have apportioned instinct to brutes and "reason, the sole prerogative" to man, and so grown to regard instinct as "inferior" to reason. However this may be, Instinct has one qualification which is not despicable: *it is never wrong*. Reason is errant enough, God knows, but instinct is true as needle to the pole. Now, inasmuch as philosophers confess that all our knowledge is only *relative*, surely the knowledge given by our instincts is as worthy of our guidance as that given by our reason? And when we see all men and all nations, whatever their state of ignorance or culture, believe in a God or Gods, we are entitled to assume that the constitution of the mind is such that the belief is irresistible. It is no argument against the instinctive nature of this belief that some few Atheists are to be found, no more than it is against the belief in an external world that there are still some Berksleyans. These exceptional cases admit of explanation. Nor can any argument be drawn from the *variations* of religious creeds, because creeds are but the explanations given by reason of the one persistent sentiment.

Placed as we are in this universe, surrounded by mysteries which imperiously demand from us some explanation, we instinctively believe in some supreme Power, to which, under emotions of awe, terror, or reverence, we give a name and a form. This religious sentiment, or instinct—the necessary accompaniment of our human conditions—gains those varieties of cultured *expression* which we see in the various religions of history. They are nothing more than the attempts of cultivated Reason to *explain* the phenomena which call forth the Sentiment. They are—to use popular language—the efforts of the Intellect to interpret the Heart. Varying with every change in the intellectual condition of men, the religious sentiment remains constant, persistent. So true is this that we defy the Atheist not to have perpetually recurring solicitations of the instinct which he is forced to silence by his dogmatism. We will not say there never was an Atheist; we know the contrary. But we believe there never was an Atheist who did not, from time to time, feel the great Mystery overpower his conclusions.

Thus far we have arrived: men have religious Instincts called forth by the great Mysteries of the Universe; these Instincts find expression in creeds; the various Beliefs of men are the attempts to explain the Mysteries which lay their burden on the soul.

But, it has been asked, are there not *higher* stages of culture wherein these explanations and these instincts disappear? In other words, will not the progress of man finally lead to Atheism? As far as we can judge, the contrary is true. Atheism we hold, with Auguste Comte, to be the product of effete metaphysics. Interrogating our own history and the history of our race, these seem to be the three phases of the question:—I. Dogmatic Atheism, or the unequivocal denial of a God. II. Suspensive Atheism, or the state of absolute non-affirmation, refusing to admit that God is, because proofs are wanting, and refusing equally to admit that God is not, because also proofs are wanting. III. Spiritualism, or the rejection of a merely logical standard which demands proofs where no proofs can be given, and a return to the more natural teaching of the soul, which takes in the emotions and instincts as councillors grave enough to deserve a hearing, and which allows the soul to give an expression to the sum total of the influences which Nature has over it.

We touch upon these points, we do not dwell upon them. If we have thrown out hints only of the various lines by which the theistic argument may be pursued on strictly philosophic grounds, without rhetorical appeals as without verbal subtleties, the reader must develop them for himself. We have not expatiated on the great subject of religious Emotion, because the topic is so familiar; and to those who disregard it, one might as well talk about Poetry to the mathematician, who wanted to know what *Paradise Lost* proved.

So much on the general subject. With reference to the form of Atheism maintained in this volume, we are puzzled how to characterize it. Much of what is there written we should accept without hesitation; but we cannot see our way through other parts. Here is a passage, which in spite of its strange deification of Law is very noteworthy:—

"Of all the people I have ever known, how few there

are who can suspend their opinion on so vast a subject as the origin and progression of the universe! How few there are who have ever thought of suspending their opinion! How few who would not think it a sin so to suspend their opinion! To me, however, it seems absolutely necessary, as well as the greatest possible relief, to come to a plain understanding with myself about it; and deep and sweet is the repose of having done so. There is no theory of a God, of an author of Nature, of an origin of the universe, which is not utterly repugnant to my faculties; which is not (to my feelings) so irreverent as to make me blush; so misleading as to make me mourn. I can now hardly believe that it was I who once read Milton with scarcely any recoil from the theology; or Paley's *Natural Theology* with pleasure at the ingenuity of the mechanic-god he thought he was recommending to the admiration of his readers. To think what the God of the multitude is,—morally, as well as physically! To think what the God of the spiritualist is! and to remember the admission of the best of that class, that God is a projection of their own ideal faculty, recognizable only through that class of faculties, and by no means through any external evidence! to see that they give the same account of the origin of Idols; and simply pronounce that the first is an external reality, and the last an internal illusion! To think that they begin with the superstition of supposing a God of essentially their own nature, who is their friend and in sympathy with them, and the director of all the events of their lives, and the thoughts of their minds; and how, when driven from this grosser superstition by the evidences of law which are all around them, they remove their God a stage from them, and talk of a general instead of a particular Providence, and a necessity which modifies the character of prayer; and how, next, when the absolute dominion of law opens more and more to their perception, excluding all notions of revelation and personal intercourse between a God and man, and of sameness of nature in God and man;—to think that, when men have reached this point under the guidance of science, they should yet cling to the baseless notion of a single, conscious Being, outside of Nature,—himself unaccounted for, and not himself accounting for Nature!—How far happier it is to see—how much wiser to admit—that we know nothing whatever about the matter! And, from the moment when we begin to discover the superstition of our childhood to be melting away,—to discover how absurd and shocking it is to be talking every day about our own passing moods and paltry interests to a supposed author and guide of the universe,—how well it would be for us to set our minds free altogether,—to open them wide to evidence of what is true and what is not! Till this is done, there is every danger of confusion in our faculties of reverence, of conscience, of moral perception, and of the pursuit and practice of truth. When it is done, what repose begins to pervade the mind! What clearness of moral purpose naturally ensues! and what healthful activity of the moral faculties! When we have finally dismissed all notion of subjection to a supreme lawless will,—all the perplexing notions about sin and responsibility, and arbitrary reward and punishment,—and stand free to see where we are, and to study our own nature, and recognize our own conditions,—the relief is like that of coming out of a cave full of painted shadows under the free sky, with the earth open around us to the horizon. What a new perception we obtain of 'the beauty of holiness,'—the loveliness of a healthful moral condition,—accordant with the laws of nature, and not with the requisitions of theology! What a new sense of reverence awakens in us when, dismissing the image of a creator bringing the universe out of nothing, we clearly perceive that the very conception of origin is too great for us, and that deeper and deeper down in the abysses of time, further and further away in the vistas of the ages, all was still what we see it now,—a system of ever-working forces, producing forms, uniform in certain lines and largely various in the whole, and all under the operation of immutable law!"

Did it never occur to Miss Martineau: Firstly, that Law is as much a *human* conception as Design, and that in strict logical rigour we have no right whatever to predicate of the universe the condition of Law more than we have of Design? Secondly, that this immutable Law is at the best only a *logical* God—leaving the emotions entirely unappealed to? Thirdly, that as our ignorance on such subjects is *absolute*, and we can only frame hypotheses to satisfy the cravings of our nature, hypotheses for hypothesis that of an Universal Mind is better than that of an Universal Law?

Mr. Atkinson's profession of faith is more pantheistic:—

"To believe in a cause of the phenomena which we call Nature, and which constitutes the thinking man, seems essential to all reasoning beings. I am far from being an Atheist, as resting on second causes. As well might we, resting on the earth, deny that there is any depth beneath, or, living in time, deny eternity. I do not say, therefore, that there is no God; but that it is extravagant and irreverent to imagine that cause a person. All we know is phenomena; and that the fundamental cause is wholly beyond our conception. In this I do not suspend my judgment; but rather assert plainly that of the motive power or principle of things we know absolutely nothing, and can know nothing; and that no form of words could convey any knowledge of it; and that no form of thought could imagine that which is wholly aside of Nature (as Nature is to us), and of the nature of the mind, and, as it were, behind the understanding. A 'cause of causes' is an unfathomable mystery. Phenomena necessarily have a certain form and order which we term law. The most fundamental and general law is what Bacon

terms forms. I cannot believe in a manufacturing God as implied in the idea of a Creator, and a creation; nor can I believe in any beginning or end to the operations of Nature. The cause in nature or of nature is eternal and immutable. The earth and stars may pass away into other forms; but the law is eternal. Man, animals, plants, stones, are consequently in nature. The mind of man, the instincts of animals, the sympathies (so to speak) of plants, and the properties of stones, are the results of material development; that development itself being a result of the properties of matter, and the inherent cause or principle which is the basis of matter. If to have this conception of things is to be an Atheist, then am I an Atheist. If to renounce all idolatry, and to repose upon the deep and solemn conviction of an eternal and necessary cause,—such a cause as that, with our faculties, we could not know, or, as it is expressed, 'could not see and live';—if this be atheism or materialism,—be it so. I care not about terms."

Throw into this creed the emotive requisite, and it will not greatly differ from that splendid burst of poetry in which Faust replies to Margaret: *Wer darf ihn nennen?* Which, for want of a better at hand we give in the version by Miss Swanwick:—

Him who dare name
And yet proclaim,
Yes, I believe?
Who that can feel
His heart can steel,
To say: I disbelieve?
The All-embracer,
The All-sustainer,
Doth he not embrace,
Sustain thee, me, himself?

Lifts not the heaven its dome above?
Doth not the firm-set earth beneath us lie?
And beaming tenderly with looks of love
Climb not the everlasting stars on high?
Are we not gazing in each other's eyes?
Nature's impenetrable agencies,
Are they not thronging on thy heart and brain,
Viewless, or visible to mortal ken,
Around thee weaving their mysterious reign?
Fill hence thy heart, how large so'er it be;
And in the feeling when thou'rt wholly blest,
Then call it what thou wilt—Bliss! Heart! Love! God!
I have no name for it—'tis feeling all!

We come round to the point whence we started—that the soul is larger than logic, and philosophers must learn to suspect the absolute supremacy of logic in questions which transcend it.

The same arguments apply to the belief in Immortality. "The desire of a future existence," it is written in this volume, "is merely a pampered habit of mind, founded upon the instinct of preservation." Rather let us say that it is the *natural* and *irresistible* product of the mind, founded upon an instinct, and assuming various shapes, according to the culture which endeavours to express it. We observe variations in the belief similar to those of the belief in God; but equally with the belief in a God, the belief in a future state is universal and instinctive. The horror, the dread, or simply the vague uneasiness we feel at death in any shape, be it that only of a dog lying in the road, has its correlative in the desire for future existence. That desire finds its expression in doctrines of a future state. The Philosopher will say, *What* the future state will be I do not, cannot know; but I feel that I shall not perish, and I repose in the profound conviction that the Great Goodness everywhere revealed to me in this existence will not be absent from the next! If you tell me that I trust in a fallacious guide in trusting thus to *feeling*, my answer is that you trust to a guide not less fallacious in trusting to *knowledge*, for the stern proclamation of the wisest thinkers has been the absoluteness of our ignorance the moment we transcend phenomena! While, therefore, Philosophy cries aloud that Knowledge on such matters is impossible, I have some reason not to relinquish my position, that Feeling has an equal claim to be heard: Ignorance for Ignorance, I prefer what is universal and instinctive to what is particular and ratiocinative!

To express in one sentence the fundamental thought of this article, we should say that, in the province of logical demonstration *Theist and Atheist are equally powerless*; where there are no data, there can be no demonstration. If Logic is to be sole arbiter, the only legitimate result will be a state of absolute scepticism, or non-affirmation on one side or the other. But, whereas the Atheist is equally with the Theist without proofs, there rises on the side of the Theist this enormous and *overwhelming* presumption of universal feeling, which has in every age and every country irresistibly forced men into the belief of conscious intelligence animating phenomena!

Reason is daylight; by it we see all that can be seen in daylight; but there are realities the perception of which daylight destroys, and among these are the Stars! To see them daylight must be withdrawn from the earth—the mystic Night alone re-

veals them. Thus it is that the broader and intenser the light of Reason brought to bear upon subjects which transcend it, the less clearly do we see. You will not suffer Reason to dictate your Poetry—why insist upon its dictating to you Religion?

SIR PHILIP HETHERINGTON.

Sir Philip Hetherington. By the Author of "Olivia." (The Parlour Library.) Simms and McIntyre.

THE publishers are bold speculators to produce original works of this class at a shilling! *Sir Philip Hetherington* is a novel of the Miss Austen school, not by any means comparable in ability to the works of that consummate artist, but following in the same quiet, unpretending track of portraying human nature as it is in our country places. Better by many degrees than two-thirds of the three volume novels which claim to represent actual life, *Sir Philip Hetherington* has, moreover, the great advantages of a healthy tone, an unexceptionable morality (in the broadest sense) and an unforced interest. It never sparkles, but it never flags; the reader is not agitated—no flushed cheek or suspended breath proclaim the triumph of stimulated curiosity—but with a pleasant even pace the chapters are gone through; and the end is reached without impatience and without fatigue.

The subject is mainly an inversion of the old and ever charming story of Cymon; instead of being softened from rudeness by love, Sir Philip is rescued by it from effeminacy and coxcombry. The change is, perhaps, a little rapid: nevertheless, the phases are artistically enough indicated. Besides, this conversion of the dandy by the plain, sensible, loveable Susan, there is a second plot of cross purposes between Susan's sisters and her lovers. Major Adams is a failure, though one of the central figures; but his flirtation with the two women at once is most artfully portrayed, and has a living truth in it.

There is some nice observation of character occasionally displayed, and a proper avoidance of melodramatic effects; but there is no invention in the incidents, nor is there any merit in the descriptions and remarks, which are, however, sparingly introduced. Altogether, though a work of no pretensions, it is decidedly agreeable, and can be recommended as a harmless, pleasant book for young ladies, no less than as a gentle relaxation in the intervals of more serious affairs.

LONDON LABOUR AND THE LONDON POOR.

London Labour and the London Poor. By Henry Mayhew. Office, 69, Fleet-street

EUROPE gravitates towards Democracy. Whatever obstructions Reaction may place or seem to place in the way of progress, it is quite clear to all who penetrate beneath the vexed surface of the political sea and discern whitherwards tend the mighty currents, that the social fabric is everywhere undergoing a thorough investigation, which is tantamount to saying that it will be thoroughly reformed. The rapidity with which we in England are making progress in this direction is quite startling. It is the work of no party, it is the business of all. The political agitator who lives by the exposure of abuses meets in his daily rounds with the nobleman bent upon the same search. Tories and Radicals, Philanthropists and Demagogues, the cry of one and all is "Amelioration of the People!"

If any public man deserves a statue it is Henry Mayhew. The accelerating impetus given to the Condition of England Question by his revelations in the *Morning Chronicle* is incalculable. They startled the most supine. They inspired the earnest. And here he is availing himself of his vast experience and of the interest raised in the subject, to produce an encyclopædia of *London Labour and the London Poor*: a book, which when completed will remain an imperishable record of English life in the nineteenth century. Several qualities combine to make Henry Mayhew peculiarly fitted to his work. In the first place he has that something in his manner which wins the confidence of the working classes; he has a real sympathy with them, mingling in their amusements, throwing himself imaginatively into their lives, and forgetting that he is not of them. He does not go among them with philanthropic tenderness and cambric handkerchief; pitying them with no little self-reference; and giving them the best "advice." He goes among them like one who were he not an author would perhaps be a coster!

To this we must add a nice sense of generalities, which his philosophic training has induced; and,

beyond the power of distributing his knowledge, he has also the power of presenting it artistically. Altogether, we read this work with great admiration for the writer, and with inexpressible interest.

He opens with some philosophic remarks on Wandering Tribes in general, and sums up thus:—

"Here, then, we have a series of facts of the utmost social importance. (1) There are two distinct races of men, viz.:—the wandering and the civilized tribes; (2) to each of these tribes a different form of head is peculiar, the wandering races being remarkable for the development of the bones of the face, as the jaws, cheek-bones, &c., and the civilized for the development of those of the head; (3) to each civilized tribe there is generally a wandering horde attached; (4) such wandering hordes have frequently a different language from the more civilized portion of the community, and that adopted with the intent of concealing their designs and exploits from them.

"It is curious that no one has as yet applied the above facts to the explanation of certain anomalies in the present state of society among ourselves. That we, like the Kafirs, Fellahs, and Finns, are surrounded by wandering hordes—the 'Sonquas' and the 'Fingoes' of this country—paupers, beggars, and outcasts, possessing nothing but what they acquire by depredation from the industrious, provident, and civilized portion of the community;—that the heads of these nomades are remarkable for the greater development of the jaws and cheek-bones rather than those of the head;—and that they have a secret language of their own—an English 'cuze-cat' or 'slang' as it is called—for the concealment of their designs: these are points of coincidence so striking that, when placed before the mind, make us marvel that the analogy should have remained thus long unnoticed.

"The resemblance once discovered, however, becomes of great service in enabling us to use the moral characteristics of the nomade races of other countries, as a means of comprehending the more readily those of the vagabonds and outcasts of our own. Let us therefore, before entering upon the subject in hand, briefly run over the distinctive, moral, and intellectual features of the wandering tribes in general.

"The nomad, then, is distinguished from the civilized man by his repugnance to regular and continuous labour—by his want of providence in laying up a store for the future—by his inability to perceive consequences ever so slightly removed from immediate apprehension—by his passion for stupefying herbs and roots, and, when possible, for intoxicating fermented liquors—by his extraordinary powers of enduring privation—by his comparative insensibility to pain—by an immoderate love of gaming, frequently risking his own personal liberty upon a single cast—by his love of libidinous dances—by the pleasure he experiences in witnessing the suffering of sentient creatures—by his delight in warfare and all perilous sports—by his desire for vengeance—by the looseness of his notions as to property—by the absence of chastity among his women, and his disregard of female honour—and lastly, by his vague sense of religion—his rude idea of a Creator, and utter absence of all appreciation of the mercy of the Divine Spirit."

Passing from generalities he enters into the most special and interesting details of the statistics, habits, morals, religion, amusements, and commerce of the London street folk. The way in which the multifarious details are grouped betrays a masterly hand, and renders the work doubly important. But, as it is by far too extensive for us to follow, we will content ourselves with a few random selections:—

VARIETIES OF STREET FOLK.

"The 'patterers,' or the men who cry the last dying speeches, &c., in the street, and those who help off their wares by long harangues in the public thoroughfares, are again a separate class. These, to use their own term, are 'the aristocracy of the street-sellers,' despising the costers for their ignorance, and boasting that they live by their intellect. The public, they say, do not expect to receive an equivalent for their money—they pay to hear them talk. Compared with the costermongers the patterers are generally an educated class, and among them are some classical scholars, one clergyman, and many sons of gentlemen. They appear to be the counterparts of the old mountebanks or street doctors. As a body they seem far less improvable than the costers, being more 'knowing' and less impulsive. The street performers differ again from those; these appear to possess many of the characteristics of the lower class of actors, viz., a strong desire to excite admiration, an indisposition to pursue any settled occupation, a love of the tap-room, though more for the society and display than for the drink connected with it, a great fondness for flattery and predilection for the performance of dexterous or dangerous feats. Then there are the street mechanics, or artisans—quiet, melancholy, struggling men, who, unable to find any regular employment at their own trade, have made up a few things, and taken to hawk them in the streets, as the last shift of independence. Another distinct class of street folk are the blind people (mostly musicians in a rude way), who, after the loss of their eyesight, have sought to keep themselves from the workhouse by some little excuse for alms-seeking. These, so far as my experience goes, appear to be a far more deserving class than is usually supposed—their affliction, in most cases, seems to have chastened them and to have given a peculiar religious cast to their thoughts."

Here is a most graphic picture of—

THE LONDON STREET MARKETS ON A SATURDAY NIGHT.

"The street sellers are to be seen in the greatest numbers at the London street markets on a Saturday night."

Here, and in the shops immediately adjoining, the working classes generally purchase their Sunday's dinner; and after pay-time on Saturday night, or early on Sunday morning, the crowd in the New-cut, and the Brill in particular, is almost impassable. Indeed, the scene in these parts has more the character of a fair than a market. There are hundreds of stalls, and every stall has its one or two lights; either it is illuminated by the intense white light of the new self-generating gas-lamp, or else it is brightened up by the red smoky flame of the old-fashioned grease lamp. One man shows off his yellow haddock with a candle stuck in a bundle of firewood; his neighbour makes a candlestick of a huge turnip, and the tallow gutters over its sides; whilst the boy shouting 'Eight a penny, stunning pears!' has rolled his dip in a thick coat of brown paper, that flares away with the candle. Some stalls are crimson with the fire shining through the holes beneath the baked chestnut stove; others have handsome octohedral lamps, while a few have a candle shining through a sieve; these, with the sparkling ground-glass globes of the tea-dealers' shops, and the butchers' gaslights streaming and fluttering in the wind, like flags of flame, pour forth such a flood of light that at a distance the atmosphere immediately above the spot is as lurid as if the street were on fire.

"The pavement and the road are crowded with purchasers and street-sellers. The housewife in her thick shawl, with the market-basket on her arm, walks slowly on, stopping now to look at the stall of caps, and now to cheapen a bunch of greens. Little boys, holding three or four onions in their hand, creep between the people, wriggling their way through every interstice, and asking for custom in whining tones, as if seeking charity. Then the tumult of the thousand different cries of the eager dealers, all shouting at the top of their voices, at one and the same time, is almost bewildering. 'So old again,' roars one. 'Chestnuts all 'ot, a penny a score,' bawls another. 'An 'aypenny a skin, blacking,' squeaks a boy. 'Buy, buy, buy, buy, buy—bu-u-y!' cries the butcher. 'Half-quire of paper for a penny,' bellows the street stationer. 'An 'aypenny a lot ing-uns.' 'Two-pence a pound grapes.' 'Three a penny Yarmouth bloaters.' 'Who'll buy a bonnet for fourpence?' 'Pick 'em out cheap here! three pair for a halfpenny, boot-laces.' 'Now's your time! beautiful wheels, a penny a lot.' 'Here's ha'p'orths,' shouts the perambulating confectioner. 'Come and look at 'em! here's toasters!' bellows one with a Yarmouth bloater stuck on a toasting-fork. 'Penny a lot, fine russets,' calls the apple woman: and so the Babel goes on.

"One man stands with his red-edged mats hanging over his back and chest, like a herald's coat; and the girl with her basket of walnuts lifts her brown-stained fingers to her mouth, as she screams, 'Fine walnuts! sixteen a penny, fine war-r-nuts.' A bootmaker, to 'ensure custom,' has illuminated his shop-front with a line of gas, and in its full glare stands a blind beggar, his eyes turned up so as to show only 'the whites,' and mumbling some begging rhymes, that are drowned in the shrill notes of the bamboo-flute-player next to him. The boy's sharp cry, the woman's cracked voice, the gruff, hoarse shout of the man are all mingled together. Sometimes an Irishman is heard with his, 'fine ating apples,' or else the jingling music of an unseen organ breaks out, as the trio of street singers rest between the verses.

"Then the sights, as you elbow your way through the crowd are equally multifarious. Here is a stall glittering with new tin saucepans; there another, bright with its blue and yellow crockery, and sparkling with white glass. Now you come to a row of old shoes arranged along the pavement; now to a stand of gaudy tea trays; then to a shop with red handkerchiefs and blue checked shirts, fluttering backwards and forwards, and a counter built up outside on the kerb, behind which are boys beseeching custom. At the door of a tea-shop, with its hundred white globes of light, stands a man delivering bills, thanking the public for past favours, and 'defying competition.' Here, alongside the road, are some half-dozen headless tailors' dummies, dressed in Chesterfields and fustian jackets, each labelled, 'Look at the prices,' or 'Observe the quality.' After this is a butcher's shop, crimson and white with meat piled up to the first-floor, in front of which the butcher himself, in his blue coat, walks up and down, sharpening his knife on the steel that hangs to his waist. A little further on stands the clean family, begging; the father with his head down as if in shame, and a box of lucifers held forth in his hand—the boys in newly washed pinafores, and the tidily got-up mother with a child at her breast. This stall is green and white with bunches of turnips—that red with apples, the next yellow with onions, and another purple with pickling cabbages. One minute you pass a man with an umbrella turned inside up and full of prints; the next, you hear one with a peepshow of Mazeppa, and Paul Jones, the pirate, describing the pictures to the boys looking in at the little round windows. Then is heard the sharp snap of the percussion-cap from the crowd of lads firing at the target for nuts; and the moment afterwards, you see either a black man half-clad in white, and shivering in the cold with tracts in his hand, or else you hear the sounds of music from 'Frazier's Circus,' on the other side of the road, and the man outside the door of the penny concert, beseeching you to 'Be in time—be in time!' as Mr. Somebody is just about to sing his favourite song of the 'Knife Grinder.' Such, indeed, is the riot, the struggle, and the scramble for a living that the confusion and uproar of the New-cut on Saturday night have a bewildering and saddening effect upon the thoughtful mind."

On the Religion of the Costers Mr. Mayhew gives us most interesting details. It is only the Irish who have any religion at all, in the ordinary sense of the word, and they are almost all devout Catho-

lics, and the women chaste, which among the English costerwomen is scarcely ever the case:—

"Religion is a regular puzzle to the costers. They see people come out of church and chapel, and as they're mostly well dressed, and there's very few of their own sort among the church goers, the costers somehow mix up being religious with being respectable, and so they have a queer sort of feeling about it. It's a mystery to them."

Here is a

COSTER BOY'S VIEW OF LIFE.

"On a Sunday I goes out selling, and all I yarns I keeps. As for going to church, why, I can't afford it,—besides, to tell the truth, I don't like it well enough. Plays, too, ain't in my line much; I'd sooner go to a dance—its more livelier. The 'penny gaffs' is rather more in my style; the songs are out and out, and makes our gals laugh. The smuttier the better, I thinks; bless you! the gals likes it as much as we do. If we lads ever has a quarrel, why, we fights for it. If I was to let a cove off once, he'd do it again; but I never give a lad a chance, so long as I can get anigh him. I never heard about Christianity; but if a cove was to fetch me a lick of the head, I'd give it him again, whether he was a big 'un or a little 'un. I'd precious soon see a henemy of mine shot afore I'd forgive him,—where's the use? Do I understand what behaving to your neighbour is?—In coorse I do. If a feller as lives next me wanted a basket of mine as I wasn't using, why, he might have it; if I was working it though, I'd see him further! I can understand that all as lives in a court is neighbours; but as for policemen, they're nothing to me, and I should like to pay 'em all off well. No; I never heard about this here creation you speaks about. In coorse God Almighty made the world, and the poor bricklayers' labourers built the houses arterwards—that's my opinion; but I can't say, for I've never been in no schools, only always hard at work, and knows nothing about it. I have heard a little about our Saviour,—they seem to say he were a goodish kind of a man; but if he says as how a cove's to forgive a feller as hits you, I should say he know'd nothing about it. In coorse the gals the lads goes and lives with thinks our walopping'em very cruel of us, but we don't. Why don't we?—why, because we don't. Before father died, I used sometimes to say my prayers, but after that mother was too busy getting a living to mind about my praying. Yes, I knows!—in the Lord's prayer they says, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgives them as trespasses agin us.' It's a very good thing, in coorse, but no costers can't do it."

We who grumble at the weather because it spoils our pic-nics, or "ruins us in cabs," how little do we think of the appalling consequences to the poor:—

"Three wet days," I was told by a clergyman, who is now engaged in selling stenographic cards in the streets, 'will bring the greater part of 30,000 street-people to the brink of starvation.' This statement, terrible as it is, is not exaggerated. The average number of wet days every year in London is, according to the records of the Royal Society, 161—that is to say, rain falls in the metropolis more than three days in each week, and very nearly every other day throughout the year. How precarious a means of living then must street-selling be!"

Here is a touch worthy of Thackeray:—

"Ah! sir, I wish the parson of the parish, or any parson, sat with me a fortnight; he'd see what life is then. 'It's different,' a learned man used to say to me—that's long ago—from what's noticed from the pew or the pulpit.' I've missed the gentleman as used to say that, now many years—I don't know how many. I never knew his name. He was drunk now and then, and used to tell me he was an author. I felt for him. A dozen oysters wasn't much for him."

Read this account of a laborious life, and then compare the astonishing smallness of crime in proportion to the temptation—the rarity of criminals among so many thousands whose honest lives are so precarious:—

"My Irish informant told me he usually had his breakfast at a lodging-house—he preferred a lodging-house, he said, on account of the warmth and the society. Here he boiled half an ounce of coffee, costing a ½d. He purchased of his landlady the fourth of a quartern loaf (1 ¼d. or 1 ½d.), for she generally cut a quartern loaf into four for her single men lodgers, such as himself, clearing sometimes a farthing or two thereby. For dinner, my informant boiled at the lodging-house two or three lb. of potatoes, costing usually 1d. or 1 ¼d., and fried three, or four herrings, or as many as cost a penny. He sometimes mashed his potatoes, and spread over them the herrings, the fatty portion of which flavoured the potatoes, which were further flavoured by the roes of the herrings being crushed into them. He drank water to this meal, and the cost of the whole was 2d. or 2 ½d. A neighbouring stall-keeper attended to this man's stock in his absence at dinner, and my informant did the same for him in his turn. For 'tea' he expended 1d. on coffee, or 1 ¼d. on tea, being a 'cup' of tea, or 'half-pint of coffee,' at a coffee-shop. Sometimes he had a halfpenny-worth of butter, and with his tea he ate the bread he had saved from his breakfast, and which he had carried in his pocket. He had not butter to his breakfast, he said, for he could not buy less than a penny-worth about where he lodged, and this was too dear for one meal. On a Sunday morning, however, he generally had butter, sometimes joining with a fellow-lodger for a pennyworth; for his Sunday dinner he had a piece of meat, which cost him 2d. on the Saturday night. Supper he dispensed with, but if he felt much tired he had a half-pint of beer, which was three farthings 'in his

own jug,' before he went to bed, about nine or ten, as he did little or nothing late at night, except on Saturday. He thus spent 4 ½d. a-day for food, and reckoning 2 ½d. extra for somewhat better fare on a Sunday, his board was 2s. 10d. a-week. His earnings he computed at 5s., and thus he had 2s. 2d. weekly for other expenses. Of these there was 1s. for lodging; 2d. or 3d. for washing (but this not every week); ½d. for a Sunday morning's shave; 1d. 'for his religion' (as he worded it); and 6d. for 'odds and ends,' such as thread to mend his clothes, a piece of leather to patch his shoes, worsted to darn his stockings, &c."

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

White's Natural History of Selborne. With Additions and Supplementary Notes. By Sir William Jardine. (Bohn's Illustrated Library.) H. G. Bohn.

Among the most charming works on natural history in any language is that universal delight of boyhood and manhood *White's Selborne*, and Mr. Bohn would have issued no more acceptable volume than this, which is illustrated by forty exquisite engravings on tinted paper; has the notes of Sir William Jardine, and further notes by Edward Jesse, who adds also a biographical sketch of Gilbert White, and an index. It is a handsome volume, got up with proper respect for its delightful contents.

Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects. Translated from the Italian of Giorgio Vasari. With Notes and Illustrations from various Commentators. By Mrs. Jonathan Forster. Vol. II. (Bohn's Standard Library.)

H. G. Bohn.

Mrs. Forster continues her careful translation of *Vasari*, the notes to which form a valuable addition. But the getting up of this volume is not in Mr. Bohn's usual style; the paper is inferior, and the pressing careless.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars. With the Supplementary Books attributed to Hirtius, including the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish Wars. With Notes. (Bohn's Classical Library.) H. G. Bohn.

For the first time, a complete translation of Cæsar's writings is presented us. It includes the authentic and the doubtful books, with the books attributed to Hirtius and others, besides the fragments quoted in various ancient authors. The translation is by Mr. W. A. M'Devitte, in conjunction with Mr. W. G. Bohn, the eldest son of the publisher. We shall offer an opinion after a more careful examination than we have as yet been able to give it. Meanwhile, we may add that the notes are brief and to the purpose—for use not for display—and that there is an index of thirty-two double-columned pages.

Land Drainage, Embankment, and Irrigation. By James Donald, Civil Engineer. W. S. Orr and Co.

A compact little volume, which sets forth full information on the theory and practice of land drainage in a clear methodical style. It is a handbook, not a treatise, and is meant for practical men.

The Pictorial Family Bible, with copious original Notes by J. Kitto, D.D. Part I. W. S. Orr and Co.

Dr. Kitto's edition of the Bible is a work of great reputation for its exhaustive erudition upon all points illustrative of the manners, habits, customs, geography, and, so to speak, secular parts of this great record of a great people. Doctrinal interpretation being carefully excluded, the notes may be read by all.

The present edition is a cheap—excessively cheap—reissue of the work in thirty monthly parts. The profusion of woodcuts justify the term pictorial, and comprise copies—very rude it is true, yet preserving the design—of celebrated paintings by the Great Masters; Michael Angelo's Prophets and Patriarchs; scenes, ceremonies, costumes, coins, and antiquities. It is a fine work to orientalize the mind.

Poems. By a Prisoner in Bethlehem. Edited by John Percival Esq., and published for the benefit of the Author.

Edinburgh Wilson.

This is an appeal to charity, and we trust the charitable will answer it. Mr. Pearce is an inmate of a lunatic asylum, and solaces the weary hours by composing poetry, which Mr. Percival has published for his benefit. If these poems do not reveal a genius, assuredly they are no less sane than thousands of the volumes which fall from the press. They have even occasional passages of curious felicity, such as we do not always meet with in "poems." Into the merits of Mr. Percival's preliminary essay we cannot enter.

The Receipt-book for the Million. Containing upwards of 4000 Receipts. Dimple, Strand.

Receipts at a halfpenny each would certainly be cheap enough, and here we have ten pounds' worth at that price for half-a-crown. If a moiety of these are what they profess to be, "attested" and reliable, the book must be a treasure to the housewife.

The Philosophy of Living. By Herbert Mayo, M.D.

J. W. Parker.

Tait's Edinburgh Magazine. No. 207.

Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

Le Follet, Journal du Grand Monde.

Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

The Development of Religious Life in the Modern Christian Church. Illustrated by the Life and Work of Great Men. By Henry Solby, Author of "The Great Atonement," &c.

C. E. Mudie.

Miscellanies. By Wallbridge Lunn. (The Popular Library.)

George Routledge and Co.

An Earnest Address on the Establishment of the Hierarchy. By A. Welby Pugin.

E. Dolman.

Capper's Colonial Calendar for 1851; being a Comprehensive Summary of the Colonial Possessions of Great Britain.

G. Cox.

The Dramatic Works of Shakspeare; from the text of Johnson, Stevens, and Reed. With Glossarial Notes, Life, &c. By William Hazlitt. Vol. I. (Popular Library.)

George Routledge and Co.

Household Narrative.

Household Words.

Portfolio.

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

SKETCHES FROM LIFE.

BY HARRIET MARTINEAU.

VII.—THE FARM-LABOURER. THE SON.

It has been told that Susan Banks found herself well placed, after the death of her insane aunt obliged her to look for a home and a maintenance. As I am not telling her story, I will pass over the account of the efforts she made to be a schoolmistress, and the instruction she had as a dressmaker. She was in poor health (reduced by hunger) and in debt £3 to her uncle, and nervous and anxious, when she heard that a lady from the North, then visiting in the neighbourhood, wanted just such a maid as Susan thought she could become with a little teaching. She obtained the place, took pains to learn to wait at table, &c., and within a year had paid her debt to her uncle and spared £2 besides to her family; and all this, though her box had had but few clothes in it when she went to her new home.

At the end of a year, her employer, Miss Foote, began to think of cultivating the small portion of land about the house which had hitherto been let off for grazing, and which was deteriorating in quality from the mismanagement of the tenant. Not approving of the methods of tillage in the neighbourhood, and knowing that there were no spare hands there, Miss Foote wrote to a parish officer in Susan's and her own native county, to ask if a labourer of good character and sound qualifications could be sent to her by the parish, on her engaging to pay him twelve shillings a-week for a year and a half, while her experiment of cultivation was under trial; and longer, if it should be found to answer. This was all she could undertake, as she could not afford to carry on the scheme at a loss. The answer was some time in coming. When it came, it told that pauper labourers could not be recommended; but a better sort of labourer might be sent, and his place in the parish would be filled, only too easily, by some of the young men from the workhouse. The proposal was to send the very best man of his class known to the parish officers. He and his wife had money enough in the savings bank to pay their journey, and they were willing to make the venture. The man's name was Harry Banks. Miss Foote took the letter into the kitchen, and read it to Susan and her fellow-servant. When Susan heard the name, she started as if she had been shot, and screamed out, "Why, that's my brother!" Thus far, far away from home, she was to have a brother and his wife beside her, living in the pretty little cottage which was building behind the oak copse for the new labourer. Miss Foote inquired about the wife, but could learn little. Susan told nothing but that she was a respectable woman, but so old, and otherwise unsuitable, that it was a vexation to the family that Harry had made such a marriage. Harry never seemed to see a single fault in her; but his father and mother did not like Dinah at all.

When Miss Foote afterwards came to know the whole, she thought this marriage the most terribly significant part of the whole family history of the Bankses. At thirty years of age Harry was a pattern of a farm labourer; yet he had no prospect in life but of earning a precarious 9s. a-week, till he should be too old to earn so much. He worked for a rich, close-fisted Dissenting gentleman, who had always pious sayings on his lips and at the point of his pen, but never took off his eye for an instant from his money gains and savings. His wife was like him, and their servants grew like them—even the warm-hearted, impetuous Harry, and much more Dinah, their worn-out maid-of-all-work. Dinah always said that the register of her birth was unfortunately lost, and she could not tell precisely how old she was; and she called herself "upwards o' forty." Most people supposed her about sixty when she married. She used to tell Harry that she was the prettiest girl in the city when she was young, and Harry did not ask how long ago that was, nor look too much at the little wizened face, not more marked by small-pox than by signs of over-exhausting toil. What-ever might be her age, she was worn out by excessive work. When Harry's father heard that she and Harry were going before the registrar to be married, he kindly and seriously asked Harry if he had con-

sidered what he was about; and Harry's reply was enough to make any heart ache.

"Yes, father, I have. I'm not so very much set on it; but I think it will be most comfortable. You see, there's no use in people like us thinking of having children. Children would only starve us downright, and bring us to the union. You see, none of us are married, nor likely to be, except me with Dinah. She's clean and tidy, you see, and she has some wages laid by, and so have I; and so nobody need find fault. And I shall be more comfortable like, with somebody to do for me at home; and . . ."

And he was going on to tell how Dinah would cook his dinner and mend his clothes, but his father could not bear to hear him, and finished off with saying that it was his own affair, and he wished them well.

It was within a year after their marriage that Harry was engaged by Miss Foote. In great glee he made haste to prepare himself for his important new place in every way he could think of. He learned to trim a vine, not knowing that the place he was going to was too far off for vine-growing. He made interest with a butcher to learn how to kill a pig. He made a little collection of superior cabbage and turnip seeds, seed potatoes, &c., thus proving to Miss Foote at the outset that he had plenty of energy and quickness. She found, too, that he had courage. His employers, vexed to lose two servants whom they had trained to excessive economy, as well as hard work, did everything that was possible, while there was any chance of success, to frighten them from moving northwards. They told Dinah, with mournful countenances, that they would certainly die,—that it was all the same as being transported,—that it was cruelty in the parish officers to let them be tempted. Dinah repeated all this to Harry; and it staggered him at first; but he presently remembered that Susan wrote that her health had improved; and her letters had not only contained post-office orders, but plain signs that she was very happy. Harry determined to proceed; and, when he had once made up his mind, his employers showed themselves very kind,—helping their preparations, and having them to dinner on the last day.

By their own account their journey must have been a curious affair. Their heads were so full of notions of thieves and sharpers, that they did everything in the sliest way, and wrapped themselves in mystery, and pretended to despise their boxes, while in one continued agony about them. When met by a kind gentleman who was to see them through London, Dinah pretended not to be the right person, lest the gentleman should not be the right; so that it was lucky they did not lose his help altogether. Miss Foote was disagreeably impressed by their account of their great slyness, and not less by the suspicious temper,—natural perhaps to Dinah, but not at all so to Harry,—in which they began their new mode of life. Dinah was no servant of hers; so she had nothing to do with Dinah's ways, but to check the jealousy and suspicion she showed of her young sister-in-law and the young cook. On occasion of leaving home for some weeks, the lady took the opportunity of intimating to the people at the cottage that there was a perfect understanding between the girls and herself, and as perfect a confidence as there can be between mother and daughters; that their acquaintances came by her permission, and so forth. Harry promised to be attentive and sociable with his sister, and not to grow hot with the cook about how to feed the fowls and manage the churn. That was the time when Dinah left off peeping through the laurels to see who went to the back door, and looking mysterious and sympathetic when holding forth to Miss Foote about young people. Still it was long before she left off locking her door and hiding the key, if she turned her back for a minute, and taking every body she did not know for a thief. She was left to her own notions; but with Harry a serious remonstrance was necessary, more than once within the first year of his new service. Miss Foote was as much amused as amused with his higgling ways, all in zeal for her interests. She feared that she should have the reputation in the neighbourhood of being a perfect miser, so wonderful were Harry's stories of the bargains he attempted to drive. She told him she hoped he would never succeed in any one such bargain as the many he told her of; and she laid her positive commands upon him never, in her name, to beat down the seller of any

article she sent him to buy. As she supposed, she found he had caught up the trick from example, and had not knowledge whereby to remedy it. When she told him it was not the way of the place to cheat in making charges, he shook his head, and very nearly put his tongue in his cheek; but when she explained to him how prices came to be, and how an article cannot properly be bought for less than it took to make or grow it, he was convinced at once, and his higgling method was softened down into a mere excessive strictness and vigilance in buying and selling transactions. There never was any real meanness about the man. In a few months he sent his father 10s.; in a few months more he sent him £1. A small anecdote will show, better than this, that the money is not naturally the first object with him. When his employer kills a pig he is allowed to take a quarter at wholesale price; and Dinah cures the ham so well that by selling it they get their bacon for next to nothing. One autumn when two pigs were killed there was such a scramble for them, and so many neighbours would be "hurt in their feelings" if they could not have a portion, that Miss Foote found herself left with two gammons, but no ham. Harry heard this in the kitchen. He kept silence till his ham was finely cured, and then, touching his hat as if asking a favour, he told his employer that she had done good things for him, and he had never been able to do any for her, and he should be much pleased if she would take the ham for what he gave for it. Though not agreeing to this exactly, Miss Foote found herself obliged to take the ham very cheap.

Another small incident showed the same gentlemanly spirit. At the time when his whole soul was engrossed with the desire to make "the experiment" answer, he had a request to present, as often during a whole winter as he could edge it in. There was a certain long ugly hedge, pernicious in every way, which divided the field from a neighbour's. The hedge belonged to the neighbour; and it appeared that he would be heartily glad to give it away to anybody who would take it down and put up some fence which would cover less ground and harbour less vermin. Harry was so eager to be allowed to remove the hedge that Miss Foote at last told him that she should never have dreamed of his undertaking such a job in addition to his regular work; but that he might please himself. She would put up a new fence if he chose to make way for it. He did it with no help but in felling some pollards. One afternoon, when wheeling up hill an enormous load of wood from the hedge, he heard himself laughed at from the next field. Now, no man winces more under a laugh than Harry; yet he bore it well this time. Some men called out mockingly that he was doing horse's work and man's work at once, and they would not do that to please anybody. "No," said Harry, turning full round towards them, "nor I neither. Miss Foote never asked me to do this. I do it to please myself."

No man, I have said, winces under a laugh more than Harry; and his only suffering worth mentioning, since he came to his new place, has been from this dislike of ridicule. When the new cottage was ready Miss Foote proposed a house warming, and invited herself and her two maids there to tea. It was a particularly pleasant evening, with a fine fire, and plenty of light, and good tea and cake, and all the five in capital spirits. Harry was made to take the arm-chair by his own fireside; and when he began to crack his jokes it appeared that he had his own notions of the ridiculous. He quizzed his nearest neighbour, an old man who had married a comparatively young woman, and whose children were for ever playing about Miss Foote's gate. When Harry joked about that unequal match, Miss Foote could not laugh. She thought his own infinitely worse. And the poor fellow soon saw that others were quizzing him, much more severely than he had quizzed the old man. He looks grave about Dinah now, and has left off talking of his own prudence in making such a marriage. He has also told his sister that when Dinah dies he shall not marry again. It is very painful; and yet Dinah is improved beyond all that could have been anticipated. She has put off her false front, and lets her grizzled hair appear. She no longer scans Miss Foote's face to make out what it would be most acceptable that she should say, but rattles away about her affairs with a sort of youthful glee. She no longer speaks in a whining tone, but lets her voice take its own way. One day she leaned on her

rake (when she was trimming her own flower-bed), and told Miss Foote, without any canting whatever, that she had quite changed her mind about the maids since she came. She was looking too far then, and so did not see what they were; but she found in time that there was no slyness or pretence, but that they were really good faithful girls, working for their employer's good, and with no plots of their own. Old as Dinah seemed to be, there appears to be a chance of her growing ingenuous and agreeable before she dies. The gentry who come to the house observe that they never saw two people so altered as Harry and Dinah; that they seem to have got new faces, a new gait,—a new mind.

Harry had other ridicule to wince about. The neighbours laughed at him and his employer about their whole plan; they had never heard of keeping cows on less than three acres per cow, or, at least, five acres for two; they had never seen such deep digging; they had never known any body take the trouble to remove stones, or do anything but bury them out of sight; they had never seen a curycumb used to a cow; they had never known a hard-working man so poor-spirited as to be a water-drinker. The milk must cost Miss Foote 6d. a quart; the cow would die; Harry would wear himself out; and so forth. One day, the first winter, the cow was very ill. Between the fear of the experiment being given up, and love for the creature, and dread of the neighbours, Harry was wretched. The tears streamed down his face as he waited on the sick beast. She got well, however; and now Harry meets ridicule with a bolder face. A temperance society having been set up in the place, he has joined it, though far above all temptation to drink. He finds it a convenience, when pressed to drink, to cut the matter short by saying that he is a pledged member—and a curious temperance preacher he is. When told lately that his cows would rot under his method of treatment, his answer was:—"No, it isn't they that will rot. I'll tell you who 'tis that will rot; 'tis them that put filthy spirits into their stomachs to turn their brains that will rot, and not my cows, that drink sweet water."

There is a grave side to Harry's lot now, happy as he is. He looks serious and hurt at times, though his health has much strengthened, his earnings are sure, his wages are raised, his Sunday dress is like that of a gentleman, there is meat on his table daily, and he has had the comfort of assisting his parents. Notwithstanding all this, a cloud comes over his face at times. As his sister says, "he feels the *injury* of his want of education." His mind is opening very rapidly. At any spare quarter of an hour he lectures Miss Foote on industry, temperance, duty to parents, and other good topics. The moral discoveries he has made are wonderful to him. He has attended church all his life; but truths come with new force into his mind when they enter through the spirit of hope and the medium of success. He says "it was wonderful the ideas that come into a man's mind when he sets himself a-thinking over his work, and there is no care to take up his thoughts." Hence the brightened countenance which the neighbours remark on: but hence, too, the bitter regret at his wasted years of school life—at "the *injury* of his want of education." What might he not hope to be and do now, Susan says, if he had but the knowledge that every man may be said to have the right to be possessed of? Yet, the good fellow has raised his family to a point of comfort. A gentleman who heard of his merits, as a first-rate labourer, wrote to the same parish officers, to inquire if there were any brothers. There was Tom; and Tom is now in a happy situation, highly esteemed by his employer, and earning 14s. a-week. The employer, finding that Tom sadly missed intercourse with his family, and knowing that he could neither read nor write letters, sent for the sister, Lizzy, to be under-nursemaid in the family. In another way Harry has done a deeper and wider good. Miss Foote's friends tell her that his example is beginning to *tell* in the neighbourhood;—his example, not only of strenuous and skilful labour, but by integrity, temperance, and disinterested attachment to his employer.

All this is well,—very pleasant to contemplate,—but a disturbing question arises in the midst of it:—What can society say to these excellent young men in excuse for their deprivation of family life? And again, what is at best their prospect for old age?

LINES ON THE DEATH OF MRS. SHELLEY.

Another, yet another, snatched away,
By Death's grasp, from among us! Yet one more
Of Heaven's anointed band,—a child of genius!—
A seeress, girt about with magic powers,—
That could at will evoke from her wild thought
Spirits unearthly, monster-shaped, to strike
Terror within us, and strange wonderment,—
Renewing, realizing, once again,
With daring fancy, on her thrilling page,
The fabled story of Prometheus old.

O gifted sister, lovely in thyself,
And claiming from the world the meed of love,
How fondly art thou link'd within our breasts
With His dear memory whose name thou bor'st;
How doubly lov'd because entwined with Him!

Mourn her not, Earth! her spirit, disenthralled,
No more shall droop in lonely widowhood;
Its happy flight is winged to join again
In endless fellowship, mid brighter spheres,
The husband of her heart,—the bright-eyed child
Whom Fate tore from us in his early bloom,
The Poet of the Soul! whose Orphic song,
Steeped to its depths within the light divine
Of Nature's loveliness, and fraught all o'er
With struggling yearnings for the weal of man,
Descended on each sorrow-cankered life
Like heaven's dews upon the sunburnt plain.

Mourn her not, Earth! she is at rest with him,
The mighty Minstrel of the impassioned lay,—
The Poet-martyr of a creed too bright,
Too spiritual for an untaught age,—
Whose lofty hymnings were so oft attuned
Unto the music of her own pure name,
The theme and inspiration of his lyre.

Happy departed ones, a brief farewell!
Till friend clasps friend upon the silent shore.
Edinburgh, Feb. 24, 1851. E. W. L.

The Arts.

MACREADY'S LEAVE-TAKING.

On Wednesday night this expected "solemnity," as the French phrase it, attracted an audience such as the walls of Drury have not enclosed for many a long year. Fortunately, the most rigorous precautions had been taken against overcrowding and occasion for disputes, so that the compact mass of beings was by no means chaotic. Every seat in stalls, boxes, and slips had been taken long before. Only the pit and galleries had to scramble for places, and by two o'clock the most patient and provident were waiting outside! Fancy the weariness of those four hours' attendance! Vinegar-yard and Little Russell-street were dense with masses of expectant, jubilant, sibilant, "chaffing," swearing, shouting men; and there was no slight crowd to see the crowd!

As an immense favour, I was offered two places in the "basket" (as they call it), at the back of the uppermost boxes, and, in the innocence of my heart, I paid for those places, into which I would not—when sober—have crammed a dog of any gentility. But I was rescued from this rehearsal of Purgatory without its poetry, by the beneficence of a friend, whose private box was almost as capacious as his generosity; so that, instead of an imperfect view of the scene, I commanded the whole house. And what a sight that was! how glorious, triumphant, affecting, to see every one starting up, waving hats and handkerchiefs, stamping, shouting, yelling their friendships at the great actor, who now made his appearance on that stage where he was never more to reappear! There was a *crescendo* of excitement enough to have overpowered the nerves of the most self-possessed; and when after an energetic fight—which showed that the actor's powers bore him gallantly up to the last—he fell pierced by Macduff's sword, this death, typical of the actor's death, this last look, this last act of the actor struck every bosom with a sharp and sudden blow, loosening a tempest of tumultuous feeling such as made applause an ovation.

Some little time was suffered to elapse wherein we recovered from the excitement, and were ready again to burst forth as Macready the Man, dressed in his plain black, came forward to bid "Farewell, a long farewell to all his greatness." As he stood there, calm but sad, waiting till the thunderous reverberations of applause should be hushed, there was one little thing which brought the tears into my eyes, viz., the crape hatband and black studs, that seemed to me more mournful and more touching than all this vast display of sympathy; it made me forget the paint and tinsel, the artifice and glare of an actor's life, to remember how thoroughly that actor was a man—one of us, sharer of sorrows we all have known or all must know!

Silence was obtained at last; and then in a quiet, sad tone, Macready delivered this address:—

"My last theatrical part is played, and, in accordance with long-established usage, I appear once more before you. Even if I were without precedent for the discharge of this act of duty, it is one which my own feelings would irresistibly urge upon me; for, as I look back on my long professional career, I see in it but one continuous record of indulgence and support extended to me, cheering me in my onward progress, and upholding me in most trying emergencies. I have, therefore, been desirous of offering you my parting acknowledgments for the partial kindness with which my humble efforts have uniformly been received, and for a life made happier by your favour. The distance of five-and-thirty years has not dimmed my recollection of the encouragement which gave fresh impulse to the inexperienced essays of my youth, and stimulated me to perseverance when struggling hardly for equality of position with the genius and talent of those artists whose superior excellence I ungrudgingly admitted, admired, and honoured. That encouragement helped to place me, in respect to privileges and emolument, on a footing with my distinguished competitors. With the growth of time your favour seemed to grow; and undisturbed in my hold on your opinion, from year to year I found friends more closely and thickly clustering round me. All I can advance to testify how justly I have appreciated the patronage thus liberally awarded me is the devotion throughout those years of my best energies to your service. My ambition to establish a theatre, in regard to decorum and taste, worthy of our country, and to leave in it the plays of our divine Shakspeare fitly illustrated, was frustrated by those, whose duty it was, in virtue of the trust committed to them, themselves to have undertaken the task. But some good seed has yet been sown; and in the zeal and creditable productions of certain of our present managers we have assurance that the corrupt editions and unseemly presentations of past days will never be restored, but that the purity of our great poet's text will henceforward be held on our English stage in the reverence it ever should command. I have little more to say. By some the relation of an actor to his audience is considered slight and transient. I do not feel it so. The repeated manifestation, under circumstances personally affecting me, of your favourable sentiments towards me, will live with life among my most grateful memories; and, because I would not willingly abate one jot in your esteem, I retire with the belief of yet unfailing powers, rather than linger on the scene, to set in contrast the feeble style of age with the more vigorous exertions of my better years. Words—at least such as I can command—are ineffectual to convey my thanks. In offering them, you will believe I feel far more than I give utterance to. With sentiments of the deepest gratitude I take my leave, bidding you, ladies and gentlemen, in my professional capacity, with regret and most respectfully, farewell."

This was received with renewed applause. Perhaps a less deliberate speech would have better suited the occasion; a few words full of the eloquence of the moment would have made a deeper and more memorable impression; but under such trying circumstances a man may naturally be afraid to trust himself to the inspiration of the moment. Altogether I must praise Macready for the dignity with which he retired, and am glad that he did not *act*. There was no ostentation of cambric sorrow; there was no well got-up broken voice to simulate emotion. The manner was calm, grave, sad, and dignified.

Macready retires into the respect of private life. A reflection naturally arises on the perishableness of an actor's fame. He leaves no monument behind him but his name. This is often thought a hardship. I believe that great confusion exists in the public mind on this subject, and next week I will endeavour to clear it up. For the present my task is that of historian, not critic. VIVIAN.

MR. HORSLEY'S ORATORIO, "DAVID."

For some weeks the musical world has been in anxious expectation of the event of last Monday evening, the production of an oratorio by an accomplished young English composer.

It is to the Societies of Liverpool and Manchester that Mr. Horsley is indebted for the first introduction of his oratorio to the public, and on the present occasion the burden was undertaken, we understand, by Mr. Addison, the music-publisher, of Regent-street, and Mr. F. Davison, the celebrated organ-builder. The result, in point of attendance, was such as must have been not only highly satisfactory, but must have shown the Sacred Harmonic Society that it would have run no risk in point of expenditure by giving two or three performances of David during the season. We are inclined to believe that the non-production of new works is not solely attributable to the fear of pecuniary loss, but to the inefficiency and incompetency of the chorus. We do not think, judging from the usual style of their performance, that the Sacred Harmonic Society could have performed David with one full and two choral rehearsals, as was the case on Monday night.

The oratorio of "David" is, in many respects, a remarkable work. Mr. Horsley is strongly impregnated with Mendelssohn's mode of treatment. Nor can this be wondered at. Independently of his having enjoyed the privilege of studying under Mendelssohn, which would naturally lead him to adopt his works as the model for his own writing, there is no one who could be so wisely followed as

this incomparably greatest maestro of modern times. Mr. Horsley has invention; perhaps "adaptation" would be the more proper term; but in "David" there is not much originality, and still less continuity of melodic thought. He depends too much upon his instrumentation and choral scoring. Frequently we have a phrase mellifluous and tender, but it almost instantly is resigned, and an elaborate and florid accompaniment is made to give an effect which might be far better, and more satisfactorily produced by a melodious passage. It is impossible from one work to form a judgment of whether this arises from an absence of melodic genius, or whether Mr. Horsley has sacrificed melody for the sake of massive instrumentation and scientific elaboration. His capacity for taking advantage of all kinds of material and fusing them in his own crucible is wonderful, and upon this power he has drawn largely throughout his oratorio. We continually hear phrases with which we are familiar, but so scientifically wrought up that it is almost impossible to trace them to their source. It is quite evident that in treating the choruses, Mr. Horsley has made the effect dependent entirely on the elaborateness of his score, the instrumentation of many passages being really marvellous. The principal choruses in which we find the combination of highly wrought fugue, massive instrumentation, and more fluent melody, are the magnificent chorus in the first part, "Have ye seen this man?" "Sing unto God," the concluding chorus of the first part; "The King shall joy," in which there is a complete fugue on two subjects; and the concluding chorus, "Give unto the Lord," the treatment of which is very massive, introducing an interesting chorale, and terminating in a very original and sparkling fugue on the "Hallelujah."

The redundancy of the words and the paucity of melodic invention exercised are exhibited in the choral recitatives, of which we have no less than seven instances. Mendelssohn has used these but sparingly, and, being written with great breadth, they come out with a declamatory force the greater for the contrast with the individuality of the ordinary recitatives. But the effect here is burdensome. Not only are they too many in number, but they add weight to an oratorio overburdened already by uninteresting and seemingly extraneous matter.

The airs for the part of "David," well sung by Mr. Lockey, are among the most graceful and flowing. "The Lord is my Shepherd," is a very sweet pastoral melody; and the aria, "Thy servant kept his father's sheep," has an opening phrase of singular beauty. But the most original melody is the very exquisite aria, "Who am I, O Lord?" which has the enrichment of an obligato accompaniment on the hautboy. Mr. Lockey's delivery of the solo, "Praise ye the Lord," each phrase of which is repeated by the chorus, surpassed, we think, any of his previous efforts. The duet, "The Lord preserveth," was beautifully sung by Miss Birch and Miss Williams.

We do not think that Mr. Horsley has paid sufficient attention to the declamatory portions of his work. His powers in part-writing are not only shown in the choruses, but in the trio, "How Amiable," for soprano, contralto, and tenor; the legitimate quartette, "Behold thou art wroth;" and the very exquisite double quartette, which is treated in a style of peculiar originality: the first quartette being for female voices, sopranos and contraltos—the second for tenors and basses; the two bodies joining afterwards in eight real parts. But then there is such an air of repose in all these, that their effect is more dependent upon the smoothness of their harmony; and in the production of this, Mr. Horsley has been perfectly successful. The principal duet of the whole work, however, "Am I a dog," is rendered wholly ineffective from the absence of declamatory force. It has been suggested that a weightier voice than that of Mr. Weiss would have produced a different effect on the mind. We do not think so. The inefficiency of the duet lies in itself, not in the execution. First, it is written too low, it is a complete growl, and giants, we apprehend, talked in a tone to be understood. Secondly, the phraseology is altogether impossible for declamation. It is the tone of soliloquy, not of defiance. It would give the idea of Goliath parading before his tent with folded arms and in a grumbling tone giving utterance to his contemplations of the events of the day: but certainly the whole duet affords no idea of the actual scene, the defiance of David and the incensed disdain of the wrathful Goliath. We do not think, as it stands, that two Staudigls would produce one giant. This is another reason why we imagine that declamation and dramatic effect have been neglected portions of Mr. Horsley's study.

The oratorio was exceedingly well performed, the principals being Misses Birch, E. Birch, Williams, and Messrs. Lockey, Weiss, Whitworth, and T. Williams.

THAT ODISIOUS CAPTAIN CUTTER!

Miss Prudence was quite right. There is nothing more provocative of antagonism than to hear somebody whom I don't know and don't care about, con-

stantly belauded in my presence for qualities I can't appreciate, which, perhaps, have no existence. That Athenian citizen (so often used to point a moral), has my entire sympathy: Aristides deserved his ostracism! I am quite certain I should have oyster-shelled him without scruple. Did he think because he was virtuous there should be no more cakes and ale? How could he expect to enjoy that monopoly of praise and not exasperate his fellow-citizens? If Homer, the good Homer, sometimes nodded, surely Aristides might have gracefully relapsed into injustice now and then, and so have seasoned with a little human vice that austere banquet of virtue to which he was perpetually summoning us! Incomprehensible mortal! Did he never drink? Did he never redden with anger? Did he never gamble? Did he never love? Ay, there's the point: did he love? Because if he had any relations with a woman, he must have been a brute to her—all men are. However deserved his name of "the Just," I am prepared for any wager that he was unjust to the woman who loved him, poor wretch! And if so, why didn't he let that redeeming trait in his character appear, and so save himself with his fellow-citizens?

Captain Cutter is an Aristides of a larger mould. 'Tis true his name fills all mouths, and fatigues the printers with incessant repetition in the public papers. His courage, his gallantry, his chivalry—one is never tired of the praises they call forth. All the women dream of him. They cherish his portrait. They compare him with their husbands, poor devils! and their brothers, the bores! Maids, wives, and widows—oh! especially the widows!—are ready to fall in love with him the moment he appears. Among these widows is the charming Widow Harcourt, who doats upon his very name, which, considering that the widow is none other than Mrs. Stirling, makes the Captain an enviable man. But Miss Prudence, her companion, "can't abide" him. She is sick of his name. To her he is that "odious Captain Cutter." She has her private reasons for thinking so, or she would certainly change her opinion when she sees the handsome gallant Captain, who, unlike Aristides, has many a wholesome folly to reproach himself with, and who in early youth was so very maculate, that he gave himself out for dead, took a new name, and with it a new lease of life, redeemed his past follies, and is now worthy of a noble woman's love.

There is a Greek phrase something to the effect that it is not always the worthy who bear the thyrus; nor is it always the man worthy of a noble woman's love who wins it. What creatures the darlings will love! what Bottoms they will worship as demigods! If you want to see the power of imagination do not open the poets, but look at the idols women will set up!—However, they are right sometimes, as witness Widow Harcourt's choice of Captain Cutter (modesty forbids my specifying other examples), for whom she is willing to renounce fortune, and does renounce it, though she finds after all that there is no need of anything of the kind, for Captain Cutter is only the new name of Tom Harcourt, and if she marry a Harcourt her fortune is secure.

Upon this canvass, pleasantly varied with cross purposes, Mr. Palgrave Simpson has written an elegant little comedy, somewhat too slight perhaps in structure for the Olympic, and more suitable to the Théâtre Français or the Lyceum, but charming in its contrast to the blood and thunder of the fierce melodrama which precedes it. A drawing-room air pervades it, and keeps it strictly within the region of comedy; while the costumes materially aid its effect. Mrs. Stirling is delightful as the Widow Harcourt, and Leigh Murray stands alone in the representation of such parts as Captain Cutter. But what could induce the management to entrust such a part as Valentine Harcourt to Mr. Kinloch? Fops require an easy elegance of fatuity, and a distinction of manner to render them endurable; with Mr. Kinloch the success of the piece was perilled. However, it succeeded in spite of him, and there was an uproarious call for the author, who bowed from a private box.

VIVIAN.

THE TOUR OF EUROPE.

Pack up your carpet-bag—no, your opera-glass will do—and come with us for a rapid scumper through Europe, by the grand routes. Mr. Marshall has provided the means. His Diorama has at once the charm of information to those who have not made the tour, and reminiscence to those who have. With him we travel from the Elbe at Hamburg, through Germany to the Danube—passing through Berlin, Dresden, Prague, and Vienna; and from thence to Pesth and Constantinople. Some of these scenes are graphic and lifelike. Berlin is taken from an advantageous point, displaying the most remarkable edifices, and its boulevard, *Unter den Linden*. Dresden is poorly presented. Prague wants the peculiar characteristic of that old city. Vienna should have been taken from the *graben*, or the *Prater*, or the *Wasser glacis*, to render it characteristic. The Danube is far superior in its presentation, and the Iron Gate is a striking pictorial effect. Pesth also stands out well; so does Constantinople. The second route opens with Rome, which is indifferently seized, and cannot for a moment be compared with the views of Lago Maggiore

and of Venice—the latter especially. A genuine glimpse is given of Venice, and the Place of St. Mark is worth the price of the exhibition. There are some admirable scenes also in the Swiss portion of this diorama, and in those of the bepainted and belauded Rhine.

This diorama as a work of art is very unequal. Some scenes are painted with a breadth of effect and felicity of detail which betray a dexterous and practised hand. Others are patchy, wanting in aerial distance and truth of local colour. Some of the grouping is as bad as some is excellent. Some of the points of view are as happily chosen as need be; others, again, catch no characteristic. But, although the execution is of this various merit, the interest of the exhibition is undoubtedly very great; and now that all the world travels, such a diorama must appeal to very large masses. We were glad to observe on our second visit that the room was crowded.

Progress of the People.

[Agreeing that Democratic and Social rights go hand in hand, we propose to include under one head "Democratic Intelligence," and "Associative Progress." Both these departments will continue to receive full attention as before, the only difference being that the reader will find them under that head which suggests the unity of their relations to the essential "Progress of the People."]

LETTERS TO CHARTISTS.

V. WEAPONS NOT SEIZABLE BY THE POLICE.

The police buy up the *Leader* and otherwise display their vigilance, but their activity is both awkward and inefficient. They lately overran the country to seize a Chartist pike, but other weapons, far more dangerous to the commonweal, never attract their attention. If Sir Peter Laurie would "put down" political exaggeration, that sagacious magistrate would do some service. But bombast is not an evil in the eyes of the authorities. If Colonel Mayne would be good enough to apprehend personalities instead of persons, his surveillance would have some merit. A law against quarrels would do the Peace Party some credit. An act of Parliament against superlatives would be patriotic on the part of the successors to the Russell Administration. But these are weapons not seizable by the police. The usefulness of these functionaries lies not in this way.

A report appears in this Journal this week of a public meeting to determine a difference between two leaders of the people. There is some hope that this will be the last night wasted after this fashion. The past twenty years have witnessed in the metropolis innumerable discussions of the same kind. The heroes of those displays have found their way to the oblivion they invoked. No one cares to remember their names. All that survives is the disgrace of such exhibitions. To the honour of the assembly of Tuesday night there was less violence and passion than on any former occasion of the kind. Every body seemed to feel more or less that the employment of the public time on personal disputes, which ought to be settled by the individuals, was disreputable. Mr. Harney made a temperate defence. There is still a prevailing belief that popularity is to be won by asking the public for it. Whereas true popularity is commanded by high service and a defiant bearing.

Of old when Kings fell out, all the country was called on to fight the quarrel for them. Monarchy can no longer play this game, and Democracy ought to give it up. The old plea that the people were involved in the disputes of crowns has fallen into deserved neglect. The song of *Jeannette and Jeannot* expresses as much political wisdom, as popular feeling on this point:—

"And if Kings must show their might

Let those who make the quarrels be the only men to fight."

When you hear a public man say to the people, "My adversaries are yours; a blow struck at me is aimed at you; I am your servant, you are bound to vindicate my reputation," it sounds very plausibly. But is not this the plea of unconscious vanity, as the same words in the mouth of a King is the plea of pride? A soldier might as well ask the public to share his wounds, as a tribune to ask them to share the attacks made on him. The duty of the true publicist is to serve the public and suffer for it, and if need be to die for it. But we find many who profess willingness to die in the cause of the people, who yet will not bear a random accusation in their cause. The soldier is assaulted by the bullet or the bayonet; the publicist by calumny and intrigue; and both have to defend themselves as well as they are able; but are never justified in arresting the public service for their protection. He who does not understand this condition, or is not prepared for the accident of slander, had better reconsider his position.

There would be no objection to the public interfering in all cases of calumny, but the good public cannot afford the time. Try the case with respect to the London Executive. Accusations have been made involving the political wisdom of Mr. Ernest Jones in a much more serious manner than the recent

reflections on Mr. Harney. As respects Mr. Reynolds, the charges laid at his door by one antagonist or another, are more vital still. If the Executive hold themselves responsible to do what any public meeting may ask of them, it only needs that some one (a friend can be got, as in the last case) to move that these charges be investigated by the Executive. Mr. Jones and Mr. Reynolds would thereby obtain additional and flattering prominence, and engross many nights of other public meetings called to consider the Ministerial Crisis. Why are they not entitled to this distinction as much as the gentleman who has just enjoyed it? Why, indeed, should not all the Executive get up a case respectively? And if they do, where will it end? We shall not hear of the Charter again for six months. Mr. Harney, no doubt, was pained at the public meeting that dragged him on the stage of personalities. He has, to his credit, again and again said that he had no personal vanity to gratify; and that he could take care of his own character. And every man feels more or less the truth of the aphorism of a great political teacher, still living among us, that, that "a man who is always running after his character, has seldom a character worth the chase."

Thus much to the public in provinces is necessary, as they may think it wise in their spheres to imitate the men of London. A provincial reporter hears in the course of four days' discussion very much he cannot report, which he properly thinks not worth the trouble. But he contrives to select an offensive episode which good taste would have suppressed; and which to the credit of those who spoke the words, they did not report themselves. The Conference at which it took place was falling into forgetfulness; neither its numbers nor its deliberation won for it any great importance, when they had the good fortune to find a reporter among them, who secured for them the attention of the entire Chartists of London, and the distinction of a public meeting being devoted to their semi-private sallies. Let this be a warning to our country friends, who cannot fail to see that personalities are a trick by which the few can ever divert the many; that disputes are more dangerous weapons the police ever seized, the most fatal tyranny, or intrigue, or antagonism, can wield against us.

ION.

The Executive Committee of the National Charter Association met on Wednesday evening last. The whole of the committee were present. Correspondence was received from Derby, Glasgow, Halifax, Hastings, and Nottingham; Bristol, Edinburgh, Falkirk, Liverpool, Loughborough, Peterborough, and Tillicoultry; stating that at present they were not able to take part in sending delegates to the Convention, but the majority were of opinion, that if it was held in May or June, they would be enabled to do so. Letters from Cheltenham, Coventry, Hamilton, Nottingham, and Staleybridge requested that the postponement of the Convention till the 2nd of June be re-considered. Those from Greenwich, Leicester, Marylebone, and Merthyr Tydvil approved of the late vote of the Executive relative thereto. Mr. Jones read a letter he had received from Sir George Grey, with reference to the case of William Cuffey, which stated that he (Sir George) could not receive a deputation, but that a statement of the case in writing would meet with proper attention. It was unanimously agreed:—"That a statement be drawn up for that purpose;" Mr. Jones undertaking the drawing up of the said statement. On the motion of Messrs. O'Connor and Jones, it was agreed (Mr. Holyoake dissenting);—"That the question of the postponement of the Convention till the first Monday in June be re-considered." Mr. Jones then moved, and Mr. O'Connor seconded, "That, owing to the disturbed state of public affairs, the National Convention assemble in London on Monday, the 24th of March ensuing." Mr. Harney moved, and Mr. Granby seconded, the following as an amendment, which was carried: "The Executive, while voting the postponement of the Convention, having resolved to summon that body at a date earlier than June, should any political event render such a step necessary, the committee earnestly appeal to the Chartist localities to use every exertion to forthwith obtain the necessary funds, in order that the Convention may be summoned at an early date, should the change of Ministry render such a step advisable." Mr. Thornton Hunt then read an address and programme of business, which was unanimously agreed to: "That the addresses and programmes submitted be referred to a sub-committee, consisting of Messrs. Harney, Holyoake, Hunt, Jones, and Reynolds."

O'CONNOR VERSUS HARNEY.—On Tuesday evening a public meeting, called at the John-street Institution, to consider the "Ministerial Crisis," but it was wholly occupied with the personal crisis between Messrs. O'Connor and Harney. Mr. Robert Le Blond occupied the chair. A report from the Chartist executive was read. It judiciously confined itself to a statement of the facts. Mr. Harney entered into explanations. Messrs. Ruffey and Massey moved a resolution exculpatory of Mr. Harney. Mr. Holyoake moved a briefer statement (omitting superlatives), expressing satisfaction at Mr. Harney's explanation, and reassuring that gentleman of

the meeting's confidence. This was negated in favour of the longer resolution. Mr. Holyoake urged upon the meeting the duty of maintaining more dignity in the defence of democracy, and the impolicy of the entire proceedings of the evening. For himself, he would willingly bear testimony in favour of his friend, Mr. Harney, as he had done on a previous occasion, but he would not do Mr. Harney the injustice of supposing that, in the present case, his character had been in any danger from the incidental remarks said to have been levelled against it.

LEDRU ROLLIN'S BANQUET.—On Monday evening a large assembly of foreigners of all nations assembled in the John-street Institution, Fitzroy-square, in commemoration of the French Revolution of 1848. Ledru Rollin, Caussidère, Kinkel, Struve, Ruge, and many eminent exiles were among the company. A bountiful repast was prepared, but the waiters, engaged from a neighbouring establishment, behaved with less decorousness than befitted a public and important occasion. Caussidère spoke first after the cloth was withdrawn, in a frank, unassuming manner. Ledru Rollin delivered a speech with the address of a master in oratory, and afterwards read a letter from Mazzini, which was frequently cheered. Various memorials were read. Members of the Chartist Executive took part in the proceedings. Songs given with excellent effect followed and completed the celebration.

LOUIS BLANC'S BANQUET.—While John-street was crowded with Ledru Rollin's political friends, Highbury-barn Tavern presented a scene of equal animation, where were assembled a large company of a thousand persons of all nations. Many of the leading names among foreigners were at a later hour present at both banquets. Louis Blanc delivered an address characterized by that brilliance peculiar to his writings and speeches. We shall give it next week. Memorials were presented from various bodies: from the refugees of Jersey; from the Faubourg St. Marceau; and one of adhesion, expressed with great eloquence, from Brothers in Switzerland. Members of English political parties spoke on the occasion. Admirable taste was displayed in the preparation of the sentiments and the chief speeches were written. Schapper, Barthelmemy (Emanuel), Michaloczy, Landolphe, Ronchi, Horace Teggia, Sawaszkiewicz (L.L.), Waszkowski (C.), Videt (Jules), Simonyi, Willich were among the commemorationists.



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.

SPREAD OF ATHEISM AMONG THE WORKING CLASSES.

Feb. 26, 1851.

SIR,—The greatest vice of the age is pandering to low and debasing superstition. That the *Leader* should attempt to palliate error and defend an untenable position is unaccountable to me. There is much merit and mental courage required of those who, regardless of error and prejudice, publicly avow the truthfulness of a great principle—in which it appears to me this has been done by Miss Martineau, in her new work on "Man's Nature." You pause at the open avowal of Atheism and denial of immortality. "There are," you say, "we are glad to think it so, few persons who share in those opinions, and that it must create pain among Miss Martineau's friends and numerous admirers."

I am glad to think and to know that there are thousands of working men who, like myself, after due deliberation, have come to Miss Martineau's conclusions; and that there are thousands of others who are fast coming over to these opinions. God and immortality are but hypotheses which to affirm is less reasonable than to deny what cannot be proved. The numerous admirers of Miss Martineau will view with admiration this bold declaration of what she considers to be truth. I am, Sir, with much respect, yours truly,

H. B.

[Our excellent correspondent mistakes our position. We regret the extension of Atheism, because we regard it as an opinion untrue, hurtful to the happiness of most among those who entertain it, and tending to expunge the highest of all motives to doing good—the love of God with all our hearts, and the desire to carry out his laws in a spirit of obedience grateful for

its own consciousness. The courage to utter any sincere opinion has our warmest sympathy, for of all services to the cause of progress the greatest is the faithful maintenance of truth speaking.]

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

The mortality of the metropolitan districts, which in the preceding week had declined to 1036, has risen to a much larger amount than is usual at this period; the deaths registered in the week ending last Saturday having been 1213. Taking the ten corresponding weeks in the years 1841-50, the only example of a greater mortality occurred in 1847, when the deaths for the week were 1253; while the average of the ten weeks was 1067. Correcting this average according to the supposed rate of increase in the population, it becomes 1164, compared with which the present return shows an excess of 49. This increase, both on the previous week and on the average, runs through different periods of life, but is most considerable among persons of advanced age. Complaints of the respiratory organs have been more than usually active. At this period of the year the zymotic or epidemic class of diseases on an average causes about 200, or nearly a fifth part of the total number of deaths; and in the present return it contributes 208, which is near the usual number, though the proportion it bears to the total mortality is considerably less. It is satisfactory to observe that smallpox now shows a tendency to become less fatal. Twenty-six persons died from it in the previous week; but that number has now fallen to 18. Vaccination appears to have been performed in only two of these cases. The births of 792 boys and 775 girls, in all 1567 children, were registered in the week. The average in six corresponding weeks of 1845-50 was 1426.

	Ten Weeks of 1841-50.	Week of 1851.
Zymotic Diseases	1952	208
Dropsy, Cancer, and other diseases of uncertain or variable seat	579	58
Tubercular Diseases	1849	190
Diseases of the Brain, Spinal Marrow, Nerves, and Senses	1301	144
Diseases of the Heart and Blood-vessels	374	65
Diseases of the Lungs and of the other Organs of Respiration	2160	277
Diseases of the Stomach, Liver, and other Organs of Digestion	579	55
Diseases of the Kidneys, &c.	100	14
Childbirth, diseases of the Uterus, &c.	112	9
Rheumatism, diseases of the Bones, Joints, &c.	82	13
Diseases of the Skin, Cellular Tissue, &c.	10	3
Malformations	30	3
Premature Birth and Debility	227	27
Atrophy	133	31
Age	700	61
Sudden	143	16
Violence, Privation, Cold, and Intemperance	284	36
Total (including unspecified causes)	10672	1213

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

The Ministerial crisis has had no very great effect on the market for English Funds, if one may judge from the very slight fluctuation which has taken place in prices. The opening price of Consols on Monday was 96½, from which point they rose next day to 96¾, and at one time, but afterwards gave way, and left off at 96½ to 96¼. The market was slightly depressed on Wednesday, but recovered its tone on Thursday, when it became known that Lord Stanley was not able to form a Protectionist Administration. Closed on Thursday at 96¼. Yesterday morning they opened at 96¼ to 96½, and closed at 96½.

The fluctuations in the English Stock Market this week have been to the following extent:—Consols, 96½ to 96¼; Bank Stock, 214½ to 215½; Three-and-a-Quarter per Cents, 98½ to 98¾. Exchequer Bills, 46s. to 50s. premium.

In the Foreign Market an improvement in Peruvian took place during the week. On Wednesday last it advanced two per cent., and an advance of one per cent. took place on Thursday. The official list yesterday contained the following bargains:—Peruvian Bonds, 83 to 83½; ditto Deferred, 37 to 38; Mexican, 33½ to 34; Venezuela Deferred, 12; Brazilian, 93½; Buenos Ayres, 53; Spanish Five per Cents, 19½ to 20; ditto Three per Cents, 37½ to 38; ditto Passive, 4½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents, 58½ to 59; ditto Four per Cents, 91½ to 92; Portuguese Four per Cents, 33½ to 34; Russian Five per Cents, 114; ditto Four-and-a-Half per Cents, 97½ to 98.

MARK-LANE, FRIDAY, Feb. 28.

Supplies of grain moderate. Demand for Wheat very inanimate at former rates. Upwards of seventy vessels have arrived off Falmouth from the South of Europe, grain laden. The importers are unwilling to make the concession in price which such a large arrival will render necessary. No sales are making. There is less choice of samples of Barley and Oats than for some weeks, and the prices of both firm. The principal country markets during the week have been as dull as our own.

Arrivals from Feb. 24 to 28:—

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.	Flour.
Wheat	3030	—	910	3550
Barley	3070	—	1880	—
Oats	2060	3540	8140	—

AVERAGE PRICE OF SUGAR.

The average price of Brown or Muscovado Sugar, computed from the returns made in the week ending the 25th day of February, 1851, is 29s. 6½d. per cwt.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.
(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	214½	215½	214½	215½	214½	214½
3 per Ct. Red	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. Con. Ans.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. An. 1726.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. Ct. Con. Ac.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. Cent. An.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
New 5 per Cts.						
Long Ans., 1860.			7 11-16	7 11-16	7 11-16	7 11-16
Ind. St. 10½ p. Ct.	266	266	263	263	264	263
Ditto Bonds	60 p	57 p		50 p	55 p	55 p
Ex. Bills, 10000.	46 p	47 p	50 p	50 p	50 p	47 p
Ditto, 5000.	46 p	47 p	50 p	50 p	50 p	50 p
Ditto, Smal.	50 p	47 p	50 p	50 p	50 p	49 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian 5 per Cents.	—	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	33½
Belgian Bds., 4½ p. Ct.	—	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	93½	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	—
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	53	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	—
Chilian 6 per Cents.	—	— 4 per Cts.	33½
Danish 5 per Cents.	102½	— Annuities	—
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	58½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	97½
— 4 per Cents.	91½	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	20
Ecuador Bonds	3½	— Passive	4½
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris	96.63	— Deferred	—
— 3 p. Cts., Feb. 28, 57.80			

SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for the Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.	BANKS.
Caledonian .. 11½	Australasian .. 33
Eastern Counties .. 6½	British North American .. 43
Edinburgh and Glasgow .. 35½	Colonial .. —
Great Northern .. 18½	Commercial of London .. 27½
Great North of England .. 41	London and Westminster .. 17½
Great S. & W. (Ireland) .. 90½	London Joint Stock .. 17½
Great Western .. 90½	National of Ireland .. 17½
Hull and Selby .. —	National Provincial .. —
Lancashire and Yorkshire .. 57½	Provincial of Ireland .. 43
Lancaster and Carlisle .. 78	Union of Australia .. 34
London, Brighton, & S. Coast .. 98	Union of London .. 12½
London and Blackwall .. 7½	
London and N.-Western .. 130½	
Midland .. 61½	
North British .. 9½	
South-Eastern and Dover .. 26½	
South-Western .. 88	
York, Newcas., & Berwick .. 21½	
York and North Midland .. 24½	
DOCKS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
East and West India .. —	Australian Agricultural .. —
London .. —	Canada .. 46½
St. Katharine .. —	General Steam .. 28½
	Penins. & Oriental Steam .. 72
	Royal Mail Steam .. 71½
	South Australian .. —

GRAIN, Mark-lane, Feb. 28.

Wheat, R. New 33s. to 35s.	Maple .. 27s. to 29s.
Fine .. 35 — 37	White .. 21 — 23
Old .. 34 — 36	Boilers .. 23 — 25
White .. 36 — 38	Beans, Ticks .. 22 — 24
Fine .. 40 — 42	Old .. 25 — 27
Superior New 40 — 44	Indian Corn .. 28 — 30
Rye .. 24 — 25	Oats, Feed .. 14 — 15
Barley .. 17 — 18	Fine .. 15 — 16
Malting .. 22 — 24	Poland .. 16 — 17
Malt, Ord. .. 44 — 46	Fine .. 17 — 18
Fine .. 48 — 50	Potato .. 16 — 17
Peas, Hlog .. 23 — 25	Fine .. 17 — 18

GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.
WEEK ENDING FEB. 22.

Imperial General Weekly Average.	Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.
Wheat .. 37s. 2d.	Rye .. 23s. 8d.
Barley .. 22 10	Beans .. 25 4
Oats .. 15 11	Peas .. 27 1
Wheat .. 37s. 9d.	Rye .. 23s. 8d.
Barley .. 22 9	Beans .. 25 11
Oats .. 16 5	Peas .. 26 9

FLOUR.

Town-made .. per sack 40s. to 43s.
Seconds .. 37 — 40
Essex and Suffolk, on board ship .. 33 — 34
Norfolk and Stockton .. 30 — 32
American .. per barrel 21 — 23
Canadian .. 21 — 23
Wheaten Bread, 7d. the 4lb. loaf. Households, 5½d.

BUTCHERS' MEAT.

NEWCASTLE AND LEADENHALL.	SMITHFIELD.
Beef .. 2 4 to 3 0	2 2 to 3 8
Mutton .. 2 8 — 3 8	3 4 — 4 6
Veal .. 3 0 — 4 0	3 2 — 4 6
Pork .. 2 6 — 3 8	3 4 — 4 2

* To sink the offal, per 8 lb.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, February 25.

DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.—J. Robinson, Wakefield, spinner; first div. of 4s. 9d., on the separate estate, on any Monday or Tuesday; Mr. Hope, Leeds—J. H. Veitch, Durham, printer; second and final div. of 1½d., on Saturday, March 1, or any subsequent Saturday; Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—J. Littlewood, Thorney Burn Rectory, Northumberland, clerk; third div. of 1s., on Saturday, March 1, or any subsequent Saturday; Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—B. Murray, Stockton-on-Tees, farmer; first div. of 1½d., on Saturday, March 1, or any subsequent Saturday; Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—J. Sparrow, Oxford, draper; first div. of 9½d., on Thursday, Feb. 27, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman-street—J. Applin, Bicester, Oxfordshire, scrivener; second div. of 3d., on Thursday, Feb. 27, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman-street—J. Killick, Dorking, carpenter; first div. of 3s. 2d., on Thursday, Feb. 27, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman-street—J. Blackburn, Minories, and Northumberland-alley, Fenchurch-street, engineer; first div. of 2s. 5d., on new proofs, on Thursday, Feb. 27, and three subsequent Thursdays; Mr. Graham, Coleman-street.

BANKRUPT.—J. BURRILL, Blackmore, Essex, victualler, to surrender March 7, April 11; solicitors, Mr. Patten, Ely-place, Holborn; and Mr. Woodward, Billericay; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—J. MATTS, Edgeware-road, ironmonger, March 7, April 3; solicitors, Messrs. Tippetts and Son, Pancras-lane; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street—C. F. THOMAS, Bristol, shipbroker, March 13 and April 9,

solicitor, Mr. Brittan, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. Acraman, Bristol.

DIVIDENDS.—March 18, P. M. Chitty, Shaftesbury, scrivener—March 18, J. Sydenham, Poole, printer—March 21, J. P. Hill, Rotherhithe, engineer—March 21, B. Smith, Threadneedle-street and Bow-common, copper smelter, and Duke-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, silversmith—March 20, J. Barnard, Stamford Rivers, Essex, baker—March 20, J. Charter, Grimstone, Norfolk, grocer—March 20, W. Binder, Orsett, Essex, builder—March 21, J. P. Burnell, Moorgate-street and Coleman-street, china dealer—March 18, G. Wilkin, Frith-street, Soho-square, tailor—March 18, N. Taynton, Lincoln's-inn, law stationer—March 21, T. H. Saunders, Basinghall-street, and Bradford, Wiltshire, woollen manufacturer—March 20, J. Richards, Vaynor, Breconshire, licensed victualler—March 20, E. Brien, Bristol, cabi et maker—March 20, H. Sutcliffe and J. W. Harris, Bank's-mill, Dules-gate, near Toden ordlen, Lancashire, cotton spinners—March 19, J. Thompson, Manchester, cement dealer.

CERTIFICATES.—To be granted, unless cause be shown to the contrary on the day of meeting.—March 19, R. Northover, Skinner-street, Bishopsgate-street, and Cheapside, lint manufacturer—March 21, J. Breton, King William-street, insurance broker—March 19, B. Tebbitt, Ventnor, Isle of Wight, draper—March 20, T. Newell, Llansanffraid, Montgomeryshire, horse dealer—March 27, C. Lightfoot, Torquay, livery stablekeeper—March 20, H. Crosby, Burnley, Lancashire, linendraper—March 21, J. J., and J. Jowett, Preston and Longridge, stonemasons—March 20, B. Gibson, York, ironmonger—March 19, G. T. and G. J. Rollason, Birmingham, china dealers.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERS.—J. Mundell Edinburgh, artists' colourman, Feb. 28, March 21—W. Logan, Kirkintoloch, slater, March 3 and 27—J. Robertson, Bothwell, Lanarkshire, cartwright, Feb. 28, March 21—J. Crichton, Greenbank, Plock-shaws, dyer, March 5 and 26—T. Martin, Glasgow, tile manufacturer, March 3 and 24—T. Watson, Portobello, grocer, March 3 and 24—Crabb and Brown, Glasgow, manufacturers, March 4 and 25.

Friday, February 28.

DECLARATIONS OF DIVIDENDS.—J. Johnson, Salford, Lancashire, timber merchant; second div. of 3s. 9d., on Tuesday, March 11, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Fraser, Manchester—H. R. Hartley, Ventnor, Isle of Wight, hotelkeeper; first div. of 2s., on Tuesday, March 4, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—W. Elliott, Petworth, Sussex, corn merchant; final div. of 3½d. of 1d., on Tuesday, March 4, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—J. R. Webb, Shaftesbury-crescent, Pimlico, commander in the Royal Navy; second div. of 1s. 9d., on Tuesday, March 4, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—Marks and Charrington, Mark-lane, malt-factors; fourth div. of 1s. 4d., on Tuesday, March 4, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—H. Donaldson, Buckingham-street, Strand, army agent; fifth div. of 1s. 2½d., on Tuesday, March 4, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—W. Oakes, Oldham, Lancashire, clock maker; second div. of 1½d., on Tuesday, March 4, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Pott, Manchester—H. Cranston, Sunderland, confectioner; div. of 1s. 6d. (in part of 5s. previously declared), on Saturday, March 1, or any subsequent Saturday; Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne—J. Cooper, Newcastle-under-Lyme, smallware-dealer; first div. of 2s., on Thursday, March 6, or any subsequent Thursday; Mr. Valpy, Birmingham—W. Jackson, Lichfield, wine merchant; second div. of 1s. 7d., on Thursday, March 6, or any subsequent Thursday; Mr. Valpy, Birmingham.

BANKRUPTS.—J. WHITEHEAD, J. WHITEHEAD, jun., and G. WYATT, Princes-street, Lambeth, rectifiers, to surrender March 11, April 15; solicitor, Mr. Michael, Red Lion-square; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane—MARY, J. T. G., and C. ASTLE, Coleman-street, bookbinders, March 8, April 14; solicitors, Messrs. Gregson and Kewell, Angel-court, Throgmorton-street; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street—T. S. DICKINSON and R. C. DICKINSON, Gresham-street, and Leeds, warehousemen, March 10, April 5; solicitors, Messrs. Ashurst and Son, Old Jewry; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings—D. ODELL, Clapham, Bedfordshire, grocer, March 11, April 11; solicitors, Messrs. Trinder and Eyre, John-street, Bedford-row, and Mr. Austin, Bedford, Bedfordshire; official assignee, Mr. Graham—W. BROWN, Brunswick-street, Stamford-street, engineer, March 7, April 3; solicitors, Messrs. Blake and Poole, Blackfriars-road, official assignee, Mr. Bell—H. SMITH, West Bromwich, Staffordshire, ironfounder, March 13, April 10; solicitors, Messrs. Robinson and Fletcher, Dudley, Mr. Woodward, Wednesbury, and Messrs. Mottram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Valpy, Birmingham—W. HALE, Bishampton, Worcestershire, baker, March 12, April 1; solicitors, Messrs. Workman, New, and France, Evesham, and Mr. Reece, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Valpy, Birmingham—T. CARTER, Stafford, coal dealer, March 10, April 14; solicitors, Mr. Challinor, Hanley, and Mr. Smith, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Birmingham.

DIVIDENDS.—March 22, J. and J. B. Montefiore, Nicholas-lane, merchants—March 22, W. Heygate, Watford, Northamptonshire, and Chardstock, Dorsetshire, brickmaker—March 22, E. T. Andrews, Southampton, ironmonger—March 21, G. E. Inger, Nottingham, druggist—March 24, H. Deverill, Stoke-upon-Trent, and Coggell, cornfactor—March 21, J. Harriman, Nottingham, draper—March 21, J. Moore, Nottingham, cabinetmaker—March 21, W. Walker, Mansfield, innkeeper—April 10, T. Dalton, Coventry, silk dyer—March 20, C. D. Makepeace and R. Strong, Birmingham, screw manufacturers.

CERTIFICATES.—To be granted, unless cause be shown to the contrary, on the day of meeting.—March 21, J. M. Cansdale, Norwich, draper—March 21, G. G. Jones, Elizabeth-street, Hans-place, licensed victualler—March 22, C. Stephens, Milton-next-Gravesend, builder—March 19, S. Willett, gen., Cheltenham, plumber—March 21, J. Rawling, Solby, Yorkshire, shoemaker—March 21, W. H. and G. Catton, Milnsbridge, near Huddersfield, dyers—March 21, R. Kaye, Liverpool, butcher—March 7, J. Smith, Darlington, bootmaker—March 25, J. Graham, Manchester, joiner—March 22, J. Fowler, Sheffield, ironfounder—March 21, R. Bruin, Blaby, Leicestershire, baker—March 24, T. Matthews, Kenilworth, licensed victualler—March 21, J. Letts, Leamington Priors, miller—March 21, R. J. Wallis, Loughborough, wine merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTERS.—W. Key, St. Andrew's, cabinet-maker, March 5 and 31—G. Barr, Glasgow, accountant, March 10 and 26—T. Martin, Glasgow, tile manufacturer, March 3 and 24.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 20th ult., at Swanton-house, Norfolk, the Honourable Mrs. Delaval Astley, of a son.
On the 21st ult., the wife of G. N. Emmet, Esq., of Lansdowne-terrace, Kensington-park, of a daughter.
On the 22nd ult., the wife of the Reverend S. H. Pinder, Bratton Fleming, Barnstaple, of a son.
On the 24th ult., at Fawley-park, the Honourable Mrs. Gage, of a son, stillborn.
On the 25th ult., at Cheltenham, the wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Corbet Cotton, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 19th ult., at the Cathedral, Manchester, Hugh Hughes, Esq., to Frances Ann, daughter of the late James Heywood, Esq., of Chorlton, Lancashire.
On the 20th ult., at Dover, Colonel Tylden, R.E., to Mary, widow of the late Captain J. H. Baldwin.
On the 22nd ult., at St. Mary's, Marylebone, the Duca Filippo Laute Montafeltro, to Anna Maria, daughter of the late Sir John Murray, of Blackbarony, in Scotland.
On the 25th ult., at South Cove, Suffolk, Clement Chevallier, Esq., eldest son of the late Reverend Clement Chevallier, rector of Bodingham, Suffolk, to Jane, eldest daughter of the late Captain S. F. Harmer, R.N.; and on the same day, at the same place, Charles James Barrow, Esq., only son of the Reverend James Barrow, to Maria, youngest daughter of the late Captain Harmer, R.N.
On the 26th ult., at St. George's, Hanover-square, the Reverend Lawrence Tuttielt, curate of Ryde, to Helen Carnegie, daughter of the late Captain Hunter, of the H.E.I.C.S.

DEATHS.

On the 20th ult., Sophia, relict of Mr. Masson, of Great Portland-street, aged 72.
On the 20th ult., in Bentinck-street, Manchester-square, Lady Parker, wife of Michael Bruce, Esq.
On the 21st ult., in Wilton-crescent, the Honourable Frances Charlotte de Ros, eldest daughter of Lord de Ros, aged 24.
On the 21st ult., at Clarence-place, Camberwell, John Begbie, Esq., late of the H.E.I.C.S., aged 81.
On the 21st ult., at Woolwich-common, Frances Sarah, widow of the Reverend C. Rawlins, aged 79.
On the 23rd ult., at Bath, Lydia, the widow of Sir A. Seton, Baronet, of Abercorn, N.B.
On the 24th ult., at Hill-top, Ambleside, Jane, third daughter of the late Vincent Dowling, Esq., of Kentish-town.
On the 24th ult., in Cavendish-square, Catherine Maria, Countess of Charleville, widow of the late Earl of Charleville, aged 89.

RUPTURES EFFECTUALLY AND PERMANENTLY CURED WITHOUT A TRUSS.

DR. GUTHREY still continues to devote his attention to the treatment of this alarming complaint, and has never failed in effecting a perfect cure. His remedy is applicable to every variety of Single and Double Rupture, in male or female, however bad or long standing; is easy and painless in application, causing no inconvenience or confinement, &c.; and will be sent, free by post, to any part of the kingdom, with full instructions, on receipt of Six Shillings in postage stamps; or, post-office order, payable at the Gray's-inn-road Office.

ADDRESS.—Henry Guthrey, Surgeon, 6, Ampton-street, Gray's-inn-road, London. At home, for consultation daily, from Eleven till one, mornings, and Five till Seven, evenings; Sundays excepted.

A great number of old trusses and testimonials have been presented to Dr. G. as trophies of the success of his remedy, which may be seen by any sufferer.

"I am thankful for my restoration to health and comfort, by your beautiful cure of my double rupture."—Mrs. Barrett.

"As you were kind enough to show me your museum of old trusses, when I called on you, I think it nothing but fair I should send you mine to add to the number, as it is now useless to me; I have not worn it since I used your remedy five months ago."—John Clarke, Bisleys.

PAINS in the BACK, GRAVEL, LUMBAGO,

RHEUMATISM, GOUT, INDIGESTION, DEBILITY, STRICTURE, &c.—DR. DE ROOS'S RENAL PILLS, as their name, Renal (or the kidneys), indicates, are the most safe and efficacious remedy ever discovered for discharges of any kind, and diseases of the kidneys and urinary organs generally, whether resulting from imprudence or otherwise, which, if neglected, frequently end in stone in the bladder, and a lingering death. For gout, rheumatism, depression of spirits, dislike of society, incapacity for business, loss of memory, drowsiness, sleep without refreshment, and nervousness, when (as is often the case) arising from or combined with urinary diseases, they are unequalled; how necessary is it, then, that persons thus afflicted should attend at once to these important matters. By their salutary action on acidity of the stomach they correct bile and indigestion, purify and promote the renal secretions, thereby preventing the formation of stone, and establishing for life the healthy functions of all these organs.

Sold in boxes, with directions, &c., at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each.

IMPORTANT TO FEMALES.—DR. DE ROOS'S

FEMALE PILLS are the best and safest medicine, under any circumstances, for regulating the secretions, keeping them in a healthy condition, and removing all affections dependent on irregularities, general weakness, accompanied by excessive paleness of the countenance, shortness of breath, cough, weariness, incapacity for exertion, sinking at the pit of the stomach, feverishness, indigestion, constipation, loss of appetite, flatulence, heartburn, giddiness, palpitation, pains in the head, stomach, loins, &c. &c. (the results of which, if neglected, are generally a total incapacity for the marriage state). By their peculiar action on the system, they remove all hysterical and nervous affections, prevent consumption, and are better calculated to cure those peculiar conditions which, in the onset, lead to the above distressing maladies, than any other compound ever published.

Sold in boxes, with directions, &c., at 1s. 1½d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 11s. each.

N.B.—"A FEW HINTS ON FEMALE DISEASES," sent post free, by the Author, for two postage stamps.

DR. DE ROOS'S PILE & FISTULA SALVES,

for the cure of these complaints without operation. Any uneasiness or itching of the lower bowel may be regarded as symptomatic of piles, and if neglected will lead to prolapsus of the rectum, or to the formation of fistula, the highly dangerous and even fatal character of which is well known. By a timely use of the Salve all further consequences may be averted, and the cure speedily effected. The worst cases have been frequently cured by it, when all other treatment had failed.

Sold in pots, with directions, &c., at 4s. 6d., of three times the quantity for 11s.; and four 11s. quantities for 33s.

Purchasers will specify which is required, the Pile or the Fistula Salve.

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N.B.—Where difficulty occurs in obtaining any of the above, enclose postage stamps to the establishment.

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Bird-in-Hand-court, 76, Cheapside, begs to call attention to the following prices:—

	s. d.		s. d.
Best Plain Truss	5 0	Egg's German Truss	10 0
Salmon's expired Patent	8 0	Silk Net Suspensories	3 6
Coles' ditto	10 0	Cotton ditto	2 6

Lacing Stockings, Knee-caps, and Ankle-pieces, for Weak Joints and Varicose Veins. Leg-irons, Ladies Back-boards, Dumb Bells, and every other article in the Trade, at equally moderate charges.

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

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Extract of a Letter from Mr. J. H. ALLIDAY, 209, High-street, Cheltenham, dated the 22nd of January, 1850.

To Professor HOLLOWAY.

"SIR,—My eldest son, when about three years of age, was afflicted with a Glandular Swelling in the neck, which, after a short time, broke out into an Ulcer. An eminent medical man pronounced it as a very bad case of Scrofula, and prescribed for a considerable time without effect. The disease then for four years went on gradually increasing in virulence, when, besides the ulcer in the neck, another formed below the left knee, and a third under the eye, besides seven others on the left arm, with a tumour between the eyes, which was expected to break. During the whole of the time my suffering boy had received the constant advice of the most celebrated medical Gentlemen at Cheltenham, besides being for several months at the General Hospital, where one of the Surgeons said that he would amputate the left arm, but that the blood was so impure that, if that limb were taken off, it would be then even impossible to subdue the disease. In this desperate state I determined to give your Pills and Ointment a trial, and, after two months' perseverance in their use, the tumour gradually began to disappear, and the discharge from all the ulcers perceptibly decreased, and at the expiration of eight months they were perfectly healed, and the boy thoroughly restored to the blessings of health, to the astonishment of a large circle of acquaintances, who could testify to the truth of this miraculous case. Three years have now elapsed without any recurrence to the malady, and the boy is now as healthy as heart can wish. Under these circumstances I consider that I should be truly ungrateful were I not to make you acquainted with this wonderful cure, effected by your medicines, after every other means had failed."

(Signed) "J. H. ALLIDAY."

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

"I have made trial of Mr. Franks's Solution of Copaiba, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in a variety of cases, and the results warrant my stating, that it is an efficacious remedy, and one which does not produce the usual unpleasant effects of Copaiba."

(Signed) "JOSEPH HENRY GREEN."

"Lincoln's-inn Fields, April 15, 1855."

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

"Mr. Bramby Cooper presents his compliments to Mr. George Franks, and has great pleasure in bearing testimony to the efficacy of his Solution of Copaiba. Mr. Cooper has prescribed the Solution in ten or twelve cases with perfect success."

"New-street, April 13, 1855."

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Messrs. Edwards and Company have ample City Premises, Wharfe, and Warehouses for the deposit of goods and the transaction of Custom House business. They have also secured for the benefit of their Consignors, the valuable services of Messrs. John Hampden and Company, and have, at the same time, retained Legal Gentlemen, whose high standing and character constitute a voucher for the safety of the interests committed to their care.

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TESTIMONIALS from all classes, Philosophers, Peers, Literary Persons, and Divines of every denomination, have been received by the ORIGINAL GRAPHIOLOGIST, who continues to give her novel and interesting delineations of Character from an examination of the Handwriting, in a style of description peculiarly her own, filling the four pages of a sheet of paper. Persons desirous of knowing their true character, or that of any friend in whom they may be interested, must send a specimen of the writing, stating sex and age, or supposed age (enclosing fifteen postage stamps), to Miss Graham, 6, Ampton-street, Gray's-inn-road, London, and they will receive in a few days a minute detail of the gifts, defects, talents, tastes, affections, &c., of the writer, with many other things hitherto unsuspected.

Just published, price Sixpence,

ETIQUETTE for the MILLION; or, the Hand-Book of Courtship and Matrimony. Addressed to all Young People. By Miss GRAHAM, who will forward it post free (under cover) on receipt of eight postage stamps. "A charming little book."—*Daily News*. "To all contemplating marriage it is worth its weight in gold."—*Lady's Newspaper*. "We urge all our readers to possess this treasure."—*Herald*. Address—MISS GRAHAM, 6, AMPTON-STREET, GRAY'S-INN-ROAD, LONDON.

FRAMPTON'S PILL of HEALTH.

Price 1s. 1d. per box. This excellent Family Pill is a Medicine of long-tried efficacy for correcting all disorders of the Stomach and Bowels, the common symptoms of which are Costiveness, Flatulency, Spasms, Loss of Appetite, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Sense of Fulness after meals, Dizziness of the Eyes, Drowsiness, and Pains in the Stomach and Bowels: Indigestion, producing a Torpid State of the Liver, and a consequent inactivity of the Bowels, causing a disorganisation of every function of the frame, will, in this most excellent preparation, by a little perseverance, be effectually removed. Two or three doses will convince the afflicted of its salutary effects. The stomach will speedily regain its strength; a healthy action of the liver, bowels, and kidneys will rapidly take place; and instead of listlessness, heat, pain, and jaundiced appearance, strength, activity, and renewed health will be the quick result of taking this medicine, according to the directions accompanying each box.

As a pleasant, safe, easy Aperient, they unite the recommendation of a mild operation with the most successful effect, and require no restraint of diet or confinement during their use; and for Elderly People they will be found to be the most comfortable medicine hitherto prepared.

Sold by T. PROUT, 229, Strand, London. Price 1s. 1d. and 2s. 9d. per box; and by the venders of medicine generally throughout the kingdom.

Ask for FRAMPTON'S PILL of HEALTH, and observe the name and address of "Thomas Prout, 229, Strand, London," on the Government Stamp.

BEAUTIFUL HAIR, WHISKERS, EYE-BROWS, &c., may be with certainty obtained by using

a very small portion of ROSALE COUPELLE'S PARISIAN POMADE, every morning, instead of any oil or other preparation. A fortnight's use will, in most instances, show its surprising properties in producing and curling Whiskers, Hair, &c., at any age, from whatever cause deficient; as also checking grayness, &c.

Sent free by post, with instructions, &c., on receipt of twenty-four postage stamps, by Miss Coupelle, Ely-place, Holborn, London; who may be consulted on these matters daily, from two till five o'clock.

TESTIMONIALS.

Lieutenant Holroyd, R.N., writes: "Its effects are truly astonishing; it has thickened and darkened my hair very much."

Mrs. Buckley, Stapleford: "Your delightful Pomade has improved my hair wonderfully."

Mr. Yates, hair-dresser, Malton: "The young man has now a good pair of Whiskers; I want you to send me two pots for other customers of mine."

Mrs. Lello, Worthing: "I use your Pomade in my nursery, as I find it very useful for children's hair also."

DO NOT CUT YOUR CORNS—BUT CURE THEM.

Also will be sent (free), on receipt of thirteen stamps, her only safe, speedy, and lasting cure for soft or hard corns, bunions, &c. It cures in three days, and is never failing.

Mrs. Hughes, Sunbury: "It cured four corns, and three bunions, amazingly quick, and is the best and safest thing I have ever met with."

Address: MISS COUPELLE, Ely-place, Holborn, London.

THE SHITTAM WOOD PAVEMENT.—The

Horse Guards "cannot go to and fro via Regent-street because the shoeing by the smiths and farriers (who are all against this roadway to a man) cannot be made to apply to granite and wood." To prevent a total and utter defeat of the Guards, therefore, up must come the wood, and then the parishes must acknowledge themselves beaten by that gallant body of soldiers, and the better part of valour is discretion. Government and other expresses are diverted in their routes. The press in general is against the Shittim wood, and *Punch* in particular. The whole race of human beings is against it, except some few for particular purposes, but no one human being for all intents and purposes whatever. The public clearly have their remedies, for any contracts to be legal must be for the good behoof and advantage of the whole community. Numberless cases of broken backs and legs of horses occur. Fire insurance companies are with us, for the damages, from statistics, are much more excessive than before the Shittim wood pavement, and the parishes are and will continue to be liable to damages, and the shareholders, therefore, should be up and stirring. The smiths and farriers will prove the several cases. Several members for the suppression of vice are firm adherents, for contracts to be legal must be moral, whether of an intramural nature (see *Walker v. Perkins*, 3 Burr. 1568; *Appleton v. Campbell*, 2 Carr. and Payne, 347; and *Boury v. Bennet*, 1 Carr. 315), or whether extramural; and no authorities think of waiting until those intramural contracts between a certain class of parties be expired before instituting proceedings. Any agitation against intramural knavery is useless until the wood pavement extramural knavery be utterly abolished, which too frequently of itself does the business en route to the slaughter-house. The travelling public will please to observe the advertisements spread throughout this week in the morning papers, and also a very "telling letter" just put into our hands by Mr. Galloway, of No. 7, John-street, New-road, and published in the *Morning Advertiser* of the 21st of December, 1850; and which ought to be reprinted into every newspaper heartily in the cause; and we court a newspaper opposition—if any. These extramural Shittim wood contracts were of course expressly entered into by the parties thereto for their own personal benefit and advantage. The sanitary commissioners, pro pudor, what are they about? for the effluvia from the animal deposits (especially on and in the vicinity of the cabriolet stands) are, as can be verified on oath, most deleterious and deadly. More damages, therefore, to be detained from the several "authorities," and then the damages, forsooth, "do not prevent the agonies of that noble animal, the horse." COLE and SCOTT, Solicitors, 12, Fumival's-inn, and Notting-hill.

HAIR-CUTTING SALOONS FOR ALL

NATIONS, 254, REGENT-STREET.

L. ROSSI begs to announce that he has English and Foreign Assistants of great experience and acknowledged ability always in attendance.

This Establishment is four doors from Oxford-street, and opposite Hanover-square.

An extensive Assortment of English and Foreign Perfumery, Combs, Brushes, &c.

NO MORE CHAPPED HANDS and FACES.

BURY'S ROYAL POMPADOUR POWDER.—Recommended for daily use to remove that redness and irritation remaining on the skin after washing, or from any other cause, as well as possessing the most cooling, softening, and balsamic qualities, and imparting an exquisite whiteness and clearness to the complexion. It is strongly recommended to the notice of mothers and nurses for the use of infants of the most tender age, being far superior to any other powder; also, after sea-bathing, and for gentlemen after shaving, its agreeable effects will be fully tested.

Alfred Bury recommends the Royal Pompadour Powder as an article of comfort and utility (not as a cosmetic), but as a plain vegetable powder for the use of both ladies and gentlemen, retaining its virtues and purity in any climate, consequently is well worthy the attention of merchants, captains, and speculators, being a preparation that commands a sale throughout the civilized world.

Sold in packets, 1s. and 2s. 6d. each;—those at 2s. 6d. are equal to three 1s. packets; by post for sixteen or thirty-eight uncut stamps.—Low, Son, and Benbow, 330, Strand; Winter, 205, Oxford-street; Potter, 6, Frederick-place, Old Kent-road; Stacey and Co., 45, Cranbourn-street; West, King's-road, Chelsea; Thompson, 95, Park-street, Regent's-park; Bellingham, 41, Tachbrook-street, Pimlico; Hopkirk, 88, Westminster Bridge-road; Hunter, Clapham; Blanckley, Clarence-place, Clapham; Pugh, 7, Colville-terrace, Chelsea; Charles, North Brixton; Labern, 49, Judd-street, Brunswick-square; Phillips, 2, Spencer-terrace, Lower-road, Islington; Congreve, Commercial-road, Peckham; Bury, 10, Exeter-change; Jones, Pelham-crescent, Brompton. Agents for Ireland.—Bewley and Evans, Sackville-street; Kertland, Sackville-street; Worn, Dawson-street; Mrs. Birch, Dawson-street; Cork: O'Leary, Belfast; Page, Castle-place. Agents for Scotland.—Edinburgh: Stephenson, Leith-street; Geikie, North-bridge; Glasgow: Reid, Stockwell-street; Aberdeen: Walker, Union-street; Montrose: Hill, High-street; Perth: Peddie, George-street; Dundee: Neil, Murray-gate; Greenock: Brown; Ayr: Corner.

LUXURIANT AND BEAUTIFUL HAIR, WHISKERS, &c.

MANY Preparations for the Production and

Preservation of the Hair have been introduced to the Public, but none have gained such a world-wide celebrity and immense sale as Miss DEAN'S CRININE. It is guaranteed to produce Whiskers, Moustachios, Eyebrows, &c., in three or four weeks, with the utmost certainty; and will be found eminently successful in nourishing, curling, and beautifying the Hair, checking greyiness in all its stages, strengthening weak Hair, preventing its falling off, &c. &c. For the reproduction of Hair in Baldness, from whatever cause, and at whatever age, it stands unrivalled, never having failed. One trial only is solicited to prove the fact. It is an elegantly-scented preparation, and sufficient for three months' use will be sent (post free) on receipt of twenty-four postage stamps, by Miss Dean, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London.

For Children it is indispensable, as forming the basis of a beautiful head of hair.

AUTHENTIC TESTIMONIALS.

"I constantly use your Crimine for my children. It restored my hair perfectly."—Mrs. Long, Hitchin, Herts.

"I have not now to complain of the trouble of shaving; thanks to your Crimine."—Mr. Grey, Eaton-square, Chelsea.

Professor Ure, on analyzing the Crimine, says:—"It is perfectly free from any injurious colouring or other matter, and the best stimulant for the hair I have met with. The scent is delicate and very persistent."

CURE YOUR CORNS AND BUNIONS.

Those who wish to walk with perfect ease will find Miss DEAN'S ABSORBENT the only radical Cure for Corns and Bunions. It is guaranteed to cure them in three days, without cutting or pain. One trial is earnestly solicited by all suffering from such tormentors.

Sent post-free, on receipt of Fourteen Postage Stamps, by Miss Dean, 48, Liverpool-street, King's-cross, London.

CHANCERY REFORM ASSOCIATION.

PRESIDENT.
The Right Hon. Lord ERSKINE.

BANKERS.
Sir Samuel Scott, Bart., and Co., 1, Cavendish-square;
Messrs. Grote, and Co., 62, Threadneedle-street.

Suitors and the public are invited to send in their names and subscriptions to enable the Council to gather strength effectually to reform the monstrous abuses of the Court of Chancery, by which hundreds of thousands will be saved to the suitors in their costs, and years of misery to them and their families prevented.

Members subscribing 5s. or upwards are entitled to all the publications of the Association.

Donations and subscriptions received by the bankers, and at 14, John-street, Adelphi, where the address of the Council may be had, and where all communications are requested to be addressed.
WM. CARPENTER, Honorary Secretary.
14, John-street, Adelphi.

PENINSULAR and ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.

ADDITIONAL STEAM COMMUNICATION with INDIA and CHINA.

CALCUTTA LINE.—In order to accommodate the extra number of Passengers expected to leave Calcutta, Madras, and Ceylon for England in April, one of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company's large steamers is intended to start from Calcutta on the 21st of April, as an extra vessel, for Suez, and one of the Company's steamers from Southampton to Alexandria, also as an extra vessel, on the 1st of May, to meet and convey the passengers direct to Southampton.

C. W. HOWELL, Secretary,
122, Leadenhall-street, Jan. 28, 1851.

PENINSULAR and ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.

DIRECT LINE BETWEEN CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, HONG-KONG, and SHANGHAI.

This line, as announced in the last annual report of 6th December, 1850, will be COMMENCED from CALCUTTA about the 1st of May proximo, the necessary vessels being now on their way out to the station. In order to accommodate officers proceeding from India to Penang, Singapore, &c., for the benefit of their health, or short leave of absence, RETURN TICKETS will be issued for the double passage on reduced terms, which will be announced in due time.

C. W. HOWELL, Secretary,
122, Leadenhall-street, Jan. 28, 1851.

ASSOCIATION FOR PROMOTING THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

(In which is incorporated the Newspaper Stamp Abolition Committee.)

Office, 15, Essex-street, Strand.

PRESIDENT.
T. MILNER GIBSON, M.P.

TREASURER.
FRANCIS PLACE.

SUB-TREASURER.
J. ALFRED NOVELLO.

CHAIRMAN.
RICHARD MOORE.

SECRETARY.
C. DORSON COLLET.

BANKERS.

Messrs. PRESCOTT and GROTE, Threadneedle-street.

COMMITTEE.

William Addiscott.	William E. Hickson.
Thomas Allan (Edinburgh).	G. J. Holyoake.
James Baldwin (Birmingham).	James Hoppy.
John Bainbridge.	Joseph Hume, M.P.
J. C. Beaumont (Wakefield).	Thornton Hunt.
Dr. Black.	Joseph Hyde.
R. Le Blond.	J. Kershaw, M.P.
Dr. Bowkett.	Professor T. H. Key.
John Bright, M.P.	Rev. E. R. Larken.
C. J. Bunting (Norwich).	Dr. Lee.
Henry Campkin.	C. Lushington, M.P.
W. J. Carlless.	G. H. Lewes.
John Cassell.	Christopher M'Guinness.
C. Cowden Clarke.	Edward Miall.
R. Cobden, M.P.	W. K. Norway.
C. Cowan, M.P.	John Parker.
George Dawson (Birmingham).	William Scholefield, M.P.
Thomas Donnelly.	Rev. T. Spencer.
Passmore Edwards.	James Stansfeld.
Edward Edwards.	Edward Wallhouse.
C. H. Elt.	W. A. Wilkinson.
W. Ewart, M.P.	Thomas Wilson.
Edmund Fry.	Wm. Williams, M.P.
Charles Gilpin.	Wm. Wilks.
Samuel Harrison.	Edinburgh Wilson.

The following Subscriptions have been already received:—

T. Milner Gibson, M.P.	£	s.	d.
Francis Place	10	0	0
R. Cobden, M.P.	5	0	0
John Cassell	5	0	0
W. A. Wilkinson	5	0	0
R. Le Blond	5	0	0
James Baldwin	5	0	0
J. A. Novello	4	0	0
Arthur Trevelyan	2	0	0
W. Ashurst	3	3	0
C. Lushington, M.P.	2	0	0
C. Cowden Clarke	1	0	0
Thomas Allan	1	1	0
Passmore Edwards	1	1	0
W. E. Hickson	1	1	0
Samuel Harrison	1	1	0
Rev. E. R. Larken	1	1	0
Edward Wallhouse	1	0	0
Dr. Lee	1	0	0

Wednesday, March 5th, a PUBLIC MEETING will be held in St. Martin's-hall, Long-acre, to promote the REPEAL OF ALL THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE, and, in particular, of the PENNY STAMP ON NEWSPAPERS.

Professor T. H. KEY in the Chair.
Messrs. R. Cobden, M.P., T. M. Gibson, M.P., W. Scholefield, M.P., Edward Miall, John Cassell, and other gentlemen will address the meeting.
Seats reserved for ladies. Doors open at Half-past Seven. Chair taken at Half-past Eight.

Tickets for the reserved seats may be had of Z. Hubbersty, 11, Poultry; J. A. Novello, 69, Dean-street, Soho; E. Fry, 3, Winchester-buildings; C. Gilpin, Bishopsgate; Edinham Wilson, Royal Exchange; G. Huggett, 4, Beaufort-buildings; at the offices of the Leader, Nonconformist, and Standard of Freedom; and of the Secretary, 15, Essex-street, Strand.

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.

DIVISION OF PROFITS.

ALBION LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, LONDON. Instituted in 1805.

DIRECTORS.

JOHN HAMPDEN GLEDSTANES, Esq., Chairman.	Thomas William Clinton Murdock, Esq.
CHARLES RUSSELL, Esq., Deputy Chairman.	David Riddall Roper, Esq.
Thomas Starling Benson, Esq.	Edward Stewart, Esq.
James W. Bosanquet, Esq.	Francis Wilson, Esq.
Frederick Burmester, Esq.	
John Coningham, Esq.	
Frederick D. Danvers, Esq.	

At the last Division of Profits (1849), every policy-holder insured upon the Participating Scale of Premium became entitled to a return of one-fifth of all the premium he had paid, either in the form of an immediate Cash payment, or by Augmentation of the Sum Insured, or Reduction of the future Premium. The next division will take place in 1853, when every Policy effected on or before 30th April next will entitle the holder to a larger share of the divisible surplus than if effected after that date.

Amongst other advantages secured to policy-holders in this Company, are—a low rate of premium at the younger ages; the payment of the sum insured at the end of thirty days after proof of death; and the liberty of residing in many parts of North America, the Cape, New Zealand, and Australia, without any extra charge except for Sea-risk.

For Forms of Proposal, Prospectuses, &c., apply to any of the Company's Agents, or to JOHN LE CAPPELAIN, Actuary and Secretary.

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

OFFICES: 40, PALL-MALL, LONDON.

This Association has been established for the purpose of providing ANNUITIES TO THE SHARE AND POLICY-HOLDERS, in the event of pecuniary misfortune, incapacity, or old age; which are not liable to forfeiture in cases of Bankruptcy, insolvency, or failure of any description—and also

SECURING EDUCATION, APPRENTICESHIP FEES, OR ENDOWMENTS TO THEIR CHILDREN.

Detailed Prospectuses, containing the names and addresses of the 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.

Combination Policies, payable in the event of casualties of any kind totally disabling the Assured, or death, are issued at moderate rates. This important addition to the principle of Assurance deserves the serious attention of persons in all positions of life.

Immediate and deferred Annuities are granted. All policies indisputable, whereby the power on the part of the office in resisting a claim under any circumstance whatever is removed.

Loans are effected on personal and other securities in connection with Life Assurance. Parties desirous of becoming Agents or Medical Referees are requested to communicate with the Secretary.

By order of the Board, THOMAS H. BAYLIS, Resident Manager and Secretary.

EAGLE INSURANCE COMPANY,

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

DIRECTORS.

The Hon. JOHN CHETWYND TALBOT, Q.C., Chairman.	Charles Thos. Holcombe, Esq.
WALTER ANDERSON PEACOCK, Esq., Deputy Chairman.	Richard Harman Lloyd, Esq.
Charles Bischoff, Esq.	Joshua Lockwood, Esq.
Thomas Boddington, Esq.	Ralph Charles Price, Esq.
Thomas Daves, Esq.	William Wybrow, Esq.
Nathaniel Gould, Esq.	
Robert Alexander Gray, Esq.	

AUDITORS.

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

PHYSICIAN.

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

SURGEONS.

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

ACTUARY and SECRETARY.—Charles Jellicoe, Esq.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STAYS SUPERSEDED.—Stiff Stays destroy

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

METROPOLITAN ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE DWELLINGS OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

Capital £100,000, in shares of £25 each.

With Power to Increase the Same.

Liability of the Shareholders Limited by Royal Charter to the Amount of their respective Shares, and the rate of Dividend to 5 per Cent.

DIRECTORS.

Chairman—Sir Ralph Howard, Bart., M.P.	William Egerton Hubbard, Esq.
Deputy Chairman—John William Tottle, Esq.	Edwin Hill, Esq.
Price Prichard Baly, Esq.	Lord Claud Hamilton, M.P.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.	James Kemplay, Esq.
The Right Hon. Viscount Ebrington, M.P.	Huson Morris, Esq.
William Ellice, Esq.	Thomas S. Smith, Esq., M.D.
Edward Enfield, Esq.	William Arthur Wilkinson, Esq.
Thomas Field Gibson, Esq.	Horace Wilkinson, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord Robert Grosvenor, M.P.	Frederick D. Goldsmid, Esq.
	The Right Hon. Lord Haddo.

AUDITORS.

John Finlaison, Esq. | Edward Hurry, Esq.

BANKERS.

Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, Tritton, and Co.

SECRETARY.

Charles Gatcliff, Esq., 19, Coleman-street, London.

FORMATION OF BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.

This Association has obtained a Supplemental Charter, dated the 10th of December, 1850, whereby, in addition to the powers granted by their original Charter,

"Power is granted to raise a capital, to be called 'The Provincial Fund,' not exceeding ONE MILLION Sterling, for the purpose of providing, by the alteration of existing Buildings, or the erection of new Buildings, more commodious or healthy Lodgings or Dwellings for the Industrious Classes in any Provincial Towns or Districts."

Provincial Capital may be raised on request of Twenty Householders, rated to the Poor in the District.

Provincial Shareholders entitled to Profits, or liable to Losses, on the District Fund to which they subscribe, separately from any other Funds of the Association.

May appoint District Committee. Applications to be made to Mr. Charles Gatcliff, Secretary, 19, Coleman-street, London.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR APPORTIONMENT OF SHARES. To the Directors of the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
* As the case may be, { We, the undersigned, Householders
{ rated to the Poor in the (* Town,
Parish, or District) of { do hereby request that
you will appropriate the Sum of £ { in Shares
of £25 each in the Metropolitan Association for Improving the
Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, and call and distinguish
the same as the { District Shares.
Dated this { day of { 185 .

METROPOLITAN and PROVINCIAL JOINT-STOCK BREWERY COMPANY.

(Registered Provisionally pursuant to 7 and 8 Vic., cap. 110.)
Capital £200,000, in 40,000 shares of £5 each (with power to increase it to £1,000,000.)

Deposit on allotment of shares 6d. per share, as provided by the Act of Parliament. Call on each share, on complete registration, 10s.; further calls, not exceeding 10s. per share each call, as the necessities of the Company require, of which three months' notice will be given by public advertisement.

TRUSTEES.

John Macgregor, Esq., M.P. | Alfred Bullock B. Watts, Esq.

DIRECTORS.

John Francis Bontems, Esq.	Thomas Jones Saunders, Esq.
William Dunbar, Esq.	Sidney Stevens, Esq.
John Jamieson, Esq.	Charles Swainson, Esq.

Managing Director—John Francis Bontems, Esq.

AUDITORS.

Thomas Willows Farnell, Esq.	Thomas Walker, Esq., B.A.
Charles Ross, Esq.	Hiram Williams, Esq., C.E.

Bankers—The Royal British Bank.
Solicitors—Messrs. Edmonds and Jones, Eldon-chambers, Devereux-court, Temple.

Temporary Offices, Eldon-chambers, Devereux-court, Temple.

The object of this Company is to establish Breweries on a comprehensive plan, for the purpose of supplying the public with those necessary English beverages, Ale and Porter, pure and unadulterated, at prices far below those at present charged by the trade for an inferior, and frequently a very deleterious article.

That this can be accomplished and pay a handsome remuneration for the capital invested has been shown by the arguments in Parliament, by the public press, and by carefully prepared calculations of persons practically acquainted with the business.

Consumers will derive double advantage from becoming Shareholders, and the shares have been fixed at £5 each, to enable all to avail themselves of it.

Further particulars and prospectuses may be obtained of the Secretary, Charles Henry Edmonds, Esq., at the Temporary Offices of the Company, and to whom applications for shares should be addressed.

Form of Application for Shares.

To the Directors of the Metropolitan and Provincial Joint-Stock Brewery Company.

Gentlemen,—I request you to allot me — shares of £5 each in the above Company, and I hereby undertake to accept such shares or any less number as may be allotted to me, and to pay the required deposits thereon, and to execute all necessary deeds when required.—Dated this — day of —, 1851.

Name in full
Address in full
Profession or trade
Reference
Address of Referee

TEA.—ARRIVAL of the FORFARSHIRE.—

This vessel has just arrived from China, having brought, indisputably, the choicest chops of the new season's Congou. We wish to draw the especial notice of families and hotel-keepers to the unusual excellence of the above cargo, which we are selling at 4s. 4d. per lb.

Also strong full-flavoured Congou at 3s. 8d. to 4s.

A peculiar choice Assam Souchong at 4s. 8d. to 5s.

SIDNEY, WELLS, and MANDUELL.

No. 8, Ludgate-hill.
Families resident in any part of the kingdom can be supplied at the above prices, and the teas carefully packed in lead.

The Customs' overweight of 2lb. on chests containing 84lb., and of 1lb. on half-chests of about 40lb., invariably allowed.

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

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

TWO OFFICIAL PLANS shewing the Classification and Arrangement of Articles in the Ground-floor and in the Galleries of the Building of the Exhibition of 1851, are now FIRST PUBLISHED, by AUTHORITY, in
THE JOURNAL OF DESIGN for MARCH.
 The same plans may also be had separately, coloured, price 1s.
 London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

PERIODICALS FOR MARCH.

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