

The Leader.

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

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

THE Free Trade debate has had so many incidents, that it has proved to be quite a romance of parliamentary life. Lord Derby graced it with a prelude from his place in the House of Lords; throwing out a threat, that if Ministers were beaten, they would resign, and would cast upon their rivals the ~~impracticable~~ task of forming a Cabinet. To an attack in terms almost levelled at himself, Mr. Charles Villiers replied when he moved his resolution. He showed that he was not 'factious,' in doing so; he declared, and we have reason to believe sincerely, that he had no wish to turn out the Government; and he showed that the speeches and proceedings of Ministers threw the gravest doubt upon the sincerity of their professed submission to Free Trade. Mr. Disraeli replied to this representation with great force, endeavouring to prove by a retrospect of the course which his party had taken, or rather, which he himself had taken, that protection had always contemplated maintenance of the welfare of the labourer, and the support also of "a considerable interest," to wit, the agricultural; and that concurrent causes, such as emigration and the gold, had conspired to supersede the necessity of protection. Admitting that the country had decided in favour of Free Trade, he now only insisted on carrying it out in all branches. Three resolutions were submitted to the house. The first was Mr. Villiers's, which, by declaring the measure of 1846 to be "wise, just, and beneficent," undoubtedly implied that its opponents were *not* wise, just, or beneficent. The second, moved as an amendment by Mr. Disraeli, omitted that retrospective censure, and admitted Free Trade under the more offensive title of "unrestricted competition." Here, unexpectedly, Lord Palmerston intervened with a third resolution, omitting the retrospective censure like Mr. Disraeli's, but more explicitly acknowledging Free Trade.

On the second night, however, these complications were in some degree simplified by the withdrawal of Mr. Disraeli's motion, and the adoption of Lord Palmerston's on the Ministerial side; the contest remaining between Mr. Villiers and Lord Palmerston. It will be observed that this new division of the House cuts across the ordinary division of right and left; but even that does not express the whole amount of confusion prevailing

on both sides of the House. The tendencies of that night were to place the Free-traders pure and simple in a minority.

A new source of anxiety to the Ministerial party, however, arises from the indisposition of Mr. Disraeli: it is a nervous affection of a more serious character than his courageous adherence to his post would imply; and it arises from over work.

The Free Trade debate absorbs the political interest of Parliament, though several subjects of some importance have been slightly touched upon. Convocation, for instance, has been mentioned more than once; and, from the explanation of Ministers, it would appear, that, so far as the formal act of Ministers, or the record of the body itself, there will be no departure from the usual course; that no new powers have been granted; and that the proceedings of Convocation, in fact, will end with vain discussion—it should prove vain. Another point is, that Ministers do not intend to enforce a closing of the Crystal Palace Sunday afternoons; although an existing statute may prevent the taking of money for admission on the Sabbath, unless Parliament should abrogate that statute, or the company should evade it. In his outline of a tenant-right scheme, Mr. Napier legislatively recognizes, if he does not effectuate, an important principle for Ireland.

Out of doors the Free Trade contest has given rise to much discussion, and to some sharpshooting amongst the correspondents of the papers, of whom the ferocious Westmeath and the faithful Paul Foskett are the most remarkable. Pronouncing Lancashire "a Bastille of wretched beings, stowed up, to be used up, for the selfish aggrandisement" of "the cotton lords," Lord Westmeath proposes a capitation tax, payable by those cotton lords upon every child admitted into their factories. The worst of it is, that, with the competition for employment, the tax would have to be paid out of the wages of the children.

Paul Foskett, it seems, suspected Disraeli a year ago, and is miserably consoled by the fulfilment of his prediction, realizing the full force of the proverb, "Save me from my friends." "In the name of a hundred Protection Societies," he indignantly protests against the "treacherous amendment," as a "base desertion," an "outrage," a "sacrifice," and concludes, by a stickiness familiar to the Fetter school of thinkers, with a dark insinuation as to what may become of the Protestant principle in the new

formation," now that Protection to high prices is abandoned.

The Poor Law Reformers find the ground opening to them. A numerous deputation has been to the President of the Poor Law Board, to make representations against the "prohibitory order;" and while Sir John Trollope's reply makes us believe that he means well, it convinces us that the views entertained in Gwydyr House are not those of intelligent Poor Law Reformers. His notion of stone-breaking as the proper species of industry is sufficient proof. Still the movement and discussion will be useful. The movement will re-awaken interest, and the excellent arguments put forth by Mr. Stark, in the letter to the *Daily News*, which the Editor of that paper has left us to publish first, will be read with the more profit.

Unlike the Medici in Florence, Dr. Newman has banned a new trial. Our court of justice is content to revise its own proceedings; and it is admitted that the jury may have given a verdict opposed to the weight of the evidence which bore upon the Achilli case. Protestantism will not suffer from this. The Emperor is collecting the suffrages which have not been given. The "Oui" is gained by approved methods in the expected numbers; the zealous few naively distinguish themselves by the pursuit of "Non" under difficulties. But the vast proportion who remain at home, and do not vote at all, are reasonably shocked to find that their "sections" have recorded an unanimous *Oui*. And all the while the Emperor elect is rendering his army, strengthened by reduction, more efficient in constitution and practice. Conspiracy is everywhere.

A considerable force, 5,000 we believe, has been sent out for the relief of the English garrisons in the Mediterranean; but we have reason to suppose that the "relief" is in truth a reinforcement, that the regiments relieved will not come home at present.

Franklin Pierce's election we had anticipated, and the result, now proximately known, justifies our anticipation; that he would be elected by the largest majority ever given to an American President. The Whig party has sunk to an "Association." In fact, as with us, parties have been wholly broken up; only in the election of Pierce, more progress has been made with the formation of a new party than we can boast.

From our own Australia, the news is still rich

in gold and hope. The precious metal has been found in South Australia, hitherto supposed to be bare of the precious metal; and the quantities sent in from the Victoria diggings wax in amount. Some twenty tons are come, or coming to England.

Discovery is advancing both in Central Africa and Arctic America. The *Isabel* has discovered at least one part where Franklin was not, and has all but ascertained that Greenland is insular. Overweg and Barth have extended the knowledge of Bornou and Begharme, and have discovered a new path for commerce to our allies in that wild and difficult country, where the Americans are already making way.

THE PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

LAST week, the Opposition flung down its defiance, and the Ministry picked it up, meeting the challenge by substituting a resolution similar to that framed by Mr. Villiers, *minus* the important affirmation of the wisdom and justice of the Free-trade measures of 1846, 1847, and 1848;—in fact, a resolution amounting simply to an adoption of Free-trade policy, and reserving to themselves the task of carrying it out in their own manner. So far the field was clear for the combat, and both parties in both Houses have not been slow to engage.

The first skirmish happened in the House of Lords, on Monday. The Marquis of CLANRICARDE, in rather a prosy speech, wished to be informed as to the measures Ministers intended to submit during the session of 1852-3. He also pointed out, that whereas the Premier had promised that the financial statement of the Ministerial views should be made on the 26th, yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer had, in another place, given notice of a motion embodying those views. Would Lord Derby inform the House of the way in which he intends to bring the Free-trade question before them either before or after the 26th.

Lord DERBY was not slow to rise. But before he answered the question, he thought it necessary to recapitulate the circumstances attending their accession and continuance in office, how he had stood pledged to refer the question to the country for decision, how the country had decided adversely to him, how he had promised an autumn session for Parliament to close the controversy for ever, and how they were met for that purpose. He had resolved to be guided by the sense of the community at large; the Queen's Speech showed how Ministers had adopted that guidance; and any ambiguity in the Queen's Speech had been removed by his own speech on the address, and that of Mr. Disraeli in the other House. Language could not be more explicit than that contained in those speeches. But he had not thought it right to rest upon a declaration only. They had announced that a full and detailed account of their financial and fiscal measures would be laid before Parliament on the 26th. Ministers had been perfectly satisfied to rest until the 26th, when facts, not words, would prove their sincerity. But a member of the Opposition had given notice of his intention to move an abstract resolution, couched in terms which "with honour and credit it was impossible that Government and its supporters could accede." As a pledge for the future, it went no further than the amendment which, "for the purpose of recording the intentions and opinions of the House," the Chancellor of the Exchequer had placed on the notice paper.

"I know not, of course, what views may be in the contemplation of those by whom that motion has been brought forward. If the intention were to overthrow the present Government before the period at which they should have had an opportunity of developing and explaining their policy, I only hope that in that case the honourable gentleman who moves the resolution and the heads of those various sections into which the opposition in the House of Commons is divided, have well considered the full amount of the responsibility which they have taken upon themselves—that they have considered, not how they may combine the largest amount of force for the purpose of overthrowing the Government, but that they have considered the interests of the country; and whether, if that Government be overthrown, they have among them the materials of concert, of unity of action, and intention, which is necessary to form another Government, and to preserve the country from the inconvenience of a ministerial interregnum. It may be that they have no intention of taking upon themselves such a responsibility, or of seeking to overthrow the Government; and if that be so, then, considering that this motion can do nothing towards affirming the principle further than we are ready and willing to affirm that principle ourselves—then, my lords, I say that if it be not intended to overthrow, but only to weaken and discredit the Government, by forcing upon them a resolution in terms offensive to them and their supporters, and if that be the only intention which the movers have in view, I have then great confidence in the House of Commons and in the country that they will not sanction or support a proceeding, which, if that be its in-

tention, must be purely factious, and, if it be successful, must involve very serious difficulties to the country."

He concurred in thinking they had met to decide the controversy; Ministers would stand or fall by the measures to be proposed on the 26th; but he had no intention of submitting any measures to that House before Christmas.

Lord CLANRICARDE replied; ridiculing the idea that Ministers as good as the present at least could not be found.

Lord WODEHOUSE was rather severe upon the conduct of Lord Derby. He had said that the resolution of the Opposition was factious. Was the noble lord in a condition to make that charge? If Mr. Villiers was factious, what ought to be said of Lord Derby, from whom, on account of his equivocal conduct since 1846, it was thought necessary to extract pledges for the future not usually demanded of Ministers of the Crown. Obviously, and he had peculiar means of knowing, the agriculturists expected compensation; so that if the amendment, which does not affirm the justice of the Free-trade measures, be adopted, instead of closing the controversy, we only enter on a new stage.

"When the noble earl applied the term 'factious' to the conduct of those opposed to him, Lord Wodehouse would remind him (without any intention of imputing motives) that his own conduct since 1846 would bear that interpretation as well as that of any man in the country. When they considered the way in which he broke up the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel in 1846, and remembered his declarations year after year to the farmers that he would stand by protection, and then saw the manner in which, when he was called upon to take office in 1851, he declared that he would bow to the feelings of the country, he thought his conduct might be as fairly stigmatised as 'factious' as that of any public man at any time in this country. Considering the immense amount of abilities which all were perfectly aware was concentrated on the Government benches in both Houses of Parliament, but particularly in that, he must say that he thought it was extremely remarkable that they so seldom heard the sweet voices of the noble lords opposite. It was curious that the noble earl opposite should in debate take it upon himself, not only to reply to the speech of the noble lord who might have immediately preceded him, but also to the speeches of all the noble lords on the opposite side of the House who had spoken before him in the course of the debate."

The Earl of DERBY: I shall not, my lords, answer the speech of the noble baron. I do not think it necessary to make any observations on the terms, the language, the tone, or the good taste of that speech. My lords, my conduct has been before the public for the space of, I am sorry to say, now nearly thirty years, and I am not now going, in answer to the speech made by the noble baron, to defend my conduct against imputations which I feel to be utterly unworthy of him. That the noble baron will give me leave to think myself the best judge of, and that I do not think I have to learn from him the mode in which my personal honour should be defended. I wish to say one word in explanation to my noble friend the marquis opposite. I am sure he will acquit me of having endeavoured to interrupt him (the Marquis of Clanricarde assented.) I merely wished to place the discussion, which I thought might be protracted to a considerable length, upon a footing which would save the order of this House.

Lord Wodehouse withdrawing any expressions considered as personal, and Lord Derby accepting his explanation, concluded this fight of the advanced guard.

Following the special debate in the House of Lords, came the regular battle in the Commons on Tuesday night. It was opened by Mr. VILLIERS, who moved the following resolutions:—

"That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrial classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corn, and that that act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure."

"That it is the opinion of this House that the maintenance and further extension of the policy of Free-trade, as opposed to that of Protection, will best enable the property and industry of the nation to bear the burdens to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general prosperity, welfare, and contentment of the people."

"That this House is ready to take into its consideration any measures consistent with the principles of these resolutions which may be laid before it by her Majesty's Ministers."

Mr. Villiers pointed out the position of the House in respect of the great matter before them. As it had not been thought proper to move an amendment to the Address, he had risen and given notice of his intention to move the present resolutions. The paragraph in the Queen's Speech had caused universal dissatisfaction. (Opposition cheers.) Instead of finding something like an official intimation of the Government upon the great matter, they found nothing except what had been justly called an unworthy evasion of the whole matter. (Cheers.) Terms were used purposely to be not respectful to the House. (Oh, oh! from the Ministerial benches.) "I say that most advisedly." (Oh, oh! and counter cheers.) We all know what is meant by the expression, "Parliament in its wisdom." When any one wants to satirise the House, he refers in a sneering tone to its "wisdom." (Ironical laughter and counter cheers.) Did Ministers suppose that paragraph would be satisfactory to the House? Those who did not consider it satisfactory, however, were called "factious" by the Premier; and on this account he required a distinct and positive declaration. He had been asked to waive his proposition, in order that the Chancellor

of the Exchequer might propose certain measures. Now, he knew nothing of those measures; they had nothing to do with the purpose for which they had met. They had been dissolved; the Minister had been tried by his country and found wanting. Was it an answer to the verdict of the country to say—If this will not do, we have got something else—we have got such a wonderful colleague that he can produce a measure satisfactory to everybody. Certain medical practitioners said similar things. He was perfectly astonished that his resolution should be considered as factious, and framed to upset the Government. Why should he implicitly trust that Government? How could he gather its intentions from the inconsistent speeches of its members? As to converts, they were no converts at all; they were merely acting from necessity. They did what they called "bow to the decision of the country." A more convenient course could not be conceived; because, to use a coarse expression, it was "heads I win, tails you lose." (Laughter.) If you are successful, we bow to the decision—if we are successful, we adopt our own policy. At all events, we remain in. (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. Villiers then showed how Ministers privately still held to their old opinions; how, respecting those opinions, the whole country had decided; and why was the House of Commons to be the only place where such a decision could not be come to? He must persist in pressing his resolutions. The amendment showed a great advance in Ministerial views. What was the difference between the two? Merely this, that the former designated the repeal of the corn-laws as a just, wise, and beneficent act; and the proposers of the latter considered that factious. Just before he came into the House he had heard that Ministers might resign if beaten. He had not the smallest desire to see the right honourable gentleman displaced. (Laughter.)

"I do not deny that the First Minister is a great authority upon what ought properly to be called 'faction.' (Laughter.) He has been, as he said last night, thirty years before the public, and the public have had the opportunity of witnessing his conduct during that period, and I do not in the least doubt his authority on such a subject. (Renewed laughter.) But it still is possible for a person to be singleminded in his object, and to have but a single purpose in what he does, and it may be possible also for a person to be ready to abandon every principle and every party for the sake of power. (Laughter.) But I really care very little whether any credit be given to my statement or not, and do you know, that I really believe this great country would survive even if so great a calamity as the resignation of the present Government should befall it. (Laughter.) I should be sorry if it did occur, but I have heard of such things before. (Laughter.) I never yet knew a Government that was in power which was not supposed to be without a successor, and I have never seen other persons succeeding them who, within one month, did not have the same thing said of them. I am not disposed to attach so much importance to any Government as some people do. I have seen four or five Governments since I have been in this House, and, so far as I have been able to judge, there has been a very strong family likeness in all of them. (Laughter.) This country generally does not suffer much by changes of Government. Those who succeed to power generally do that when they are in office which they opposed when out. (Renewed laughter.) My opinion is, that no great genius is required to carry on the Government. All the important parts of the duty of the Government are performed by public servants, of whom we hear but very little; and it must be either a great want of judgment, or some great defect in capacity, when any Government becomes sufficiently disabled to be displaced. (Laughter and ironical cheering.) I beg, however, to state, that in making this motion I have no conceivable object in displacing the Government. I do not act as a partisan on the occasion. (Cheers, and cries of 'oh, oh!') If it should happen that any honourable gentleman doubts my motive, I shall, however, be quite reconciled to it. (Cheers.) If I might offer a little advice to the right honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I would advise him, if my resolution is carried against him, to do no such thing as resign. He should rather be thankful for it, as it will enable him to proceed in the course which he appears desirous of adopting. (Cheers.) The right honourable gentleman appears to be now entering upon a career of usefulness, and I would not have him deterred by the novelty of his position from proceeding in that career. (Laughter.) He appears now to take very much the same views of matters of commercial legislation as those whom he formerly assailed and denounced, and with his great talents, which would seem to be available for any purpose, I should be very sorry to see him removed from the office which he fills. (Cheers and laughter.)

Referring to the famous Free-trade budget speech of last spring, and pointing out the signal and rapid advance of Ministers since they had been in office, Mr. Villiers went at great length into statements to show how very beneficial to the country Free-trade had proved. He read, but chiefly referred to a great mass of documents showing, he said, the unexampled prosperity of the country, whether in manufactures, or agriculture. Landowners, tenant-farmers, and labourers had never been better off. As to the grievances of the farmers they were not those of lost Protection. They always asked that a few other things should be settled—law of distress, the law of settlement, tenant right, and the game laws—but these were questions not often discussed in that House as farmers' questions. He had a sympathy with the farmers—(ironical cheers)—he thought the time come when they must be considered more than they have been. (Cheers.) "I cannot help thinking that the farmers have been a very ill-used class. (Cheers.) Political capital has been made out of their distress, and I do not know any class of people who have been so misled." (Cheers.) The farmers had been grossly deceived by their "friends" and never more than latterly. What he wished should be affirmed was, that the prosperity of the country was owing to the Free-trade measures, and not to gold and emigration.



The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER met this speech with more than his accustomed air of bravado in manner, sometimes amounting to insolence, and more than his usual evasiveness.

He denied point blank that they were there to discuss whether Protection or Free-trade should be repealed or supported, but whether Ministers have fulfilled the pledges they gave to Parliament and the country—(cries of “no” and cheers)—and whether they have frankly stated the conclusions at which they have arrived. Mr. Villiers said that “enormous mischief” had been done to the country by the conduct of the Protectionists since 1846—if that be true, let the House of Commons announce that it has no confidence in the men who have perpetrated this enormous mischief. (Loud cheers.)

Having said this, Mr. Disraeli quitted the issue he had raised, and digressed far backward in the history of the last six years to show that in the perpetration of the enormous mischief the Protectionist had not been alone.

When they objected to the repeal of the Corn-laws, they did so on two grounds—that it would injure labour, and another important interest; and in 1850, he himself had expressly stated that it was a labourer’s question or it was nothing. He then sketched the progress of the repeal of the sugar duties, and the navigation laws, saying that the Ministers who repealed the Corn-laws did not agree with the Minister who repealed the sugar duties; and that since 1847, they had been mainly engaged in discussing or legislating on distress, either in the colonial, the agricultural, or the shipping interest. And here followed a specimen of the manner in which this speech was delivered—

Now let me put this fact before the house—convenient for some no doubt to forget, but the accuracy of which will not be questioned by the experienced members of this house, and which it will be well for those who are not experienced in this house to remember. From the time which since the repeal of the corn laws has passed down to this present moment, there has not been a single attempt made in the House of Commons to abrogate the measure of 1846. (“Oh, oh,” and cheers.) Well, but one advantage of discussion in this house, I must tell to the honourable gentleman who has taken his seat to-night for the first time, is that everybody who has anything to say is entitled to offer his remarks. (Laughter and cheers.) I have made that statement, and the honourable gentleman who forms his opinions from the tumultuous vociferations of the platform, will find when he comes into the House of Commons the necessity of being a little more accurate in his statements (“Oh, oh,” and cheers.) I repeat the statement. I repeat it on behalf of the party who have perpetrated enormous mischief. I repeat the statement, that from that moment to the present there has not been a single motion in this house—at least with the sanction of that party—there has not been a single motion made to return to that protection which has been attacked to-night with such unnecessary vehemence. (Cheers.) And they had not brought forward a motion because, as they had laid down the principle that injury to the labourer, not the agricultural interest, should form the ground of opposition to repeal—so there were no facts showing that the working classes had been injured. “We never thought it our duty, when in opposition, to make a motion which should question the policy of the law of 1846.” What course had been pursued with respect to the sugar duties? After they were repealed, a committee was appointed with only three Protectionist members; and the report of that committee was so strong that Lord John Russell had been compelled by it to ask leave to bring in a bill to suspend the change in the duty, and prolong the protection he had just taken away. (Loud cheers.) So that neither with respect to the corn laws, or the sugar duties, or the navigation laws, had the Protectionist party endeavoured to disturb the decision of Parliament with respect to them.

The farmers did not feel the effects of repeal in 1847; but in 1850 the pinch came; and Mr. Disraeli insisted, with great gravity, that at that time the leaders of the party would not lend themselves to the cry of the farmers, who demanded the restoration of protection, on the ground that the labourers had not been injured. They told the farmers that if they were injured by free trade, they should look for redress to remedial legislation; and accordingly, in 1851, he had brought forward a motion respecting the incidence of taxation on the cultivators of the soil. That was lost by only ten votes, and that motion shook the Government out of office. From this topic he was naturally led to defend Lord Derby, alleging the incredible statement that “Lord Derby was at the head of a party in Parliament, one principle of whose policy was, that it would be unwise and injudicious to disturb the repeal of the corn laws”—whereat the house laughed heartily. When he was called to office in 1851, he laid it down, that nothing could justify a return to the abrogated system, unless the labouring classes were largely and permanently suffering; but he proposed a countervailing duty. “A very moderate duty was proposed by Lord Derby—he did not attempt to disturb the question that had once been settled. (Ironical cheering and laughter.) I come, then—(renewed laughter.) Sir, the policy of Lord Derby has been explained by himself in his place in Parliament. That speech remains on record, which an uninformed sneer will certainly not disturb.”

Lord Derby failed to form a Government, and Mr. Disraeli, suspending his resolution on agricultural taxation for that year, for fear of again upsetting the Whigs, looked forward to a dissolution. But the Whigs fell from internal dissensions, and wished the Protectionists to occupy their places, and, as men of common spirit, they could not refuse. Then it was that they promised to make the decision of the country in the coming summer a final decision on the disputed question. And in that session they carried those two highly successful measures—the Militia Bill and Chancery Reform. Having sketched out the acts of the Protectionists with respect to the settlement of 1846, he asked what had been the conduct of the

sections of the opposition? Why, that distinguished statesman and accomplished debater, Mr. Gladstone, had supported his proposition for remedial legislation, and therefore become a party to the perpetration of the enormous mischief. “In answer to those who charged us with trying to obtain protection for the farmers under a disguise, Mr. Gladstone said, ‘he thought in this proposal there was an actual obstacle to the revival of protection;’ ‘that the present motion, if not perfect justice, was an approximation to justice.’ (Loud cheers.) ‘It was said the poor-rate was a tax inherited by the landed interest, and that their property having come to them on this condition, they had no claim to be relieved from the payment. How did the matter rest with respect to their inheritance? They did inherit poor-rates with their land, but they also inherited with it a protective system.’” (Vehement cheers from the Government side of the house.)

Again, on the sugar question, Mr. Gladstone, “the greatest light on this question,” had admitted that the sugar producers had been ground down to total ruin by the legislation of that house. (“Hear, hear,” and loud cheers.) And in the debate on the navigation laws, Mr. Gladstone laid on the table of the House a clause in favour of reciprocity. Therefore the followers of Sir Robert Peel concurred in the policy of the protectionist party. (Vehement cheers.) The speaker then made a similar point against Lord John Russell, by showing that he had actually admitted the existence of agricultural distress, and not only that, but he had recommended her Majesty to sympathise with them. (Cheers.)

I have shown you that on three great subjects of recent legislation, on which we have solicited the attention of the House with regard to the injury inflicted on particular interests, we have the authority of all the followers of Sir Robert Peel, of the late Government, and all their followers too. (Cheers and laughter.) I admit there is a party in this House, though it may not be a numerous one, which has been consistent (hear, hear), and I admit there is one individual in this House who has been consistent from the beginning, and has a right to make the speech he has made to-night, and that is the member for Wolverhampton. (Prolonged cheers.) I have sat in this House for a great many years with the honourable and learned gentleman, and I had the honour and gratification of his acquaintance many years before we either of us thought of being in this House, and I always have remarked in him two qualities for which he is distinguished—precision of thought and facility of expression. (Derisive cheers from the Ministerialists.) I find no fault with his speech. His speech is the same which he has always made. (Loud laughter.) I do not make that observation with any feeling approaching a sneer. I mean to say he can look back to the period with self-complacency, to the time when I remember him sitting almost to the last on the benches on this side of the House, and when, with a command of language only to be obtained by the master of his subject, never omitting a single point, and against the prejudices of all, he denounced the system of the corn-laws. (Loud cheers from the Opposition.) There were no cheers then from the followers of Sir R. Peel. (Cheers.) There were no enthusiastic adherents in defunct Whig Ministers. (Renewed cheers.) On the contrary, the right honourable gentleman the member for Carlisle (Sir J. Graham) threw his broad shield over the territorial interest of England (hear, hear), and anybody, I believe, but the honourable gentleman the member for Wolverhampton would have sunk under the unequal affray. (Cheers.) I honour, respect, and admire his career, but I cannot agree to his resolution.

He could not; and why? Because, he believed, with all sections of the Opposition but one had acknowledged and attempted to alleviate just claims to relief. Therefore they could not accept the resolution. He defended the course pursued in proposing the amendment. When Sir Robert Peel took office, in 1835, he expressed his determination not to disturb the Reform Bill, although he did not approve of it. And what would now be thought of a party who, supposing the followers of Sir Robert Peel took office, should propose a resolution affirming that the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was a wise, just, and beneficent measure? They had frankly stated their intentions as to the future; they might have moved the previous question; but neither he nor his colleagues would consent to be Ministers on sufferance: but neither would they without a struggle yield to the attack to which they had been subjected. He appealed to the new members at the close, forgetting he had been insulting them at the commencement.

I will not believe, remembering that this is a new Parliament, that those who enter it for the first time, have already in their consciences recorded their votes upon this question. I believe that they have listened in a spirit of justice and candour to the plea I have put forward to-night. It is to those new members—a third of the house—on whichever side they sit, that I appeal with confidence. They have entered—many of them after much longing—they have just entered that scene to which they have looked forward with so much earnestness, suspense, and interest. I have no doubt they are animated by a noble ambition, and wish to realize many of them—lordly aspirations. I can say from the bottom of my heart, wherever they sit, I trust they may not be disappointed. Whatever adds to the worth, intelligence, and eloquence of the House, adds also to the consideration of the aggregate, and we are all of us interested in maintaining the moral and intellectual predominance of the House of Commons. I appeal to the generous and young, and ask them when they are at last upon the threshold of the Senate, not to become the tools or the victims of exhausted factions, or obsolete politics. (Loud cheers.)

He moved the following amendment, followed by loud cheers:—

“That this House acknowledges, with satisfaction, that the cheapness of provisions, occasioned by recent legislation, has mainly contributed to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the working classes; and that

unrestricted competition having been adopted, after due deliberation, as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is the duty of the Government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform which, under the circumstances of the country, they may deem it their duty to introduce.”

Mr. BRIGHT admitted the adroitness of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had sought to go off from the real question, and fasten on individuals. The matter was, however, too important to be settled by recriminations. He denied that either the words, the principle, or the intent of the resolution and amendment, were the same, for whereas the one proclaimed Free-trade to the country and the world, the other left room for complaints of injury and injustice and claims for compensation. After citing some statistics to show the advantageous working of Free-trade, and denying that the agriculturists had been really injured thereby, he read a variety of extracts from hustings’ speeches made by supporters of Government, in order to show how they clung to the idea of Protection. This series of quotations, enlivened by humorous sarcasms, kept all parts of the House in continuous roars of laughter. The extracts from the Protection addresses, of members of the Government especially, told upon the House. The last was from a speech by Mr. Herries in the height of the election, when the party was thought to be making great way. Mr. Herries, after enumerating the triumphs at Grantham, at Grimsby, at Boston, and at Lincoln, said—

“We may willingly accept the challenge and abide the issue.” Why don’t you ‘accept the challenge and abide the issue?’ (Opposition cheers.) Why don’t you, instead of losing character with your friends in the country—why don’t you, instead of destroying all reputation for morality (renewed cheers)—when you have a seat on that bench, why don’t you, in a manly manner, fall in defence of those out of doors, who, though mistaken, have nevertheless trusted you with a fidelity that can never be exceeded? (Cheers.) Come to this side of the house, clear off your old errors, and if there be any question on which you can displace those who succeed you, do it as factiously, as earnestly, and as speedily as you can. (Hear, hear.) Now, my object in reading these extracts was to show that it is not quite so apparent as some hon. members seem to imagine that we are all agreed on this question. (Hear, hear.) I do not believe—whatever the Chancellor of the Exchequer may have said with regard to his own opinions upon the policy of the Government—I do not believe that your followers (addressing the Ministerialist leaders) are free-traders; and, not being free-traders, how can they have any confidence in you, if they are sincere and you are sincere? (Hear, hear.) Or how can we have confidence that you will guard the citadel of free trade, and carry out a free trade policy for the future, when we know that three-fourths of those who keep you in office are as much opposed now as ever they were to the policy which we advocate? (‘Hear, hear,’ and cheers.) But there are other testimonies besides these extracts, I have here a circular which was sent to me the other day containing a long list of subscribers to a publication of an English translation of a speech of M. Thiers. It is dated Nov. 2, 1852; therefore it is a very modern production. Now bear in mind that this is a speech of M. Thiers, one of the greatest speeches perhaps that he ever made, delivered last year in favour of protection. Now who are the subscribers? Let me observe that when a man subscribes only for himself he generally limits his subscription to one copy. In this case the first subscriber is ‘The National Society for the Protection of British Industry,’ 100 copies (laughter); the Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, 10 copies (‘hear, hear,’ and cheers from the Opposition)—remember this is since the Government came into office;—the Right Hon. the Earl of Malmesbury, 10 copies; the Right Hon. Mr. Walpole, 10 copies. The number increases in proportion to the audacity displayed in avowing Protectionist opinions, and hence we find Sir Fitzroy Kelly down for 20 copies. (Laughter.) Then, the rule being still consistently observed, we find the Marquis of Granby subscribing for 40 copies (renewed laughter); and then, dropping down to the moderate state of the political thermometer, we perceive the hon. member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) subscribing for 20 copies. Very fortunately the Chancellor of the Exchequer’s name is not amongst them. (‘Hear, hear,’ and laughter.) All these copies, however, are subscribed for. The work is a translation of a speech of M. Thiers, to be circulated amongst the manufacturing free traders in this country. I have observed that here is the name of Lord Derby. I find these words: ‘To which translation has been added that of a note on Russian wheat;’ and, considering what that noble lord knew about Russian wheat a few years ago, I think almost any book that he could read on the subject would add to his information.” (Great laughter.)

He then said that a clear and final verdict was demanded on the Free-trade question—that the words of the amendment did not convey this, and had been framed to be misunderstood—and he earnestly urged the House to put on its books a record which could not be mistaken, and which would have a beneficial effect in promoting Free-trade throughout the world. After a tribute to the late Sir Robert Peel, and to his behaviour when he thought it right to change his policy, he contrasted the departed statesman’s conduct with that of the chivalrous Lord Derby. He answered Mr. Disraeli’s allegation that his party had never sought to unsettle Free-trade policy, by declaring that, for six years, their agitation had been composed of vituperation.

of Sir R. Peel and of demands for protection or compensation. Flinging back the imputation of Jacobinism thrown at the League by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he urged the Protectionists to look for their true compensation in the happiness of the country, and he called on the House to establish the charter of free industry.

Mr. KER SEYMER defended Ministers, and said that the country was glad to see men at the head of affairs who in a conservative spirit would carry out necessary reforms.

Mr. FREDERICK PEEL submitted that without being considered vindictive, something was due to the past; for they could not forget how hardly Mr. Disraeli had dealt with the change of convictions in another mind. He should vote for the resolution.

Here Lord PALMERSTON struck in, and completely took the House by surprise. Admitting that the Speech from the Throne was as ambiguous as words could make it, and confessing that, personally, he concurred in the resolution, yet he declared that some regard should be had to securing as large a majority as possible in the expression of opinion they intended to come to—if not unanimity. A great party had honourably and publicly yielded its opinions—it was dangerous for the House to institute an inquisition into private opinions, and demand an humble recantation. Was there not a middle course? Why make it a party struggle, or convert the occasion into an opportunity for overturning the Government? Suppose, however, and it was quite possible, that the resolution—which, if carried, must be so by a very small majority—should be lost. How injurious would the effect be all over the world. And would it be a satisfactory result to carry it by a narrow majority, compared to the effect of a unanimous decision of the House? It was natural that the champions of Free-trade should desire a victory, but he thought, considering the great interests at stake, that hands might be stretched out in conciliation, and an ungenerous and impolitic line of conduct be abandoned. He would not presume to lay a third resolution on the table, but read a form of words which, if encouraged, he would be disposed to tender:—

"That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, especially the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for the purpose of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people." (Hear, hear.) Nobody can object to that, certainly. "That it is the opinion of this House that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches.) That this House will be ready to take into consideration any measures consistent with those principles which, in pursuance of her Majesty's gracious Speech and recommendation, may be laid before them." (Renewed cheers from the Ministerialists.)

He trusted that before Thursday his suggestion would be well considered. The debate was adjourned on the motion of Sir Edward Lytton.

Early on Thursday evening an irregular and interesting conversation on the position of parties was commenced by Sir W. CLAY, who asked Mr. Villiers and the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether each would withdraw his respective motion in favour of Lord Palmerston's amendment, suggested on Tuesday.

Before either could reply, Sir JAMES GRAHAM (moving, for form sake, an adjournment of the House), interposed to explain the origin of Mr. Villiers's motion. He said—

The paragraph in the Royal Speech, relating to recent legislation, having been deemed ambiguous, the Chancellor of the Exchequer not having announced on the first day of the session any intention of bringing forward a financial policy, and the mover of the address having been a Protectionist candidate, successful against an eminent Free-trader (Sir G. Grey), all three causes combined, induced him and his friends to think a substantive motion on the subject necessary. In framing such motion he had endeavoured to avoid anything that might wound the feelings of any gentleman in the House. In wording the resolution, I put the question to myself, "What, under the circumstances, would Sir Robert Peel have done had he been alive?" and I assure the House, on my honour, that I believe that great statesman, had he been alive, would have framed a resolution, better in words than that I prepared, but in the same spirit. [Sir James then read the resolution he alluded to, which, amid some quiet merriment, was recognised by the House as the same, with the exception of a few words, as that suggested by Lord Palmerston. He then went on to say—]

I sent the draft resolution to Lord John Russell, with whom, I am happy to say, I have been in cordial and frequent communication. (Laughter and ironical cheers from the Ministerialists.) That cheer expresses a suspicion that there has been some party feeling in the preparation of the resolutions—a suspicion entirely erroneous; for the answer of Lord John Russell contained the suggestion of the third clause in the resolution, expressing the readiness of the House to take into consideration any financial propositions

based on Free-trade, and thus showing that the motion was not one of factious opposition.

After conference with the Manchester party—the original Free-traders—the terms of Mr. Villiers's motion were adopted in lieu of the resolution first drawn up by himself, and suggested on Tuesday by Lord Palmerston, who had, however, omitted the words, "without inflicting injury on any important interest." But these words had been inserted in the resolutions more with a prospective than a retrospective effect: they shut the door against a claim for compensation arising out of any extension of Free-trade, but they did not prevent the House discussing at any time any proposition of adjustment of taxation founded on the policy of 1846. For himself, he was willing to adopt the amendment suggested by Lord Palmerston, with the insertion of the words he had quoted as omitted.

Mr. GLADSTONE, in a most conciliatory tone, recommended the unanimous adoption of Lord Palmerston's amendment.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE rallied the House on the many amendments it had suffered to arise. As it was a night for questions he would ask one. How had the noble lord the member for Tiverton got hold of the resolution of the right honourable baronet the member for Carlisle? (Roars of laughter.)

Mr. E. S. CAYLEY and Mr. R. PALMER having given in a reluctant resignation of Protectionist hopes, Lord PALMERSTON expressed his gratification at the agreeable tone of the conversation, and the prospect of an all but unanimous vote closing the controversy. He did not object to the words, "without inflicting injury on any important interest," being inserted. In reply to Mr. Duncombe, he could assure him that he had got the resolution "lawfully."

Sir E. B. LYTTON said the House seemed agreed upon the thing to be done; therefore it was idle to be nice about words.

The Marquis of GRANBY defied Mr. Bright to a division. He dissented from *all* the resolutions. There was prosperity in the country, but it was not owing to Free-trade. He appealed to Mr. Disraeli (now denying that he had agitated Protection), whether he had not been supported by the Protectionist party.

Mr. DISRAELI (who looked ill, spoke in a low tone of voice, and apologized for "physical depression") said he never could forget the generous confidence that had been placed in him by the party to whom Lord Granby referred.

He still thought what he had always thought that the agriculturalists of England had been unjustly treated by the precipitate repeal of the corn-laws; though the reversal of that repeal had been long out of the question owing to the fact that it had, through the cheapness of provisions, increased the welfare of the general body of the people. But if he should have the opportunity of submitting his financial measures to the House, it would be seen that by the readjustment of taxation he proposed to relieve that class who had undoubtedly suffered from the withdrawal of protection, and thus enable them to meet the competition of the industry of the world. Without the hope of being able to bring forward such measures, he would not continue to hold office. Mr. Disraeli then, in return for Sir James Graham's frank and rather novel disclosures ("affording a rich lesson to young members how great men combine to manage mankind"), explained the course taken by Government. The paragraph in the Queen's Speech had a constitutional and Royal reserve; and in admitting the propriety of considering compensation, Sir James Graham had echoed it. As to any abstract resolution affirming Free-trade, though he (Mr. Disraeli) thought such resolutions inexpedient in a new Parliament, yet the Government had resolved that if a resolution were brought forward simply affirming the unequivocal fact that Free-trade was to be the future policy of the country, they would not oppose it. To me, individually, such a resolution could not be objectionable. The financial measures I have prepared are all based on the policy of unrestricted competition; in fact, they cannot be supported except by recognition of that policy. We had resolved, therefore, that should a resolution such as that I have mentioned be brought forward, we would suffer it to pass, taking no part in the discussion. The first resolution drawn up by the right hon. baronet the member for Carlisle reached us in draft; and at a meeting of our usual supporters, my noble friend at the head of the Government declared he saw nothing in that resolution which we might not accept. That declaration, echoed by the unanimous opinion of the whole party, was made no secret; for our parts, it might have been known at Charing-cross. In fact, it is probable it was known at Charing-cross. For no sooner was that resolve known than the original resolution was altered, and three odious epithets were inserted. (Loud cheers from the Ministerialists.) That is not the way to secure the unanimous affirmation of a great principle. It was easy to say those were mere words; but one must look to the meaning and motive of their insertion to be able to understand the words. The amendment I have proposed distinctly lays down the principle contended for. Language could go no further; it even declares it to be the duty of Government to adhere to that principle. The amendment of the right hon. baronet (Sir J. Graham) puts out, if I understand it, any claim for compensation arising out of future legislation, while it leaves open the question of compensation for the past. I should certainly prefer the words I have used myself; and there are expressions in the other amendment for which, individually, I will not be responsible; but, if it be the general wish of the house, I shall accept the amendment in lieu of my own. But should the hon. member for Wolverhampton persist in his action, I shall resist it, believing it to be un-

just and ungenerous. The question, then, is, whether that hon. gentleman and his friends will persist in outraging the feelings of gentlemen on this side of the house by a resolution I firmly believe to be impolitic and unwise. (Loud cheers.)

Shortly after having spoken, the right hon. gentleman left the House, but reappeared a little later. It is feared that his health is affected by his onerous official duties.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL thought Ministers had made a great mistake in not advising the Queen to make an explicit declaration of the verdict of the country; such a statement was not ordinary, but this had been an extraordinary occasion.

"The 'three odious epithets' referred to by Mr. Disraeli as having been inserted to counteract some resolution of his party, were to his (Lord John's) own knowledge a part of the very first draft of the resolutions drawn up before any meeting in Downing-street. On the other evening, the right hon. gentleman accused me of 'audacity,' by saying that the question before the House was one of Free-trade or Protection. Surely that is the question. Why should not we solemnly decide on a resolution like the present, which shall control generations to come? Why should not a resolution go forth to that great country, the United States of America, where the immense majority of the people (a people of the same race, having similar institutions with our own) have recently pronounced in favour of this policy—a policy destined to rule the intercourse of nations throughout the world. Still, as I think it of importance that there should be a great majority of this House in favour of a resolution to this effect—considering that the right hon. gentleman, though in a rather ungracious manner, has signified his intention of adopting the resolution drawn up by the right hon. baronet, and proposed by the noble lord the member for Tiverton, in lieu of his own, I would advise my hon. friend (Mr. Villiers) to accept that resolution also, so that all Free-traders, whether they be those who like the hon. member for the West Riding, have long been advocates of that policy, whether they date from 1842 or whether they date from the November of this year—a laugh—should join in one profession of that policy as the future commercial policy of this country."

Mr. COBDEN was at first puzzled to understand the drift of the whole debate. Now he saw that if it meant anything, the alterations suggested opened a door for compensation. If so, the Free Traders had gained nothing. Protection could be effected through the tax-gatherer as well as by custom-houses. If it were so, he warned the Protectionists the attempt would involve another struggle, which would prove as disastrous to them as the previous one had been. He entreated Mr. Villiers not to shrink from pressing his unaltered resolution. Mr. NEWDEGATE expressed his unaltered views on Protection, and his intention of leaving the House rather than affirm any of the resolutions.

Mr. VILLIERS saw no reason for withdrawing his resolution. He could not see how the words, "wise, just, and beneficial," could be offensive (the greatest men had acknowledged their errors); unless, indeed, some ulterior object were in view by gentlemen opposite, all of whom, he could clearly see, were not Free Traders.

SIR W. CLAY, and some Protectionist members, having made a few observations, Sir JAMES GRAHAM withdrew his formal motion of adjournment. The order of the day for the adjourned debate then came on, when Mr. DISRAELI withdrew his amendment, and Lord PALMERSTON formally moved his. The debate was then resumed by Mr. BOOKER, who talked in violation of Protectionism. Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE followed, in his usual tone of caustic vivacity. His quotations of Protectionist speeches were many and galling; his "points" were incisive; and he concluded by a general denunciation of "a gang of political latitudinarians who have no faith in anything but the existence of the Treasury Bench, and no principle but perpetuity of place." Mr. BALL denied that cheapness was good; eulogised the farmers of England; assailed in a loud lament the memory of Sir Robert Peel; was still a Protectionist; but would not refuse to vote with Ministers, remembering who might be their successors. Sir PAGE WOOD made a clear, logical, and lawyer-like speech—exposing the opposition offences of the party now in power; and Sir JOHN PAKINGTON replied by pointing out that nearly all parties in the House had been once Free-traders; that all the prophecies by *both* parties as to the results of Free-trade had been falsified by the events; and that the present motion was but the combination (he would not call it factious) of four parties, who could not agree upon any other point.

The debate was then adjourned to Friday evening.

IRISH LAW REFORMS. Among the most interesting of the new phases of the Derby party is certainly the views they take upon the questions relating to the law of landlord and tenant in Ireland. On Monday, Mr. Napier, the Attorney-General for Ireland, delivered a long speech prefatory to the bringing in of four bills, and explanatory of them, in which he admitted that the main of the evils of Ireland had sprung from the policy pursued by England towards her in respect of the land. The wholesale grants

of land to absentees, and its inevitable consequences, and the crying evil of last century, the prohibition of Irish commerce, were duly admitted and condemned. Of course the House cheered these admissions, and pretty generally the provisions of the several measures as they were explained. The first bill will facilitate improvements by the landlords themselves, providing a machinery for that purpose, and enabling them to borrow money. The second will facilitate the making of leases and contracts, and provides for the means of enforcing them. It gives the tenant power to make improvements himself, if the landlord will not; and secures compensation. The third will simplify, consolidate, and amend existing laws which regulate the relation of landlord and tenant, providing prompt remedies for violation of contracts, withholding of rent, the burning of lands, and other wrongs, simplifying, at the same time, the law of ejectment. The last bill would provide compensation to tenants for improvement of their holdings, a large portion of the land in Ireland being held by tenants from year to year. It was not intended to interfere in any way with the tenant-right of Ulster. It was proposed to enable the tenant to offer to undertake improvements, unless the landlord chose to avail himself of the means of effecting them which would be placed in his power; and retrospective improvements, made by the tenant before the passing the law, would be provided for by a compensation for their unexhausted value, without resorting to schemes that would lead to the compulsory adjustment of rent. Mr. Napier explained at much length and with great particularity the nature of those several measures, conceived, he said, in a liberal and generous spirit, with due regard to the rights of property, and the provisions by which he proposed to carry them into execution, and expressed his hope that by this code he might be able to give freer scope to the industry of Ireland, and work out its great resources.

Mr. CONNOLLY warmly approved of the measures. Mr. Sergeant SHEE accepted the three first, but regarded the tenant-right bill as wholly unsatisfactory. Other members spoke briefly, and the bills were read a first time.

Mr. SERGEANT SHEE's motion for leave to bring in a bill, to regulate the relations between landlord and tenant, having been one of the orders for Thursday, intervening between the irregular conversation on Sir W. Clay's questions and the regular adjourned debate on Mr. Villiers's motion, the House in its impatience to proceed with the debate, gave the honourable member leave to bring in the bill and have it read a first time, which was speedily done without opposition.

CHURCH MATTERS.—The Earl of DERBY, in reply to Lord SHAFTESBURY, said that Government would not deviate from the usual course with respect to Convocation; nor had Convocation deviated from its usual course. The only difference between the present and preceding Convocations was, that the debate on the address had lasted three days, and that committees had been appointed. But he believed these committees had no power, officially, to sit during the recess. No doubt the archbishop, at the meeting in February, would simply present the Queen's reply to the address, and then prorogue Convocation.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, Sir BENJAMIN HALL asked three questions relating to ecclesiastical reforms. Mr. WALPOLE replied as follows:—

The honourable gentleman has asked me three very important questions, and the most important of them perhaps is the first—namely, what are the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the reform of the ecclesiastical courts? Perhaps I might say that the report to which the honourable gentleman has referred is a report of a committee with reference to fees taken in the courts of law, and is not a report on the whole question of the ecclesiastical courts. Now, the honourable gentleman may possibly be aware that the Lord Chancellor in another place has already intimated that extension has been given to the Chancery commission—in consideration of a paragraph in their most able report—to enable them to consider the whole question of testamentary jurisdiction with reference to proceedings in the courts of law, the ecclesiastical courts, and the Court of Chancery. There is another part of the question, relating to the ecclesiastical courts. Now, the attention of the Government has been seriously called to the subject, and I have no hesitation in saying that they are unanimously of opinion that there ought to be a stringent, an extensive, and a decided reform in the ecclesiastical courts. (Cheers.) Wishing, as I do, that this reform may be one that may be approved of generally, and carried into execution and effect with the approbation of the country, I certainly wish, for my own part, that no bill shall be brought in until the whole question shall be taken into consideration. For that reason, I own, the Government have not at the present moment an immediate intention of bringing in a bill, because they look with great anxiety to that report of the Chancery commissioners, which will probably settle the whole question. With regard to the second question, I hardly know how to answer it. There are no powers, that I am aware of, in the Crown for preventing what the honourable gentleman has called Romish practices in our church. The best mode by which they can be prevented is by the good sense of the people of this country, expressed, as it has been over and over again expressed, against the introduction of any such novelties into our church; and, so far as the Government are concerned, they are as anxious as the honourable gentleman, or anybody else can be, to see that our own church is preserved in perfect purity, according to the principles established at the Reformation. With regard to the last question, which relates to episcopal incomes, the honourable gentleman is aware that they were settled by the ecclesiastical commissioners, by virtue of the act, I think, to which he refers. I do not see that the Government ought to interfere with the life incomes of any of the bishops, but to leave the episcopal incomes in future to remain as they were settled by the ecclesiastical commissioners, in pursuance of the statute to which the honourable gentleman has referred.

Sir B. HALL: I beg, sir, to give notice that, after the

Christmas recess, I shall move for leave to bring in a bill to regulate episcopal incomes.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE.—Lord DERBY took advantage of the presentation of petitions on Monday, against opening the Crystal Palace on Sundays, to state that he was decidedly in favour of opening it. He said—

"He had no hesitation in saying for his own part that (subject to the restrictions which the company had declared its willingness to submit to), far from being a desecration of the Sabbath, a great benefit would be conferred on the people of that over-crowded metropolis, by being able to obtain the advantages which the company offered them on Sunday afternoon. (Hear, hear.) If it were intended to have an exhibition on Sundays of articles of manufactures, machinery, or commerce within the walls, whereby the labours of a great number of persons would be required, he (Lord Derby) would take a different view of the subject; but the object of the company seeking the charter was to close on Sundays the whole of the exhibition that involved articles of machinery, manufactures, or commerce, or any exhibition of that kind. They only intended to throw open the park—the natural scenery of which was very beautiful—to the public at certain hours, which would be so arranged that they would not keep the population of the metropolis from attending the morning service. Everything in the nature of an exhibition would be closed on Sunday. It was intended to run trains from London-bridge to the building itself; there would be return tickets, by which persons would be conveyed to the building and brought back from it, so as not to be spread over the locality on Sunday evenings; and within the precincts of the building ground the sale of all intoxicating liquors would be prohibited. Subject to those provisions, he (the Earl of Derby) continued still of opinion, notwithstanding the remonstrances he had received, that far from being a desecration of the Sabbath, it would be useful."

But the question now was whether existing law did not prohibit the opening; and if it did, Parliament must expressly provide that the Crystal Palace should be exempted from the operation of that law which prohibits the taking of money on Sundays for admission to places of amusement.

CASE OF MR. PAGET.—Mr. M. MILNES said he wished to ask the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs a question of which he had given him notice. He was informed that on the 2nd September last the apartments of Mr. Paget, an English gentleman residing at Dresden, were entered by a large body of police, who insisted upon the delivery of his private manuscripts and papers; that these were forcibly seized and carried off, and that, on a representation being made to Mr. Forbes, the English Minister at Dresden, application was made by him to the Government of Saxony, who disavowed all knowledge whatever of the occurrence. It afterwards transpired that this outrage had taken place by an order of the Austrian Government, communicated to the police acting in Saxony. Mr. Milnes wished to know whether her Majesty's Government had received any communication on this subject; whether any redress was demanded, and had been given, and also whether the Government had any objection to lay on the table the papers connected with this outrage? Lord STANLEY: I think my honourable friend has been greatly misinformed in the details of the subject to which he has called the attention of the house. It is true that Mr. Paget, a British subject, who for about two years has been residing at Dresden, had his house entered and his papers seized by the police; but it is not true, at least no information of that kind has reached her Majesty's Government, that his papers were seized by the Austrian police. They were seized by the police of the country in which he resided. The British Minister at Dresden, Mr. Forbes, at once remonstrated with the proper authorities, and the result of his remonstrance was that after a short interval Mr. Paget's papers were returned to him. I should state that the first answer that was made by the Government of Saxony to the remonstrance of Mr. Forbes was, that no papers had been taken from Mr. Paget. That, however, was proved to be altogether erroneous. But to that reply a second note of remonstrance was sent by Mr. Forbes, which appeared to have produced its effect, for very shortly afterwards Mr. Paget's papers were restored, and Mr. Forbes was directed to convey to Mr. Paget an expression of regret on the part of the Government of Saxony, at what had occurred, and to state to Mr. Paget that the police who had taken upon themselves to take his papers from him had received a very severe reprimand.

COUNTY POLLS.—On the motion of Lord ROBERT GROSVEHOR, the County Polls Bill, limiting the taking of the poll to one day, was read a second time. Mr. BECKETT DENISON supported the second reading, suggesting, however, an improvement, which might be made in committee, namely, providing for a longer interval than one day between the nomination and polling days. Mr. ROBERT PALMER moved an amendment to defeat the bill, but withdrew it without a division.

A GROAN FROM THE PROTECTIONISTS.

(To the Editor of the Times.)

SIR,—It is twelve months ago that you published some letters of mine respecting the abandonment of principle which I knew was to be expected from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is now clear that I was right. "Save me from my friends" may indeed be a motto for poor Agriculture.

My object in writing these few lines is in the name of 100 Protection societies, with which I have associated, to protest against the supposition that the treacherous amendment on Monday next has either their consent or connivance. It is a base desertion of principle, and an outrage on the feelings of the yeomanry of England.

If the present House of Commons is a Free-trade Assembly, it is because some members of the present Government took care effectually to exclude real Protectionist candidates at the last election. Protectionist principles are now sacrificed, and what security have we

that the Protestant principles of the Reformation may not share the same fate under a sufficient pressure?

However widely you, Sir, may differ from my views on Protection, I believe you will allow my honest and indignant protest a place in your columns.

Your obedient servant,

PAUL FOSKETT.

Devonshire-place, Brighton, Nov. 20th.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER XLVIII.

Paris, Tuesday evening, November 23, 1852.

THE dice are loaded: don't be astonished, then, at the result of the game. The *Moniteur* of this morning is all radiant with joy, chanting its triumphal hymn as it complacently displays incredible lists of votes recorded. All the large towns which had distinguished themselves ever since the 2nd of December by their hostility, have given, according to the *Moniteur*, none but favourable votes. Paris itself, which on December 20th had given 81,000 noes to 77,000 ayes,—Paris, which on this occasion has stood aloof *en masse*, and has not even taken the trouble to vote at all,—this same Paris, according to the scrutiny just now officially declared, finds that it has already recorded 130,000 Ayes to scarcely any Noes at all. Never, in fact, has a more outrageous imposture, a more unblushing falsehood, been perpetrated. Many of our friends have been round to the different sections, taking turns in regular succession, so as not to appear to be *observing* matters. Wherever they went, the number of voters never exceeded 50 and 60 out of 800 and 1000 electors. Well! in these very sections where with our own eyes we had seen a mere paltry sprinkling of voters, the Government of Bonaparte has discovered an overwhelming majority of 500 or 600 voters out of 800 and 1000 electors. Everything was admirably calculated at Paris to falsify the scrutiny.

1. The presidents of sections were nominated by the Government.

2. The scrutineers, instead of being composed of the two youngest and two eldest electors, were likewise selected by Bonaparte.

3. Any person attempting to distribute tickets bearing the word *Non*, was arrested.

4. Two friends of mine, who actually ventured to take the liberty to raise an objection against the number of votes recorded in their section, were then and there collared by municipal gendarmes, and walked off to prison.

5. Not even the National Guard was summoned to guard the ballot-urns. The urns were deposited during the night of Sunday in a room in the respective mairies, and not even the doors of the room had seals affixed, as was formerly the case, and the tickets of the Sunday votes were not counted and compared with the number of voters on that day. Nothing easier than to enter this room in the night, and "re-adjust" the number of tickets by a calculated addition. And no doubt this is just what has been done in every Mairie. In the rural districts, fraud was still more easy. There all the new mayors had been nominated by Bonaparte himself. In contempt of the municipal electors, he had chosen men sold and sworn to his service, mostly Bonapartist hirelings, and tools. Now, in the country, the mayors, instead of leaving the urns at the mairie, carry them off in their arms to their private houses, deposit them in their own chambers, usually without the seals affixed, and there, in fact, (as Victor Hugo has said,) pass the night with them *en tête-à-tête*. Such are the guarantees of a true ballot, as Bonaparte has devised them. Any objection is punished with imprisonment; any journal publishing a protest, instantly suppressed. Now, as it requires the authorization of the Government to publish any printed writing of any kind, any other means of publicity than the newspaper is forbidden, in default of authorization.

Wonder if you can, after this, at the result of the ballot. It is not France that votes; it is Bonaparte. The result will be what *he* desires it to be: 7,860,000 votes are wanted: there will be a total of 7,860,000 votes. Don't attach any importance to that which has none.

Everybody who read the *Moniteur* of this morning was astonished, if one can be astonished at anything now. The 130,000 votes given by Paris—when we all know that scarcely anybody has voted—created universal surprise: the few honest Bonapartists were the first to regret the announcement of such an imposture; others were indignant: no one, however, treated it as a joke, according to the accustomed levity of the French character: all understood the seriousness of the fact.

The most complete indifference preceded the election. No one cared to verify the lists, or to get a voting ticket. The tickets were to be sent by post: many did not receive, and none but functionaries cared to claim them. In the provinces the same apathy pre-

vailed. Hence the Prefects strained every nerve to influence the zeal of the electors by a host of proclamations, more or less grotesque. But the man who has surpassed them all, while he has surpassed himself, is the famous Chapuis Montlaville, that Prefect of Toulouse, already celebrated for his gasconading proclamations during the progress of Bonaparte in the South. To perpetuate the memory "of the acts of God accomplished in the year of grace 1852, by the instrumentality (*ministère*) of the French people," M. Chapuis Montlaville has promised "to have engraved in bronze and in marble the total of the votes for the Empire in the department of the Haute Garonne. The tablets of bronze bearing the total of votes recorded in the department will be reserved to the town of Toulouse; the tablets of marble, transmitting to posterity the partial results, will be given to the chief polling place of each arrondissement and canton." M. Chapuis Montlaville forgets to add who is to pay for these interesting monuments.

Other Prefects have turned their heads to other inventions. One of them, apprehensive of finding the vote of the 21st of November inferior to that of December 20, has ordered that in every hospital the sick and the dying shall vote. To facilitate to them the accomplishment of "this electoral duty" (to quote the prefectoral words), he orders that the electoral urn be brought to the bedside of each. I only hope this interesting class of voters may not mistake the nature of the vase!

Some Bishops have imitated the zeal of the Prefects. In default of proclamations, they have issued charges and pastoral letters. Not more than five, however, have indulged in this description of sport. All the rest have preserved absolute silence. Many of these pastoral letters have occasioned great scandal. The Catholic journal of Rennes, for instance, refused insertion to that of the Archbishop of that city. A summons from the Prefect was called in to the aid of his *confrère* the Bishop, to conquer resistance. The journal yielded—not without informing its readers of the compulsion under which it was placed.

By letters just received from Lille, we learn that the authorities refused licence to print *bulletins of Non*, and that the majority of the population had abstained from voting in consequence! Another fact to be recorded is, that by Bonaparte's constitution the army was not to vote. Trusting to the terms of this worthy constitution, I innocently wrote you to that effect. It seems that the Elysée changed its mind: the army has been restored to its electoral privilege for the sake of its 400,000 votes, which were particularly wanted. All this past week we have heard of nothing but plots, conspiracies, attempts on the life of Bonaparte, and accidents said to have befallen him. The most serious rumour was of a military conspiracy reported to have been discovered at Strasbourg. The garrison of that town was to open the gates to General Lamoricière, proclaim the Republic, and, rallying all the garrisons of Alsace and Lorraine, march on Lyons and the south, so as to isolate the army of Paris from the rest of France. This conspiracy was discovered. The ring-leaders, who were captains and lieutenants, some say even colonels, were shot. Fifty officers are still under arrest. The Funds fell two francs on receipt of the details, and have since continued to fall in a straggling manner. The Ministry of Police lost no time in contradicting these rumours. But the angry denials only contributed to confirm the public impression. Give you the text of these two documents. We read the *Moniteur*:—"For some time past malevolence has actively propagated alarming news. All rumours are false. It is not in Paris only, but in departments, that these attempts are made. The last few days they have been renewed with more perseverance. Public opinion will not suffer itself to be misled by manœuvres, of which the object is conceived."

Now for the caution of the Police:—"Divers ex-désignés persons having spread abroad rumours calculated to disturb the peace and to react upon the public funds, they are to be immediately prosecuted and committed into the hands of justice, to be dealt with according to the rigour of the law."

All this week, indeed, a certain political agitation has reigned. The publication of the Democratic and Legitimist manifestos was the chief cause of this resurrection of public spirit. Of the elections not a word is said, but of grave events which the future has in store for us. The publication of those manifestos is considered by all parties to be a great political folly inasmuch as it reveals to the world that everything is still in question, and that to adopt the universal exclamation, "The revolution is *en permanence*." Other manifestos, too, have been in circulation, one emanating from Barbes and the prisoners of Belleisle, the other from Felix Pyat and a committee of delegates sitting

in London. That of Barbes ends with these words,—"People! if you feel yourselves strong enough, rise up; if not, vote, and vote against." In the manifesto of Felix Pyat, the delegates remind us that "insurrection is the most sacred of duties. Insurrection was the right of June 13th; it was the duty of May 31st; it is at once a duty and a right since the 2nd of December. Voting, then, is not the question, but to rise up and fight. The voting-tickets should only serve as cartridges. In default of guns, every weapon is of service: pitchforks and paving-stones, scythes and ploughshares."

Other Legitimist manifestos are also in circulation. That party is very active just now, and it is the chief object of persecution for the moment. In every department arrests and domiciliary visits incessantly take place. The Chateau d'Aubigni (Cher), belonging to M. de Vogué, ex-representative, was lately invaded by the police, and searched from turret to basement. Copies of the Comte de Chambord's circular were found, as they would be in many other *chateaux*. What is more, a member of the superior clergy, the Bishop of Luçon, has been subjected to a domiciliary visit, the first time, perhaps, that such a thing has occurred in France; and at his house was found a correspondence of Henry V. At the very moment when the police arrived, he was writing a letter to the Pretender, in which he told him that "his faithful Vendée awaited his return."

It was discussed in Council of Ministers whether the Bishop should be arrested, but as the clergy must be coaxed till the election and the coronation are over, the affair was adjourned to a more convenient season. Besides, it is important not to create any fresh scandal at present. This will give you an idea of the measure of stability which the existing powers enjoy. The clergy conspires, the army conspires, the Legitimists conspire, the Orleanists conspire, the Republicans conspire,—everybody conspires; such is the basis of our reigning institutions. Some day, it is feared, a pistol-shot will burst the gigantic bubble. So great, indeed, has been the political agitation all the week, and especially on the day of the report of the military conspiracy at Strasbourg, that it was deemed necessary to make a demonstration of troops. Paris has been occupied militarily, and patrols have continued to scour the city and the faubourgs.

The Funds have fallen, and are still, as I write, depressed. In vain, Bonaparte has made every exertion to operate a rise. The holders are seriously alarmed: they have lost confidence, as they say. In vain Bonaparte, to show his assurance, published a decree reducing the army by 30,000 men. This colourable reduction produced no effect at all on the public. It only touches the infantry; the *cadres* of officers are maintained in full efficiency; it is only the soldiers that are temporarily dismissed to their homes, on condition of returning to the standards at the first appeal. Such is in effect the value of this reduction, which does not reduce the effective force by a single man. It is well that the foreigner should not trust this reduction; he might have cause to repent his confidingness. Now that the army begins to conspire, (as at Fontainebleau and Strasbourg,) Bonaparte has but one game to play, to occupy all minds: *to make war*. For an Emperor who has never risen above the grade of a captain in the civic guard in Switzerland, it is a hard part to play, but as it is the only one, he must attempt it.

Besides the decree on the reduction of the army, Bonaparte has recently published two more, each designed to act on the Bourse and to raise the Funds. He has created a bank of *credit mobilier*, to make advances to speculators on deposit of public stocks. By this he has only bestowed a new name on an old system. The Bank of France was in the habit of making these advances. Add to this, he has re-organized the Land Banks, which do not work, notwithstanding the magnificent decrees which instituted them. He has merged them all in the central land-bank of Paris, destined to be for mortgage credit what the Bank of Paris, called Bank of France, is to commercial credit. This new organization would be considered good and well-combined, according to the old economical errors; to my mind, it is a mistake. Its general capital is laid at two hundred millions of francs. It is hoped that by investing these two hundred millions, an equal sum now invested on mortgage, but at usurious interest, will be got in. It is expected next that the two hundred millions thus displaced will come to the Land Bank to be re-invested in mortgage securities. Then a new operation would be commenced with these new two hundred millions. But all this (to my judgment) is a pure illusion and a false calculation. Lenders on mortgage are simply usurers, who lend first, themselves; secondly, who only lend at seven, eight, and ten per cent. These mortgage securities only paying three per cent., the usurers will prefer Government stock at four-

and-a-half per cent. to an investment at three per cent. Remark besides, that instead of lending *themselves* to private individuals, they will be obliged to lend to the Land Bank—a very different affair, and far less safe, since private individuals, even in a revolution, cannot disappear, heirs and all, while a public establishment may very well be swept away. However it may be, no one seems to have taken all these difficulties into account, and the general impression is, that this re-organization of the *Banque foncière* is a sound institution.

Talking of reorganization, the court costumes are to be reorganized. Ladies will no longer be received at the imperial court but with dresses bearing the traditional train. This feminine appendage of a *queue* is the delight of all Paris, as I write. *On en rit aux larmes*. The folk of the Elysée are hotly disputing for the imperial dignities. M. Baroche, ex-Minister of Justice and President of the Council of State, wants to be Arch-Chancellor. But M. Rouher, the present Minister, disputes the claim. Colonel Vaudrey wants to be Grand Marshal of the Palace, but Colonel Fleury opposes his rival pretensions; and so with all the places of honour.

The reconciliation of Bonaparte with old Jérôme is complete. Bonaparte has fairly knuckled down, as I told you he would; and lately, before his whole court, declared that Napoleon Jérôme was rightfully his legitimate heir. On the 3rd of December will appear a decree to confirm this solemn promise. On the same day a *Senatus-consultum* will designate the Princes of the imperial family, and the Princes *tout court*, as they are jokingly called at Paris. It will likewise regulate the dotations and apanages of each of them. We shall see how that France which refused the apanages and dotations to the house of Orleans, will concede these which are so unceremoniously apportioned without her consent. True, the vote of November 21 will be appealed to. I had forgotten it.

M. Walewski, ambassador of France to London, has, it is again rumoured here, received orders to demand explanations of the English Cabinet as to its tolerance of French refugees. A formal demand of expulsion is even mentioned. Do not imagine that we think the English Government capable of executing the orders of Bonaparte's police, or of being dragged, like an accomplice, into co-operation with his designs. It would be the last degree of irony that *you*, who are always telling us that you would never have suffered such a master to bestride you as we now have, should after all help to do his dirty work. It is impossible.

The first step of a great revolution in French journalism has taken place this week. M. Mires, the agent of M. de Morny, and who is only the dummy of MM. Bonaparte and Morny, after having purchased, three months since, the *Pays*, has just bought the *Constitutionnel* for the sum of two millions of francs. Doctor Véron has received an indemnity of 800,000 francs in cash; every shareholder will receive 5000 francs per share besides. It is, you see, a great step towards a complete revolution in the French press. In fact, this new company of Mires and Co. is now engaged in bargaining for the *Presse* and the *Siccle*. M. de Girardin asks 300,000 francs indemnity. This is a sacrifice, but in all probability the sale will be effected. Henceforth MM. Bonaparte and Co. will be the sole newspaper proprietors in Paris. This is no longer despotism in jack-boots, à la Louis XIV., or à la Napoleon; it is *sty* despotism. The journals will not be suppressed, as had been anticipated; they will be bought. This is more dear, but more refined.

We have, this week, learnt with sorrow the condemnation to death of two of the insurgents of the Var, and to hard labour for fifteen and twenty years, of several others. This sentence is a monstrosity; inasmuch as it condemns as assassins brave men who had the courage to combat, in the open field, the troops of Bonaparte. When the reorganization of the republican party shall be complete, and in a condition to take up arms again, what would the soldiers say if they were sent to the scaffold for fighting in the field against the defenders of the Republic and the laws?

THE STARS AND STRIPES AT ST. DOMINGO.

RUMOUR is as busy as ever with the projects of the citizens of the United States among the islands of the West Indies. We are now told that St. Domingo is to be taken by an independent expedition of American emigrants, who are to go there well armed, ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the people of St. Domingo from the designs of the Louis Napoleon of Hayti, the Emperor Soulouque. It is said that the Legislature of the State of Georgia have already passed an Act of Incorporation for a company of emigrants, whose departure cannot be interfered with. This is very important; but the sting lies in what we have to tell.

Spain, it is said, which has never formally renounced her right to St. Domingo, will take possession of it, in the event of anything like a hostile expedition from the shores of America. Would not this bring Spain into direct conflict with America? The object of the imputed taking of St. Domingo is said to be, that from thence attacks on Cuba could be more easily made. *Vogue la galère!*

THE MAJORITY FOR PIERCE.

THE election of General Franklin Pierce as President of the United States by an overwhelming majority, is fully confirmed by the *Washington*, which arrived at Cowes on Sunday. The *New York Herald* says:—

"The following is the table, as nearly as ascertained, or as can be estimated from our scattered returns, of the grand results of the tremendous avalanche of 1852, including the popular and electoral votes, to wit:—

States.	Majority for Scott.	Electors.
Massachusetts ...	7,300	13
Vermont ...	10,000	5
Scott's majority ...	17,300	18
For Pierce.		
Maine ...	11,000	8
New Hampshire ...	14,000	5
Rhode Island ...	1,100	4
Connecticut ...	3,500	6
New York ...	25,000	35
New Jersey ...	5,000	7
Pennsylvania ...	23,000	27
Delaware ...	100	3
Maryland ...	5,000	8
Virginia ...	8,000	15
North Carolina ...	5,000	10
South Carolina ...	(by Legislature)	8
Georgia ...	5,000	10
Florida ...	500	3
Alabama ...	4,000	9
Louisiana ...	1,000	6
Texas ...	7,000	4
Mississippi ...	2,000	7
Tennessee ...	1,000	12
Kentucky ...	2,000	12
Arkansas ...	6,000	4
Ohio ...	15,000	23
Indiana ...	15,000	13
Illinois ...	12,000	11
Missouri ...	12,000	9
Michigan ...	5,000	6
Wisconsin ...	2,000	5
Iowa ...	4,500	4
California ...	1,500	4

Total for Pierce ... 196,200 ... 278
Deduct Scott's majority ... 17,300 ... 18

Pierce's probable majority 178,900 ... 260

This is the greatest popular and electoral vote ever given at any Presidential election, as will be seen by the following, from the earliest record of popular votes, in 1828, when Jackson was first elected:—

THE POPULAR AND ELECTORAL MAJORITIES.

Presidents.	Years.	Popular Majorities.	Electoral Majorities.
Jackson's (Democrat)...	1828	139,468	95
Jackson's (Democrat)...	1832	104,205	152
Van Buren's (Democrat)	1836	27,542	46
Harrison's (Whig) ...	1840	145,921	174
Polk's (Democrat) ...	1844	54,147	65
Taylor's (Whig) ...	1848	140,790	36
Pierce's (Democrat) ...	1852	178,900	260

The next striking fact is, that the Whig party has shrunk into the dimensions of an association, as will be seen by the following resolutions agreed to on the 3rd instant, by the Webster State Executive Committee of Massachusetts:—

"That, as friends of Daniel Webster, and faithful disciples of the political doctrines which it was the aim of his life and public labours to establish, we hereby constitute ourselves an American Union party.

"That the fundamental principles of our party are fidelity to the Union and the Constitution, and the election to office of men of known political integrity, capacity, and sound principles.

"That it is our duty as a Union party to sustain any national administration, of whatever name, which is practically conducted according to the maxims of policy laid down by Washington and Webster."

PRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT IN POOR-LAW UNIONS.—THE RECENT CONFERENCE IN MANCHESTER.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

National Poor-Law Association,
7, Norfolk-street, Manchester,
Nov. 17, 1852.

SIR,—As the Editor of the *Daily News* has thought proper to misrepresent at some length the principles and aims of the National Poor-Law Association, you will greatly oblige me by giving insertion to the enclosed temperate reply, a copy of which was forwarded to him on Saturday last, but which he has not yet had

the equity to publish.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

A. G. STARK,
Gen. Sec. N. P. L. A.

(To the Editor of the Daily News.)

SIR,—Before dedicating a column and a half of your paper to the disparagement of the National Poor-Law Association, would it not have been more creditable to yourself and more merciful to your readers, if you had endeavoured to put yourself in possession of the principles and objects of that body? He who has an opportunity of ascertaining the truth and wilfully shrinks from the inquiry, has no right to set up the plea of ignorance. You cannot urge a pressure of time, for your article did not appear until Wednesday last, a full week after the Conference was held, and there is not a gentleman who composed it who would not have readily supplied you with ample information of the purposes of the Association and the means by which they seek to accomplish them. Nay, if your object were to instruct and not mislead the public, your correspondent here—if you have one—by application at this office, or to any of the numerous and influential gentlemen who constitute the local committee, could have procured and forwarded to you a copy of every tract, circular, and manifesto which have been issued by the Association since it commenced its existence, nearly three years ago. Suppose that in one of the metropolitan police courts what you call a miscarriage of justice takes place, by the magistrate sentencing some fashionable violator of the peace to a pecuniary fine, instead of sending him to prison—suppose that in some remote part of the country a number of questionable persons are exalted to the petty sessions bench—or that any other comparatively trivial event occurs which seems to call for an exercise of your voice potential, do you commit yourself before inquiring into and mastering the details? I believe, generally, you do not. And yet here, in the case of an Association, avowedly formed for the purpose of promoting a humane, moral, and economical disbursement of a large portion of the public resources—an Association which gives security for its *bona fide* character in the long list of its committees, embracing members of two branches of the legislature, clergymen of various religious denominations, heads of corporate bodies, chairmen of boards of guardians, and other "responsible" citizens—you think it consistent with your character, as "a best possible public instructor," to write at great length in an injurious vein, without having taken the trouble of inquiring whether your strange surmises and the fabric of abuse you build upon them have any foundation in truth! What satisfaction can any of your readers—at least any discerning portion of them—derive from a dissertation in which the continual recurrence of such phrases as the following shows how the writer is groping in the dark, and groping after that with which he should have taken care to make himself familiar:—"The resolutions tell all that seems to be known of the views and aims of the Association"—"the aim of the Association may, perhaps," &c.—"the Association contemplates, perhaps," &c.—"these gentlemen of the Conference contend, probably," &c.

Having now done what I hope will prove good service to you by a word of rebuke for the past and caution for the future, I will proceed to transcribe from the authorized publications of the Association the following brief and simple statement of its views:—

"The Poor-Law Association has for its object the diminution of pauperism, with its demoralizing consequences, and the reduction of the burthen of poor-rates, by substituting, wheresoever practicable, productive labour for unproductive 'tests,' and gratuitous relief, and by enabling the unemployed to work for their subsistence, without competing or interfering with independent labour. As means to this end, the Association seeks, by public discussion, the publication of tracts, and all legitimate efforts, to enforce upon the legislature and payers of rates, the acknowledged principles of political economy in favour of profitable employment, in opposition to the mistaken rule by which many thousand able-bodied persons are kept in idleness, or designedly unproductive. And as further means to this end, practical information will be collected and disseminated respecting industrial schools, and the various agricultural and manufacturing operations, by means of which juvenile and adult paupers are now rendered, in many unions, wholly or nearly self-supporting."

Having placed you and your much-abused readers in possession of the *real* objects of the Association—with which, if you be an admirer of idleness and an enemy of industry, you are welcome to quarrel—it will not be expected that I should notice all the *imaginary* designs you attribute to that body, and the reproaches which you have, in consequence, heaped upon it. In the course of your article, however, you have stumbled against some truths, in behalf of which I would desire to say a word.

You ask, with a ludicrous air of triumph, "But who wishes paupers to be idle?" And what 'tests' but labour tests are there in our workhouses?" There are thousands of so-called political economists who will argue with you by the hour to prove that the destitute should be supported in idleness, on the absurd plea that their labour might enter into competition with "independent" industry. You ought to know that there are not a dozen, certainly not a score, of unions in England and Wales, where any system worthy of the name of industry is pursued. Until within the last two or three years, in conformity with the tenets of a false political economy, idleness reigned supreme in all the Irish workhouses, and unfortunate as the sister kingdom is, it would have been worse had the irrational and pernicious *regime* continued. "And what tests," you demand, "are there in our workhouses but labour tests?" The tests you refer to are not entitled to the name of labour tests, as they are revolting, inhuman, and unproductive. Your stone-breaking, oakum-picking, and mill-turning tests are no great improvement upon the "trials of tyranny" which, you state, "were exercised by poor-houses in the olden time." Such tests may be very appropriate to the professional mendicant or lazy impostor; but suppose the case—a pregnant one in times of distress—of a man reduced to necessity by no sin of his own, and compelled to enter the workhouse. Directly or indirectly, he has been a rate-payer until now, but having fallen upon evil days, he can no longer contribute to the support of his indigent fellow-creatures. You say that the workhouse is only, or chiefly, a place for the helpless. This must be a new doctrine to those Malthusian philosophers who have been in the habit of insisting that the workhouse is the best test for the able-bodied. For hundreds of years, it has been the common-law right of every Englishman, when in necessity, to demand relief on his native soil. And admitting, then, the *right* of this poor but deserving man to whom I have referred, would you have no howels of compassion if you saw him subjected to the *experimentum crucis*, and doomed to pick oakum the live-long day to prove that he was not an impostor?

So much for the "labour tests" which are generally applied in our workhouses, and which the Poor-Law Association is anxious to replace by something more in consonance with humanity and common sense.

You seem to have been deceived by the common error that there are no able-bodied paupers in the country depending upon rates for relief. I do not know how many there are at the present moment in this unhappy condition, but if you turn to the last annual report of the Poor-Law Commissioners, p. 5, you will find that on the 1st of January of the present year, there were 130,163 adult able-bodied persons on the books in

receipt of relief in England and Wales, besides an uncalculated number in 500 parishes, under the operation of Gilbert's and other acts.

Reasoning upon one of the discoveries effected by your imagination, you exclaim oracularly, "It will never do—that scheme of supporting a workhouse by a farm." Granted that the workhouse cannot be supported entirely by the farm, is that any reason why those who can handle a spade should sit down in idleness, or be engaged in all but useless employments? Is it any reason why the Poor-Law Association, or any other sensible body of men, should be derided for endeavouring to remove from the statute-book any legal restrictions that may interfere with the taking of land for the purpose of tillage or reclamation? You make the awkward admission—for a Free-trade journal—that the present race of English agriculturists cannot make their farms pay, and must give place to others with heavier purses and more polished intellects; but this should not prevent any board of guardians from attempting to *diminish* the rates upon their constituents by employing on the land the labour of those persons whom they are bound to relieve.

With regard to your assertion that the scheme of profitably applying the labour of the poor on land, towards the support, more or less, of workhouses, "would not answer," I have only to say that the facts are against you. Various workhouse farms in England pay. All the well-managed farms in connexion with Irish workhouses pay, and the guardians, generally, are able, from the profits of them, to place considerable sums annually to the credit of their respective unions.

I shall conclude this letter, which is much longer than I intended to make it, with the following extract from an able Liberal journal in this district, the *Preston Guardian*, which shows that there is a crying necessity for an Association like that which has been distinguished by your animadversions:—

"We well remember how soon, upon the formation of the Preston Union, the looms upon which the poor people had been industriously employed at Preston, Ribchester, and Woodplumpton workhouses, were knocked down beneath the order of the London Commissioners, and became of little more worth than fire-wood. And we have before us the advertisement of 'All the valuable stock of wrappings, bed tickings, sheetings, towlings, sackings, warping mill, looms, wheels, swifts, and calendar for sale, in the Kendal workhouse, and Harden sacking manufactory'—pursuant to the order of the Poor-Law Board." This was a wanton stroke, and showed how desperately men in high stations may sometimes be led away in pursuit of mere theories. The following statement as to the proceeds of the labour system is from a gentleman in the Kendal union:—

"The Harden manufactory was first established in 1801, Judge Chamberie in the chair. The gain to the township of Kendal up to the formation of the union in 1836 amounted to upwards of 8000*l.* Many of the paupers who were admitted into the workhouse found in a short time that they were earning more money than their support cost in the house, and therefore they would no longer continue, thinking that the parochial authorities were gainers. Many boys were taught the art of weaving, and were able to earn their own bread when they arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen years.

"I also give you a statement of our manufactories from the formation of the Kendal union up to the time they were ordered to be discontinued in 1849. Mr. Crewdson, who was chairman of the union at its formation, found the capital for the Harden manufactory, which was repaid to him with interest in 1839 out of the labour proceeds; and the total gain during 11½ years amounted to 3281*l.* 7*s.* 3½*d.* The twine manufactory at Milnthorpe workhouse was not established until March, 1840, which realized 519*l.* 18*s.* 10½*d.*, making a total of 3801*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* in favour of the common fund of the union."

"Comment is here unnecessary. For Kendal alone the gains up to 1836 had been upwards of 8000*l.*; and from 1836 to 1849 the gain to the union had been 3801*l.* But at last the Poor-Law Board wearied out the guardians, and all went to destruction. We remember visiting this establishment when in full employ, and a more gratifying sight in connexion with pauper management we never beheld. We hope the idle system will soon receive its doom."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

ARCHIBALD G. STARK,
Gen. Sec. National Poor-Law Association.
7, Norfolk-street, Manchester, Nov. 12, 1852.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY OF BARTH AND OVERWEG IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

In the *Times* of Tuesday appeared the following letter. The writer, Mr. Petermann, is the well-known Hydrographer of the Admiralty department. It is a most important contribution to contemporary history, and coming just in the midst of our political and polemical disputes, will afford new pasture to our inquiring readers.

SIR,—Despatches and private letters have just arrived at the Foreign-office and the Prussian Embassy from the expedition in the interior of Africa, conducted by Barth and Overweg. At the request of his Excellency Chevalier Bunsen, I beg to submit to you a few particulars of the progress of that expedition, which may interest some of your readers.

It will be remembered that it is now three years ago that this expedition left England under the direction of Mr. James Richardson, who was charged by the English Government to make commercial treaties with the chiefs of the countries lying between Tripoli and Lake Tsad. In the first year (1850) the travellers successfully crossed the whole of the Sahara in a very circuitous westerly direction, and thus explored a great portion of Northern Africa which had never before been visited by any European. Their route from Ghat to Kano, in particular, was highly interesting. A long stay was made in Air, or Ashon, one of the most powerful kingdoms of Northern Africa, the capital of which is Agadez. In the second year, the travellers explored a large portion of Sudan in different directions; for this purpose they separated on their arrival at the northern frontiers of that country, each pursuing a different route—their plan being ultimately to meet at Kuka, the capital of Bornu. Barth and Overweg safely reached that place, but poor Richardson, whose feeble constitution was unable to bear the fatigue of such an extensive journey, died on the way to that place, six days' march distant. This melancholy event fell hard upon the two remaining travellers, who had already undergone many hardships, and whose at that time very small means had met with unexpected losses by robbers in the desert. Nothing daunted, however, they accomplished within a short time two highly interesting journeys—Barth penetrating 350 miles to the south as far as Yola, the capital of the kingdom of Adamawa; and Overweg navigating Lake Tsad in the boat, which had been con-

vayed with great labour from Tripoli across the burning sands of Sahara, laden in pieces on a number of camels. In September, 1851, the two travellers set out together on a journey to Borgu, a mountainous country lying to the north-east of Lake Tsad, about midway between it and Egypt.

Since that time no communications whatever from the travellers had reached Europe, and apprehensions began to be entertained as to their safety. These have, however, happily been proved to be unfounded by the despatches just received, by which we learn that the travellers have hitherto escaped all dangers, and are in possession of the best health and spirits, making great progress in their explorations.

The Sheikh of Bornu and his allies sent forth in the latter end of 1851 an army to invade the countries situated eastward from Lake Tsad, and that army the travellers accompanied, hoping, under their protection, to explore the region as far as Borgu and Wadai. At no great distance from Lake Tsad, however, they were met by the enemy, defeated, and put to flight so suddenly, that Barth and Overweg saved their lives and instruments only by a quick retreat.

Having again reached Kuka, they learnt that another and a very considerable ghazzia was to be despatched, led on by the Vezeer of Bornu himself; but this time it was directed against the Sultan of Mandara, a country to the south of Bornu, already known through Major Denham, who there met with so narrow an escape on a similar occasion. The two travellers, however, were not to be discouraged, and set out again with the Bornuese army, which consisted of about 10,000 horse and the same number of foot soldiers, with innumerable trains of camels and other beasts of burden. On this occasion the army was more fortunate, the enemy retreating as it advanced, and no regular battle even ensued. The army—and the travellers with them—went a considerable distance beyond Denham's furthest, and were only then stopped by the Serbenel, a very considerable river running into the Shary. The ghazzia thence returned with a booty of about 5,000 slaves and 10,000 head of cattle, having been absent two months (December, 1851, and January, 1852). The regions visited are described as most fertile and rich.

From the end of March to the end of May last, Dr. Overweg made a successful journey from Kuka in a south-westerly direction, and reached to within 150 English miles of Yacoba, the great town of the Fellatahs, while Dr. Barth went south-east on a journey to the powerful kingdom of Baghirrai. On the 15th of August, the date of Overweg's latest letter, the former had not yet returned from that country to rejoin his companion at Kuka, their intention then being to push on to the south, towards the Indian Ocean, which to reach is their ultimate goal, and the grand object of their gigantic journey, and which other three or four years will be necessary to bring to a close. I refrain from comment upon the geographical results of this highly-successful expedition, but would, in conclusion, only beg to draw attention to one point of great importance as regards commerce and civilization.

The subject of ascending the Kawara (commonly called Niger) is at present once more seriously thought of in the plan of Lieutenant M'Leod, R.N., which, there is little doubt, is superior to any previous one, and justifies the hope of success. If this project be realized, it would be worthy of consideration to attempt the further exploration of the Tchadda on the same excellent plan. This river, as is well known, unites with the Kawara not far from its mouth, "which it certainly rivals, if it does not surpass it, in magnificence." That this immense river—a second Niger—extends right into the heart of Inner Africa, was conjectured some time since, but only last year was this supposition corroborated by the actual exploration of Dr. Barth, who, in his journey to Adamana, crossed the Benue, a splendid river, half a mile broad and 10 feet deep, which he ascertained to be the upper course of the Tchadda. From all that Dr. Barth says in his last, as well as in his previous letters, I am inclined to think that the Tchadda will eventually form the natural and most important line from the west for spreading commerce and civilization into the very heart of Inner Africa, and extinguishing the slave trade by extending European influence to the sources of the slave supply. The Sheikh of Bornu has repeatedly expressed to the two travellers his desire of forming a closer bond of friendship with the English for the purpose of establishing a peaceful and regular commerce and abolishing the slave trade, and the best proof of his sincerity towards the English is the kind and generous manner in which he has at all times treated their representatives. The kingdom of Adamana, situated in the valley of the upper Tchadda, with its pastoral and agricultural population, is spoken of as the most beautiful country in Central Africa, and as such may probably become the key to the interior of that continent.

At present the town of Kano, situated between the Kawara and Lake Tsad, is the great mart of the interior; there the English merchandise coming from the north by the very tedious and imperfect roads through the Great Desert, meets with the American merchandise coming by steam up the Kawara from the south, where, as is well known, American influence is spreading fast. The Great Desert will ever form a natural barrier, and prevent the establishing of European commerce of any considerable magnitude; it is to the Kawara and the Tchadda, and more particularly the latter, that we must look as the means of a ready access into the virgin countries and the inexhaustible natural wealth of Inner Africa.

I am, sir, your very obedient humble servant,
AUGUSTUS PETERMANN.

9, Charing-cross, Nov. 22.

CAPTAIN INGLESFIELD'S ARCTIC DISCOVERIES.

THE Geographical Society met on Monday, to hear Captain Inglesfield, the commander of the *Isabel* screw

schooner, read an account of his late search for Sir John Franklin in the Arctic regions:—

"When he sailed from England the season was far advanced; in fact he left *three months later* than the Government expedition of last year. Notwithstanding this he had succeeded in reaching a considerably higher latitude than had been attained by Ross and Parry in their voyage of 1818, having explored and laid down 600 miles of new coast line, determining also that the entrance into Whale Sound was a great strait passing into an open sea, and thus apparently defining Greenland as an island. On the northern shore of this strait Captain Inglesfield discovered several islands (Northumberland Island, Sir Thomas Herbert's Island, and Louis Napoleon's Island), all of which were rapidly surveyed and laid down upon the charts now exhibited. Leaving this sound (as it had hitherto been termed), he sailed northward in the direction of Smith's Sound, and there found a great extent of sea stretching far before him. On the 27th of August, at 2 p.m., he attained the latitude of 78 deg. 35 min., nearly 120 miles farther north than any former voyagers, and within a great sea, the entrance of which was thirty-five miles across, only partially encumbered with ice, and which upon the eastern shore seemed perfectly navigable. Capt. Inglesfield stated that he had thus entered the great Polar basin, and declared that he believed he would have been able to have pushed through in the direction of Behring Strait, had the gale, which fairly blew him out of it, not defied his utmost efforts. The small high-pressure engine with which the *Isabel* was fitted was only equal to pushing the vessel in calms or light winds. The strong breeze soon increased to a furious gale of wind and snow, and lasted thirty hours, during which time the ship remained hove to. After it moderated, Captain Inglesfield described the perilous situation in which he was suddenly placed by driving into the lee pack, and exhibited a sketch of the position of his vessel upon this occasion. By hours of great exertion he was released, and, closely examining the western shore, entered Jones Sound on the 30th of August. Here he penetrated to long. 84 deg., and found at this point that the coast suddenly trended away to the north-west, whilst the southern shore continued westerly as far as the eye could reach, but no land could be distinguished at the bottom of the sound, nor could any trace of the missing expedition be discovered. On the 1st of September Commander Inglesfield sailed from Jones Sound with the intention of communicating with the squadron of Sir Edward Belcher; he reached Beechey Island on the 7th of September, and, after depositing his letter-bags and receiving others in return for England, sailed the same day, with a view to commence a more detailed examination of the western shores of Baffin Bay than former navigators had been able to bestow on that coast. Commander Inglesfield was unsuccessful in finding any traces of the missing expeditions on these shores, which he explored as far south as the River Clyde, where the ice fixed to the land and, stretching nearly across Baffin Bay, carried him over to the eastern shore, in the neighbourhood of Disco Islands, where he encountered a succession of gales, which he describes as being the most violent he had ever witnessed; and which, owing to the proximity of the ice and the vast bergs which surrounded the coasts, rendered them doubly dangerous. After several fruitless efforts to get into Northumberland Inlet (where the commander intended to winter), he was, at the earnest representations of his ice-masters, forced to relinquish the attempt, and bore up for England on the 14th of October, arriving at Peterhead exactly four months from the day he sailed."

Sir John Ross thought that the energetic exertions of Captain Inglesfield had completely established that Franklin never went up Wales or Jones sounds, or any other passage at the head of Baffin Bay. It remained, therefore, only to look to the Wellington Channel.

We draw attention to the facts contained in the above report, which may be summed up in a few words. According to Captain Inglesfield, he had found that Greenland is an island; that he had entered the great Polar basin leading probably to Behring's Straits; that birds, positive shoals of birds, existed in the parts he had visited; and that the species of mollusca upon which the whales feed were found by Dr. Sutherland. The Captain expressed his belief that Sir John Franklin was still to be found, and hoped the *Isabel* might be employed in the examination of the sea between Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, which Sir John Franklin had strongly wished to explore.

NEW TRIAL OF THE ACHILLI CASE.

DR. NEWMAN was brought up to receive judgment, in the great Achilli libel case, before Lord Campbell and Justices Coleridge, Wightman, and Erle, in the Court of Queen's Bench on Monday. The court was crowded with auditors, and the Earl of Carlisle sat on the back benches. When the Attorney-General prayed judgment upon John Henry Newman, and Dr. Newman rose, and was by permission of the court allowed to be seated, Sir Alexander Cockburn moved for a new trial. He did so on three grounds: the improper rejection of evidence; misdirection; and that the verdict was against the evidence. To establish these points, he insisted, first, that he had not been allowed to examine Dr. Achilli as to acts of incontinence; and that the *Dublin Review*, in which the main facts of the libel originally appeared, was not admitted in evidence. Both these reasons were overruled by the court. The next point was that the jury had been misdirected as to the exact weight to be attached to the document put in from the Inquisition at Rome. They had been told

that it was more probable Dr. Achilli was suspended for heresy than for immorality. The last point was, that the verdict was against the evidence. To show this, Sir Alexander went through the evidence at great length, commenting on the transactions at Viterbo, Naples, Capua, Corfu, Zante, Malta, and in England. Indeed, he had never seen a stronger feeling or more determined bias than was manifested by the jury upon this trial. (*A burst of applause.*) After a conference, Lord Campbell granted a rule for a new trial, on the ground that the verdict was against the evidence, and on that ground only. Another burst of applause and stamping closed up the proceedings.

THE ROYAL AUSTRALIAN MAIL STEAM COMPANY.

A SPECIAL General Meeting of the Proprietors of the Royal Australian Mail Steam Company was held on Wednesday last, to receive an explanation as to the management of the Company's affairs, principally with regard to their steamer *Melbourne*. Several proprietors were urgent for the appointment of a committee of inquiry, declaring that in that way only could the whole truth be ascertained, and that they could not be satisfied by an *ex parte* statement from the chairman. It appeared, however, that a committee of inquiry could not be appointed without a fresh requisition; and in any case Mr. Hawes, the chairman, declared that he would not be tried by such a tribunal on charges which, he said, personally affected him. He would rather bring them before her Majesty's judges. The meeting, then, having no other alternative, heard what Mr. Hawes had to say in proof that the *Melbourne* was an excellent ship, that the Company had bought her a bargain, that the Directors were most zealous, able, and so forth, and that nobody was in fault but Captain Cox, whom the Directors have dismissed. Mr. Hawes took care to tell the Proprietors that the Company had suffered considerable injury already from the stir which had been made about these matters; and this hint, aided by Captain Stanley Carr's peace-making proposal, that all present should agree in making the best of what he considered a blunder on the part of the Directors, had the effect of winding up the proceedings with a vote of condonation and confidence.

IMPORTANT JUDGMENT ON THE RAILWAY CAB-STAND QUESTION.

MR. A'BECKETT gave his decision on two cases of vast importance to the public who have occasion to travel by the various railways in and near the metropolis, on Monday. These cases had been adjourned chiefly at the request of the Brighton Railway Company. The first was that of Mr. Williams, a cab proprietor, against Thomas Hall, driver, badge 406, for plying for hire inside the terminus of the London and Brighton Railway station, that not being a place authorized by the Commissioners of Police. Mr. Ballantine attended for the complainant, and it was expected that Mr. Clarkson would have attended for the railway company, but it was intimated to Mr. A'Beckett, by Mr. Noakes, the second clerk, that the company did not intend to oppose his worship's decision. Accordingly, Mr. A'Beckett gave the following judgment:—

"This is a case heard on the 15th of last month, when the defendant appeared to answer to a summons, in which he was charged with plying for hire 'elsewhere,' within the metropolitan police district, than at a standing or place appointed for that purpose. It was proved that the defendant was plying for hire at the terminus of the Brighton Railway, where no standing has been appointed by the Commissioners of Police. I postponed the infliction of a penalty, not from any doubt as to the law, but only to give time for the law to be complied with. In the interval, the railway company has brought under my notice a case which has been submitted to the Solicitor-General and Mr. Bovill—a gentleman of considerable experience at the bar—who agree in an opinion adverse to my decision. I am of course inclined to give due consideration to an opinion emanating from so high an authority as the Solicitor-General—nearly the highest non-judicial law authority in the kingdom; but I am bound to administer the law according to my conscience and ability, which guide me to the same conclusion as that at which I in the first instance arrived. The opinion referred to, after intimating that a 'railway station is not a place within the meaning of the act,' mentions the case of *Paul v. James*, and concludes by suggesting that if the attention of the learned magistrate was not directed to the case of *Paul v. James*, he would probably re-consider his opinion. My attention has been from the first directed to that case, in which it was held that Ely-place was not a place which the commissioners for the liberty of Saffron-hill and other places could assume jurisdiction to pave. Now the summons before me does not raise the question whether the railway terminus is a place within the meaning of the statute, but simply whether a hackney carriage, plying for hire at the Brighton Railway terminus, is plying for hire 'elsewhere' than at a standing or place appointed for that purpose by the Commissioners of Police. The case of *Paul v. James*, on the strength of which it has been suggested that I should re-consider my decision, has consequently nothing to do with the

matter before me. I may perhaps, therefore, be excused for suggesting that when the learned Solicitor-General has his attention more particularly directed to that case, he will probably be induced to re-consider his opinion. It has been argued before me, and the position is set forth by the company in the case submitted to counsel, that 'although the legislature makes positive enactments which in themselves seem too clear to have doubt about, yet that the courts sometimes give a construction that the words do not appear to warrant.' Of course in any question of doubtful meaning I should look with great respect to any judicial interpretation of a clause in an act of Parliament; but I should not think of going out of my way to look for strained interpretations of language, which is plain enough until it is made the subject of vague and speculative definitions. As an attempt has been made to influence my judgment, by telling me that the superior courts often give a construction to an act that the words do not warrant, I may be excused for alluding to the conflict of opinion that sometimes arises when the courts have to speculate on the Legislature having meant something different from what is said. I may instance the well known contrariety of decision that has been given in reference to a clause of the Vagrant Act, on the meaning of which Mr. Justice Patteson put an interpretation which has subsequently been overruled by the Court of Queen's Bench, though the opinions of Mr. Justice Patteson remained the same. The point subsequently came before the Barons of the Exchequer, who, agreeing with Mr. Justice Patteson, differed from the majority of the judges of the Queen's Bench. So that what is the law in that court is not law in the Court of Exchequer. I allude to these circumstances for the purpose of showing how desirable it is for me to keep strictly to the common sense of the statute, when any speculation as to an implied meaning at variance with the expressed meaning is the cause of so much uncertainty, even among the highest and most learned legal authorities in the country. For these reasons I adhere to my opinion that in prohibiting hackney carriages from plying for hire 'elsewhere' within the metropolitan police district 'than at a standing or place appointed for the purpose,' the Legislature meant elsewhere without exception, and that if any exception had been intended it would have been expressed. It has been alleged, in the course of these proceedings, that the only motive of the railway company, in wishing to substitute railway regulations for police regulations with reference to hackney carriages at a terminus, is a desire to promote the convenience of the public. Even assuming this to be the fact, it is not desirable that a certain number of privileged hackney carriages should be withdrawn from the control of the police commissioners, who are responsible for the performance of their duties, whilst the railway companies are under no responsibility, and though at one time making regulations for the public benefit, may at another time think fit to make regulations less for the benefit of the public than for the profit of themselves. Some regulations made by the railway companies have been most inconvenient to the public; and I may instance a very general practice of placing on the sides of the railway cabs numbers different from those on the legal plates. The public, mistaking the number, placed very conspicuously on the side for the number of the licenses, in many cases have taken summons against a wrong number, by which a real offender has escaped, and an innocent party has been called on to answer for an offence he has not committed. If, however, the public convenience were really the object of the railway company, there has been abundant opportunity for carrying that object into effect. After the hearing of the case, I communicated with the Commissioners of Police, and I had the authority of Sir Richard Mayne to express to the company—as I did through the secretary of the company on the same day I received such authority—the readiness of the commissioners to appoint a standing for hackney carriages at the terminus, and also to adopt any regulations suggested or hitherto enforced by the company, if such regulations should be deemed conducive to the public convenience. The time allowed for compliance with the law has been employed by the company in endeavouring to discover whether by any possibility the law can be evaded. It is my duty to put the law in force. Looking, however, at the case before me, as one selected for settling the question, I do not consider it necessary to inflict in this instance a more than nominal penalty. The defendant will, therefore, be fined 1s., with the costs of the summons."

The next decision was against Little, driver 3214, for refusing to take a fare at the station of the same railway. This charge was preferred against him by Harry Chester, Esq., of the Privy Council Office, who came up from Brighton a few days ago, and requested the defendant to convey him to Downing-street, while plying for hire inside the station. The driver, in defence, saying that there were other cabs before him, and he could not take the fare before them under a penalty of 5s. inflicted by the company for breaking their regulations. Mr. A'Beckett said, he had decided a case similar to this before, and he must do precisely the same as he did then—that is, inflict a penalty of 40s. and costs. On the last occasion he gave a caution; and as defendant had disobeyed the law with his eyes open, he must expect to be fined.

Little said, he had been a respectable cabman for twenty-six years, and had never been fined before. He must obey the regulations of the railway company. Mr. Acton said, that since the last case, orders had been given by the railway company to the cabmen to take the first fare that called them.

Mr. A'Beckett said, it would be as well for the public to know that such was the case as the railway company. He must, however, inflict a penalty of 40s. and costs, which was paid immediately.

THE WELLINGTON ORDERS.

THE various orders and decorations of the late Duke of Wellington, which were exhibited at the lying-in-state at Chelsea Hospital, were on view, to the privileged, at Messrs. Garrard's, Panton-street, Haymarket, in the course of the week, no satisfactory opportunity having been afforded to the visitors at the melancholy ceremonial last week to examine this most interesting and unique collection. The decorations were exhibited in a large glass case, upon black velvet, the batons being placed in front. At the top is the unpretending looking Order of the Garter, and near this is a decoration which is unique, being the only one of the kind ever conferred—the Collar of Victory, presented to the Duke by George IV.; it is of massive gold, and on the medallion shields, which are interspersed among the other ornaments, are inscribed the names of the several victories won by the Duke. In a corner on the right, almost too small to be observed, is the Duke's favourite badge, the Waterloo medal, which he wore on most public occasions, and which is precisely similar to that worn by the common rank and file of the army. Below hangs a broad, pale blue, faded-looking riband, to which many interesting associations are attached, as the relic of a dynasty long passed and almost forgotten. It is the Order of St. Esprit, the star and badge of which, set in diamonds, is valued at thirty thousand pounds. Another interesting decoration is that of St. George of Russia, with its black and orange riband: it is the highest order in the Russian empire, and is not worn by the Emperor himself, his military services not entitling him to that distinction. The Emperor Alexander is said to have observed to the Duke, "When you come to Russia and wear this order, you will be my master." The baton of a Russian field-marshal, which was also presented by the Emperor Alexander to the Duke, is a very gorgeous affair in frosted gold, studded with large diamonds. It was carried by the Duke at the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas, and also when he appeared in public in St. Petersburg. The riband of the Garter, which the Duke wore more frequently in this country than any other, is quite dirty and faded, and whoever may be the inheritor of this distinction will certainly require a new one. The Spanish riband and decorations are among the most showy and brilliant of the entire. There is the Order of the Golden Fleece, the massive collar of which is said to be that worn by Ferdinand V. himself. The Order of San Fernando of the highest class, with its cross and scarlet riband, to which is attached the belt and sash of a grandee of Spain, and the Order of St. Hermenegildo of Spain, with its riband and star. The Order of the Sword of Sweden is a tiny little affair, although the representative of great achievements, and the visitor cannot look without emotion upon the two small decorations on the left—one of which is the Indian medal with three clasps, which indicate the early achievements of the Duke, and the Peninsular medal with nine clasps, which give it the appearance of a lady's modern bracelet, and which records the number and extent of the deceased warrior's victories in Spain and Portugal. We can merely glance at the names of some of the remainder. Prussia, in addition to a baton, conferred upon him no less than five orders—those of St. Andrew, Sir Alexander Newsky, St. George, the Black Eagle, and the Red Eagle of Brandenburg; Hanover, the Order of the Guelphs, with its cross, riband, and star; Austria, the much-prized decoration of Maria Theresa, which is equivalent to our Order of the Garter. From the Netherlands there is the order of Wilhelm of the Netherlands; and from Portugal a field-marshal's baton, with the Order of the Tower and Sword. From Denmark the Danish Order of Merit, with its riband and star, and the Order of St. Januarius of the Two Sicilies. The Order of the Crown of Saxony, the Order of St. Ferdinand of Sicily, the supreme Order of the Annunziata of Sardinia, the Order of the Lion d'Or of Hesse Cassel, the military Order of Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria, the Order of Fidelité of Baden, the Order of Military Merit of Wurttemberg, and the Order of the Lion of Baden.

MURDER, AND ATTEMPT TO MURDER.

HENRY HORLER was charged at the Mansion House with murdering his wife. He had been married about a year and a half. On Monday, the 15th inst., the mother of the wife called upon her with the intention of taking her home, as Horler ill-used her. She had no objection to live with him if he would keep his hands off. But as she seemed disposed to go with her mother, Horler said she should not go that night; and it was agreed that she should go next day. Horler applied to the police for protection from the mother, who wanted to take away his wife. A policeman named Dixon was sent to interfere; and he advised them to settle matters amicably. But that night he cut her throat.

The mother returned to the lodging next morning:—"At a little after ten I went up stairs and called 'Ann' at their door about five minutes. I heard him say, as if speaking to somebody, 'Oh, that's Mrs. Rogers.' I said, 'Why don't you open the door to me, Henry?' Where is Ann? He said, 'She is all right.' The witness then proceeded to state her suspicions of the nature of the prisoner's conduct, and the fact of her alarming the police.

According to Dixon, who conveyed him to prison after his remand on Tuesday, when he was first charged, he gave the following account. Dixon said—"I conveyed the prisoner to prison, when he was remanded on Tuesday. In going along he said, 'After mother left the night before, I talked with my wife respecting her leaving me in the morning to go home with her mother, which I believed she did not want to do, and we then agreed to destroy each other. She took a knife, and I took one also. I then was on the bed with her, and said to her, 'Remember, this will be the last time.' I was then on the point of cutting her throat with the knife I had in my hand. She then said, 'Henry, stop; I will tell you where your razor is, by which you can do it quicker.' I (the officer) said to the prisoner, 'Was she undressed?' 'No,' said he, 'we were not undressed, either of us.' He also said it oc-

curred before day, early in the morning. When I first discovered the body it was dressed."

As there seemed no doubt about the guilt of Horler, he was committed for trial.

Mary Anne Mitton was the wife of a rifleman; but while he was absent, John Sudd, a cabinet-maker, fell in love with her, and induced her to live with him. The other day he heard that Mitton was coming home, and followed Mary Anne to a beershop, she having declined to have anything more to do with him. Sudd called her out of the beershop, put his arm round her neck, and cut her throat in the street. She was instantly taken to the hospital, and Sudd has been committed for trial.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Court has remained at Windsor since the funeral, and on Monday the Queen entertained the foreign military deputations. Prince Albert and the Belgian Princes have been out shooting this week. The Queen does not seem to take much out-door exercise.

Among the new visitors at the Castle were Lord Cowley, the Duchess of Atholl, and M. Van de Weyer.

Lord Ingestre's proposition for a substantial memorial to the great Duke was laughed at by the *Times*, but the leading journal does not ridicule a similar proposition from "Downing-street." And for good reason. The Queen has put her name down for 1000*l.*, and Prince Albert for 500*l.*, towards the erection and endowment, by public subscription, "of a school or college, to bear the name of the Duke of Wellington, for the gratuitous, or nearly gratuitous, education of orphan children of indigent and meritorious officers of the army." This project is to be grandly carried out. "No payment to be demanded until the total sum subscribed shall amount to 100,000*l.*" It is remarked that the first list of subscriptions was, with the exception of the names of the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Hatherton, composed of the names of Ministerialists.

We have received a copy of the petition of the Friends of Italy to the House of Commons, against the prolonged French and Austrian occupation of the Roman States. We regret that we are unable to publish this petition at length in our present number. We cordially concur in the recommendation so eloquently urged by Mazzini in the following noble words:—

"Circulated in print or manuscript, in every locality, through the agency of liberal collective bodies or of influential individuals; signed in every popular association whose members look for the best support for their special agitation, in the general principle that man has been placed here to do all the good he can in every direction, in every religious congregation where there lives abhorrence of the Lie now enthroned at Rome, and communing love for a people longing to proclaim liberty of conscience in the very seat of spiritual despotism; adopted by all believers in civil and religious liberty as the rightful law, not only for England but for the world; and sent back to Parliament through the representative of the town or province, it would rise to the importance of a great national document, it would embody a mighty thought of international justice, determine the first step of a political life more attuned to England's mission and true interests, than the now prevailing system of self-abdication, and record a noble protest against the schemes of absolutist reaction, now unfolding on the Continent, and threatening England's shores."

We hear that a petition, founded on conclusive evidence, will shortly be presented to Parliament, complaining of bribery at the late Liverpool election.—*Liverpool Albion.*

The cause of Mr. Hume's absence from the House of Commons this week is the death of a lamented sister.

The return of Mr. Price for Gloucester has been petitioned against, on the ground of bribery and treating.

Major Rawlinson, Orientalist, has been recommended to the king by the Royal Academy of Berlin, as a candidate for the medal of the Prussian Order of Merit, vacant by the death of the late Thomas Moore.

Lord Roden, Lord Cavan, Captain Trotter, and others, have published a report of the result of their non-political intervention in behalf of the imprisoned Madiai. They were courteously rebuffed. Lord Roden had seen the prisoners, who were confined in separate prisons, and subjected to hard labour. Although Lord Roden does not intimate that there is any probability of their release, we observe that a Prussian journal in noting the return of the Prussian member of the deputation, Count Arnim, expresses a belief that the Madiai will be shortly released, on condition that they quit the country.

A deputation, headed by twenty-one members of parliament, sent from eleven large towns in the north, waited on Sir John Trollope, on Wednesday, to request the immediate and total revocation of the late prohibitory order of the Poor Law Board. They represented upwards of two millions of population. The ground of their request was expressed in a resolution agreed to at a great meeting at Manchester on the 24th of October, affirming that the order "can only be carried out through the sacrifice of all discretion and humanity by boards of guardians, and the surrender of all right of control or opinion by the ratepayers." Sir John Trollope maintained the order in a long speech, and promised a written reply: for which we wait.

Messrs. Owen Jones and Digby Wyatt were at Munich on the 17th, engaged in taking models of ancient and modern specimens of art for the Crystal Palace.

The Manchester Free Public Library has now been open eleven weeks, and the total number of volumes issued during that time has been; from the reference library, 19,387; from the lending library, 19,630: total, 39,017, or a daily average of 591 from both libraries.

The University of London has determined on a vigorous effort to obtain one of the now vacant seats in the House of Commons, which Mr. Disraeli, notwithstanding his strongly-avowed inclination to an educational franchise, was fain to hand over to agricultural constituencies. A preliminary meeting, "to concert the necessary operations," and to appoint a committee to conduct the movement, is to be held at the Freemason's Tavern, on Tuesday next. Mr. James Heywood, M.P., in the chair.

The annual meeting of the Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge, is announced to take place at Exeter Hall, on Wednesday next. Douglas Jerrold will take the chair. It is hoped that Mr. Disraeli may, at least to some extent, have anticipated the objects of this meeting in his forthcoming financial revision.

Mr. Cole, the general superintendent of the department of Practical Art, opened the session, on Wednesday, with an address on the facilities afforded by the department to all classes of the community in obtaining education in art. Among other things Mr. Cole stated, that as far as practical on self-supporting principles, the department would endeavour to encourage and assist, but not supersede, all local efforts to introduce education in the elements of form and colour into schools of all kinds; to promote the establishment of special schools for the practice of advanced studies; to afford instruction in the specialties of manufacture, so far as they regulated the nature of the art to be applied; and, lastly, to establish a central museum of arts and manufactures applicable to direct instruction. In all these various objects the principle would be to give assistance half-way, but no further.

The working-classes of Marylebone were invited to attend a meeting at the Princess's Concert-room, on Saturday evening, at seven o'clock, by Mr. Oliveira, M.P., for the purpose of promoting that gentleman's scheme for establishing libraries, to which these classes may have gratuitous access. Mr. T. Wilson, a wood carver, was called to the chair. Mr. Oliveira forcibly impressed upon his auditors the importance of assisting an attempt to diffuse a humanising and kindly influence, by drawing together persons of high and low degree in the same room and for the same object—the attainment of useful knowledge. Mr. Oliveira instanced the success of the infant institution at Manchester, and the recognition of the value of these libraries by the Common Council of London, and then read extracts from a letter of Lord Brougham, highly approving the plan, promising to contribute, and suggesting that the management should be placed in the hands of the working classes themselves. It was also stated that warm encouragement had been expressed in communications from the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Harrowby, and other gentlemen. In conclusion, Mr. Oliveira said a rate of a halfpenny in the pound would be amply sufficient to maintain in efficiency such an institution in Marylebone, and there was every reason to hope that legislative authority would be conferred, as it would be in strict accordance with the act already passed upon this subject. Mr. McGregor, M.P.; Mr. Digby Seymour, M.P.; Mr. Goldsmith, and Mr. Withers, delivered addresses of the like tenor, and resolutions were adopted, pledging the meeting to support the establishment of a free library in Marylebone, appointing a committee of working-men to co-operate with Mr. Oliveira's committee, and soliciting a penny-subscription in the parish.

In addition to this, Mr. Oliveira presided over a spirited meeting at the Marylebone Court-house on Wednesday. Among their supporters they now number Prince Albert, the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Brougham, Dr. Spry and the Bishop of London. Among the speakers were Mr. Ewart, Sir B. Hall, Lord Dudley Stuart, Mr. John Macgregor, members of Parliament; and other gentlemen.

In the garrison church at Berlin, a funeral service for the Duke of Wellington was performed on the 18th. The royal family were present, and great numbers of soldiers.

Thanks for their admirable conduct on the 18th, have been addressed to the Army in a General Order by Lord Hardinge; and to the Police by Mr. Walpole. Neither omit to mention the good conduct of the people. A gratuity of one shilling has been given to the troops.

St. Paul's has, this week, been opened to the public illuminated as at the Duke's funeral; but the arrangements for granting tickets of admission have been so bad that numerous complaints have appeared in the daily journals. One person went three successive days, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, and could not procure tickets, while rickshaws were selling them at half-a-crown and eighteen-pence each in St. Paul's churchyard.

Accounts continue to be received from the counties of the success of the Militia Act; and the dashing appearance of the volunteers. It is clear that the 50,000 men are in some sort select; and, although only five feet two and upwards, likely to become good and brave soldiers.

More than one of the Prefects and Mayors of Louis Napoleon, in urging the electors to vote, reminds them of the treaties of 1815, to be avenged, and the disaster of Waterloo to be expiated.

The *Journal des Débats* has at length accepted the Empire not, however, before it had become a question of life or death with the proprietors of that distinguished journal. Whether M. Michel Chevalier, an old contributor to the *Débats*, and a Senator, may have had any share in effecting this conversion, we cannot say; but we should think the accession of such a supporter would seriously affect the condition of the more strictly Bonapartist organs.

The remains of the Abbé Gioberti have arrived at Turin.

The restored "paternal" Government of the Grand Duke at Florence has re-established the guillotine for

crimes against religion, of public violence against the Government, premeditated homicide, and robbery with violence.

Abd-el-Kader, we are told, expressed his desire to be allowed to vote in the election of the Emperor. Accordingly the Emir and all his suite at Amboise were provided with a balloting urn, in which they deposited their contributions to the degradation of the French people. Verily, Abd-el-Kader, as he dropped his bulletin of *Oui* into the urn, must have felt himself avenged!

The obnoxious law presented by the Belgian Ministry to the Chamber, in compliance with the wishes of the French Emperor, to restrict the press from speaking freely of foreign powers, has been considerably shorn of its uglier portions in its passage through the committee appointed to examine its provisions. When it again reaches the Chamber, it will be scarcely recognizable by its authors.

The discovery of gold in South Australia is now an authenticated fact. Large quantities of surface gold have been discovered in the district of Onkaparinga, fifteen miles east of Adelaide. The auriferous district is supposed to be sixty miles in extent. These facts are confirmed by the reports of the colonial secretary and the land commissioner.

The *Forerunner* was dismayed, it appears, in a gale on the 4th. After refitting at Gibraltar, she set out for Plymouth, where she arrived on the 21st. The passengers had come home previously in the *Tiber*. At Gibraltar some of the passengers presented Captain Atkins, before leaving, with a letter of thanks for his kindness during the voyage, and coolness and discretion during the gale of the 4th instant. They further stated that their reason for leaving the ship was not from any want of confidence in him, or doubt as to the seaworthiness of the *Forerunner*.

Abbas Pacha, viceroy of Egypt, has had a steam frigate yacht built for him in the Thames. Her dimensions are—length 283 feet, with a great breadth of beam. She is of 2217 tons burden, old measurement, with paddle-wheels 42 feet in diameter, the largest ever made. There are two engines of 400 horse-power each, manufactured by Maudslay, Son, and Field. She is called the *Faid Ghihaad*, or "Favour of War." She left the Thames on Thursday week, and anchored in Southampton-water on Friday—a capital run for new machinery. She is a magnificent little craft, splendidly fitted up, and runs 15 knots an hour. A banquet was given on board on Saturday.

According to a recent decision in the Court of Exchequer, the rule which had been obtained by Mr. Gye for leave to demur to the declaration of Mr. Lumley in the Wagner case, was made absolute. Probably the trial will come on next week.

Sir Charles Napier has brought an action against Mr. John Murray, the publisher of the *Quarterly Review*, for libel. The offending passages were contained in an article on the *Ameers of Scinde*, charging Sir Charles with disgraceful conduct in his civil and military career in Scinde. This was rebutted by an affidavit stating that the facts, as alleged in the article, were untrue. The case was tried in the Court of Queen's Bench on Tuesday. Lord Campbell held that there was nothing in the article to show an intention to calumniate Sir Charles. It was written upon a disputed passage in history as to whether he had treated the *Ameers* with harshness or generosity. Believing the affidavit of Sir Charles, Lord Campbell still thought that it would be encroaching on the liberty of the press to grant a criminal information. Whatever might take place elsewhere, he trusted we should always have a free press. It was no libel to impute incompetence to a high public functionary. Sir Charles Napier was one of the most gallant, most meritorious, and most distinguished generals who had ever led a British army in the field. He could not grant a rule for the filing of a criminal information.

Lord Campbell has refused the application made by Mr. Huddleston, that Bartholomew and Morny, participants in the late duel, should be admitted to bail.

The Lord Chief Justice of Ireland delivered judgment on the motion of the Attorney-General to quash the proceedings of the coroner's inquest in the Six-mile Bridge affair. There was no precedent to guide the decision of the Bench; and in the absence of precedent, he could not undertake to quash those proceedings; therefore, without expressing any opinion whatsoever upon the merits of the finding of the jury, he felt bound to refuse the rule.

Two other persons, named Barton and Pearce, have died from the effects of the squeezing in the crowd at the lying in state.

Henry Blackburn, or Blackband, has been committed on a charge of murdering his father and mother, the old couple whose bodies were found half burned and dreadfully mutilated in a cottage near Stafford.

A light-haired, thin-faced person, with bushy whiskers, and an effeminate voice, has been creating a sensation in Manchester by uttering forged notes of the Bank of England.

Two young women, both domestic servants, have been acquitted this week of charges, one of killing her illegitimate child; the other of concealing the birth. Elizabeth Barwaker, had been suspected by her fellow servants; on the 8th of November certain indications were visible about the house; a noise like the crying of a cat in distress was heard in a cupboard; Barwaker went into the room and the cry ceased. Subsequently a child's body was found dead in the yard. The other case was similar. Bridget Dowling denied her condition; search was made, proofs of delivery were found; and the body of a child in the dust-bin wrapped in carpet.

Two young men, residing in the neighbourhood of Droitwich, Worcestershire, named John Smith and Charles Cook, have been committed to Worcester County-gaol on a charge of attempting to murder one of Sir John Pakington's gamekeepers, by shooting at him. It appears that the keepers had found that on Sunday mornings poaching was carried on in the preserves, and accordingly on Sun-

day, the 7th inst., the underkeeper and two watchers lay in wait for them. About five o'clock in the morning the prisoners made their appearance, and Smith was seized by one of the watchers, named Nott. Upon this both men attacked Nott, who received a violent blow on the head, and also had an arm broken with a gun-barrel. Smith also called to Cook to blow out Nott's brains, upon which Cook put a percussion cap on his gun, and pulled the trigger. The cap exploded, but not the charge in the gun, or Nott must have been a dead man. Both prisoners were afterwards taken into custody.

The Thames and rivers running into it between London and Oxford, has again overflowed its banks this week, damaging property at Reading and Maidenhead, and stopping the trains on the lines from Oxford. The Frome has risen again and covered the country between Bristol and Clevedon. Nottingham has also suffered.

A Parliamentary paper published on Wednesday, proves that only one vessel containing negroes landed in June, 1852, on the Brazilian coast, but that the importation of negro slaves into Cuba amounted to 4,118 in the period between the 1st of January and the 9th of October of the current year.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

During the three weeks that have passed of this month the deaths show a decrease, having been successively 1101, 1022, and 922. In the ten weeks corresponding to the week that ended last Saturday the average number was 1016, which, if corrected for increase of population, becomes 1118, than which amount last week's mortality is less by 196. These facts are evidence that the public health has not suffered lately, notwithstanding the unusual and prolonged wetness of the weather.

A decrease is also observed in the mortality of zymotic diseases, which have declined from 228 in the preceding week to 184 in the last, while in the same time diseases of the respiratory organs (exclusive of phthisis) have decreased from 192 to 167. Scarlatina has fallen from 88 to 59; and with respect to other epidemics the numbers referred to them last week are as follow:—Small-pox, 4; measles, 8; whooping-cough, 17; croup, 4; thrush, 4; diarrhoea, 16; dysentery, 1; influenza, 3; purpura, 1; ague, 1; infantile and remittent fever, 2; typhus, 50; puerperal fever, 6 (besides other five deaths that occurred in child-bearing); erysipelas, 5; syphilis, 1.

Last week the births of 770 boys and 720 girls, in all 1490 children, were registered in London. In the seven corresponding weeks of the years 1845-51 the average number was 1337.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean reading of the barometer in the week was 29.159 in. The mean temperature of the week was 49.3 deg., which is 5.2 deg. above the average of the same week in ten years. The mean daily temperature was above the average on every day of the week, and the excess was more than 8 deg. on Monday and Tuesday, and 6 deg. on Wednesday and Saturday. The wind blew generally from the south-west. The rain in the week amounted to 1.77 in.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 14th of November, at Drake's-place, the wife of the Rev. W. W. Pulman, M.A., vicar of Wellington, Somerset: of a son.

On the 17th, at 25, Park-street, Grosvenor-square, the wife of Protheroe Smith, Esq., M.D.: a daughter.

On the 20th, at No. 7, Chester-terrace, Regent's-park, the Hon. Lady Pearson: a daughter.

On the 22nd, at Hale-house, near Salisbury, the Lady Adela Goff: a daughter.

On the 22nd, at 13, Charington-street, Somers-town, the wife of Blucher Thomas Edward Death, Esq.: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 16th of November, at St. Michael's Church, Chester, the Rev. Henry Cunliffe, M.A., vicar of Shiffhall, Salop, third son of Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Cunliffe, Bart., C.B., of Acton-park, Denbighshire, to Mary Augusta, only daughter of Sir James Riddell, Bart., of Strontian and Ardnachan, N.B.

On the 16th, at Seal, William Talbot Agar, Esq., of Elm-lodge, Camden-town, to Jessy Harriet, second daughter of Sir Alexander Crichton, K.B.S.W., K.B.A., F.R.S., of the Grove, Seal, near Sevenoaks.

On the 17th, at St. John's Episcopal Chapel, Forres, by the Very Rev. the Dean of Moray and Ross, John Henry Jenkinson, Esq., youngest son of the late John Banks Jenkinson, Bishop of St. David's, to Alice Henrietta, third daughter of Sir William Gordon Cumming, Bart., of Altyre.

On the 23rd, at All Souls' Church, Langham-place, Captain Colin Campbell, 1st Madras Light Cavalry, son of the late John Campbell, Esq., of Kinloch, Perthshire, to Amelia, youngest daughter of the late Major-General Sir Archibald Galloway, K.C.B.

DEATHS.

On the 10th of June, 1852, at Christchurch, Canterbury Settlement, New Zealand, Eustace, third son of Conway L. Rose, Esq.

On the 15th of November, at Southborough, the Lady Louisa Boyle, of 59, Cambridge-terrace, Hyde-park-gardens.

The Lady Winston Barron, wife of Sir Henry Winston Barron, Bart., of Barron-court, county of Waterford, and daughter of Sir Gregory Pigo Turner, Bart., of Battlesden-park, Bedfordshire, &c.

On the 9th, at Naples, the Right Hon. John Earl of Shrewsbury.

On the 17th, at his residence, Summerlands, Exeter, Lieutenant-General Alfred Richards, C.B., D.E.L.C.S.

On the 17th, at the Château de Vaux, Seine-et-Oise, Jeanne, aged sixteen, the daughter of the Baron Marchetti.

On the 18th, at Wrexham, Emma, third daughter of the late James Topping, Esq., M.P., of Whiteroot-hall, Cheshire, King's Counsel.

On the 18th, at Barnard Castle, Durham, Lady Hullock, widow of the late Mr. Baron Hullock.

On the 18th, at Shirley-park, Surrey, the Countess of Eldon.

On the 20th, at Montrose, Mrs. Balfour, relict of the late Captain Balfour, of that town, and sister of Joseph Hume, Esq., M.P.

On the 21st, at her house in Curzon-street, Miss Berry, in the ninetieth year of her age.

On the 22nd, at his residence, 34, Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, Samuel Merriman, M.D., aged eighty-one.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

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. No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. What is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith. We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, November 20.

PARLIAMENT re-assembled last night. In the House of Commons the business was miscellaneous. In answer to Sir JOHN SHELLEY, Mr. Secretary WALPOLE repeated his declaration of a preceding evening, that as regarded Convocation, Government had no intention of interfering, unless that body should ask licence from the Crown. Otherwise the question would be left to the Archbishop. The only deviation which had been made from the ordinary course was in the Address having been debated in Convocation for three days instead of one, and in a committee having been appointed—a proceeding with which Government could not interfere. But he declared that nothing should induce him to advise the Crown to grant a licence to Convocation.

In reply to Lord JOHN RUSSELL, the COLONIAL SECRETARY intimated that he hoped soon to have favourable accounts from the seat of war at the Cape, and he also, at some length, entered into explanations why it had been deemed necessary to delay the transmitting of the constitution to that colony.

The House had become very full, it being expected that Sir Alexander Cockburn would bring the Derby election case under the consideration of the House, but the SPEAKER, on Sir Alexander's name being called, expressed a decided conviction that the petition was informal. Sir A. COCKBURN declared his readiness to withdraw his motion, adding his opinion, however, that the petitioners were bound to give the parties complained against an opportunity of explanation. Sir J. YARDE BULLER professed his readiness to enter at once into the case on the part of Major Beresford. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said that there would be no difficulty in devising the means of a speedy inquiry into the question, which he was sure everybody desired.

The motion was then withdrawn, and the House instantly thinned, with some apparent disappointment.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL for IRELAND obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the proceedings in the superior courts of common law in that country. He explained its important details at great length, and stated that it contained 274 clauses.

Mr. HUME moved for a call of the House for the day before that of Mr. Villiers's motion, considering that a question of so much importance could not be finally settled unless there was a due attendance of the representatives of the nation. Mr. ROBERT PALMER saw no object in the motion, as there was no means of enforcing the attendance of members, except at the mere call of their names. After some observations from Mr. EWART and Mr. CARTER in favour of the motion, and from Lord BERNARD against it, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER remarked that the time for the call was very short, but he should certainly not oppose the motion, as that of Tuesday was in a considerable degree a question of confidence in Ministers. Sergeant SHEE declared that it would be quite impossible for certain Irish members to attend. Lord JOHN RUSSELL thought notice should have been given of this motion immediately on that of Mr. Villiers's. But the House was always lenient in judging excuses for absence, and he thought the call should take place.

The House then divided; and Mr. Hume's motion was carried by 147 to 142—majority in its favour, 5.

Early in the evening the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER gave notice that he should move the following amendment to Mr. Villiers's motion:—

"That this House acknowledges with satisfaction that the cheapness of provisions occasioned by recent legislation has mainly contributed to improve the condition and to increase the comfort of the working classes, and that, unrestricted competition having been adopted after due deliberation as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is the duty of Government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform which, under the circumstances of the country, they may deem it their duty to introduce."

In the House of Lords, the Earl of St. GERMAINS inquired from the Government whether there was any prospect of the minutes of proceedings of the International Sanitary Conference held in Paris in 1851, for

the purpose of considering the quarantine regulations of Europe, being soon laid upon the table? He also wished to know upon whose advice the letter from the Privy Council to the Commissioners of Customs was written, which directed that all vessels arriving from certain northern ports, or having recently suffered from cholera, should be placed in a state of precautionary quarantine, one passage in which he considered abandoned the only principle upon which the quarantine system could be maintained? The noble earl further inquired whether the La Plata had been released from quarantine, and if not, what measures had been taken for the reception and accommodation of the unfortunate persons on board the vessel? The Earl of MALMESBURY replied to the first question, that he could not lay the papers upon the table because the negotiations were not yet concluded; but he had every reason to hope they would not terminate without ten or twelve countries signing the convention, if not all. The Earl of LONSDALE, in reply to the second question, said the letter in question had been written upon the advice of a skilful physician. With regard to the La Plata, a physician had been sent down to the port at which the vessel had arrived, from whence he would forward such recommendations as might seem desirable to him.

In reply to a question from Lord REDESDALE, Lord COLCHESTER said the Government had come to the determination of moving for a select committee to consider the subject of railway regulation. The Earl of DERBY added that when railway companies came to Parliament for new and amended bills to extend the powers they already possessed, the opportunity should be taken to introduce fresh regulations for the conveyance of mails and troops.

The event of the sitting, however, was a speech from the Earl of DERBY, who spoke the panegyric of the conduct of the people, in expressing his deep satisfaction and thankfulness at the result of the great solemnity of the funeral of the late Duke of Wellington. The Police and the Troops had behaved most admirably.

"But," he exclaimed, "we must not be unjust to other classes, without whose signal co-operation and admirable conduct I will not say the efforts of the military and police would have been unavailing, but they undoubtedly rendered their task, arduous as it must have been under any circumstances, a matter of comparative ease and safety. My lords, when you consider how large a portion of the population of the United Kingdom was for that single day crowded in the streets of the metropolis—when you remember, those at least to whose lot it fell to take a part in that procession, and to see it throughout its whole length—when you remember that throughout that long line, extending to about three miles, from Grosvenor-place to St. Paul's cathedral, there was not one single unoccupied foot of ground, and that you passed through a living sea of faces all turned to look upon that great spectacle—when you saw every house, every window, every house-top, loaded with persons anxious to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of England's greatest son—when you saw those persons (those, at least, in the streets) remaining with entire and unflinching patience for many hours in a position in which movement was scarcely possible, and yet that hardly a single accident occurred to the most feeble woman or child among that vast assemblage—when through the whole of that route not only was a perfect decorum preserved, and a perfect and ready assistance given to the efforts of the police and military, but that there was no unseemly eagerness to witness the magnificent spectacle, no light or thoughtless applause of its splendour; but the people of England, in the awful silence of those vast crowds, testified in the most emphatic manner the sense in which every man among them felt the public loss that England has sustained. My lords, I know not how you looked upon this great manifestation of public feeling, and of public good sense and order; but I know this, that as I passed along those lines it was with pride and satisfaction I felt that I was a fellow-countryman of those who knew so well how to regulate and control themselves. And I could not help entertaining a hope that those foreign visitors who have done us and themselves the honour of assisting at this great ceremonial might, on this occasion as well as on the occasion of the 1st of May, 1851, bear witness back to their own countries how safely, and to what an extent, a people may be relied upon over whom the strongest hold of their government was their own reverence and respect for the free institutions of their country and the principles of popular self-government, controlled and modified by a constitutional monarchy." (Cheers.)

Turning to the scene in St. Paul's, he said, with evident emotion, and in faltering and subdued tones:—

"And when the close of that impressive ceremony approached—when, amidst the solemn and mournful music, slowly, and inch by inch, the coffin that bore the illustrious departed descended into its last long resting-place, I, my lords, was near enough to see the countenances of many veteran companions of his labours and his triumphs, and was near enough to hear the suppressed sobs, and to witness the hardly-checked tear which would not have disgraced the cheek of England's bravest son, as they looked down for the last time upon all that was mortal of our mighty hero."

He praised the conduct of the French Minister in attending the ceremony, and lauded the high principle of the Duke, who only fought to secure a lasting peace.

"I trust that we shall bear this in mind, not in words only, but by actions and in our policy, and that, setting aside all political and party considerations, we shall all concur in this opinion—that in order to be peaceful, England must be powerful; but that if England ought to be powerful, she ought to be so only that she may be the more secure of peace." (Cheers.)

The noble Earl then concluded by moving the adjournment of the House. The motion was agreed to, and their Lordships adjourned shortly before seven o'clock.

Thursday was observed as a holyday in the Dublin law courts, and all the Government offices save the Post-office. The Bank, Stock Exchange, and Encumbered Estates Court were open as usual. Several of the vessels in the Liffey had their flags half-mast high, while the bells of the College and Christ Church tolled the death peal for the late Duke of Wellington.

We are authorized to state, that, by permission of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, the public will be admitted to view the fittings of the interior of the cathedral on Monday next, and during the remainder of the ensuing week. The hours of admission on Monday will be from 12 till 8: on the remaining days of the week from 8 till 8; and, to persons specifying the hours between which they desire to be admitted, tickets will be delivered on and after Monday, from 8 A.M. till 8 P.M., at the Excise Office, Broad-street, and at the stores of the Commissioners of her Majesty's Works and Buildings in Smith-street, Westminster. No person will be admitted without a ticket, and the number of admissions will be limited to 700 within each hour.

The French boat, with the Levant mail, left Constantinople on the 6th, having been detained twenty-four hours by the French ambassador, who was anxious to remit to his Government the result of his conferences with the Sultan concerning Abd-el-Kader's internement at Brussa. In these interviews the Sultan proved himself nervously anxious to fix with great precision the terms on which he is to receive his uninvited guest before the arrival of the Emir.

Letters from Kalisch state that important movements of troops are going forward throughout the entire kingdom of Poland. In Kalisch and its neighbourhood, which throughout the summer have been void of troops, an entire army corps is expected, and will be located along the entire western frontier of Russian-Poland. From these arrangements, the writer states, the inference drawn on the spot is, that the Czar is preparing for eventualities in the west of Europe.

We regret to have to record the demise of the Earl of Shrewsbury, which took place on the 9th inst., at Naples, after a short illness. The noble earl has been sojourning on the continent during the last two years, and was recently at Palermo. About the 3rd instant he was suddenly seized with an affection of the brain, caused by exposure to the intense heat of the place, and his removal to Rome was advised by his medical attendants. After resting for a day his lordship and suite set out for that city, and reached Naples, where he was taken suddenly ill of fever, and soon after expired. At Birmingham last evening a solemn dirge, at which the Right Reverend Dr. Ullathorne officiated, was sung for the repose of the soul of the deceased nobleman. Lord Shrewsbury, who was well known as a prominent Roman Catholic, of the Ultramontane school, was in his 63rd year, and in default of male issue succeeded in his titles by his cousin, Bertram Arthur, son of the late Lieut.-Colonel Talbot, by Julia, daughter of Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart. This young gentleman is now, therefore, Earl of Shrewsbury, Waterford, and Wexford, Premier Earl of England, and Hereditary Lord Steward of the Household for Ireland.—*Globe*.

The mail ship, *La Plata*, arrived at Southampton, on Thursday. Nine of her crew, including the captain, had died of the yellow fever. She was placed in quarantine; but on Friday the passengers were released from her, a message having been received from the Board of Customs by electric telegraph. The superintendent, Captain Barton, immediately on being informed of the decision of the board, sent a small steamer alongside the *La Plata*, and the passengers were at once conveyed to the docks. No fresh case has occurred since the ship has been in port, and the medical inspector, Mr. Wiblin, reports that those on board who had been attacked were in a fair way of recovery.

Captain Harness, the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, having requested the assistance of two officers from the Customs Department in consequence of the extreme pressure of business at the Mint, the Commissioners of Customs have given directions for the attendance of two of their officers for the desired purpose until further orders.

At Worcester the Severn has flooded the neighbouring fields, destroying cattle. Parts of the town near the banks, chiefly occupied by poorer classes, have been under water for some days, and the inhabitants, imprisoned in the upper rooms, were deprived of food, and would, many of them, have starved, had it not been for the exertions of a committee of public safety called by the mayor, who formed a fund to pay for provisions, and for carrying them to these poor people, and for meeting all the wants that must surround the sufferers even when the waters go down, as all the rooms will be uninhabitable and the furniture destroyed.

The Leader

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1852.

Public Affairs.

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

THE CONTEST OF THE WEEK.

THE question formally propounded for the debate which commenced on Tuesday night, was but a very small part of the real and important question in issue, as to the establishment of Free-trade for the national policy. There was no doubt on either side. Of course it was not to be expected that Ministers would vote censure upon themselves; nor was the mythological expectation that they would walk out of the house, and leave the majority to vote the censure unopposed, justified by any precedent or verisimilitude. That is not the way in which Ministers usually behave; and if they had done so, it would have been regarded as one of Mr. Disraeli's *coups de théâtre*.

In truth, the contest may be regarded as a struggle of all parties for a position, without the possibility of any one attaining to it. The debate, and still more that unreported discussion which was going on for the two days preceding its renewal on Thursday evening, betray the fact that no existing party has the *right* to a recognized position in Parliament, because it does not possess any master idea. It would be impossible, without disclosing confidences right and left, to make the public understand the total confusion that has reigned behind the scenes. The confusion on the stage of Parliament is but a faint counterfeit of the hidden anarchy. The reports current during the Wednesday and the early part of Thursday, "Fictions founded on fact," are also no adequate representation of the cross-purposes. At one time, even while Lord Palmerston was speaking, there were speculations as to the probability of his "going over to the Tories!" On Thursday morning it was reported, on an authority which the public regards as the best, that "Lord Palmerston's resolution was in a form already approved by the general body of Free-traders;" that it "had already obtained the approbation of all parties." The report was followed up by another, that he had anticipated Sir James Graham as mediator. On the other hand, it was averred that Mr. Villiers intended to press his motion with the approbation of the Free-trade party, as against Lord Palmerston's not less than Mr. Disraeli's. Later, it was circulated on high authority, that Lord John had given his adhesion to Lord Palmerston's amendment; then, that Mr. Disraeli had done so; then, that divers independent Members had joined; afterwards, came out the old report, that Mr. Villiers was indignant with the mediating Viscount, who was already calculating on the resignation of Ministers, and their immediate return to office, with a modified Cabinet, including himself. Lord Derby's threat, that if Ministers were beaten they might resign, and their rivals might find themselves unable to form a Cabinet, had given colour to these reports of an unexpected Ministerial crisis. The *quidnuncs* grew wilder, and reports more extravagant began to be circulated, such as the probability that the most dignified of the Whigs and Peelites had become implicated in the manoeuvres for coalition.

These are fictions, we say, founded on fact, in which it would be idle to discriminate between the truth and the falsehood. Their solution has already been furnished in some part by the proceedings on Thursday night; but the cause that produced them—the want of any settled purpose, still remains, and is not to be explained away.

This want infects not only the professed statesman, but exists, with still more mischievous force, amongst the constituents of those statesmen. In its confusion, the House of Commons is still the representative chamber, still the people's house; for it represents the confusion out of doors. It is the want of settled purpose in the people that

sends men without a purpose to the House. It is the want of any definite object which precludes the formation of a party. The public finds itself unable to calculate that this or that Minister *must* proceed in a certain course, as it could well do if Ministers were acting sincerely on known principles. The very words of the Ministers are repeated, both past and future; pledges are recalled; and yet the public arrives no nearer to a conception of the intent. Does the "democracy" in Lord John's mouth mean more than "Protection" in Mr. Disraeli's? The Chancellor of the Exchequer says that Protection means only that zeal for the labourer which animates him more than ever, and it is possible that the democracy of which Lord John speaks, may mean only that zeal for the upper classes which has distinguished the House of Bedford.

But even this description does not reach the actual amount of moral anarchy, frail as the tenure of the conservative minister is in the public estimation. Those who have the run of the West End, know that the present Government is valued in most of the large houses. It is the Cabinet of good Society, and it has the sympathies of that good society, because it is held to be, perhaps falsely, antagonistic to the pretensions both of the working and of the trading classes. That a Government of such a kind, could maintain any permanent footing in this country, is not to be supposed by its genteel devotees. The political disasters that might flow from the attempt to uphold class interests are not regarded, perhaps not known. A spirit runs in "the Squares," not unlike that which prevailed in the saloons of France, before the great revolution—a devotion to luxury and amusements: a disregard to people out of doors, or beneath the view of the polite, a feeling, in short, which gives a new and sarcastic point to the prophecy, "after Lord Derby, the deluge." In the public of that upper sphere, political feeling has ceased almost as much as it has amongst the professed statesmen; and, thus it comes about, that we see statesmen contending in parliament, and unable to shape a course for themselves, to raise a standard, or even a 'cry' that the public will follow.

ROYAL AND MINISTERIAL CERTIFICATE FOR THE ENGLISH DEMOCRACY.

IN his excellent tribute to the conduct of the great body of the people, on Thursday, Lord Derby seems to have been unable to express his satisfaction and even his surprise at that conduct. The Queen has publicly recorded, through the Home Secretary, the same approval. But Lord Derby's language is remarkable, and deserves to be kept constantly in view; for, coming as it does from the head of the party most opposed to popular freedom in this country, it is a great political certificate:—

"When we consider how large a proportion of the population of these united Kingdoms was for that single day crowded together in the streets of the metropolis; when you remember, as those at least remember to whose lot it fell to take part in the procession, and who saw it throughout its whole length and breadth—when you remember that on a line of route three miles in length, extending from Grosvenor-place to St. Paul's Cathedral, there was not a single unoccupied foot of ground, and that you passed through a living sea of faces, all turned to look upon that great spectacle,—when you saw every house, every window, every housetop loaded with persons anxious to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of England's greatest son,—when you saw those persons (those, at least, within the streets) remaining with entire and unflinching patience for many hours in a position in which movement was hardly possible, and yet that scarce a single accident occurred to the most feeble woman or child amid that vast mass, when, throughout the whole of that length, not only was a perfect decorum preserved, and a perfect and ready assistance given to the efforts of the police and the military, but there was no unseemly desire to witness the magnificent spectacle, no light and thoughtless applause at the splendour of that spectacle, and that the people of England, in the awful silence of those vast crowds, testified in the most emphatic manner the sense in which every man among them felt the public loss which England had sustained, I know not, my lords, how you may have looked upon this manifestation of public feeling and good sense and order; but I know this, that as I passed along those lines it was with pride and satisfaction I felt that I was a countryman of those who

knew so well how to regulate and control themselves, and I could not help entertaining a hope that those foreign visitors who have done us and themselves the honour of assisting at this great ceremonial night, upon this occasion, as upon the 1st of May, 1851, bear witness back to their own country how safely and to what extent a people might be relied upon in whom the strongest hold of their Government was their own reverence and respect for the free institutions of their country, and the principles of popular self-government controlled and modified by constitutional monarchy."

It is evident from this passage, that Lord Derby was previously unacquainted with the people of England, or he never could have been astonished at that conduct which would be expected by every one who knew them. Reading this passage, one can imagine Lord Derby's condition. Not well acquainted with the English people, he may have been—we will not say in trepidation, for we believe him to be a thoroughly brave man,—but in a state of preparation. Having girt up his loins, however, to face a savage and a dangerous multitude, he set forth, expecting on various points of the route to see disturbances, aggressions, riots—possibly bloodshed; and rather comforting himself with the idea that there were plenty of police and soldiers "to put down" the people. One can imagine him, an enterprising man, feeling in some degree disappointment like that of Lydia Languish, when there was to be "no elopement." A vast concourse and no row! Not only in Piccadilly, not only in St. James's-street, or Pall-Mall—aristocratic abodes—was it all tranquil, but also in Trafalgar-square; where the ground was broken up with fountains and parapets, when it was improved, lest the people, gathering in great numbers, should become too strong for "order." Then again in the Strand; and so on even into the Cathedral, all was quiet. We, who know something of the people, were *not* surprised; but Lord Derby was astonished. Very naturally: he must have judged of the English people by the crush at the Opera house on crowded nights!

Undoubtedly it was a great exploit to draw together such vast numbers without the slightest accident arising from the multitudinousness; for the very few accidents which are reported arose solely from the individual carelessness of the persons injured, and have nothing whatever to do with the crowding. One reason of this safety, no doubt, was, that the police arrangements were very good. They prevented the stopping up of passages in detail, and the barriers broke the half involuntary sway of the masses. For the disorder of a crowd often arises from the impossibility which untrained numbers have to regulate their own movements. People pushing at one point occasion disorder at another; those who are conscious of the disorder being unable to check it, and those who cause it not knowing what they do. Under such circumstances the crowd gets irritated by its own members; and ruffled temper deviates into excess. There is a proper respect for the crowd—that is, for the English people—in making sufficient arrangements to secure order; which is as valuable to the humblest member of the crowd as it is to the nobleman in his carriage, or more so: for the nobleman in his carriage is protected by the box in which he rides; but the artisan on the foot pavement will be hustled and trampled upon by men as unwilling to do it as he is himself. The crowd appreciates these arrangements; and when public officers conduct themselves as they did, with few exceptions, on that Thursday, the machinery for the maintenance of order will always be popular rather than otherwise.

Lord Derby, we see, ascribes the good conduct of the people to "popular self-government, controlled and modified by constitutional monarchy," and to these causes, of course, we must trace the fact that "scarce a single accident occurred to the most feeble woman or child amidst that vast mass." Still we realize nothing but very great ignorance in Lord Derby; excusable, it may be, from the peculiar circumstances of his position and his long separation from the English people.

It was *not* the monarchy that protected the feeble woman or the child: the thing that protected both was, that the bulk of the people there congregated had no desire to destroy women and children, but the reverse. The vast bulk of them, indeed, sacrifice whole lives of toil and anxiety to sustain and protect women and children. They know so well what suffering is,

that they will stoop to lift up the woman or the child sunk in a squalor of wretchedness far below the reach of the helping hand of gentility.

It was a great spectacle of self-control, exhibited not only in the tranquillity, but in the free, the cheerful, the willing spirit with which every person in that multitude helped the police and the soldier to keep order; but we cannot ascribe this altogether to "popular self-government." We agree, indeed, with Lord Derby, that the conduct of the people showed "how safely and to what extent that people might be relied upon as the strongest hold of Government." We sympathize in his pride, and we accept his testimony to the capacity of this people for popular self-government. Yes! in their attitude that day he saw their capacity, and, as Prime Minister of England, in his place amongst the Peers, he declares his testimony. He is a most valuable witness. But we ask him to reflect, that amongst that immense number, by far the larger proportion have no share in popular self-government.

Yet he was not able in the behaviour of the people to distinguish any difference of conduct. He could not point out to different sections in the crowd, and say,—pointing to one part,—“These people appear to be orderly, intelligent, capable of self-control, able to understand the moral meaning of the ceremony of this day; but”—pointing to another section—“those others show in their aspect that they are stupid, that they do not understand what is going forward, that they are incapable of self-control, and, accordingly, you see that they are disorderly and turbulent, only to be kept under by barriers, police, and soldiers.” Did he observe any distinction of that sort? Did he not rather see that in the whole mass the spirit of order and self-control was uniform,—that the only distinction which exists is an artificial distinction, decreed by men in his own station? And does he not feel, by testimony which has been honourably wrung from him by his own experience, that there exists no reason for maintaining that distinction, or for continuing to exclude from the franchise any section of that multitude which showed itself on Thursday?

REINFORCEMENT OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

It is no disparagement of any among the able correspondents who furnish information to English papers from Paris, to say that it is almost impossible to penetrate to the truth, or to view it as a whole from any point of view within that capital. The attempts to preserve secrecy are so elaborate and so diligently kept up, and the means of circulating information, even in the most private circles, are so carefully intercepted, that a full conception of any one subject is almost interdicted to the resident. The most iron tyranny, indeed, cannot altogether prevent the gas-like transfusion of knowledge, and the means of acquiring better insight into French affairs transpire sufficiently to form an approximate estimate on the foreground of London. Truth, however, does not always carry its own proof with it; and for that reason we are very glad to have the testimony of the *Times* in corroboration of what we had previously said with respect to the reinforcement of the French army. In its impression of Monday, the *Times* places before its readers a sufficient portion of the truth to possess the English public with a generally correct view. We have already intimated that the professed “reduction” of 30,000 men would prove to be, practically, a reinforcement. The same *Moniteur* which announces the reduction, publishes the order for calling out the whole conscription of 80,000 men for the year 1853; so that the diminution of 30,000 men can make but little difference in the net result. We have yet to see how that small reduction shall be carried out; and there is every reason to suppose that it will be carried so as not to diminish the effective strength in the slightest possible degree. It is not unlikely that the least serviceable or wearied soldiers will be selected for dismissal; and all who have had the conduct of military affairs know that if a good occasion can be found for relieving a force of its least willing and serviceable soldiers, without suggesting the crime of malingering, a virtual gain will be effected in the strength of that force. The *Times*, however, adds another piece of information, which we had not previously received:—

“We have reason to believe that Louis Napoleon has long entertained plans for the formation of other corps under the name of Gendarmerie, which would constitute a more permanent, and probably a better force, than an equal number of the line, because they would remain longer in the service. The Gendarmerie already amounts to about 25,000 men, who are all picked troops, more highly paid than the line, and permanently enrolled. The desire of the Government seems to be to form select bodies of troops, to revive the Imperial Guard and the Regiment of Guides, and to obtain by these changes the nucleus of an army not liable to be influenced by all the changes of the conscription. Very probably this may be sound policy in a military point of view; but it by no means follows that a reduction of a certain number of troops on paper is a *bond fide* diminution of the aggressive power of the country.”

Independently of the actual increase to the working efficiency of the army, there is an equal diligence in furnishing the munitions of war, and in practising the men for every species of exercise. The London papers have already informed the people of Paris that the President has accumulated guns to the number of more than a thousand, promptly available; and the exercises which were begun long before the second of December—such as the practice of the infantry in keeping up for some hours in a run with cavalry—have been increasingly continued. Other exercises having been added as occasion offered—such, for example, as the rapid embarkation and debarkation of large bodies of troops, 5000 strong, in the great steamships. If not intended for a definite purpose, this immense machinery must be constructed and practised for an emergency not altogether unforeseen. The destination of its activity may be still under consideration, but it will become either side to be prepared. To adopt the language of our Tory contemporary—

“We cannot help it that the mechanism of French society should be such as to enable the Government to assume at any moment an attitude of hostility backed by prompt levies of men trained to arms. The fact is so, and it imposes on us the necessity of adapting our own defensive mechanism to a no less capability of being put in action against sudden contingencies. We live in quick times. Not only our near neighbours the French, but every nation which has sea-board, are bent on having their war steamers, and that not, as we are free to admit, with immediate designs of aggression, but partly because they have vague ideas of some coming necessities, and partly because we believe that the active temper of the age impels Governments to be doing something calculated to meet their eyes with palpable forms of strength. A sense of power is a great temptation to its being exercised.”

We have said this often: we now find it echoed by the *Times* and the *Morning Herald*; but we must still persevere in urging our own readers to watch and aid the growth of correct opinion in this matter, in order that the exertions be sufficient, both in point of extent and of promptitude.

THE MISSING BATON, &c.

THE Clerk to the House of Commons annually goes into “the cellars” to search for Guy Fawkes; but he might bestow his acumen on other objects.

We want a Diogenes Commission for some few things that are missing. We are not all inclined to presume that the present Government is worthless. That it has made mistakes we know; we have helped to proclaim them. That its original position is utterly absurd, we believe; and that its present position is ludicrously illogical, every one can see without our showing. It entered office, as many supposed, to restore Protection, after even the vast bulk of the Protectionist party had practically learned to value free trade in the shape of cheap food; but having entered office under that flag, the party disavowed its standard, and used the bunting which had “braved a thousand years,” &c., as a duster to polish the furniture of free trade anew for the use of genteeler hands. When it waived its protectionist function, however, it still remained in want of a mission. Casting about, it observed that Lord John was the Wat Tyler of the day; and so the great mission that remained open was the great resistance to the “democracy.” Accordingly, Protectionists once Protectionists, Protectionists no longer, professed to be in office as holders of the outposts against “the inroads of democracy.” But Lord Derby disposed of that mission in his speech on Friday evening. He

had seen the democracy, face to face, and was not afraid of it. He saw that if the upper classes of the country meet the democracy in good fellowship, they are welcomed with cordial co-operation. In no country is it easier to rule, in no country is a public ruler more “*facile princeps*.” Probably we shall hear no more of Lord Derby’s mission to resist the democracy.

What, then, is the mission of the present Government? This is amongst the things that the Diogenes Commission should inquire into. We do not at all presume that, when found, the mission would prove to be worthless: quite the reverse. We have a shrewd suspicion that there is lurking in the Ministerial mind some project which would be extremely popular, if it were but known. “Adversity makes us acquainted with strange bed-fellows,” and disappointment sharpens invention. The Ministry that cannot restore Protection, that cannot find it in its heart to resist democracy, will hardly like to leave office, like a candle going out in the socket, without any achievement worthy of its party. Some great idea may be struck out. The Protectionist party that cannot adopt free trade, may be its own teacher, and the party that came into office to resist democracy, may continue in office to lead the democracy. The Diogenes Commission would find out this truth for us; and if the event should prove as we suspect, we might see a very pretty race. Lord John has already got the start at Perth, and at present he is the favourite for the democratic plate; but if Mr. Disraeli were to enter, the odds, we suspect, would be in his favour.

If it were so, or indeed if it were quite the reverse, and in any case, we do not understand how the present Ministry, or any other Ministry, should get on with Lord Malmesbury at the present time, or indeed at any other time. The man who has almost pledged us against our natural ally, America; who is pledging us with our useless and incorrigible ally, Spain; who is playing the game of France in Constantinople, in Turin, and Brussels, is not exactly the person to select as our Foreign Minister. It was said that Lord Stratford, of Redcliffe, had been brought back from Constantinople on purpose to take the post which Lord Malmesbury held *ad interim*. It was that belief which somewhat reconciled politicians to Lord Stratford’s removal from his post in Turkey: now Lord Stratford is still absent from Turkey; but he is not present in Downing-street. The second thing which the Diogenes Commission could usefully discover for the English public is, what has become of Lord Stratford?

There is a third thing for the Commission to seek out, of less magnitude in itself, but not without its symbolic meaning. The *Union*, Paris paper, notes that there were but seven batons in the funeral procession on Thursday, France not being one; and remarks, that the fact for ever sets at rest the calumnious assertion that Wellington had been made a Marshal of France. It is somewhat remarkable that amongst the titles proclaimed by the Garter King at Arms, as pertaining to the Duke of Wellington, is that of “Marshal of France.” Now, which was right—the *Union* or Sir William Young? It is not for us to determine; but we are perhaps nationally inclined to suppose that our own principal herald must have been in the right. But yet again, if so, what had become of the eighth baton? Where was the baton of France that ought to have been in the procession? Was it kept back, “lest it should offend the foreigner?” This is the third thing for which the Diogenes Commission would look; and they might begin by looking into Lord Malmesbury’s pocket.

TAXATION REDUCED TO UNITY AND SIMPLICITY.

VIII.

FRENCH TAXATION.*

THE work of M. Emile de Girardin, which supplies the subject of this article, consists of three parts: the first treats of the taxation of France as it was before 1789; the second exhibits that taxation as it now exists; the third states and discusses the plans of French financial reform proposed by the author. Each of these parts of the book suggests matters for reflection to which our limited space will permit but imperfect justice.

The history of taxation, and of its connexion with

* *L'Impôt*. Par Emile de Girardin. Sixième Edition. Paris: A la Librairie Nouvelle, Boulevard des Italiens, 16, 1852.

that of legislative authority in the most advanced countries of the middle ages, is full of interest and instruction; its most melancholy chapter is that of the taxation and constitutional efforts of France. We have not space for this subject, but everybody knows that the great French revolution of 1789, the first of so many convulsions, was precipitated, if not caused, by the intolerable accumulation of financial difficulties.

Taxation in France* was, in fact, only a part of the ancient feudal revenues or exactions, diverted at first to national purposes, and then modified as time and exigencies advanced; all the rest of those exactions remained to the nobility under a state of things widely different from that under which they originally subsisted; they were corrupted and enhanced by time, and embittered by the arrogance with which they were enjoyed. The national taxation pressed only on a part of the people; for the nobility, wide-spread in the course of generations, still retained that ancient immunity from it which was originally derived from their contributing to it in the obsolete form of military service. Those who were oppressed with this partial national taxation were still liable to vexatious payments due to the lord, as well as personal services, which interrupted all settled plans of labour, and blasted all the aspirations of hope. To this wretched state of things was imparted the additional malignity of the farming system. If burdensome beyond reasonable endurance before, it was now intolerable, except through that process of degradation by which human minds are gradually fitted to any depth of depression, but from which eventually they burst up in the wildness of insensate fury. The whole mass of taxation and exaction became complicated, technical, and unreasonable enough to give cover to the most inveterate and wide-spread corruption, and the crisis to which it led, however it may have exceeded the expectations of those who, from long habitude deemed the existing *regime* only a necessary state of things, was hardly more terrible than befitted its causes.

Early in the 18th century Vauban, exposing this system, said that one-tenth of the people were reduced to beggary, and did actually beg; that of the other nine-tenths, five were so reduced as not to be able to give alms; four more were in embarrassed circumstances; and the remaining one-tenth, which comprised men of the law, the church, and the sword, the nobility of all classes, the principal merchants, and the most wealthy townsmen, did not contain 100,000 families. He further said that, little or great, he did not believe there were 10,000 families entirely at their ease. He complained that the lower orders, whom he deemed the strength of the state, were neglected and despised, while, however, the remedy would have been easy and certain if it had been but faithfully employed.

He further averred that the ways of corruption had become so worn into ruts that matters ever fell into their old course, so that in attempting reform it would be necessary to avoid the established system entirely; that the taxes from which many were exempted, were exacted from others with such severity, that after the goods in a house were all sold, the doors were unhinged and the floors taken up to supply the deficiency, by being sold at a fifth or sixth of their value; that on others the taxes fell with vast inequality; that many who could have bettered their circumstances, by skill or diligence, preferred to live poorly at their ease, rather than encounter the risks of this arbitrary and ruinous taxation; and that a man dared not keep even a cow or two or a few sheep to enrich his land, for fear of the imposts which this visible comfort might bring on him. He says further, that the *aides* and the provincial customs so raised the price of commodities as to prevent consumption, to occasion the rooting up of vineyards and orchards, to encourage enormous frauds, and give occasion to perpetual oppressions.

This vigorous protest against the crying evils of that day was suppressed, by royal ordinance, in 1707, as though to hide a wrong were to avert its consequences. Reform slept for eighty-six years longer, and then became vengeance.

This Marshal of France, not less able in civil than in military matters, was not, however, the only witness. Boisguillibert before his time, Fenelon his contemporary, J. J. Rousseau in the middle of the century, and Jefferson, writing to Washington, towards its close, attest, with equal strength, the misery consequent on this most vicious taxation.

In 1779, M. Letrosne calculated that to realize thirty millions for the State, by means of *aides*, that

is, chiefly by taxes on drinkables, the actual cost to the people was sixty millions, and the damage to the development of national wealth eighty millions: making a total cost of 140 millions to the people to gain 30 millions for the State; a most instructive result of indirect taxation.

In 1784, MM. Lavoisier and De Tolosan, separately estimated the united incomes of the people of France at 3681 millions of francs, or 147,240,000*l.* sterling.

In 1785, Necker estimated the national revenues as they reached the Treasury, at 585, say 600 millions of francs, or 23,400,000*l.*, including *corvées* to the amount of twenty millions, but not the dues to the clergy, of about eighty millions. The expenditure, as may be seen below, was about 610 millions of francs, or somewhat above twenty-four millions sterling.

The taxes, then, according to these figures, as far as they were available to the State, were only one-sixth of the national income, the same proportion which now probably exists in England. The misery of France, and the revolution which followed on it, were due, then, not to the amount of the actual expenditure of the Government, (however that might be susceptible of reform,) but to the false distribution of the taxes and their most extravagant and corrupt management. If Letrosne's estimate, given above, be admitted, the taxes, one-sixth of the national income as received by the Government, were much more than one-half as paid by the people; and, from the inequality of their distribution, they must in many cases have ruined those from whom they were actually exacted.

Necker gives the following as the resources and expenditure of the royal Government before 1789. We convert the sums here, as in the rest of this paper, at the rate of twenty-five francs to the pound sterling.

INCOME.	
La Taille	£3,640,000
Twentieths, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd	3,060,000
Capitation	1,660,000
General farm expenses deducted	6,640,000
Régie générale	2,060,000
Royal domains	1,640,000
Posts	412,000
Lotteries	460,000
Duties on consumption	420,000
Contributions of the clergy	440,000
Corvées for the maintenance of roads	800,000
Octroi of cities	1,080,000
Fines and seizures	300,000
Casual revenues and duties on trades and apprenticeships	228,000
Marc d'or, duties on offices	68,000
Divers duties	492,000
	£23,400,000

EXPENDITURE.	
Interest of the public debt	£8,280,000
Floating Debt	1,080,000
Pensions	1,120,000
Army	4,224,000
Navy and colonies	1,808,000
Royal family	1,212,000
Cost of Collection	2,320,000
Construction and repair of roads	800,000
Hospitals	1,040,000
Public functionaries	536,000
Police	84,000
Donations	192,000
Salaries of the employés of the Treasury	96,000
Gendarmerie	160,000
Schools of painting, &c.	128,000
External relations	340,000
Administration of justice	96,000
Divers expenses	884,000
	£24,400,000

In some parts this taxation was indirect, as we commonly understand that term; in others it was direct, but had no certain basis of assessment, while those who were assessed had no effectual means of defence or even complaint. It was administered in every part by an agency interested in aggravating its pressure on the people and in diminishing its produce to the State; so that the whole became essentially an indirect system of the worst of all forms.

The revolution swept away by the breath of its first indignation the most monstrous of the ancient abuses, and some things besides, which in general estimation were associated with them. Gradually the costly propensities of this as of every new reforming government, brought about the necessity for re-establishing many of the former taxes; and in this department of public policy, which has everywhere lacked the guidance of clear and consistent original principles, it is no wonder that the harassed financiers of the first revolution resorted rather to empirical devices suggested by former experience if only they seemed likely to relieve the necessities of the day, than to investigations and arrangements through which time and care might lay the foundations of a true and permanent system.

The present taxation of France is accordingly founded, as to its subject matters, chiefly on the practice of former times, and, item by item, it looks much like a mere adaptation of the old system to present circumstances. The gain of the revolution, as to fiscal matters, was not in the establishing of true principles, but in the abolishing of exasperating inequalities and monstrous abuses. This indeed was a great gain; and a

far heavier national expenditure is consequently now borne with diminished danger and discontent; but much exists even now which if not reformed can hardly even-tuate in less than new and repeated revolutions.

The first complaint of M. Emile de Girardin, is that the present French practice (system we cannot call it), is "the confusion of taxes." No one principle pervades it. It adopts incongruously all principles; perhaps more truly it neglects all; where it adopts a principle it never uses it aright. It is rather a congeries of heterogeneous devices; it would hardly be unjust to call them tricks.

The present expenditure of France may be taken at about 60 millions sterling, and its taxation at somewhat less; for now, as before 1789, there is a deficit every year. The 55 millions of taxes cost six millions, or with all charges about 10 millions to collect them—that is, about 11 and 18 per cent. respectively. Fifty-four millions of taxes in England cost in collection about four millions, or 7½ per cent.

Again,—the expenditure of the government in 1789, seems to have been about 24½ millions sterling, and the total income of the people about 150 millions; the government expenditure being one-sixth of the income. The government expenditure is now 60 millions and the national income is estimated at 200 millions; the government, therefore, if this be true, now spends one-third of the income. But it is right, to add that this estimate of the income is not universally accepted, while, however, no reasonable supposition would render the government expenditure nearly so small a proportion of the income now as it was before the Revolution of 1789. The gain of France by her many changes has not been in the comparative economy of her government, but, as to finance, in the more equal distribution and more direct management of the taxes.

The chief items of the present taxation are as follows:—

Tax on real property	£10,440,000
— on registrations, with the stamps	10,840,000
— on persons and moveables	2,480,000
— on doors and windows	1,480,000
— on drinkables	4,040,000
— on patents (licences)	1,880,000
— on salt	1,000,000
Customs' duties	5,360,000
One-tenth of the octroi	156,000
Various, about	17,324,000
	£55,000,000

The distribution of its incidences as to classes of subject matters, is given by M. E. de Girardin as follows:—

On capital	£10,800,000
— revenue	16,360,000
— consumption and production	18,560,000
Not classed	9,200,000
	£55,000,000

To this he adds 4,800,000*l.* for the annual value of taxation *in kind*, raised from the poorest classes in France by the conscription.

Again: the distribution by its kinds of incidence is as follows:—

Direct taxes	£16,360,000
Indirect ditto	31,200,000
Domains	1,760,000
Various, say	2,520,000
Produce of the sinking fund	3,160,000
	£55,000,000

We return now to the first of these tables, and in remarking on its several items, we draw our facts chiefly from the work before us.

The tax on real property. Impôt foncier. The National Assembly, in 1790, actuated by the principle of Quesnay and Turgot, that land is the sole source of wealth, wished to lay on it the chief burden of the taxes. The *impôt foncier* was accordingly instituted, and was intended to raise three-fifths of the whole revenue. A few years later, a schedule of lands (*cadastre*) was commenced, the operations connected with which have been continued ever since, and had cost, up to 1840, five and a-half millions sterling. The schedule, however, is yet incomplete, and great part of the labour is lost. So much for bureaucratic zeal and management.

This tax seems intended to be, like the old *taille réelle*, one of repartition; that is, a sum fixed for the whole is professed to be proportionately divided to departments and districts. But such is the blundering of French centralization, that no true repartition seems ever to be attained, and departments have to make additional payments, or receive returns of over payments, according to some mystery or jugglery, which is never explained; the remedy of all this is said to await the hopeless completion of the schedule. Neither in the taxing process of New York, nor in the poor-law assessment of England, is there any such difficulty; it is only to be found, in an equal degree, in some parts of India.

* We had prepared a concise view of the progress of taxation in France from its origin in the 12th century, with brief comparative notices of the subject in reference to Spain and England: the limits of a newspaper, however, compel us to forego its insertion, and we have to beg our readers to accept the summary of results we have substituted for it.

It does not appear from M. E. de Girardin, what is the rate of this tax per acre; but it seems to vary as the land is classed.

2. *Registration and Stamps. L'enregistrement et le timbre.* Here are two taxes; one on successions is traced, as to its nature, to the times of the Roman emperors; the other is founded on the registration of transactions affecting landed property, which was commenced under Francis I. The National Assembly, in 1790, pressed by financial necessities, converted that register into a means of taxation. Every transaction pays when registered, according to a tariff, of which some of the items are as follows:—

	Per cent.
On transmission of property by <i>titre onereux</i>	6.05
Additional for every year of a lease	0.20
On loans and debts secured on the property	1.10
On transmission by <i>titre gratuit</i>	2.00
&c., &c.	

To notice only one effect of this tariff: whoever buys land with a view to selling it again, must give for it 13 per cent. less than its value, to cover the tax on the two transactions.

The situation of real property in France, taken in the gross, seems to be as follows:—

The debts registered as secured on real property are, in number, 5,100,000; their amount is 452,000,000*l.*, to which is to be added 50,000,000*l.* of eventual debts, making the whole burden of mortgage 502,000,000*l.* The sales of real property amount to 55,280,000*l.* per annum, and every year the loans or debts newly registered reach to 20,272,000*l.* The interest on the registered incumbrances was, in 1840, 23,449,360*l.*, and is probably now much more, while the income from the property, perhaps taken as rent without proceeds of labour, was then officially estimated at 63,223,880*l.* The taxes paid by this property are stated by M. E. de Girardin to amount to 16,360,000*l.* of direct and 14,000,000*l.* of indirect contributions. The annual coast of documents connected with titles to land and incumbrances affecting it is said to be 4,000,000*l.*

Of the 5,100,000 registered debts, 250,000 are for 12*l.* and under, the obligation remaining commonly not longer than two years. This cost of registration and discharge of a debt of 12*l.*, is about 1*l.* 4*s.* So that if the debt be paid in one year nearly 10 per cent, if in two years 5 per cent. is added to the interest by this tax.

These figures afford the following startling computation:—

Interest on debts on real property, probably by this time	£24,000,000
Taxes paid by real property	30,360,000
Cost of deeds and official acts, per annum	4,000,000

Total of the burthens on real property	58,360,000
Income derived from real property	63,223,880

Balance of revenue remaining in the hands of the ostensible owners; equal to one thirteenth of the whole £4,863,880

It thus appears that the apparent are not the effective proprietors of the soil of France; the ostensible owners are, on the average, in no position better than that of occupiers by sufferance of creditors; and if this be their average position, it is clear that many amongst them must be in that desperate condition which welcomes any change. Whether this condition has arisen from injudicious and severe taxation, from other errors of government, or from causes which no government can control, the French people have been so taught to look to government for every thing, that they will expect from it alone any effectual deliverance from this exasperating bondage of debt; and we may conclude that the "era of revolutions is not closed," unless the present or the next succeeding government of France should be able to outrun, with magic speed, the impatience which awaits that deliverance. Meanwhile a population so circumstanced is evidently in that state of chronic excitability which may either be depressed to abject submission and gloomy weakness, or exalted to a desperation under which it may precipitate itself recklessly on any object pointed out to it by its leaders for the time. *L'Empire, c'est la paix*, however desirable, may possibly not prove practicable in presence of the question *fouciere*.

We ought to add that the system of registration as carried into effect in France, "is such according to the avowal of lawyers, that in buying one is never sure of being a proprietor, in paying one is never sure of being freed of the debt, and in lending one is never sure of being paid again."

3. *The taxes on persons and moveables. Impôt personnel et mobilier.*—The personal tax is the value of three days work, as determined by the council-general of the department. All persons gaining or able to gain their own livelihood are liable to it, some classes excepted. The tax on moveables, or rather furniture, seems to be really regulated by the rent of the house or

apartments a person occupies, and is in common cases about one per cent. of that rent. These two taxes are collected together. The latest statement is of the date of 1835, when 6,009,420 persons paid them, of whom 4,707,069 were rated at four shillings and under. But in many places such difficulty is found, in the present state of France, in realizing even rates of half that amount, that large cities have obtained permission to add the gross sum due from it for these taxes to its octroi, and so to free the inhabitants singly from them.

4. *The tax on doors and windows. Impôt des portes et fenêtres.* This tax, imitated from England, is imposed at the rate of about 3½*d.* for each opening. We only stay to remark that "almost half the habitations existing in France have one door, without a window, or only one door and one window." "Such habitations," M. de Girardin very justly adds, "are not houses, they are huts."

5. *Tax on drinkables. Impôt sur les boissons.*—No less than sixteen different charges, including that on the soil, apply to wine, or may be made to apply to it, in its progress to a consumer, within the boundaries of a city: the consequence is, such an augmentation of the price of the lower qualities as seriously to interfere with the consumption, and with the comforts of the working population. Wine, which has cost in the department of the Yonne, no more than 8½*d.* per gallon, is raised, by successive imposts alone, without either cost of carriage or profits on the sums advanced for imposts, to 3*s.* 2*d.* per gallon, before it reaches the artisan of Paris.

It is not necessary to retrace here, in detail, the well-known consequences of excessive imposts. The following facts will suffice.

The cost of collection of the tax on wines is now twenty—under Napoleon it reached nearly to thirty per cent.

This impost has ever been amongst the most unpopular and vexatious of taxes; accordingly, every successive French Government, while struggling into power, has abolished it, or promised its abolition; but every one has left it as bad or worse than before. The Constituent Assembly, in 1790, condemned it; the Comte D'Artois, in 1814, promised to abrogate it; Bonaparte, in 1815, took up the same popular device, but did not fulfil his word, and afterwards attributed his fall to the fact, that the consequent discontent of the wine countries of the South compelled him to turn his military efforts to the North, where he met his fate. The Restoration re-established these taxes, under a new name. The Constituent Assembly abolished them, in May, 1849, but re-established them before the end of the year.

To similar purpose we might pursue the changes of system. Up to 1790 wine was taxed in the hands of the grower, whose stock seems to have been subject to a kind of excise, under check of an inventory. Then the tax was abolished; afterwards it was set up again, but to restore the inventory was found impossible; so the pressure of the tax was removed to the dealers; but then, much wine going to consumption without going to dealers, a tax was laid on it in transit; then this was found difficult, and was repeatedly varied; then a tax of one-twentieth of the price was laid on it at every sale, but this soon became intolerable; the last and the existing device is a tax on its circulation, regulated according to the local price of wine, that is highest at the greatest distance from the place of growth. The present taxes on the wine itself seem to amount to nearly one shilling per gallon, besides licenses, and the various expenses of a system which so crosses, at every step, the courses of industry.

The wine districts seem to be the poorest and most embarrassed in the country; the consumption of wine in Paris, proportionately to the population, diminishes; and smuggling, that sure companion of heavy, indirect taxation, flourishes, the only profitable result of the wine duties of France. M. E. de Girardin estimates that, since 1815, the injury to French interests from these duties cannot be taken at less than eighty-eight millions sterling, or more than two invasions cost the country.

The duties on goods entering towns and cities for consumption. L'Octroi. This was originally *l'octroi de bienfaisance*—the grant of benevolence—a contribution for charitable purposes, apparently intended to operate as a kind of poor-rate. Its depravation to an instrument of most injudicious local taxation (for real charity has long left it) is a memorable comment on the mistake of putting charity on the false footing of involuntary contribution. From this local tax, most unequal in different cities, and most extravagant in its cost of management, the government takes a tenth, under title of *decime de guerre*, and that after so many years of peace. This tenth seems to have originated in the practice of towns through which soldiers passed finding them bread for their soup; this, converted into a binding usage and then into a tax, exactly resembles

in its history many imposts in India, some of which are in their origin and progress both curious and instructive. A government (there being no control above it), will always, when it can, convert a benevolence into a custom, and a custom into a tax. From having been intended as a benevolence, the octroi (the very meaning of its name popularly forgotten) has been made to impoverish the poor, by raising the cost of their needful food. Its oppressions have been bitterly complained of; its bureaux have been burnt. But the financial confusion of France has ever encouraged it to raise its head higher than before. M. E. de Girardin says, "The suppression of the octroi is the first stone, the fall of which will be followed by the collapse of the entire financial system of France. Happy day."

Of the *tax on trades (patentes)*, the *tax on salt*, and the *customs*, we say nothing more than that they bear in France their usual fruits. Protectionist theories still cover a respectable though unsound advocacy of a most injurious system of customs' duties; but it is difficult to imagine by what fallacy beyond a discreditable allegation of necessity, the internal taxes we have just mentioned can still be defended.

The lessons most strongly impressed on us by this brief review of the fiscal condition of France, are the vastness of the evils of indirect taxation, and the hopelessness of any effectual reform until some principle shall be adopted, simple, clear, and just enough to obtain universal sanction, and to bring every detail into practical conformity with it. Personal revolutions, and even constitutional changes, can do nothing for the permanent peace of France, so long as the greater part of her population have reason to deem the law an exactor, governed by no intelligible principle, and restrained by no regard for the maxims of morality and prudence which control through conscience the business of private life. The true objects of all government are of infinitely higher moment than the mere incidental cost of accomplishing them; and to raise from the people, by just partition, the funds required by that incidental cost, ought surely to be one of the least complicated of public affairs; but in most countries, and more than any, perhaps, in France, it seems to be that for which, above all things, the Government exists,—its greatest, most difficult, and most odious task, one of the chief evils the exhausted people have to bear.

The views and plans of M. E. de Girardin, in reference to taxation, will be discussed in our next.

ON THE CULTIVATION OF FLAX.

NO. IX.—CONCLUSION.*

Mr. DONLAN's executrix, taking advantage of the law by which inventors are allowed a delay of six months for the publication of specifications, still withholds the particulars of the "dry process," and we cannot, therefore, conclude our present series with a full development of the plan. We are, however, well persuaded that ere long we shall have to revert to this peculiar mode of extracting the flax-fibre, as recent experiments have completely proved our position, that in throwing aside the woody portion of the plant, the growers were sacrificing very valuable constituents for the formation of flesh. Indeed, the question has now assumed such a form, that, whether the process of the late Mr. Donlan be or be not adopted, we are satisfied that the "dry process" must ultimately triumph. We are not at liberty at this moment to enter fully into the details of an analysis recently made, but our readers may rely upon the following general result.

Taking good meadow hay as a standard by which to judge of the qualifications of the flax-plant, divested only of its fibre by a dry process of extraction, we find that flax-seed excels hay in flesh-making properties by about seventy-five per cent., and in fat by nearly seven times its value, while it is but little inferior to hay in qualities contributing to the sustenance of animal heat. The husks or capsules of the linseed are still richer in flesh-making properties, and exceed linseed as a combustible, but contain no fat whatever. The pith or wood of the flax-plant contains about three times as much flesh as is contained in an equal weight of hay, within a fraction as much combustible, but no fat. A discovery no less important is, that flax, in reality, robs the soil of considerably less salts than either hay or wheaten straw, thus entirely upsetting the doctrine of its exhaustive nature. The conclusions to be derived from the various analyses are, that whilst flax-seed, husks, and pith are less able to support animal warmth than hay, the fattening property of the first and the flesh-making of the second and third, are very much superior. Now, as, when combustibles prove deficient in animal food, the fat first and the flesh lastly falls a sacrifice, it will follow that a combination of linseed, husks, and pith, since they suffice to fulfil all the con-

* See *Leader*, Nos. 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 124, 126, 129.

ditions requisite for the maintenance of heat, and are more than sufficient for the development of flesh and fat, becomes more valuable to the cattle-feeder than any compound hitherto discovered.

Hence, without taking the fibre of the plant into consideration, it would appear that, for feeding purposes alone, a flax-crop is the most valuable that can possibly be raised by the farmer. When we add to it the value of the fibre and the employment of labour involved in its preparation, the national importance of the subject we have endeavoured to treat in previous numbers will be apparent to all. Nor is the political bearing of the question wholly without interest. At this moment, should a general European war unhappily break out, and Russia be found amongst our opponents, what would become of our supplies of material for sails, cordage, and other naval equipments dependent upon a full supply of fibrous material? It is beyond a doubt that, with the exception of manilla hemp, which will not take tar, and is principally serviceable for running rigging, and wholly useless for wearing purposes, Russia almost exclusively supplies our marine with flax and hemp. This dependence upon foreign countries, and above all upon Russia, may one day involve us in much difficulty, and demonstrate, when too late, the folly of neglecting our own internal resources.

We have said enough to prove the value of the flax-plant, and it now only remains for us to suggest the formation of some institution whose object it should be to relieve the farmer of manufacturing processes by opening markets throughout the country for the purchase of flax in the straw, leaving the agriculturist the mere business of its production, and the separation of the seed, with proper guarantees that the whole of the wood of the plant, after extraction of the fibre, shall be returned for consumption on his farm. Such an institution needs only to be conducted with common prudence to ensure a successful result. It is worthy the consideration of the largest among our large landholders, and should be formed exclusively amongst themselves. Their business should begin by purchase of Flax straw, and terminate with its preparation for the use of the manufacturer. Confined strictly within these limits, and unfettered by antiquated ideas, the flax cause, in the hands of such an institution, would prosper to an extent to which it is difficult to foresee the limits. The flax-plant has rightly been pronounced by Sir James Graham to be "peculiarly adapted to increase the fertility of the soil." May it not now be declared as peculiarly fitted to develop and establish the industrial resources and prosperity of the country at large, and so to form the bond of union—to realize in visible and practical operation, the ever-fruitful principle of concert—so long and so hopelessly looked for, between the manufacturer and the English farmer? A consummation in which Protection will find a better metempsychosis than in any scheme of re-adjustment, and in which the sundered interests of land, commerce, and labour may, without sacrifice or compromise of the interests of each, co-operate harmoniously for the peace, contentment, and prosperity of all.

HOW TO SOBER A MAN.

THE *Morning Herald* supplies a recipe for sobering a man under the worst species of intoxication—blind zealotry. "Let the blindest zealot on the Opposition benches soberly ask himself the question—*Who is to take the seats so suddenly made vacant by those who have rudely stopped the mouth which the indignant country was on tip-toe to see opened?*" We have heard of a man who always, when he felt the fire of anger rising within him, repeated the Greek alphabet, and found himself calmed. But the *Herald* recipe is still better. We can picture the process: first you have the zealot, who is blind, standing himself, and beginning—"Who," &c. Before he has done, he sees the Opposition rudely stopping an oracular mouth, and the country vainly waiting—*rusticus expectat*—on tip-toe to see that mouth opened; and the sober zealot asks himself, "If the mouth is stopped, who is to take the seats?" It is a problem more powerful than soda-water.

LOVE'S SERVITUDE.—I suppose a man's vanity is stronger than any other passion in him; for I blush, even now, as I recall the humiliation of those distant days, the memory of which still smarts, though the fever of baulked desire has passed away more than a score of years ago. When the writer's descendants come to read this memoir, I wonder will they have lived to experience a similar defeat and shame? Will they ever have knelt to a woman, who has listened to them, and played with them, and laughed at them,—who beckoning them with lures and caresses, and with Yes, smiling from her eyes, has tricked them on to their knees, and turned her back, and left them? All this shame, Mr. Esmond had to undergo; and he submitted, and revolted, and presently came crouching back for more.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.



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.

UNION AMONG REFORMERS RECOMMENDED.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—It was under somewhat similar circumstances to those in which we are at present placed, that Junius addressed a letter under this heading to the liberal party. Perhaps you will permit me, in your columns, to give such a paraphrase of his letter as may seem suited to present affairs.

To adopt, then, his words, "no man laments more sincerely than I do the unhappy differences which have arisen among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other. The cause undoubtedly suffers as well by the diminution of that strength which union gives, as by the separate loss of personal reputation, which every man sustains by his character and conduct being held forth to repeated acts of scorn and of contempt." It is time for those who really mean the cause and the people, who have no view to private advantage, and who have virtue enough to prefer the common weal to the gratification of personal animosity—it is time for such men to interpose; and if we cannot reconcile those dissensions, let us guard against the worst effects of division, and endeavour to persuade those alienated partisans, if they will not consent to draw together, to try separately to benefit the cause to which they all profess to be attached. The general advance of liberal principles may still go on, though Hume and Russell, Cobden, and the Editor of the *Tablet*, cannot be brought into harmonious co-operation. I speak to the people as one of the people. Let us employ those men in whatever departments their various abilities are best suited to, and as much to the advantage of the common cause as their different inclinations will admit. Their selfish or disinterested struggles will equally tend to advance the cause, if we view them as our servants, and not as our masters.

As for differences of opinion upon speculative questions, if we wait until they are reconciled, the action of human affairs will be suspended for ever. Nor are we to look for perfection in any one man, nor for agreement among many. We should, therefore, not generally regret the friendship or services of any man because he differs from us in a particular opinion. In public affairs there is little chance of a perfect concurrence of sentiment or inclination. Yet every man is able to contribute something to the common stock, and no man's contribution should be rejected. By whatever principle the new born or the veteran patriot is animated, his measures and his support may be beneficial to the community. The nation is interested in his conduct. His motives are his own. The properties of a patriot are perishable in the individual, but there is a quick succession of subjects, and the breed is worth preserving. Indeed, we need not reject a bill for the extension of the suffrage though it should be brought in by Disraeli and supported by the bucolic Ministry. Let us, then, says Junius, take mankind as they are. Let us distribute the virtues and abilities of individuals according to the offices they appear most suited for; and when they quit the service, let us endeavour to supply their places with better men than we have lost. In this country there are always candidates enough for popular favour. The temple of fame is the shortest road to riches and preferment.

We thus see that the body of reformers is not, for the first time, in a state of disunion. It seems often to have been in the condition of the rope of sand, and it may be questioned if this be not its normal, and per-

haps most useful condition. At least, where the differences of opinion are not attended with bitterness, diversity is one element of strength and growth. All liberal questions hang more or less together, and if one patriot can ride his wooden hobby-horse through the walls of Tory prejudices, he is able and willing generally to prepare the way for the advance of his party and their friends.

The more, however, any one question is made the testing principle and shibboleth of party, the more the party will be weakened, for many who cannot join in this particular will be excluded from it, and perhaps driven to the opposite.

I am, your obedient servant,

OCTAVIUS.

THE WRONGS OF WOMAN.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Would you permit me to draw your attention, and that of your readers, to a relic of the dark ages, which both in public opinion and in law disgraces our jurisprudence. I allude to our laws of bastardy, and our treatment of children born, by no fault of their own, of unmarried parents. Besides the injustice that children should be brought into the world perhaps of the very same parents, and yet so unequal; the burden of everything, the loss of reputation, the degradation, falls upon only one of the parties, and that one, if not the least guilty, at any rate the most helpless.

I beg to suggest, that on the proving of the paternity of a child, it should be placed on the same footing as the father's other children with regard to succession. This may seem a bold assertion, and may be quarrelled with as having a tendency to alter succession to estates, and produce injustice. I do not believe it would do so. The present system is fully as likely to do so.

And not only should the children be so treated, but the mother should have the position of wife, so far, at least, as provision for her extends. Nothing would so effectually clip the wings of those wretched men of gallantry, as they are called, who are often the pests of society, as such a law; for the provision to be made for the mother should be in proportion to the means of the father, and not to the wants of the mother.

When it is said in the Scriptures that the sins of the parents will be visited on the children, a mere fact is chronicled, and even deprecated. Such, from our hardness of heart, is the case, but it ought not to be so. The Supreme Ruler does not respect persons.

This alteration of the law would have the effect of punishing the strong, and not the weak. It would cut down one great source of injustice to its very roots.

I hope, however little you may agree with these views, you will allow them the benefit of appearing in that useful arena of public opinion, your Open Council.

Your obedient servant,

ISHMAEL.

WHAT IS FAME?—To be rich, to be famous? What do these profit a year hence, when other names sound louder than yours, when you lie hidden away under ground, along with the idle titles engraven on your coffin? But only true love lives after you,—follows your memory with secret blessing,—or precedes you, and intercedes for you. *Non omnis moriar*,—if dying, I yet live in a tender heart or two; nor am lost and hopeless living, if a sainted departed soul still loves and prays for me.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

THE COMMON LOT.—Can any one, who has passed through the world and watched the nature of men and women there, doubt what had befallen her? I have seen, to be sure, some people carry down with them into old age the actual bloom of their youthful love, and I know that Mr. Thomas Parr lived to be a hundred and sixty years old. But, for all that, three score and ten is the age of men, and few get beyond it; and 'tis certain that a man who marries for mere *beaux yeux*, as my lord did, considers his part of the contract at end when the woman ceases to fulfil hers, and his love does not survive her beauty. I know 'tis often otherwise, I say; and can think (as most men in their own experience may) of many a house, where, lighted in early years, the sainted lamp of love hath never been extinguished; but so, there is Mr. Parr, and so there is the great giant at the fair that is eight feet high—exceptions to men—and that poor lamp whereof I speak that lights at first the nuptial chamber is extinguished by a hundred winds and draughts down the chimney, or sputters out for want of feeling. And then—and then it is Chloe, in the dark, stark awake, and Strephon snoring unheeding; or *vice versa*, 'tis poor Strephon that has married an artless jilt and awoke out of that absurd vision of conjugal felicity, which was to last for ever, and is over like any other dream. One and other has made his bed, and so must lie in it, until that final day, when life ends, and they sleep separate.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

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 I steal from the ancients," says LACON, "it is cried up as *erudition*; if I steal from the moderns it is cried down as *plagiarism*." This is one of the flashy and foolish epigrams in which that overrated work abounds. The distinction between erudition and plagiarism does not lie there, but in the open avowal of erudition, and the attempted concealment of plagiarism—it is the distinction between borrowing and stealing. The works of the ancients are, or are supposed to be, open to all, known to all, therefore common property. When we adopt an image from HOMER, or a sarcasm from HORACE, it is not always necessary to give the original, or to mention the obligation, because we know that the passage *must* be familiar to thousands, and no one will accuse us of a desire to shine by borrowed lustre. When BOILEAU says—

"Chassez le naturel il revient au galop,"

every Latinist knows the passage he is paraphrasing, and no one supposes BOILEAU to be plagiarizing: *Il reprend son bien où il le trouve*.

When a man like Mr. GROTE quotes copiously from German writers, we speak of that quotation as erudition; but when a man like COLERIDGE brings forward, as his own, ideas and metaphors, reasonings and illustrations, which he has translated from SCHELLING, and thereby attempts to gain acceptance as a philosopher, we call that plagiarism; for SCHELLING was known to very few, and the chances of detection were slight.

It is perfectly impossible for any writer or speaker not to borrow ideas, images, and illustrations from some predecessor or predecessors; but the public justly discriminates between the borrowing which may be called intellectual assimilation, the borrowing which may be called erudition, and the borrowing which must be called plagiarism. Let friends and critics put forward what excuse they may, the moral sense of the public is not to be led astray on those points. And with respect to the great DISRAELI case, this week varying the gossip of all circles, we do not think there can be any real difference of opinion. The charge against him is that he has been guilty of a plagiarism, and under circumstances which aggravate the offence. The source from which he borrowed the passage was an extremely obscure one; the letter of Mr. SMYTHE, which attempts to explain the mystery, only serves to show how vividly DISRAELI remembered the source from which he was borrowing; so that the want of openness, which constitutes the crime of plagiarism, is demonstrable.

The *Times* has, however, attempted to vindicate its friend. It has done so with its usual ability. It has put the very best face on the matter; but it has not removed one tittle of the evidence upon which the public judged. What we last week said *en badinage* about DISRAELI referring to his common-place book, the *Times* gravely assures us *was* the laudable process by which the orator manufactured his oration, and calls upon all orators to do likewise.

The *Times* does more than this. It endeavours to divert the attention from the plagiarism to a question of literary *convenience*, and in so doing lends its powerful advocacy to what we consider a most dangerous cause, and one which is too much in harmony with some prevailing misconceptions on the literary function, not to extort from us a protest.

"Now, we beg to suggest to these gentlemen, whether it is worth their while to be flinging as much dirt as they can on the only *littérateur* who has ever yet succeeded in breaking that solid aristocratical phalanx which has hitherto monopolized the high offices of the State. Why are authors to drag down every one of their fraternity who may happen to become a Minister of State? It is thus that literature cuts its own throat in this country. We may depend upon it, that authors will never have their proper consideration, in the face of dukes, millionaires, squires, and prize cattle, till they are loyal to their own body, and help one another to rise, when the opportunity offers. Chastise Disraeli's political errors as much as you please, but don't help the country party to throw off the accomplished horseman who is riding them with such admirable effect. We are delighted to see them put through their paces by one not of themselves. They would rather, of course, he were a descendant of William the Conqueror, even though he had a dozen bars of bastardy in the quarterings of his shield. Unfortunately, however, the aristocracy of England is not fertile in Ministerial or any other talent, and they are forced to look abroad, not only for money, but even for intellect. Their necessity is the opportunity of literature, and we trust it will turn to good account."

This appeals to authors through their weak points—1st, the desire to be "recognized" by dukes and millionaires (a supremely indifferent result for "nature's aristocrats" to desire!); and, 2ndly, the mistaken ambition of becoming Cabinet Ministers, "as they do in France."

On the question of literary dignity, *The Leader* has never been silent when fit opportunity offered; but we place that dignity in loyalty to Truth and in unostentatious self-respect, not in getting ducal "recognition"—not in helping authors to a seat in the Cabinet. It seems to us that if men would do their work honestly, with labour and with love, with patience and with loyalty, and find it of more intrinsic worth to realize their aims than to realize ducal recognition; if, when their work was done, they would respect the dignity of literature, so far as *not* to tamper with their critics, or manœuvre to "get praised in the newspapers;" if they would speak out, in all honesty, the thought that lives within them, and not keep the thought suppressed, or utter it in equivocal language, for fear of losing "recognition;" if they would bear in mind that speaking the truth was

their specific function in this world, and that in proportion as they spoke what they knew was *not* the truth, they were disloyal to Literature; if they would do this, and more, their "dignity" would need no bulwarks!

Let us cite a recent instance. A gentleman holding a public position, and known to the writer of these lines, published a very foolish book. He sent it to *The Leader*, heralding it with a charming note, in which he asked if it would be noticed. The reply was, that if the book were not on a subject lying beyond the province of the journal, it would certainly be noticed. On inspection, it turned out to be a work so foolish that, in accordance with our plan never to occupy space unnecessarily, we thrust it aside. After several indirect applications, in the shape of notes, inquiring when the review could appear, and highly laudatory criticisms extracted from other papers obligingly forwarded, we presume, to show us what a remarkable book it was thought by others, our reserve was broken, and we expressed briefly, yet plainly, what we *did* think of the book. We made an enemy for life; "but that's not much;" the point of the story is, that the indignant author, having failed in his manœuvres, actually wrote this reproach: "You promised to review my work favourably, as all the other papers did. What was your promise worth?" The unhappy man could not understand a promise to review his work otherwise than as a pledge to review it *favourably*!

What says the Dignity of Literature to such things? They are of daily occurrence. And until men learn that writing a lie is not less dishonourable than telling a lie, these things must continue. The reform, therefore, must be a moral, not a political, reform. Men must *not* shrink from speaking their thoughts, even of Chancellors and eminent authors who have broken the aristocratical phalanx. If DISRAELI is guilty of plagiarism, and the plagiarism be a reprehensible one, all the "mob of authors" were bound to do that which the *Times* sneers at them for doing. They were bound not to 'bate their breath because the offender was high-placed. It is snobbishness to suggest such a course.

The feeling to which the *Times* indirectly appeals is the desire for some corporate action on the part of authors, the desire to band writers together in a fraternity like lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and others; by means of which their "status" may be elevated, and the Cabinet opened to a few. We so strongly oppose this desire, that, as the subject is important, we shall ask permission to return to it. Meanwhile, having made a protest, we pass on to say that the *Times* hits wide of the mark in this attack upon the authors; firstly, because DISRAELI cannot fairly be said to have broken the aristocratic phalanx by means of literature, although he has found literature useful as an ally: secondly, because MACAULAY, who is, *par excellence*, a Man of Letters, has also broken the phalanx, has been a minister, was carried there by Literature, and has uniformly been treated by all men of letters with that respect due to an honourable and consistent course, a respect which does not exclude frank opinion.

We sum up by saying that the charge of plagiarism has been clearly made out against DISRAELI, and that the "mob of authors" were more than justified in exposing him; they were bound by their office to do so without reticence or "brotherly feeling." Is JONES to be scarified for his "bare-faced plagiarism," when perhaps he steals to keep alive a family, and DISRAELI not to be exposed for the same offence, when the mere vanity of oratorical display is the motive? "A question not to be asked!"

Basil.

Basil: a Story of Modern Life. By W. Wilkie Collins, author of *Antonina*, &c. 3 vols. Bentley.

Basil is emphatically a Story. It is not a collection of sketches, satirical and pathetic, threaded by a narrative of more or less interest, such as the modern novel commonly is; but a story filling the three volumes,—never for one moment lost sight of by the writer,—never retiring to the second place, while episodic or philosophic matter usurps the scene. And this story hurries you along with it in such continued and breathless interest, that go on you must without pause to the end. As may be supposed, we are somewhat hardened novel-readers; the fascination exercised by fiction over the youthful mind cannot often be exercised on the critic, who in the course of duty has to read so many novels that he knows every trick and winding of the story; yet we must declare that *Basil* forced us to do that which we have not done for years—to read the whole at one sitting. As a Story, then, *Basil* fulfils to perfection the primary requisite of keeping attention fixed and eager. That Wilkie Collins possesses the difficult art, *l'art de conter*, in an extraordinary degree, this story amply proves, for its narrative skill is so great as to overcome all sense of improbability and unreality, and to force attention in their despite. So rare an accomplishment is this of storytelling that it merits peculiar notice.

Were the author of *Basil* simply a writer for circulating libraries, our criticism would probably end here. He resolved on writing a story that should grasp the mind with unrelaxing vigour; what he resolved to do he has done. But is this all we, his friends and the public, have a right to demand of him? Nay, is it all that he himself professes to have done? By no means. Wilkie Collins is a Man of Letters, who regards his Profession with respect, and his Art with love; criticism therefore with him must use no more courtesy than the courtesy of friendship, which so far from excluding candour, insists on it. He rightly claims to be tried by a high standard:—

"Between the purpose hinted at here, and the execution of that purpose contained in the succeeding pages, lies the broad line of separation which distinguishes between the will and the deed. How far I may fall short of another man's standard remains to be discovered; but how far I have fallen short of my own, I know

painfully well. My only desire, in writing this letter, is to claim credit for one humble, work-a-day merit to which anybody may attain by trying—the merit of having really taken pains to do my best.

“There can be no literary man, I think, with the smallest respect for his vocation or for himself—whether he be a Master of his Art, or only a student of it (like me)—but must feel that this first, great merit of ‘painstaking’ has now become doubly and trebly a merit in the present state of ‘light literature,’ as it is termed, in England.

“The mob of ladies and gentlemen who play at writing is increasing, in our day, to formidable proportions. With every new season appear additional numbers of the holiday authors, who sit down to write a book as they would sit down to a game at cards—leisurely-living people who coolly select as an amusement ‘to kill time,’ an occupation which can only be pursued, even creditably, by the patient, uncompromising, reverent devotion of every moral and intellectual faculty, more or less, which a human being has to give. Books, by hundreds, are written now, which—making the largest allowances for human vanity—it is difficult to imagine could ever have seen the light, if the writers themselves had only ventured on the perilous ceremony of reading them over, on completion, within easy distance of a waste-paper basket or a lighted fire. And books of this kind are not only printed, but published! not only published, but reviewed! not only reviewed, but read! not only read, but (marvel of all marvels!) sometimes, even, actually sold!! To escape classification with the off-hand professors of this sort of off-hand authorship, by the homely but honourable distinction of being workers and not players at their task, has really become an object of importance, now-a-days, for those who follow Literature as a study and respect it as a science. If my book should not succeed, let me at least try if I cannot establish my right to the just, though hard verdict, that I have failed through want of ability, and not through want of care!”

We quote those words, for they are such as every author should bear in mind. Let us now hear what he says on the *aim* of his present work; we endorse every sentence of it:—

“Having gained my modicum of literary success (such as it is!) by writing a classical romance, it may be thought strange, by those who recollect enough of my former attempt to take some little interest in this, that I should have abandoned the field of my first labours, and have left past centuries for the present. The reason for this change is simple and soon told. I could not find, in Ancient History, any second subject which, to *my* judgment, offered itself so perfectly to all the requirements of romance, as the subject I was fortunate enough to find for *Antonina*. On that account, therefore, I abandoned the idea of building my second work on a classical foundation. Many subjects in Modern History I knew were open to me; one subject in particular, I thought of choosing, and may yet take up at some future time, as good groundwork for a romance. But, on this occasion, the temptation of trying if I could not successfully address myself, at once, to the readiest sympathies and the largest number of readers, by writing a story of our own times, was too much for me. So I wrote this book.

“Let me now tell you, and through you, those who may occupy themselves with these pages, what I have tried to do, to make my work worth perusal.

“In writing a story of past times, I had been obliged to go through careful preliminary training for the task. In writing a story of present times, I thought it my duty to devote myself, before I began work, to a second training, just as careful, though of a very different nature from the first. As the reading of past realities in books, gave me the materials for making *Antonina*; so the reading of present realities in men, must give me the materials for making *Basil*. Industry in collecting useful information; discretion in selecting it; and care and intelligence in using it, were just as important in the one case, as in the other. The difference was in the *quality* of the knowledge required, not in the *quantity*: and the difficulty of employing that knowledge successfully when I had got it, was tenfold greater in the new task than in the old. When I was writing about the people of the fifth century to the people of the nineteenth, many and many an error might be expected to pass unnoticed: when I was writing *of* the people of our own times, to the people of our own times, what single error, what misapprehension even, could hope to escape?

“Feeling the difficulties of my undertaking thus, I thought long over what I desired to do, before I ventured to take pen in hand; and on at length beginning this book, resolved (in the painter’s phrase) to ‘work from the living model,’ not only in drawing my characters, but in constructing my plot as well. Accordingly, I founded the main event out of which this story springs, on a fact in real life which had come within my own knowledge: and in afterwards shaping the course of the narrative thus suggested, guided it as often as I could where I knew by my own experiences, and by the experiences incidentally related to me by others, that it would touch on something real and true, in its progress. My idea was, that the more of the Actual I could garner up as a text to speak from, the more certain I might feel of the genuineness and value of the Ideal which was sure to spring out of it. Fancy and Imagination, Grace and Beauty, all those qualities which are to the work of Art what scent and colour are to the flower, can only grow towards Heaven by taking root in earth. After all, is not the noblest poetry of prose fiction the poetry of every-day truth?

“Directing my characters and my story, then, towards the light of Reality wherever I could find it, I have not hesitated to violate some of the sentimental conventionalities of sentimental fiction. For instance, the first love-meeting of two of the personages in this book, occurs (where the real love-meeting from which it is drawn, occurred) in the very last place, and under the very last circumstances which the artifices of sentimental writing would sanction. Will my lovers excite ridicule instead of interest, because I have truly represented them as seeing each other where hundreds of other lovers have first seen each other, as hundreds of people will readily admit when they read the passage to which I refer? I am sanguine enough to think ‘not.’

The broad line which separates *intention* from *execution*, be it never so broad, cannot be perceived by an author until he looks at his work from the distance of years; when Wilkie Collins comes to look at *Basil* from that impartial point we are persuaded he will think with us that he has failed in the human and æsthetic aspects of his story. He will feel with us that the characters want the sharp decisive outlines of reality, the only living character being that of the good-natured scamp Ralph. He will feel with us that however true as a matter of fact the main incident may be, it is not truly presented in this story; an air of unreality pervades the book which makes even commonplace incidents look “improbable.” We need

not tell him that although Truth is stranger than Fiction, the very nature of Art forbids the admission of such an excuse. In the true circumstances, however strange, the details all agree, and could we but *know* all, the improbability would disappear. In fiction, the author knows all; it is he creates the details, and his task is to *make* the improbable probable; otherwise where would be the limit? A man might pile extravagance on absurdity and laugh at all objection, by saying “Truth is stranger than Fiction; so strange that you cannot say what is possible and what impossible.” There is also this further consideration. Men often declare they “have drawn their figures from nature.” Truly: a long way from Nature! The question never is, Did you have a living model? The question always is: Have you created a living figure?

In taking up an improbable event Wilkie Collins has arranged his plot so as to make it probable; and in his own mind the scheme may lay itself out consistently enough. But to the reader the case is otherwise. The reader rebels against Sherwin’s vulgarity, and motives, no less than against Margaret’s deceit, not because these things are unreal in themselves, but because they have not reality in their presentation. He rebels against Basil’s patience and blindness, and Mannion’s melodramatic blue fire; against the story itself and the incidents which present it, although from its marvellous narrative power, he cannot leave the story unread.

We are delivering a general verdict, not having time and space to enter into the several counts; but as a plain yet not exceptional example of the unreality to which we refer, let the first meeting of the lovers in an omnibus be selected. In drawing a head the few decisive touches of an artist will bring out into distinctness the individuality of a human being, though but in outline; whereas an R. A. will ambitiously paint you a head, which is manifestly *not* that of a human being, although you may perhaps find difficulty in saying where the fault lies—it lies in departing from the lines of truth into the so called Ideal; if the pencil swerve never so little the result is failure. This principle, true of the smallest things in art, becomes manifest on all exceptional occasions. Love at first sight is an exceptional occasion. Yet we have most of us some suggestive experience which will lend credence to love at first sight, if that be properly presented; we have all felt a strange thrill at the sight of a certain face—a presentiment that in that person lies some occult power which will work on our lives as an influence—and to this experience Wilkie Collins appeals in the passage we are about to quote:—

“I have said that the two additional passengers who entered the vehicle in which I was riding, were, one of them, an elderly lady; the other, a young girl. As soon as the latter had seated herself nearly opposite to me, by her companion’s side, I felt her influence on me directly—an influence that I cannot describe—an influence which I had never experienced in my life before, which I shall never experience again.

“I had helped to hand her in, as she passed me; merely touching her arm for a moment. But how the sense of that touch was prolonged! I felt it thrilling through me—thrilling in every nerve, in every pulsation of my fast-throbbing heart.

“It seemed as if I must have known her in some former state of being—as if I had died for her, or she for me, after living *for* each other and *with* each other in some past world; and that we were now revived and reunited again, for a new life in a new earth. But, I repeat it, I cannot describe to others, except by phrases which must read like meaningless rhapsody, the mysterious attraction which drew me to her, heart and soul, the moment she appeared before my eyes.”

The confession that what he has said will sound like “meaningless rhapsody” will not save this passage from being denounced as a swerving from truth into convention. It is true that a man may thrill at the sight of a girl, even though her veil be down, but it is not true, in any licence of exaggerated diction, that he could feel he had lived and died for her and she for him in some former state of being after living together, and that they were now to be united; and the “rhapsody” which says he did, is a mistake in art. For observe: this meeting in the omnibus, upon which as we have seen great stress is laid by the author for its anti-conventionalism, is a critical incident, and *because* it appeals to our commonplace realities, demands more than commonplace reality in its presentation. Did Romeo tell Juliet he had formerly died for her, no one would doubt his word; but what Romeo may do in Verona in blank verse, Basil may not do in an omnibus in prose!

We have touched on these points because we feel strongly that in throwing all his energy into one great requisite—narrative, Wilkie Collins has neglected the other equally important requisites—and we conclude with the hope that in his next book, while preserving this mastery of the art of story-telling, he will turn his eloquence, his observation, his reflection, and his imagination, to better account by transmuting realities into real-looking fictions.

BUTLER’S ANALOGY v. MODERN UNBELIEF.

The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed. By Bishop Butler. (Bohn’s Standard Library.) H. G. Bohn.

[CONCLUDING ARTICLE.]

We know not what our readers may feel, but for ourselves we are heartily tired of exposing the weak reasonings and sophistic “analogies” of Bishop Butler, and approach the conclusion of our task with a sense of coming deliverance. It has been shown, we trust, past question, that whatever merit Butler’s *Analogy* may have in the eyes of those who, having already made up their minds to believe, are only anxious to have discrepancies “reconciled,” it altogether fails to meet the requirements of religious controversy in our day: it says nothing to the New Theology; and, consequently, if Oxford and Cambridge choose to enter the lists in defence of the Old Theology they must produce some new work, and not refer us to Butler. We hoped the *Restoration of Belief* would have taken some such position, but our hopes have been cruelly disappointed.

“I don’t mind listening to reason when once I’ve made up my mind,” says Croaker, in the *Good Natured Man*, “for then it can do no harm, you know.” This wittily expresses the condition of orthodoxy. Serene in their belief, the orthodox meet with a smile what would be thought irresistible arguments. It would be impossible, we think, to find men of

anything like equal ability on our side so impervious to argument. There is nothing orthodoxy cannot "reconcile." A week or two ago we saw how the *North British Review* turned the failure of the express *object* of the Bible—conversion of men—into a proof of its success; its failure proved its divinity; it failed not because it was not good enough (*that* is the cause of failure of human books) but because it was too good. A similar facility in turning the corner of a difficulty is visible in every chapter of Butler. We have seen some examples, let us notice one more.

That Reason is competent and called upon to decide in matters of morality and evidence Butler admits; but the admission carries no danger to him because he quietly denies that there are any things discernible in Scripture by Reason which can be called contradictory or immoral. There are, indeed, some ugly passages; things which elsewhere would be grossly immoral; he is too adroit to deny that; but see how he turns the corner:—

"Reason can, and it ought to judge, not only of the meaning, but also of the morality and the evidence of revelation. First. It is the province of reason to judge of the morality of the Scripture; *i. e.*, not whether it contains things different from what we should have expected from a wise, just, and good Being; for objections from hence have been now obviated: but whether it contains things plainly contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness; to what the light of nature teaches us of God. And I know nothing of this sort objected against Scripture, (!) excepting such objections as are formed upon suppositions, which would equally conclude that the constitution of nature is contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness, which most certainly it is not. Indeed there are some particular precepts in Scripture given to particular persons, requiring actions *which would be immoral and vicious were it not for such precepts*. But it is easy to see that all these are of such a kind, as that the precept changes the whole nature of the case and of the action, and both constitutes and shows that not to be unjust or immoral, which, prior to the precept, must have appeared and really have been so; which may well be, since none of these precepts are contrary to immutable morality. If it were commanded to cultivate the principles, and act from the spirit of treachery, ingratitude, cruelty, the command would not alter the nature of the case or of the action in any of these instances. But it is quite otherwise in *precepts which require only the doing an external action*: for instance, taking away the property or life of any. For men have no right to either life or property, but what arises solely from the grant of God: when this grant is revoked, they cease to have any right at all in either; and when this revocation is made known, as surely it is possible it may be, it must cease to be unjust to deprive them of either. And though a course of external acts, which without command would be immoral, must make an immoral habit, yet a few detached commands have no such natural tendency. I thought proper to say thus much of the few Scripture precepts, which require, not vicious actions, but actions which would have been vicious, had it not been for such precepts; because they are sometimes weakly urged as immoral, and great weight is laid upon objections drawn from them."

The intellectual dishonesty of this passage is painful to contemplate. When madmen slay their wives or children, and declare that God commanded them to do so, we pity the unhappy hallucination which takes away from the deed its criminality, but we do not consider the deed justified by morality; and what is to prevent any man from pleading God's command for any "doing of an external action?" Moreover, every one sees that upon latitude of reasoning like this there is an absolute impossibility of proving any immorality in Scripture, consequently the appeal to Reason is idle. And thus is argument useless with theologians. They pretend to court it fairly; they parade the formulas of investigation; they call Reason into the arena, and when Reason strikes they, tortoise like, retire within the impenetrable shell of assumption and are unharmed.

Reason emphatically says that the idea of a Mediator in the theologic sense implies an essential injustice in the Creator. Butler, however, is ready with his analogy:—

"The whole analogy of nature removes all imagined presumption against the general notion of a Mediator between God and man. For we find all living creatures are brought into the world, and their life in infancy is preserved, by the instrumentality of others; and every satisfaction of it, some way or other, is bestowed by the like means. So that the visible government which God exercises over the world is by the instrumentality and mediation of others. And how far his invisible government be or be not so, it is impossible to determine at all by reason. And the supposition that part of it is so appears, to say the least, altogether as credible as the contrary. There is then no sort of objection, from the light of nature, against the general notion of a mediator between God and man, considered as a doctrine of Christianity, or as an appointment in this dispensation; since we find by experience that God does appoint mediators to be the instruments of good and evil to us—the instruments of his justice and his mercy."

O potent analogy, what will it not prove! Reason, piercing through this "general notion" of "instrumentality," simply asks: Mediator for what? Mediator to whom? Mediator by whom? And Theology answers: Mediator for our imperfections to the creator of those imperfections, by himself! Is it not monstrous? God makes man imperfect, and then in his own person mediates to his own mercy for that imperfection! Reduced thus to its simple logical expression the doctrine of mediation becomes outrageous to Reason; but Theology finds no difficulty in "reconciling" that, or anything else. Nay, Butler says that there is no force in the objection that

"The doctrine which represents man as being in a lost and fallen state is inconsistent with the divine goodness. Our answer is that even the supposition that not only man but the whole creation must have been lost but for God's remedial interference, would not have been inconsistent with God's goodness. And if so, then much less the former."

It was only mercy saved creation from the wrath of its Creator!

Let the reader imagine that he places a young child of his own in a room full of various objects to delight him, at the same time strictly enjoining that the child leave the jam pot untouched. He knows the fondness of the child for jam, and will be pleased if the child have sufficient moral strength to resist the temptation. That is a "trial." But now suppose a very artful, persuasive boy be allowed to join the child, and to exert all his eloquence and artifice in making the child disobey the pater-

nal command; suppose the child to succumb to the temptation and eat the jam; what would be the father's feelings? Ungovernable wrath at the child or at the tempter? Would he disown that child and turn it into the streets, because its appetites were stronger than its sense of duty? Add to this supposition the further supposition that the father knew beforehand how the boy would tempt his child, and how that child would succumb in spite of his "free will" and "moral responsibility," you have then an "analogy" with the scheme of Man's original Sin which requires a Mediator!

We shall give but one more sample. It has generally been thought, by men not having "made up their minds," that, considering the vital importance of belief in Revelation as a necessary step towards salvation, Reason would suggest the necessity of that Revelation being universal, whereas fact declares that it is partial. To Butler this is no difficulty:—

"Then those who think the objection against revelation, from its light not being universal, to be of weight, should observe, that the Author of Nature, in numberless instances, bestows that upon some which he does not upon others, who seem equally to stand in need of it. Indeed, he appears to bestow all his gifts with the most promiscuous variety among creatures of the same species: health and strength, capacities of prudence and of knowledge, means of improvement, riches, and all external advantages."

Although Butler has written an elaborate Treatise, we will do his honesty the justice of doubting whether his mind ever clearly appreciated the nature and value of *analogy*, for in the instance just quoted, as in so many others, an ordinary logician would point out to him that, in truth, Monmouth and Macedon were of equal analogical force. God bestows health, beauty, happiness upon some and not upon others, *ergo*, he may be presumed to bestow eternal salvation on some and eternal damnation on others. There is no respect of *proportions* in this distribution. Because a father gives a knife to Johnny and a ball to Tom, he is not justified to turning the unoffending Dick into the streets to starve! And this element of "proportion" is violated in the ordinary analogy between temporal and eternal punishments. Vice is said to entail punishment upon the third and fourth generation; and truly so. Drunkenness in one generation becomes gout in the second, scrofula in the third, consumption in the fourth, and so on. That is to say, Nature's laws are inviolable. But what analogy is there—what proportion is there between the consequence of drunkenness, *i. e.* gout, and the consequence of disbelief, *i. e.* damnation? And let us ask if gout be the proper punishment on the child of a father's drunkenness, ought it to be extended to the child whose father never touched wine? By which we mean, if damnation be the proper punishment for us who reject Revelation, ought it to be extended to those who, never having heard of Revelation—Mahometans, Hindoos, and others—cannot have committed the *sin* of disbelief? And finally, if disbelief be a sin, why was the Book not so convincing as to insure belief? *human* books accomplish that!

We close here our remarks on this greatly overrated work, with the hope of having done some service, by bringing it face to face with the religious questions of to-day. Next week we shall print a selection from the Letters of Correspondents on this subject, and beg those of our readers who desire to say a word in defence of Butler to do so now, as we cannot re-open the subject.

GÖRGEI'S LIFE AND ACTS IN HUNGARY.

My Life and Acts in Hungary, in the Years 1848 and 1849. By Arthur Görgei. Two vols. Bogue.

A Refutation of some of the Principal Misstatements in Görgei's "Life and Acts." By George Kmety, late General in the Hungarian Army of Independence. Cash (late Gilpin).

[SECOND ARTICLE.*]

No sooner had Görgei obtained the command of the army of the Upper Danube, than he began to dream of the Dictatorship. Control was always hateful to him; his instincts were arrogant; he was, in this respect, a counterpart of Milton's Satan, to whom it seemed—

"Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven."

Görgei denies that he ever dreamed of obtaining the dictatorship for himself; and so far as you can infer from superficial facts, his denial seems to be justified. For instance, he wrote a Letter to the Committee of Defence on the 11th of November, 1848, in which he threw out the idea of saving the country by a dictatorship; but then he ingeniously insinuated his own name in close connexion with that idea. Recent events, said he, have taught us the necessity of unity; and unity, he continued, can only be obtained when the confidence of the nation "concentrates in one man." In the next paragraph he adds, that those men who have "placed the greatest part of the Hungarian army under the orders of a mere private individual," could best determine whether the time for the dictatorship had arrived. It is probable that Görgei had not, in 1848, yet shaped out to himself into clearness the baton of the dictator as something to grasp at; but that it hovered before him, like the dagger before Macbeth, is only too obvious from the following elaborate effort, made in the quietude of Klagenfurth, to convince the reader that he was not ambitious. There is a whole chapter of such writing. The reader must understand that Görgei has described how Austria was waiting to strike the last decisive blow at Hungary, and destroy her—a fate which, although inevitable, she was bound in honour not to await on her knees:—

"I seemed to have been destined to be one of its last leaders; and though nothing less than a national enthusiast, yet the grandeur of the situation filled me to such a degree with the idea of identifying my personal honour as a free man with that of the nation, that it soon became my leading sentiment."

"It was this idea especially which often made the employment of extremely strict—nay, even harsh measures, appear to me to be a duty; and probably the involuntary gleaming of this idea through the mysterious gloom which concealed the motives of my actions—in addition to my remarkable taciturnity in decisive moments—had called into existence the almost superstitious confidence with which the nation—so uniformly and to the last deceived in regard to its desperate condi-

tion by Kossuth and his party—looked to me of necessity as its saviour, at that time also when, with a simultaneous disregard of every humane consideration, a last vain attempt for salvation could be dared.

"A third question will be: whether I did or did not attempt, when in Presburg, to obtain for myself the dictatorship; and what were my reasons? Did I not distinctly hear an inward call to seize, even with despotic power, upon the march of my country's destiny; had I not even at that time a firm conviction of the necessity of a dictatorship; had I not been able to foresee that Kossuth would be just as unsuccessful a dictator as he had been a successful agitator?"

"In the face of all these truths, unless I were to deny their existence, it would be incomparably more difficult for me to answer this question in a mysterious than in a clear and distinct manner.

"Have I ever aspired to the dictatorship?"

"No.

"Why did I never make any effort to obtain it?"

"Because the dictatorship in my hands would have been an impossibility—nay, a sheer absurdity.

"Why would the dictatorship in my hands have been an impossibility, a sheer absurdity?"

"Because I spent the whole of my early youth, up to the month of April, 1848—precisely the season best adapted for acquiring information—beyond the frontiers of my native land, almost apart from any connexion with it, and nearly ignorant of my country's customs, usages, and laws, and above all, wholly deficient in even a superficial and general acquaintance with the civil administration; ignorant to such a degree, that in strictly political matters, for instance, I was obliged to believe, generally on the mere word of the Committee of Defence, that their measures were judicious, and favourable to the idea that directed all my efforts.

"Because being still unknown to the country, and not possessing the confidence of the nation, I could, under the most favourable circumstances, only have usurped the name without the real power of a dictator, and because, even when, somewhat later, a part of the nation began to put confidence in me, my power as dictator—considering the difference between my political views and those of Kossuth, who still continued to be the most popular man in Hungary—would have been by so much the more precarious, the less I was able to replace his civil administration by a more suitable one, and to render his agitation against me abortive by more effective counteraction.

"These are the reasons why the idea of obtaining for myself the dictatorship was a sheer absurdity. I never thought of it so long as the events of the war and their results left even the narrowest field for the exercise of the civil government."

This "nothing less than national enthusiast," so ignorant of his country's laws and customs, and who, moreover, entered into the war with the foregone conclusion that his country would be beaten, he presumed to judge the conduct of her old friends and servants, of men who knew her laws by rote, and whose struggles and sufferings in early youth and in the prime of manhood, had been endured within the frontiers of their native land. In the very letter of the 11th of November in which he ventilated the idea of the dictatorship, and artfully suggested himself, he demanded entire power over all promotions in his army and over all its movements—that is, he asked to be allowed to organize the army as he pleased, and dispose of it as he pleased. He found the Committee of Defence not exactly willing to concur in his schemes, so he took "refuge in sarcasm," his "constant and faithful ally when driven almost to desperation." The sarcasm was levelled at the Diet, the civil power in every shape, and the unfortunate volunteers, many of whom had, he tells us, neither clothing nor arms; yet who, nevertheless, are exposed to sarcastic comments on their desire, in this condition, to avoid grapeshot! No doubt Kossuth relied too much on national enthusiasm; and, like all men of ardent convictions, believed that others were as ardently convinced as himself. But this is a pardonable error, for it does not interfere with the formation of a good army. Görgei, however, despised national enthusiasm, and trusted to discipline alone. He crushed, by his taunts and his insolence, all fire out of his patriotic troops; and scorned the national guards and volunteers too much even to impart that discipline they stood in need of.

From the 30th of October to the beginning of February, little but disaster attended the fortunes of Hungary. Early in November the Committee of Defence had directed General Görgei to defend the frontier and to harass the enemy by guerilla warfare. Görgei, on the other hand, proposed to withdraw the army from the frontier, and the Diet from Pesth. Neither plan can be said to have been adopted. Görgei, alleging the weakness and cowardice of his army, waited until Windisch Grätz crossed the frontier, and retreat on the part of the Hungarians became inevitable. They fell back accordingly in all directions, and with great losses; Görgei retreating upon Raab, and thence towards Ofen, whither he arrived in January, 1849. Meanwhile Perczel had suffered a defeat; Pesth being no longer tenable, the Diet had decamped to Debreczin; and although Görgei had recommended this step a month previously, and although he admits that Pesth was untenable, yet, taking "refuge in sarcasm," he roundly ascribes the retreat of Kossuth and the Diet to *la peur pour la peau*. Disgusted by the motives which led to this retreat of the civil power, Görgei declares he came to Pesth on the 2nd of January, 1849, to demand certain explanations, and obtain them or resign. Instead of the President he found General Vetter, and, addressing himself to Vetter, Görgei says, "I invited him to take the command in my stead, because the unfortunate results of the campaign had made me doubt my ability for the post confided to me." Greater hypocrisy was never practised by mortal man. *Vide passim* every page of the *Life and Acts*, Vol. I., from the battle of Schwechat to the evacuation of Pesth; wherein the disasters of the campaign are ascribed to the Diet, the volunteers, to Kossuth, to the inferior officers, to everything and anything except the incompetence of Arthur Görgei.

On the 4th of January, the army of the Upper Danube saved itself by crossing that river, and abandoning the capitals of the country. On the 6th of January, Görgei marched his army into Waizen; and here, in the course of his stay, he performed a most important act. He formally and contumaciously set himself up as a third competitor for Hungary. Kossuth was the champion of the nation; Windisch Grätz fought for the

Emperor of Austria; but Arthur Görgei, under pretence of espousing the cause of the King of Hungary, espoused his own. Here at Waizen he began that great movement to form a military party who should, in rallying round the constitution of 1848, rally round his own fortunes.

In his Memoir he elaborately describes how the troops, the *old* troops, had lost faith in Kossuth, on account of his anti-dynastic tendencies, and his flight from Pesth; how they had taken arms to defend the monarchical constitution, and found themselves hurried into what looked like an attack on the monarchy. He depreciates, by employing the vilest metaphors, the acts of the Committee of Defence, and the efforts of those who had roused the troops and the country to resistance. He represents these troops—that is, as it afterwards appears, certain officers—as deserting, others as wavering; and then it comes out that "only their confidence in me could secure the latter." This confidence he affects to think was shaken by the publication of a false proclamation in his name, and of a private letter to Kossuth—"resembling the official rhodomontades of Messrs. Kossuth, Perczel, and others." So he took advantage of these circumstances, he tells us, to state his views, in a proclamation to the "Royal Hungarian corps d'armée of the Upper Danube." And what did he proclaim? He proclaimed the utter inefficiency of the Committee of Defence, in a series of wily confessions of error on his own part for not having opposed them; he imputed to them the "furtherance of personal private interests," in not permitting the army to immolate itself before Ofen; and, by implication, he disavowed their authority—that is, the authority of the men from whom he derived his command. And having arraigned the Committee, and declared them incompetent, if not worse, he proposed a declaration to the army, to the effect that the army will fight for the constitution of 1848; oppose all who attempt by "republican intrigues" to overthrow the monarchy; take orders *only* from the Minister of War; and declare that it would accept no convention with the enemy which did not guarantee the integrity of the constitution.

Unfortunately this document escaped the proper notice it called for—arrest and punishment of the author. Görgei had planted his personal standard, and henceforward carried it high enough; only striking it to the Russians at Villagos! But for a man like this to censure others for insubordination, either in the field or in the camp, and thus naively to confess it, is at once the height of impudence and of self-deception. Still how it passed without notice, is a mystery not yet cleared up.

The retreat of the army to the left bank of the Danube, which was rendered necessary by the defeat of Perczel at Moor, began a career of misfortunes. At the same time it afforded Görgei an opportunity of displaying what military talent he possessed, in shaping the course of his army so as to afford the greatest amount of employment for the enemy and the greatest relief to that part of the country still in the hands of the national party. Görgei thought the matter over, but he could devise no plan of operations. He had with him a chief of his general staff—whose name he does not mention—and it was fortunate for him he had. This able officer devised a plan for retreating into the mountain towns of Schemnitz, Kremnitz, and Neusohl, in order that the hostile main army might be diverted from the Theiss. It was a happy idea, and admirably carried out. Görgei grew famous for this retreat; and we remember that it made a great noise at the time in the newspapers. Little did we know that the idea was not Görgei's, but that of a soldier whose name he does not even deign to mention. We shall not follow him in this retreat. It was a very gallant performance; and, so far as bravery on the scene of any encounter goes, gallantly wrought out by Görgei. Altogether, although he does disparage his troops continually, because they would not stand in untenable positions nor face a heavy fire, without ammunition, it is perhaps that part of Görgei's career which we can look on with the least displeasure. It was full of dangers, disasters, and, let General Görgei say what he will, of manly endurance on the part of his troops. Early in January, 1849, the army quitted the mountains, and made for the upper Theiss, to effect a junction with a corps under Klapka, on the defensive against Schlick. On its way, Guyon alone, with the men stigmatized by Görgei as cowards and runaways, carried the Branyisko pass—Görgei "reflecting," at a distance, "on the past!" And in this fatal attitude we leave him to the reader's contemplation.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Life and Correspondence of John Foster. Edited by J. E. Ryland, A.M. *With a Notice of Mr. Foster as a Preacher and Companion,* by John Sheppard. Vol. I. Bohn's Standard Library. H. G. Bohn.

RYLAND'S *Life of Foster* is a popular book in religious circles, especially among the nonconformists, and Mr. Bohn has done wisely in including it in his *Standard Library*. We need only specify that this edition is to be in two volumes, and contains a portrait.

Chapman's Library for the People.

THE two last issues of this series are, Miss Sedgewick's pleasant little "Art-tales," *Historical Sketches of the Old Painters*, and Charles Hennell's beautiful treatise on *Christian Theism*.

Isis: an Egyptian Pilgrimage. By James Augustus St. John. 2 Vols.

Longman, Brown, Green, and Co.

Histoire de la Restauration. Par A. de Lamartine.

A Man Without a Name. 2 Vols.

Old Roads and New Roads.

The Young Wife's Guide. By Henry Davies, M.D.

Elements of Health and Principles of Female Hygiene. By E. J. Tilt, M.D.

To-Day. A Boston Literary Journal. Vol. I.

Elementary Drawing Schools.

The First Reports of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations.

Phaethon; or, Loose Thoughts for Loose Thinkers. By the Rev. Charles Kingsley.

The Sunday Picture-Book.

Christmas Books. By Charles Dickens.

The Martyrs, Heroes, and Bards of the Scottish Covenant. By G. Gilfillan, M.A.

Punch's Pocket-Book for 1853.

Comic Almanack for 1853.

A System of Modern Geography.

Two Historical Dramas or Tragedies. By Juvenis.

Writings of Douglas Jerrold. Punch's Letters to his Son.

Grimm's Household Stories. The Three Brothers, &c.

The Dodd Family Abroad. By Charles Lever.

The Letter and Spirit of Scripture. By Rev. Thomas Wilson.

Dublin and Co.

Richard Bentley.

Chapman and Hall.

H. G. Bohn.

H. G. Bohn.

John Chapman.

G. E. Eyre.

E. Lumley.

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A. Cockshaw.

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Portfolio.

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

LADY BARBARA.

EARL GAWAIN wooed the Lady Barbara,
High-thoughted Barbara so white and cold!
'Mong broad-branched beeches in the summer shaw,
In soft green light his passion he has told.
When rain-beat winds did shriek across the wold,
The Earl to take her fair reluctant ear
Framed passion-trembled ditties manifold;
Silent she sate his amorous breath to hear,
With calm and steady eyes, her heart was elsewhere.

He sighed for her through all the summer weeks;
Sitting beneath a tree whose fruitful boughs
Bore glorious apples with smooth shining cheeks,
Earl Gawain came and whispered, "Lady, rouse!
Thou art no vestal held in holy vows,
Out with our falcons to the pleasant heath:"
Her father's blood leapt up unto her brows.
He who exulting on the trumpet's breath
Came charging like a star across the lists of death,

Trembled, and passed before her high rebuke:
And then she sat, her hands clasp'd round her knee:
Like one far-thoughted was the lady's look,
For in a morning cold as misery
She saw a lone ship sailing on the sea,
Before the north 'twas driven like a cloud,
High on the poop a man sat mournfully:
The wind was whistling thorough mast and shroud,
And to the whistling wind thus did he sing aloud.

"Didst look last night upon my native vales
Thou Sun, that from the drenching sea hast clomb?
Ye demon winds that glut my gaping sails,
Upon the salt sea must I ever roam,
Wander for ever on the barren foam?
O happy are ye resting mariners,
O Death that thou would'st come and take me home!
A hand unseen this vessel onward steers,
And onward I must float thro' slow moon-measured years.

"Ye winds! when like a curse ye drove us on,
Frothing the waters, and along our way,
Nor cape, nor headland, thro' red mornings shone,
One wept aloud, one shuddered down to pray,
One howl'd, 'Upon the Deeps we are astray.'
On our wild hearts his words fell like a blight:
In one short hour my hair was stricken gray,
For all the crew sank ghastly in my sight
As we went driving on thro' the cold starry night.

"Madness fell on me in my loneliness,
The sea foamed curses, and the reeling sky
Became a dreadful face which did oppress
Me with the weight of its unwinking eye.
It fled, when I burst forth into a cry—
A shoal of fiends came on me from the deep,
I hid, but in all corners they did pry,
And dragg'd me forth, and round did dance and leap;
They mouthed on me in dream, and tore me from sweet sleep.

"Strange constellations burned above my head,
Strange birds around the vessel shrieked and flew,
Strange shapes, like shadows, thro' the clear sea fled,
As our lone ship, wide-wing'd, came rippling thro',
Angering to foam the smooth and sleeked blue."
The lady sighed, "Far, far upon the sea,
My own Sir Arthur, could I die with you!
The wind blows shrill between my love and me."
Fond heart! the space between was but the apple tree.

There was a cry of joy, with seeking hands
She fled to him, like worn bird to her nest;
Like washing water on the figured sands
His being came and went in sweet unrest,
As from the mighty shelter of his breast
The Lady Barbara her head uprears
With a wan smile, "Methinks I but half blest,
Now when I've found thee, after weary years,
I cannot see thee, love! so blind I am with tears."

ALEX. SMITH.

The Arts.

MASKS AND FACES.

Go and see *Masks and Faces*, for several reasons. You will be amused: that is something. Laughter and the tears of sympathy alternate through the varying scene; bright ingenious dialogue, playing like lambent flame, stimulates the intellect; and homely pathos, homely mirth, kind hearts and loving voices gently touch the various chords of emotion.

But there are other reasons why you should go. You should go if you are a dramatist or dramatic critic, to learn there the secrets of success and failure. You should go if you are a lover of acting, to learn how truly and artistically Webster, Leigh Murray, Mrs. Stirling, and Mrs. Leigh Murray can speak behind the Mask when a real Persona is afforded them.

I am not going to tell you the story of this comedy. You have seen or will see it. In the long scene of the second act, where the poor poet is writing his comedy, with a starving family for inspiration, and tears for gaiety—in that touching scene, I say, the dramatic critic will learn the secrets of success and failure. It succeeds because it has the elements of eternal success—character and emotion: the sharpness and individuality of the well-contrasted characters, and the unmistakable reality of the emotion arising out of true circumstance, not artificially brought in for the sake of effect. But then, beside this quality, so precious on the stage and elsewhere, there is a deficiency—felt more on the stage, but felt everywhere—a deficiency of organic construction. All the details of that scene are admirable; and they do illustrate the characters of the poor poet, his sick wife, his children, the kind *Peg Woffington*, and the empty Connoisseurs of Art—but they do no more. They afford the actors good material—they are not built up into a work of art. It is a portfolio of sketches, not a picture. Hence it requires all the resources of the actors to keep up the interest; and even in spite of our laughter and our tears, a sense of weariness ever and anon steals over us. I point out this scene as a study.

Webster surpassed himself in *Triplet*, the poor poet, painter, and actor. There was an abashed seediness of manner, only half covering the glimmering vanity and hope which shone beneath, as the fire shines through the ashes—a radiant confidence in his own genius, which neglect and failure might sadden, but could not suppress—a contrast between the visionary splendour of hopes formed in the twilight of reverie, which magnifies all things, and the actual poverty which was breaking his heart for the dear ones at the fireless hearth; in a word, there was a picture of the poor poet, such as the stage has never seen before—the eye lighting up its signal of contradiction to the seedy dress and starved sallowness of complexion. In his first scene, where his tragedies are rejected, and where *Peg Woffington* melts him with her kindness, he was less obviously but as truly a fine actor than in the garret scene, which is more effective on the stage. But go and see him, I say again, and note at the same time the delicate nuances with which Leigh Murray varies his coxcombs. In *Money*, he plays a quiet, selfish coxcomb: in the *Foundlings*, he is inimitable as a good-natured coxcomb, just stepped from the Guards' Club; in *Masks and Faces*, he plays a selfish, but clever, cold, and unscrupulous coxcomb, who is a fine gentleman because he is thrown among fine gentlemen, but whose quiet self-mastery and steady intellect imply that he is capable of playing a part in the world. For gentlemanly ease of bearing and truth of elocution, quiet as effective, I commend this to your notice. If he will step aside with me a moment, I will just whisper that he makes rather too frequent use of the snuff-box; but that is the only fault, and a slight one.

Mrs. Stirling has not for a long while had a part which shows her off to such advantage, and she evidently resolved not to let a bit of it slip through her fingers. She was gay, natural, touching, loving, throughout, and made one perfectly understand *Ernest Vane's* infatuation, though not his subsequent desertion of her for his wife. There must be some extraordinary charm in "conjugal love"—some intense fascination in legal happiness which has hitherto escaped my observation; or else no man could possibly, with forty parsons' power of morality, think of quitting such a *Peg Woffington* for such a *Mrs. Vane*! I must marry, and find out that secret! If I do marry, beloved reader! (I shan't; but I put the extreme hypothesis,) I will tell you all about it; isn't that my function in this majestic universe,—to tell you "all about" everything?

I forgot to tell you about Mrs. Leigh Murray; but I will not close without a line directing your attention to the truthfulness and pathos with which she plays a very small part, but a part which so many would have over-played.

I ought also to tell you "all about"

THOSE DEAR BLACKS!

at the LYCEUM; but I have only time to say that it is a preposterous piece of absurdity at which you cannot help laughing: the situations are so funny, and Charles Mathews is so cool, so voluble, and so gay. It won't bear a moment's criticism, but it makes you "roar." Probably the author—William Brough—and the actors, care more about making you laugh than about boring you "according to the rules of Art." So I will only add that *Those dear Blacks* is of "the farce, farcical."

VIVIAN.

THE BRITISH INSTITUTION.

The students' copies have been displayed in the gallery, and show the usual amount of care, chiefly expended on the "handling." Titian's "Daughter" has been the favourite model, but the happiest efforts are among some bits from "Lang Jan and his Wife," Mr. W. Rimer having proved, in his version of the female head, a habit of studying life in action. From the "Boar Hunt," by Snyders, Mr. Earl has made up a tolerable picture, by transposition of the forms, introducing a large dog of his own design. The Berghems have fared best among the landscapes, and there are two really excellent water-colour copies of that master, by

John Whichelo and Miss Rowe. The gentleman has also made an effective study from the fine Cuyp lent by Mr. Roberts. The general shortcoming is fairly attributable to ignorance of the life these masters were accustomed to observe so directly.

TWO BUSTS OF THE DUKE.

EACH of these works has a merit so distinctive, that we do not hesitate to place the two side by side. Some weeks ago we saw the bust by Noble, and the fact that most struck us as unmistakably set forth in that work, was precisely the fact which meets one at every point of the life now closed. In the printsellers' windows you may sometimes see an engraving (and a most excellent one it is) which is instructive of what we are now referring to. This engraving is a triple portrait of Wellington, inscribed "India—Belgium—the House of Lords." While looking at it, you see how the stuff of the man, so obdurate to hostile forces, was, rock-like, shaped by the congenial air in which it grew. Look still at the picture: you will see that there is sequence, but that each point is in relief. It is a chain composed of links. The three ages stand out like three peaks in a granite range.

THE ETERNAL "PARCE."—Men have all sorts of motives which carry them onwards in life, and are driven into acts of desperation, or it may be of distinction, from a hundred different causes. There was one comrade of Esmond's; an honest little Irish lieutenant of Handyside's, who owed so much money to a camp sutler, that he began to make love to the man's daughter, intending to pay his debt that way; and at the battle of Malplaquet, flying away from the debt and lady too, he rushed so desperately on the French lines, that he got his company; and came a captain out of the action, and had to marry the sutler's daughter after all, who brought him his cancelled debt to her father as poor Rogers's fortune. To run out of the reach of bill and marriage, he ran on the enemy's pikes; and as these did not kill him, he was thrown back upon t'other horn of his dilemma. Our great Duke at the same battle was fighting, not the French, but the Tories in England: and risking his life and the army's, not for his country, but for his pay and places; and for fear of his wife at home, that only being in life whom he dreaded. I have asked about men in my own company (new drafts of poor country boys were perpetually coming over to us during the wars, and brought from the plough-share to the sword), and found that a half of them under the flags were driven thither on account of a woman: one fellow was jilted by his mistress, and took the shilling in despair; another jilted the girl, and fled from her and the parish to the tents, where the law could not disturb him. Why go on particularizing? What can the sons of Adam and Eve expect, but to continue in that course of love and trouble their father and mother set out on? O my grandson! I am drawing nigh to the end of that period of my history, when I was acquainted with the great world of England and Europe, my years are past the Hebrew poet's limit, and I say unto thee, all my troubles and joys too, for that matter, have come from a woman; as thine will when thy destined course begins. 'Twas a woman that made a soldier of me, that set me intriguing afterwards: I believe I would have spun smocks for her had she so bidden me; what strength I had in my head I would have given her; hath not every man in his degree had his Omphale and Dalilah? Mine befuddled me on the banks of the Thames, and in dear old England; thou mayest find thine own by Rappahannoe.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

ANGELS UNAWARES.—Her habit was thus to watch, unobservedly, those to whom duty or affection bound her, and to prevent their designs, or to fulfil them, when she had the power. It was this lady's disposition to think kindnesses, and devise silent bounties, and to scheme benevolence for those about her. We take such goodness, for the most part, as if it was our due; the Marys who bring ointment for our feet get but little thanks. Some of us never feel this devotion at all, or are moved by it to gratitude or acknowledgment; others only recal it years after, when the days are past in which those sweet kindnesses were spent on us, and we offer back our return for the debt by a poor tardy payment of tears. Then forgotten tones of love recur to us, and kind glances shine out of the past—O so bright and clear! O so longed after!—because they are out of reach; as holiday music from within a prison wall, or sunshine seen through the bars; more prized because unattainable—more bright because of the contrast of present darkness and solitude, whence there is no escape.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

HOW WE SURVIVE THE HEARTACHE.—From the loss of a tooth to that of a mistress there's no pang that is not bearable. The apprehension is much more cruel than the certainty; and we make up our mind to the misfortune when 'tis irremediable, part with the tormentor, and mumble our crust on t'other side of the jaws. I think Colonel Esmond was relieved when a ducal coach-and-six came and whisked his charmer away out of his reach, and placed her in a higher

We do not wonder to find two artists who have chosen the same peak, taking each his different point of view. Of Mr. Noble's we should say that it was farthest afield, without impugning the truthfulness of his work in the slightest degree. Your eye rests long on the outline before it is attracted to details. We will take an example from the accessories. Mr. Noble has draped his bust in a manner to produce a series of free and simple folds, but you may trace the uniform of Warden of the Cinque Ports, with the military stock, riband, and medal. The second bust, which is by Mr. Weigall, is a close and perfect model of the life, exact in details as in size, not failing æsthetically, but more remarkable for its closeness of portraiture. We should say that the artist had made the greatest possible account of an opportunity which he was so fortunate as to obtain, and that the organization of the skull is here accurately carved. If so, the study is a curious one for the phrenologically speculative observer.

Not in these two busts only, but in all the good likenesses of the Duke, there is a more than common retention of the living look. Napoleon's face was "like a mask." How like all the masks of Wellington are to faces!

Q.

WORKING TAILORS' ASSOCIATION.

34, CASTLE-STREET, EAST, OXFORD-STREET.
WALTER COOPER, Manager.

As working-men organized for the management and execution of our own business, we appeal with great confidence to our fellow working-men for their hearty support. We ask that support in the plain words of plain men, without the usual shop-keeping tricks and falsehoods. We do so because we know that we offer an opportunity for the exercise of a sound economy, but we make our appeal more particularly because we believe that every honest artisan in supporting us will feel that he is performing a duty to the men of his class, which to overlook or neglect, would be a treason and a disgrace.

We ask for the support of working-men in full assurance that no better value can be given for money than that which we offer,—and we desire success through that support, not solely that we may rescue ourselves from the wretchedness and slavery of the slop-system,—but more particularly that our fellow-workers of all trades, encouraged by our example, may, through the profitable results of self-management, place themselves and their children beyond the reach of poverty or crime.

Relying on the good faith of the people, we await patiently the result of this appeal.

The annexed List of Prices will show that in seeking the welfare of the Associates they make no monopoly profits.

NOTICE.—All work done on the premises. No Sunday labour is allowed. The books of account are open to every customer. Customers are invited to inspect the healthy and commodious workshops any week-day between the hours of Ten and Four.

LIST OF PRICES FOR CASH ON DELIVERY:

Good West of England Cloth Frock Coats	from £2 5 0
Best superfine ditto, with silk-skirt linings	3 18 0
Best superfine Dress Coat	3 12 0
Super ditto	from 2 0 0
Best superfine Dress Trousers	1 12 0
Super ditto	from 1 1 0
Superfine Dress Vest	0 16 0
Super ditto	from 0 12 0
Llama and Beaver Paletots	from 2 0 0
Suit of Livery	from 3 15 0

Clerical and Professional Robes, Military and Naval Uniforms Ladies' Riding Habits, Youths' and Boys' Suits made to order on the most reasonable terms. Gentlemen's own materials made up.

** Country Orders most punctually attended to.

THE LONDON SIX-DAY CAB AND CONVEYANCE COMPANY,

for supplying the Public with CABS at FOURPENCE per MILE, and Brougham, Clarence, and all other Carriages, at a much reduced rate.

Principal Stables, Adelphi. In 15,000 Shares of £1 each.

No further call or liability. Deposit, 5s. per Share.

Directors to be elected from the body of Shareholders.

To be completely Registered.

DIRECTORS, ETC.

Trevetham Spicer, Esq., LL.D., 4, Gray's Inn Square. (Standing Counsel.)

Frederick J. Sewell, Esq., Ecclestone Street South, Eaton Square. (Veterinary Surgeon.)

William Barrett, Esq., Doctor's Commons, and the Lawn, South Lambeth.

Thomas B. Loader, Esq., Civil Engineer, 14, New Church Street, Edgeware Road, and Princes Street, Stamford Street.

Chas. Henry Price, Esq., Crescent, Avenue Road, Old Kent Road.

Mr. Henry Spicer. (Manager.)

Mr. S. Watkins Evans. (Secretary.)

The Public are respectfully solicited to consider the following superior advantages which this Company presents over any other Conveyance Company hitherto established.

1st.—To work their Horses and Carriages six days only, thereby doing away with all Sunday work.

2nd.—They are determined to have first-rate Horses and Carriages, the latter to be provided with Indicators, by which will be at once seen the distance travelled.

3rd.—To abolish the Insult and Extortion now too prevalent, by employing men of known respectability of character, who will be provided with Livery Coats and Hats, and paid a regular weekly salary.

4th.—To afford their Servants the opportunity of moral and religious instruction, by entirely abolishing all Sunday Work, thereby constituting this, what the Title imports—viz., a Six-Day Conveyance Company.

5th.—To bring the luxury of Cabriolet riding within the reach of all classes by reducing the Fares to (one half of the present legal charge) 4d. per mile, which, by the calculations subjoined, are clearly shown to be both possible and profitable.

Applications for Prospectuses and Shares to be made in the usual form, to Mr. Evans, Secretary, at the office of the Company, 15, Duke Street, Chambers, Adelphi.

Each £1000 will purchase 10 Cabs, 20 Horses, and Harness.

Income derived (from each £1000) per week:—

Each Horse will easily travel 25 miles

per day (resting on the Sunday) earning, at 4d. per mile, 8s. 4d.

20 Horses, £8 6s. 8d. per day, per week. £250 0 0

Deduct Expenditure 33 10 0

Gross Weekly Profit £116 10 0

or £368 per annum.

Keep for 20 Horses 10 10 0

Ten Drivers 5 0 0

Duty on 10 Cabs 5 0 0

Wear and tear £33 10 0

Deducting 25 per cent. from the above for expenses of Management, together with all miscellaneous and contingent outgoings, there will be left a profit of 60 per Cent. per Annum.

sphere. As you have seen the nymph in the opera-machine go up to the clouds at the end of the piece where Mars, Bacchus, Apollo, and all the divine company of Olympians are seated, and quaver out her last song as a goddess: so when this portentous elevation was accomplished in the Esmond family, I am not sure that every one of us did not treat the divine Beatrix with special honours; at least, the saucy little beauty carried her head with a toss of supreme authority, and assumed a touch-me-not air, which all her friends very good-humouredly bowed to.—THACKERAY'S *Esmond*.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE. BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK. (CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	223	223½	223	223	223	.....
3 per Cent. Red.	100½	100½	100½	100½	100½	.....
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100½	101½	101½	101½	101½	.....
3 per Cent. Con., Ac.	100½	101½	101½	101½	101½	.....
3½ per Cent. An.	103½	103½	103½	103½	103½	.....
New 5 per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans., 1860	6 7-16	6½	6½	.....	6½	.....
India Stock	275½	.....	275	277	275	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000	.....	80	.....	.....	83	.....
Ditto, under £1000	.....	80	83	.....	83	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000	72 p	69 p	69 p	71 p	70 p	.....
Ditto, £500	72 p	69 p	.....	71 p	70 p	.....
Ditto, Small	.....	69 p	.....	71 p	70 p	.....

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Austrian 5 per Cents.	83	Russian, 1822	119
Belgian 4½ per Cents.	98	Sardinian 5 per Cents.	99½
Brazilian, Small	101½	Spanish 3 p. Cents.	52½
Brazilian New 4½ per Cts., 1852	97½	Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	25½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	100	Spanish Passives, Conv.	6½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	65½	Spanish Com. Certif. of	.....
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	97	Coupon not funded	3½
Granada Deferred	11	Swedish Loan, par 1½ dis.	.....
Mexican 3 per Cents.	24½	Turkish Loan, 6 per Cent.	.....
Peruvian, 1849	104	1852	2½ pm.
Peruvian 3 per Cent. Def.	63	Venezuela	41

TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.—The Association for Promoting the Repeal of these Taxes will hold their ANNUAL PUBLIC MEETING at Exeter Hall, on Wednesday, December 1st. The Chair will be taken by DOUGLAS JERROLD. The Meeting will be addressed by Richard Cobden, M.P., T. Milner Gibson, M.P., Charles Knight, Rev. Thomas Spencer, M.A., Dr. John Watts, of Manchester; and Samuel Wilderspin.

Doors open at Six; Chair taken at Seven. Platform Tickets may be had of J. A. Novello, 69, Dean Street, Soho, and 24, Poultry; and C. D. Collet, 20, Great Corn Street.

AWARDED a PRIZE MEDAL UNDER CLASS XIX.—TO THE CARPET TRADE.—ROYAL VICTORIA FELT CARPETING.

—The PATENT WOOLLEN CLOTH COMPANY beg to inform the trade that their new patterns in CARPETS and TABLE COVERS for the present season are now out, and will be found far superior to any they have hitherto produced, both in style and variety. The Public can be supplied at all respectable Carpet Houses in London and the country. The Company deem it necessary to caution the Public against parties who are selling an inferior description of goods as felted carpets, which will not bear comparison with their manufacture, either in style or durability; and that the genuineness of the goods can always be tested by purchasers, as the Company's carpets are all stamped at both ends of the piece, "ROYAL VICTORIA CARPETING, LONDON," with the royal arms in the centre. The Company's manufactures are at Elmwood Mills, Leeds, and Borough-road, London.

Wholesale Warehouse, at 8, Love-lane, Wood-street, Cheap-side.

THE ROYAL EXHIBITION.—A valuable

newly-invented, very small, powerful WAISTCOAT POCKET GLASS, the size of a walnut, to discern minute objects at a distance of four to five miles, which is found to be invaluable to Yachters, Sportsmen, Gentlemen, and Game-keepers. Price 30s., sent free. TELESCOPES. A new and most important invention in Telescopes, possessing such extraordinary powers, that some, 3½ inches, with an extra eye-piece, will show distinctly Jupiter's Moons, Saturn's Ring, and the Double Stars. They supersede every other kind, and are of all sizes, for the waistcoat pocket, Shooting, Military purposes, &c. Opera and Racecourse Glasses, with wonderful powers; a minute object can be clearly seen from ten to twelve miles distant. Invaluable, newly-invented Preserving Spectacles; invisible and all kinds of Acoustic Instruments for relief of extreme Deafness. —Messrs. S. and B. SOLOMONS, Opticians and Aurists, 39, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, opposite the York Hotel.

WATCHES! WATCHES! WATCHES!

Save 50 per Cent. by purchasing your Watches direct from the Manufacturer, at the Wholesale Trade Price.

Warranted Gold Watches, extra jewelled, with all the recent improvements £3 15 0
The same Movements in Silver Cases 2 0 0
Handsome Morocco Cases for same 0 2 0
Every other description of Watch in the same proportion.

Sent Free to any part of the Kingdom upon receipt of One Shilling Extra.

Duplex and other Watches practically Repaired and put in order, at the Trade Prices, at

DANIEL ELLIOTT HEDGER'S WHOLESALE WATCH MANUFACTORY,
27, CITY ROAD, near Finsbury Square, London.

* * Merchants, Captains, and the Trade supplied in any quantities on very favourable terms.

CAWSON HILL MINING COMPANY.

Shareholders in this undertaking to whom accidentally copies of the following report may not have been forwarded, are requested to inspect the same. Persons desirous of becoming Subscribers can obtain a prospectus and the fullest particulars upon application personal, or by post, to the Purser, at the offices of the Company, No.3, Crown-court, Threadneedle-street.

CAWSON HILL MINING COMPANY.

At the first general meeting of shareholders, held at the offices, Crown-court, Threadneedle-street, on Wednesday, the 10th inst., Sir JAMES ANDERSON in the chair,

Mr. MATTHEW JOHNSON, the purser, read the notice convening the meeting, the following reports from Capt. Moyle and Gidley, and the financial statement.

Nov. 1.—Since the commencement of our working the mine, we have taken up two shallow adits, one on the north part of the sett, and the other on the south, and have driven them about 120 fms. each; these adits are cross cut levels; by driving these levels we have cut through several east and west lodes of the most promising appearance for producing a rich deposit of mineral at a shallow depth. In driving the south adit level to the northward, we cut through two east and west lodes and two north and south ones, all of them containing most promising matrix for rich deposits, upon sinking a few fathoms on their course, the component parts are gossan, with good stones of tin and some rich spots of grey and black oxide of copper. In the north and south lodes, cut in the adit, we find some good tin-stuff, and some small particles of lead ore; besides the east and west and north and south lodes we have cut in the adit, we have cut two caunter lodes running about south-east and north-west, and upon the junction of these lodes we have met with some beautiful stones of tin, also yellow and grey copper ore. In our north adit we have cut three large lodes, running east and west, averaging in size about six feet wide, their component parts are gossan and tin, oxide of iron, and some spots of copper mixed with the prian, spar, and flookan. We have also cut three north and south lodes in this adit, which have just the same appearance as the east and west lodes; these east and west lodes, I may observe, are supposed to be those of the Wheel Fortune, and about which we consider there can be no doubt. The north and south lodes before mentioned are the Manor Lead Mine lodes, which join us on the north side of our sett. We have opened on many others in the sett by shodding pits, one of which is from 16 to 20 feet wide, producing some very good spots of tin and copper; this has only been opened on to the depth of four feet from the surface. We have a great number of lodes in our sett, which you will see marked upon the plan, all of which are embedded in a beautiful decomposed granite, which is a very favourable indication for making rich courses of grey copper ore in depth. All of these courses carry tin on their backs, which is a sure indication of good courses of copper in depth, as proved by all the best mines in Cornwall—viz., the Wheel Buller, Wheel Basset, Wheel Frances, and many other mines in the neighbourhood; which, in the same stage, had precisely similar indications, and which have, in confirmation of the opinions of geologists and experienced miners, proved most productive. There is another feature we must not overlook—viz., the decomposed granite from which can be obtained first-rate china-clay, by washing it and making some reservoirs for the settlement of the water. There is not better clay to be found in Cornwall: while washing this clay, we shall at the same time be streaming for tin, which we have no doubt will pay largely, for when our machinery is erected for streaming our tin-stuff, we shall extract the tin and procure the clay at the same time. In closing our remarks, we cannot but state that if this mine or mines be worked in a proper and judicious manner, it must, in our opinion, prove a lasting and most productive undertaking.

GENERAL STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Shares issued.....	£332 0 0	
First deposit on 250 shares sold.....	62 10 0	= 394 10 0
Deposits now due	36 10 0	
Ditto payable at future periods	129 15 0	
Shares in agents' hands.....	71 0 0	
Salaries paid from April 12 to Nov. 6, 1852	14 18 0	
Rent of offices, from April 5 to Oct. 9	21 0 0	
Advertising account, as per bills delivered	22 12 11	
Postage, newspapers, & carriage of parcels	9 17 2	
Brokerage.....	15 5 3	
Cash remitted to mine during May, June, and July	10 0 0	
Ditto in August and September.....	10 13 2	
Cash due by J. Ault, £18 10s. (less commission, &c., £3 11s.)	14 10 0	
On account of stationery, £5; carriage of specimens, 2s. 10d.	5 2 10	= 361 13 4
Leaving balance	£32 16 8	

The CHAIRMAN observed, that what had been read so well explained the present position of the company, that it required but few remarks from him; he felt great pleasure in congratulating the shareholders at the flattering prospects; and as Capt. Moyle was present to explain or answer questions, he would ask him what the expenditure for the next quarter was likely to be?

Capt. MOYLE observed, that he should advise them to walk before they ran. The concern was as yet in an infant state, and although they had already met with several lodes at the adit level, there were so many others to cut and open on, that no correct idea could be formed where the proper place to sink a shaft would be; he would, therefore, advise driving the adits for two months, and then cross-cuts if necessary. Meanwhile he would try some experiments on the china-clay and tin streaming—the prospects were exceedingly promising, and if he had formed a correct opinion, by the meeting in March the returns would meet one-half of the expenditure, if not more. When the erections were completed he expected to meet all. A small

smith's shop was required at once, and would not cost above £10; it would not only answer for repairing tools in, but serve for the men to change and dry their clothes in. The indications at surface were exceedingly good for tin and china-clay, but his opinion was, 20 fms. deeper would show a good course of copper ore. They had six men underground, the cost would be £30 per month for labour, &c.

The CHAIRMAN then put the motion, "That the report and accounts now produced be received and adopted, and circulated amongst the shareholders"—carried unanimously. He then observed, that he entirely approved of the course proposed by Capt. Moyle, when he was prepared to point out the spot where a shaft ought to be sunk, and sink it at once, meantime the expenditure would be judiciously laid out in underground explorations and making discoveries. He spoke as an original promoter of the undertaking, and he had not sold any part of his shares. It was his full intention, prior to the next meeting, to go down upon the mine, and see what progress they had made there, and he doubted not he should return with a satisfactory report thereof.

A SHAREHOLDER inquired whether the machinery alluded to meant that necessary for a quick return of tin-ore, china-clay, &c., and what might be the estimated expense?

Capt. MOYLE would first advise three months before deciding on any. They had the command of abundance of water for every purpose, and would erect a 40 feet wheel, 3 feet over the breast, complete for £250.

The CHAIRMAN remarked, that they had 80 shareholders resident in the country: although only one was present, he represented a great many, and would acquaint those resident in his locality of all that occurred at this meeting, and a copy of the *Mining Journal* would be sent to each by Saturday's post. Hitherto, Capt. Moyle, Mr. Gidley, the manager, and Mr. Johnston, the purser, had served the company without charging anything for remuneration; all the expenditure had been in paying the men, office-rent, &c.—no money had been thrown away. He thought now was the proper time to offer them some remuneration. There was one feature that he liked in this concern—that of not getting into debt, but as money came in laying it out on the mine.

Mr. HOWELL then called the attention of the meeting to an offer which was made by a gentleman of extensive mining knowledge and business, who proposed to take 250 of the shares at par, provided he had the option of taking a similar number within a given period. It was desirable to have the benefit of his superior talent, and it only required the sanction of the meeting to be effected.

Several shareholders expressed their approval, and the committee were authorized to act accordingly. £4 4s. per month was voted to Capt. Moyle, £4 4s. per month to the purser, and £2 2s. per month to Mr. Gidley, the manager. The rules and regulations were read and confirmed. Quarterly meetings are to be held in the months of March, June, September, and December, 1853, of which the shareholders are to have seven days' clear notice; and during the regular hours of business the reports, with statements of the financial position of the company, to be open for the inspection of the shareholders. These arrangements terminated the business of the meeting, when a vote of thanks was passed to Sir James Anderson, for his able conduct in the chair.

THE BEST MATTING AND MATS OF COCOA-NUT FIBRE.—The Jury of Class XXVIII. Great Exhibition, awarded the Prize Medal to T. TRELOAR, at whose warehouse (42, Ludgate Hill) purchasers will find an assortment of Cocoa-Nut Fibre manufactures, unequalled for variety and excellence at the most moderate prices.

Catalogues free by post. T. Treloar, Cocoa-Nut Fibre Manufacturer, 42, Ludgate Hill, London.

THE PENINSULAR AND ORIENTAL STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY

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