

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, MAY 21, 1853.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

PARLIAMENT reassembles after a brief holiday, to continue its duties and endure the tedium of bootless or fictitious oppositions. In some minor circumstances, indeed, it finds the position of affairs slightly altered. The measure for reconstructing the Indian Government is again put off to the 2nd of June. A deputation from the City has restored heart to Lord John Russell on the subject of Jewish Emancipation, and he now talks as if he might be able to settle the question by favour of a bill to come down from the House of Lords for newly regulating the oaths taken in Parliament.

And the most formidable opposition yet organized to any part of Mr. Gladstone's budget, is that of the grocers and tea-dealers, whose interests he has not sufficiently consulted in certain details touching tea and raisins; a committee of magnates is appointed to watch and control the proceedings of the Government, and Mr. Moffat is held to his duty, his commercial being higher than his ministerial allegiance.

Inquiry by a parliamentary commission at Canterbury into the prevalence of general bribery in that city, has been a fitting pendant to that of the dockyard committee. Canterbury has been one of those impartial boroughs that were open to conviction by the force of cogent arguments in gold and silver. Voters at Canterbury were hired as supernumeraries are engaged for a stage performance, and the "star" who could muster the largest number of supernumeraries carried away the election. That was the system; but inasmuch as such a plan is against the law, evasions were necessary, though not difficult—for money can evade every law. In England you must not purchase a voter, but you may purchase a flag-staff, and the voter may be thrown in, as vendors in fear of the Newspaper Stamp Act used to sell a straw, with an unstamped newspaper, as a supplement. The supernumeraries, however, have feelings; they are not to be bought by the gross, without consulting their sensibilities; and hence it is necessary to have a stage-manager. Such a person, for example, as Mr. Brent—an alderman long resident in the borough, known for his cleverness, thoroughly consistent in reform, a faithful adherent of the Liberal party, and a poli-

tician of unblemished sincerity. Nevertheless, it does so happen, by a coincidence which enables malicious people to talk, that Alderman Brent has been viewed with favour by liberal administrations, and that four of his sons have attained positions of an official kind. To realize the full benefit of this organization, there is no doubt some connexion between the local manager and the central manager; and it does appear that the Ciceroacchio of Canterbury, Conservative or Liberal, had some sort of relation, more or less defined, with the Secretary of the Treasury for the time being. This relation resulted in a peculiar sort of insight, which the Canterbury Ciceroacchio had at times, that there would be lying for him a sum at the banker's, available for political purposes. This sum emanates from "a fund," whose existence is proclaimed before the commissioners; but where it is treasured, in whose name, who forms it, nobody will say. That gentleman of universal knowledge, Mr. James Coppock, appears to have a thorough insight into this matter, but the difficulty is to get a thorough insight into Mr. James Coppock. However, there stands the peculiar relation—mysterious, avowed, unintelligible—between Colonel Romilly, certain colourmen, Alderman Brent, the Secretary of the Treasury, "the fund," and Mr. James Coppock. Unguided by explanation, the careless public drifts to what conclusion it pleases; one conclusion being, no doubt, that it does not become Liberal patriots to be too severe upon Mr. Stafford or even "W. B."

From Parliament it is pleasant to turn to congregational virtue. Exeter-hall and all the off-lying branches or unrecognised adjuncts to that great meeting-place of lay sectarianism, have been crowded this week by those pietists and philanthropists who come up to town when the thorn-blossoms appear in the hedges. Universal "peace" now shines with equal smile upon England and upon murderous Austria or Naples; protection of aborigines confesses its tender regard for the Gaikas who shot our soldiers from behind the bushes; anti-slavery would preserve Cuba to slave-trading Spain, and hinders the sober efforts of American patriots by hysterical impatience; Exeter-hall, in short, seizes an enthusiast-novelist like Mrs. Stowe, with her attendant satellite and husband, to make a peep-show of her, and has been rampant this week. One set of speeches is

like those for any year—*mutatis mutandis*—for Exeter-hall cannot learn. We verily believe that if Louis Napoleon were enthroned under the portico of the Gallery in Trafalgar-square, witnessing the classic performance of English soldiers passing under a Gaulish yoke—when even Mr. Cobden would be busy in Yorkshire, arousing the people against the foreign invader, and leading them to the struggle—some Peace Society at Exeter-hall would be preaching friendly demeanour towards a foreign potentate, and the best we could hope would be, that an Aborigines Protection Society would present a memorial to that clement person in favour of the poor British.

Peace, indeed, is beautifully illustrated by the letter of Lord Robert Grosvenor to the papers. Englishmen, it seems, are still subjected to a system of hindrance and insult by the officials in Austria; but we are growing used to it, and the most spirited of our noble families can do nothing better than complain to the *Times*, possibly in hopes that the journal may reciprocate a beneficial influence with the potentates who persecute England.

As to foreign events, the signs are more important than the events. It would seem to concern us little, for example, that King Leopold is passing from capital to capital, exchanging courtesies with the King of Prussia, walking hand-in-hand with the Emperor of Austria, and meeting diplomatists who have for months been undermining his influence. But Leopold is not a man who does things for nothing. If he receives and gives courtesies, it must be for a political purpose; and unless monarchy is condemned indeed by its own incorrigible tyranny, the influence of Leopold, which must be promoted by his personal activity, must be also for the benefit of national independence and freedom on the Continent.

France is very jealous of it, and is strengthening her position at home in various ways. For instance, she is reviving the punishment of death as a defence of the throne; though the people do remember that the guillotine can cut two ways. She is strengthening her credit by manoeuvres with the Credit Foncier and the Credit Mobilier, partly to carry on her immense building operations in Paris, partly to assist the municipalities of France in the same process. Now, bricks are not seeds;

houses cannot be eaten, nor exchanged away; but while France is thus engaged in devoting so large a portion of industry to the secondary employments, or those which relate to conversion of material, and not to production of primary necessities, she is running up a desperate score against the morrow.

If not building for herself a very sound foundation, France can boast of some sort of victory. In Constantinople, M. de la Cour declares M. de Lavalette has *not* been defeated; and that the position of the Emperor in the Holy Places is not less dignified than it has been. The pride of France may be solaced, but when national bankruptcy comes, or when military difficulties arise, we do not understand what succour she can receive from the Latins. Small benefit will she derive from the Holy Places at such times.

As to Turkey itself let it stand as a mystery. We know very little about it. Diplomats and newspapers keep on from day to day announcing that Russia has presented her "ultimatum," but has failed to realize it; that ultimatum being now described as the claim to the Protectorate of the Christians within the Turkish dominions; but that was the ultimatum of which we heard long ago; and when diplomats talk of a novelty we must suppose that the thing itself is something different from the one now spoken of. Assuredly something must have occurred to create that new agitation among the diplomats of Constantinople which cannot be concealed. England and France are said to have prevailed against Russia; though how, or in what, we have not the means even of conjecturing. Shall we suspect that all this gossip is only a blind to conceal the real advances of Russia from those in the West who might call their Governments to account?

The Indian Mail announces some small successes for our troops in Burmah, and new scandals for our judicial bench and local government in Bombay. But the most important intelligence is, that the rebellion in China makes such progress as to threaten the tea trade. To the Chinese, indeed, whose Government is at stake, whose property is cast on the hazard, whose lands are traversed by conflicting armies, whose wives and children are exposed to the contingencies of war, tea will be a trifle—forgotten. It would be as absurd to talk of it to them as to have complained, during the wars of the white and red roses in England, that perhaps the cabbages would be trodden down. That, indeed, was our chief incident in a recent Irish civil war; and in the English view, humane as we may be, the hopes and fears of the Chinese bosom will be far less momentous than the possible abstraction from the teapot.

It is at present almost the sole menace to our trade, which otherwise goes on swimmingly. It is true that Mr. Gladstone's new stocks are not taken with great avidity in the City; true that the carpenters and joiners at Birmingham do not obtain instant concession from their masters; but the working classes generally have had as much success as tact. And if Mr. Gladstone's stocks do not go off "like a novel," we suspect that their sterling merits will make them always in demand, like a classical history.

A railway accident is signalized by a striking and sensible verdict. In the last accident on the York and North Midland Railway, it appeared by the evidence to result from the bad state of the management on the line. The jury have returned a verdict of manslaughter against the directors.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

THE House of Commons reassembled for a three days' sitting on Thursday. The main business in which their time has been taken up is in voting the civil estimates. Then Mr. Disraeli has, without opposition, consented to the second reading of the Income-tax Bill. The House has now adjourned until Monday; after which it will adjourn over Tuesday, the Queen's birthday, and Wednesday, the Derby day. So we must begin our record with the

COMMITTEE ON SUPPLY.

The public money was extensively voted on Thursday evening, amid the usual dropping fire of dissent and suggestions—Mr. WILLIAMS objecting to so much money for royal parks and palaces, and several metropolitan members suggesting repairs and alterations, from the cleansing of the unhappy "Charles" at Charing-cross to the completion of Battersea park. The proposal to grant 1235*l.* 13*s.* for repairing the College of Maynooth gave rise to a debate that reads like an after-dinner conversation, and a division that seems but the mistake of a night. Mr. SPOONER opposed the grant—firstly, on "pecuniary" grounds, Parliament having already granted money for repairs; and secondly, on the standing ground of "the national sin." He also made bold to ask that all members who opposed religious endowments should vote with him against the grant. This hint was taken: several Dissenting members declared themselves opposed to the vote. Mr. LUCAS complainingly pointed out that the chaplain was getting 67*l.* for repairs and furniture: why did not the opponents of all endowments attack that? "Why not oppose it yourself?" asked Sir JOHN SHELLEY: "if you will really fight against religious endowment, make a motion against it." Mr. LUCAS evaded this, but Mr. WILLIAMS (who supported Mr. SPOONER) moved also the omission of two or three "Protestant" items connected with Dublin; but on a division, his motion was rejected by 80 to 43. Lord JOHN RUSSELL then pointed out that as the Dissenting members had by this vote affirmed the principle of opposition to religious endowments, he called on them not to vote with Mr. Spooner, for that would be but singling out for destruction one endowment "belonging to that religious denomination in Ireland which obtained the least of public support." But Mr. Spooner's amendment, diversely supported, was carried by 74 to 54.

The vote for prisons and convicts establishments was postponed to some more leisure evening, at the request of Mr. LUCAS, as that gentleman contemplates a discussion on the management of those establishments.

The vote of 2006*l.* for the salaries of professors in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, gave rise to some conversational opposition, but nothing decisive was said, and no division was taken. A grant of 2750*l.* for theological professors at Belfast Academical Institution was opposed by Mr. MIALI, who took a division, and was beaten by 130 to 21.

The committee was continued last night.

On the vote of 4350*l.* being proposed, to defray the expenses of establishments at the Falkland Islands, Sir J. SHELLEY moved an amendment, reducing the amount by 400*l.*, the salary of the chaplains. After a discussion, in which Mr. Williams, Mr. Bright, Mr. Miall, Mr. Lucas, Mr. F. Peel, and Mr. Atherton took part, the House divided, and rejected the amendment by 86 to 33.

On the vote of 38,491*l.* being proposed for the support of Non-Conformist Ministers in Ireland (the fund known as the Regium Donum), Sir J. SHELLEY opposed the grant, objecting to payments from the public revenue for religious purposes. Mr. BRIGHT and Sir W. CLAY took similar grounds; whilst Lord C. HAMILTON defended the grant, as a mere act of justice to the Presbyterian clergy of Ireland. Sir J. YOUNG believed that the advocates of what was called the voluntary principle for ecclesiastical purposes, formed but a small minority of the people of England, and was convinced that, if it were adopted as the rule of public policy, but a few years would elapse ere the religious convictions of the people would lose all force and efficacy. He denied that the grant produced any demoralizing effect on its recipients, and trusted that the House would not withdraw it. Mr. CONDEN felt enforced, by a regard to political justice, as well as to the course in which recent decisions of the House seemed to be tending, to co-operate with those who were opposed on principle to all State endowments for religious purposes, leaving all religions to support themselves. Lord J. RUSSELL should do his best to resist any approach to the voluntary system. With reference to the rejection of the estimate for repairs of the Maynooth College buildings, though he should not propose any further grant, it would be the duty of the Government to consider how those buildings might be kept in good repair, the policy of this country, as settled by the act of 1845, being to maintain that institution. If the House wished to support Church establishments, they ought to act with justice to all religious parties. After some further discussion, in which Mr. Spooner, Mr. Cairns, Mr. Archibald Hastie, Mr. Maguire, Mr. Maurice O'Connell, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. McMahon took part, a division ensued, and the amendment was lost by 181 to 46.

INDIA.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL announced that on Friday, June the 3rd, Sir C. WOOD would state the views of the Cabinet with respect to the government of India.

Notwithstanding this intimation, Mr. RICH proceeded to make some remarks on the present position of the Indian question. He argued that inquiry should precede legislation; and pointed out that the select committee on the subject had reported but on one of the eight heads of inquiry, and had examined, with few exceptions, only military men and Company officials. The military system of India treated native merit unfairly; the financial system had produced a permanent deficiency; and the judges were in general totally incompetent. Mr. Rich went through the details of Indian administration, exposing its inefficiency, and urged that delay could do no harm, and must increase our facilities for obtaining correct information.

Sir CHARLES WOOD made a curious reply. "For many reasons he would not mention, it was desirable the House should legislate during the present session," but if he were now to answer Mr. Rich he would be prolonging a fruitless discussion, and interrupting the course of public business. He would discuss the points raised on the 3rd June.

In the House of Commons yesterday, Sir C. WOOD stated, in reply to questions from Mr. Cobden, Mr. Gibson, and Mr. Bright, that the province of Pegu had been annexed to our Indian Empire by the Governor-General, in accordance with instructions from the home government; that the new province was expected to supply the means of defraying the expenses of its own government; and that no instructions had been sent out to annex more territory.

THE CAB REFORM BILL.

The Hackney Carriages Bill was discussed in committee. Sir ROBERT INGLIS urged that a large property was invested in hackney vehicles—1,700,000*l.* in carriages or omnibuses, and 800,000*l.* in cabs. The bill should be referred to a select committee. Lord DUDLEY STUART seconded the motion. Mr. BRIGHT said he believed that cab-drivers were in general treated with great harshness, and that their unfortunate condition was, in a great degree, to be attributed to the want of a sensible municipal government in this metropolis. No act of Parliament would civilize a body of men who were exposed day and night in this severe climate, but if there was a proper municipal government in London, some arrangement would have been by this time made by which cabs on the stand would be placed under a glass roof, and greater attention would be paid to the comforts of the drivers.

Mr. FITZROY opposed the reference to a select committee. If there was a great deal of capital invested in cabs, the House should also recollect that 300,000,000 "fares" were conveyed annually in these vehicles, and that their interests were involved. The motion for going into committee was then carried—107 to 23; but the House only went into committee *pro formâ*.

The bill passed through committee last night—the right of appeal to the County Court being rejected by an enormous majority.

ADMISSION OF THE JEWS TO PARLIAMENT.—Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, in answer to Mr. Milner Gibson, that it was probable this question would be settled by a bill making a general alteration in the oaths taken by members of Parliament, and he pointed out that such a bill (Lord Lyndhurst's) had been introduced into the other House of Parliament.

CHINA.—Viscount JOCELYN inquired if Government had observed the progress of the civil war in China, and intended to take any steps for the protection of British interests in that country? Lord J. RUSSELL said that Government were in receipt of accounts of the civil war now going on, and that instructions had been sent to the admiral in command in the China Seas to take such measures as might be requisite for the protection of British interests and property. Government will not interfere in the civil war.

ELECTION EXPOSURES.

The "corrupt practices" at Canterbury are being investigated by a Royal commission. The style of the corruption in the borough appears to have been paltry, but widespread and regular. On the pretence of hiring men to carry "the colours" for the party, tickets, called "colour-tickets," were issued to every "freeman," entitling the holder to 5*s.* per day. At the last general election Colonel Romilly and Sir W. Somerville refused to issue "colour-tickets." The line of defence adopted by the Conservative advocates at the inquiry is characteristic; they seek to damage the credit of this abstinence from bribery, by denouncing it as an "artful dodge," adopted for the sake of unseating the Tory candidates. On the second day, Mr. Anstey asked Alderman Brent:—Will you explain what is meant in Canterbury by a 10*l.* sandwich? Alderman Brent: I have not the least idea. (Derisive laughter among the crowd behind the bar.) Mr. Alderman Cooper, a Liberal agent, spoke of bribery as a recognised accessory of the Canterbury contest. He named the men to whom money was given to be used in bribery: said, that there were 200 or 300 voters in Canterbury, whom he called

"Swiss" men, who would vote for either side, according as they were paid. Mr. Jonathan James Rutter gave similar testimony. Colonel Romilly's evidence was remarkable for its allusions to a private fund, organized for political purposes, at the Reform Club. George Godwin described corruption of the plainest kind. He was employed by Rutter to give to thirty voters 5*l.* a piece for their vote, after they had polled for Conyngham and Smythe. The Hon. Butler Johnstone gave evidence of the most suspicious simplicity. "He understood that there were a great many colour-tickets during the election. On inquiry, he understood that it was a regular custom on both sides. He was told that the freemen of Canterbury were legitimately entitled to it. He understood that both sides always had coloured tickets, and in his unsophisticated innocence he thought they had. (Laughter.) After he had paid the last 300*l.*, Dr. Lochee said something about a further sum being required; he was fully prepared to advance it, but Dr. Lochee said, 'You have paid 1000*l.*, and I do not think you ought to be called on to pay any more;' but he was afraid of Alderman Brent, and what in Canterbury was called 'the Bifrons purse,' that was, the purse of the Marchioness of Conyngham. (Laughter.) The Marchioness had a very large income, and it was rumoured that when she saw the election going against her son-in-law, Sir William Somerville, she would come down handsomely with her thousands, as she was understood to have done. (Loud laughter.) When he heard this, and that the Marchioness's purse was to be opened against him, he felt fairly in the fight, and that he would not be beaten even by her. (Laughter.) Heard of the vacancy at Canterbury through Brown, the Parliamentary agent, and became a candidate from wishing to serve Lord Derby's Government."

The rest of the evidence is simple. It proves direct bribery, both by the Liberal and the Conservative party, at the last election, and at former elections. The names, sums of money, and full particulars, are all stated clearly, so that there can be no mistake about the plain and open corruption. In '52, Mr. Forbes Mackenzie paid Mr. Gipps 500*l.* towards the election expenses.

A redeeming feature in the mass of Canterbury corruption is the conduct of Mr. Pout, agent for the Tory party. He took an active part in the general bribery, but he did it for nothing. Thus speaketh the Abdiel of Canterbury:—Chief Commissioner: What was your remuneration at the election? Witness (gracefully laying his hand on his heart): Only the friendship of the gentlemen whom I served. (A laugh.) I never received any reward or gratuity for my services—"Oh, oh," and laughter behind the bar—but I am happy to say I have made friendships which will last me for life. The committee-rooms were held at my warehouse in 1841, and I received 20*l.* for the use of them for three or four months. No charge was made for coals. I have heard of that rumour; but I am afraid it only emanates from those who are envious."

Lord Thomas Charles Pelham Clinton, M.P., a Tory candidate at the election of '47, expressed himself ignorant of all illegal practices. The money for his election came through Major Beresford—the ubiquitous (or W. B. quitous) agent for the Carlton. Mr. Coppock also appears in the Canterbury drama. Alderman Brent was instructed by Lord Albert Conyngham that the unapplied balance of the money sent down to pay the expenses of Colonel Romilly's election, was to be handed over in part to Mr. Coppock. The alderman has aroused some suspicion by discrepant testimony. He first stated that he handed over 250*l.* (the balance) to Colonel Romilly; he afterwards deposed that he gave 100*l.* to Mr. Coppock, expended 100*l.* in "various ways," and kept back 50*l.* for contingent expenses. Mr. Stephen Kumbold Lushington (examined on Wednesday) gave a history of his connexion with the borough. He spent a great deal of money in five successive elections; spent 7000*l.* on one occasion in defending a petition, being assured (as consolation) by his counsel, that he "had whopped them well," and finally got a "magnificent piece of plate" on his retirement from the representation.

The "defence" of the sitting members for Cork, although humorously illogical, is not novel. The petitioner's witnesses having testified that they saw stones thrown and heads broken, the witnesses for the defence state that they did not see any stones thrown. The chief among the new set of deponents is Mr. F. Beamish, the sheriff of Cork last year. He saw men with their teeth knocked out, but knew nothing of the knocking out; he saw windows broken, but the stones that broke them were unseen; he found that his deputy had to close a booth, but "after the booth" had been closed he went there, and found no rioting. The court-house polling place was filled with a crowd, yelling frightfully, and assailing the Protestant voters in the foulest language. The sheriff "resolved on taking some steps." He requested the ringleader to "hold his tongue." The man was quiet for a little, then began again, and continued without interruption. He drew a distinction between an "Irish row" in which individuals got themselves hurt, and an Irish riot, which was a more serious affair. On the polling day his attention was not called to any "riot, in the Irish sense of the word."

THE IRISH EXHIBITION.

THE circumstances of the opening of the Crystal Palace in Hyde-park have been repeated in Dublin: the Exhibition has been formally opened, though "much remains to do." The gay visitors who witnessed the inauguration were succeeded by sturdy workmen "closing rivets up." The inaugural anthem of the orchestra preceded the continued "note of preparation;" but the triumph of the organ at the completion of the work was mocked by the tap of the hammer on the unfinished furnishing and unpacked cases. The completeness of the Fine Arts Hall makes, however, large amends for the *déshabille* of the rest of the Exhibition.

In the almost motley variety of the pictures—in the rare character of some, and in the unquestionable excellence of others, the Gallery of Painting is very interesting; and the Sculpture, from Marochetti's regal effigy of "Victoria," to Jones's solid statue of "Dargan," is equal in interest, though less in extent. Of the Irish portion of the Exhibition the excellent articles are, the Irish lace, long famous; the Irish poplins, the national frieze, the yarns, and linen of the North, the gloves of Limerick, the carriages of Dublin, the marbles of the West, and the needlework of the North of Ireland. This last is of peculiar interest, as it is connected with that cottage industry which, as in Belgium, can give the people habits of work, and at the same time prevent the demoralizing effects of the factory system. Of the foreign contributions the Oriental collection is appropriately splendid, enriched by the King of Holland's unique collection of Japanese curiosities. The French portion has not as yet been fully displayed; but it is said to be very complete, as the Emperor has expressed a lively interest in Ireland, and has given every facility for the transmission of the best products of the Imperial manufactories.

The personal incidents of the Exhibition have as yet been pleasant and satisfactory. One of the most rational features in the opening was the absence of any religious ceremony such as that which marked the Crystal Palace inauguration, when the Archbishop of Canterbury officiated, and the Chinese cook assisted. There were present at the Irish opening high dignitaries of both the national Churches. Dr. Cullen and several bishops representing one, and the Dean of St. Patrick's and the Provost of Trinity College representing the other. But either in compliment to the spirit of the epoch, or to prevent a row between the rival priests, the Lord Lieutenant himself spoke a brief impromptu prayer at the commencement, with much solemnity and good effect. "I pray to Almighty God to bless and prosper this undertaking," said Lord St. Germans; and "all the people answered, Amen." (The report in the *Times*, that Dr. Cullen interfered to prevent any but an exclusively Roman-catholic ceremonial is a misstatement: the secularization of the ceremony was the sole act of the Committee.) The visitors at the Exhibition are very varied; representatives of all the sections of Irish provincialism, from the half-British northern, to the fervid people of the south; from the mixed population of Leinster, to the Milesian Irish of the west are to be found parading the spacious halls of Sir John Benson's building. By means of cheap and timely railway accommodation the working people and the farm labourers in the remotest country parts of Ireland will be induced to visit Dublin in the summer; Dargan completing his good work by thus clearing a path from the peasant's home to the Exhibition. The English visitors are as yet not numerous; but there is promise of a splendid invasion, marshalled by Royal leaders. It is now said, in a rather positive manner, that the Queen is about to visit Ireland on the 28th of July, and that she is to be accompanied by the King of the Belgians, and the Prince and Princess of Prussia. The kindly interest which King Leopold has already taken in the Irish display renders his visit not improbable. The general visitors to the building during the week have averaged 5000 a-day; every thing is conducted with order and decorum; and it is most gratifying to note that on the inauguration day not a single instance of intoxication or disorder was observed in Dublin. The amount paid for season tickets already exceeds 10,000*l.*; and as the present visitors to the building pay 5*s.* each for admission there seems every likelihood that Dargan will lose nothing by his generous advance of 80,000*l.*

But the Iron Hall in Leinster-lawn is only a part of the Irish Exhibition. The whole people have put on their holiday attire, and the whole Island is an exhibition. The "sweet south," where Killarney, with its brilliant beauty pensive in mist, wins love from the coldest looker-on, is the chief scene of Irish enchantment. It takes nothing from its attractive loveliness to find that we can travel to it quietly and with comfort. It is now but seventeen hours' journey from London, and but seven from Dublin. At present the rails do not run quite into the town, but in less than a month they will complete an iron road of the best kind from Dublin to the very borders of the lake. The general style of railway travelling in Ireland is very good. The fares are cheaper than in England (the economy in purchasing the land and making the line allowing the lower tariff); and the second-class carriages are much more comfortable than in this country. The lines are also made in the most solid and permanent way, admitting, without danger, a high rate of speed. With such conveniences, the Irish, both on behalf of themselves and their guests, are not slow or inapt in organizing pleasure in a most extensive way. The accounts from Dublin imply that the whole nation is out

on a pleasure party for a few weeks: all kinds of holidays in Dublin—national, religious, or official, being usually celebrated by the closing of the shops—a holiday act that English traders can scarcely appreciate. Notifications of concerts, public balls, horticultural fêtes, and artistic soirées, are pleasantly sprinkled over the Dublin newspapers—Lord St. Germans setting a well observed example of hospitality at the Vicegeral Lodge. Among the most remarkable of those announcements is the rumour of a grand masonic festival in Dublin on the 24th of June—"Ireland's only Duke" presiding at the festivity.

A "GREAT EXHIBITION" IN PARIS.

INDUSTRIAL Exhibitions seem likely to make the tour of Europe; perhaps reach Rome itself, and change that city of organized idleness into something like a workshop, or invade Constantinople and dethrone the dynasty of indolence, by showing the Turks that there is more dignity in making a carpet than in lounging on it. Paris is to be the next rival to England's show in '51. The following publication by our Department of Practical Art formally announces the undertaking:—

The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade have received a communication from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, transmitting a copy of a letter from Count Walewski, the French Ambassador at the Court of London, in which it is announced that by a Decree of the 8th of March last, his Majesty the Emperor has ordered that a Universal Exhibition of Agricultural and Industrial products shall take place in Paris on the 1st of May, 1855. The French Ambassador states that exhibitors of those countries who answer to this appeal will meet with every requisite facility both as regards the Customs regulations, and the reception, arrangement, and security of their products, in the Palace of Industry. A later decree, which will be communicated without delay, will determine and specify the conditions of the Universal Exhibition, the rules under which goods will be exhibited, and the different kinds of products which will be admitted. Count Walewski expresses a hope on behalf of the Government of his Imperial Majesty, that the British Government will do all in their power to direct the attention of British manufacturers to the intended Exhibition of 1855, and that they will answer to the invitation which is now addressed to them with the same ardour as the French manufacturers responded to the invitation of England in 1851. In accordance with the request of the Earl of Clarendon, my Lords desire to give the widest publicity to this measure, in order that no effort may be spared in furtherance of the intentions of the Emperor of the French as regards the Exhibition of British Agriculture and Industry.

HENRY COLE, } Joint Secretaries.

LYON PLAYFAIR, }

Marlborough House, 10th May, 1853.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER LXXIII.

Paris, Thursday, May 19, 1853.

THE news received this week from Constantinople has suddenly broken the monotonous tenor of things political in this metropolis, and thrown the Government and the financial world into great commotion. The funds have fallen a franc in two days at the Bourse. The *Moniteur* has been obliged to lift up its voice in order to reassure the timid; but the threatening hints it threw out have had a contrary effect, and have only augmented the panic. "If," said the *Moniteur*, "the demands of the Russian diplomatist lead to complications, they will assume the character of a European question, which will implicate in an equal degree all the Powers that signed the treaty of 1841." This forecast of complications, coming from the organ of our wary Government, was certainly far from reassuring, and great uneasiness prevailed in all quarters. The state of things in Constantinople, on the 9th, was as follows:—Prince Menschikoff had received from Odessa a sealed despatch, wherein the Emperor Nicholas ordered him to present his ultimatum, and to insist on an answer within five days. In pursuance of these orders Prince Menschikoff repaired to the Divan on the evening of the 5th of May, and delivered the ultimatum in question to the Turkish Government. The text of the ultimatum is not yet known; the only thing certain is that it demands the immediate conclusion, between the Porte and Russia, of a treaty abrogating that of 1841, to which the four great European Powers were parties. The Divan immediately summoned England and France to its aid; and their two ambassadors forthwith sent off despatches to their respective Governments. The steamers which conveyed them arrived together at Marseilles on the 15th. Simultaneously with his commands for the presentation of the ultimatum, the Emperor Nicholas gave orders that the Russian fleet and army should hold themselves in readiness to proceed at a moment's notice, and attack Constantinople by sea and land. The details reported by the crew of the *Odessa* steamer, leave no doubt on this point. The Porte had five days, that is, until the 10th, to determine the nature of its reply. It is now the 19th: what has happened

meanwhile? No one knows. The Russian embassy alleges that it received last night a despatch from Vienna, announcing that the Porte had accepted the ultimatum. The next intelligence will tell us how far this is true or false.

In France, meanwhile, the Government expects war, and is silently preparing the army for it. Hitherto the several garrisons had all been isolated from each other; they have now been all grouped into brigades, consisting of two or three regiments, and divisions comprising three brigades. To each brigade there has been assigned a common ground for muster and exercise, and also a point of rendezvous on the frontiers of Belgium and Prussia. Bourges, Limoges, Bourdeaux, Toulouse, Rennes, Tours, Lunéville, St. Omer, Versailles, Lyons, and Montpellier, are places fixed on for the establishment of camps, where the troops are to be exercised for three months in field movements.

While awaiting the time to take the field, General St. Arnaud goes to confession. The old debauché, the desperate gambler, the actor of the Boulevard du Temple, has had a sudden visitation of grace, is converted, and goes to mass every day. As he has not yet made the army go there too, the emissaries of the various parties work upon it, while they may, with all their might. Some artillery officers of the garrison of Vincennes have been included in the arrests of Legitimists made this week. The majority of the persons arrested are members of the extinct Legitimist club of the Rue Duphot. Jeanne, the stationer of the Passage Choiseul is also among the number. Some republican non-commissioned officers of the same artillery regiment have been sent to prison along with their officers. They are accused of having plotted to cause a mutiny of the regiment on the first day Bonaparte should visit Vincennes, and put him to death. Common report points to Quartermaster Isoard as the ringleader of the plot.

It is alleged that the law for establishing capital punishment has been proposed solely with a view to counteract by force of terror this spirit of disaffection in the troops. Be that as it may, as if the Bonapartists had not trouble enough on their hands both at home and abroad, they are suffering from intestine distractions in their own ranks. The "pures," secretly led by Persigny, want to oust Fould, the chief of the "impures," the stockjobbers, and stags. Supported by Morny, Fould had hitherto stoutly maintained his position in his confidential post, the Ministry of State. His subtle enemy, Persigny, however, has begun a new attack upon him; only, instead of appearing to lead it in person, he has put forward his lieutenant, M. de Maupas, Minister of Police. The explosion of the quarrel occurred yesterday (Wednesday) at the Council Board. After the scene which took place on this occasion, Fould declared to Bonaparte, that he could not retain his office if De Maupas kept his. Bonaparte replied, that he would consider the matter. Thereupon the report became current that Fould was about to be dismissed, and that Persigny was to fill his place.

Great commercial uneasiness continues to prevail in Paris. The returns of the bank, showing that the discounts have fallen in four months from 350 millions to 167, is an unmistakable symptom. As to the rise in rents, we are entering upon a new phase of that phenomenon. Even the *Presse*, which has been so reserved during the last six months, affirms the fact in these terms:—"House proprietors have again raised their rents this quarter, and generally to a most deplorably exorbitant extent. The rent, for instance, of lodgings for the working-class, in the neighbourhood of the Place de la Bastille, which had been raised from twenty-five to thirty francs last quarter, is now at an advance of from fifty to sixty francs. The rent of superior apartments has risen in the same proportion. House proprietors are giving notice to quit in all directions, and the July quarter, in which there usually occur few changes of domicile, will this year see as many of them as any other.

The opposition still goes on in the *Corps Legislatif*, and, moreover, it is successful. It makes head boldly against the Government, which has receded before it three or four times this week. The discussion on the civil pensions occupied no less than six sittings. On the first article the Opposition mustered 100 votes against a majority of 130, and it is certain that the real opposition was more than 150. The Chamber began first of all by voting on the article by show of hands (*par assis et levé*), when there was a very large majority against the Government; but M. Billault, the president, astonished at a spectacle so new to him, would not believe his own eyes, and declared, amidst the murmurs of the assembly, that the decision was doubtful, and that he would take the sense of the Chamber by open ballot. The courage of many members shrank from sustaining this public test, and at least fifty who had

held up their hands against the article in question gave their voices for it. Many of the Opposition deputies have openly declared the names of members of the majority whom they had seen among the "Noes," in the first division. In the final division on the ensemble of the bill there was again a defalcation. Only 76 members voted in the minority; they had been abandoned by 24 more deserters.

After all, we cannot but regard this minority of 100 and of 76 as a very significant indication of the growing independence of the *Corps Legislatif*. The Opposition is beginning to feel its own strength, and has at last adopted a system of tactics adjusted to circumstances, and which is very well suited to restore to the representatives of the country the foremost rank which they lost through the *coup d'état* of December. In vain has Bonaparte's constitution restricted them to a session of ninety days: by prolonging the labours of their committees, and spinning out all sorts of business, they have succeeded in extorting from him an additional fortnight. Nor are they content even with this. They have since devoted six long sittings to the discussion of the civil pension bill; first, to show that they were resolved to discuss freely and at their ease; and, secondly, in order to leave themselves no time to discuss the Budget, and so force Bonaparte to add another fortnight to the session. Another bit of tactics they have adopted, and of which they have just proved the signal efficacy, is to make no report at all on the bills they do not like. By withholding reports they make the passing of laws impossible. This has been the case with the bill for bestowing an indemnity of 300,000 francs on the widow of Marshal Ney. This measure encountered strong opposition in the bureaux, the secret of which is, that the deputies are in general ex-legitimists, loaded with debts, who joined the Government in order that it might pay off their incumbrances. But in their secret souls they still cling to all the prejudices and traditions of their party—a party whose act it was to send Marshal Ney to trial and execution. Hence the legitimist members of the Chamber saw in the bill an insult offered to their party, and they repudiated it with proportional energy. The bill was referred to a thoroughly hostile committee, which resolved unanimously to make no report upon it; and the Government has consequently been constrained to withdraw it.

The bill for re-establishing the punishment of death has encountered universal reprobation; nor have the deputies shown themselves on this occasion at all at variance with the unequivocal manifestations of public opinion. There is a considerable majority in all the bureaux against the 87th article, which enacts the penalty of death for "attempts to destroy or to change the Government, or to excite the citizens to take up arms against the authority of the Sovereign." M. de Flavigny, a Legitimist, jesuitically and hypocritically urged against this article, that had it been applied after the affairs of Boulogne and Strasbourg, "we should not now have to thank the Emperor for the services he has rendered to France." Immediately after this speech, M. de Flavigny was unanimously elected commissioner of his bureau. Another deputy, Commandant Mésonau, who had been convicted for the share he took in the Boulogne affair, said frankly, "How can I think of re-establishing this article against others, when I owe my life to the fact that it had fallen into desuetude?" In fine, four out of seven members of the committee have been chosen all but unanimously, and all four are hostile to the measure. In order to confirm the deputies in their generous disposition, M. de Girardin has happily seized the opportunity to re-publish the text of the decree of the 25th February, 1848, which abolished the penalty of death. The publication of this truly sublime production of Lamartine's pen, which contrasts so dazzlingly with the proceedings of the existing régime, has produced an immense sensation in Paris.

It is rumoured that the Government are about to withdraw the Bill; that they will be content with re-establishing the penalty of death only in case of attempts on the life or the person of the Emperor. The rumour, however, awaits confirmation.

Meanwhile, the discussion of the Budget has begun, and has given occasion for another very piquant speech by M. de Flavigny, which has been called in the Chamber a *coup de poignard fleurdelysé*. The orator was merciless; he enumerated one after the other all the grievances which the adversaries of the present Government can allege against it,—the balanced Budget, civil pensions, cumulation, huge salaries, Stock-exchange scandals, jobbery—all were overhauled amidst the loud applause of the assembly. The speech has had an extraordinary success; the Government, I imagine, see no fun in it.

But the most curious thing of all is the new attitude of the Senate. The laurels of the *Corps*

Législatif, and its success in the eyes of the public, deprived the Senate of sleep. That being the case, the august body resolved that it would itself do a bit of opposition. Consequently, a committee appointed to examine the Bill on the Naval Service, has unanimously declared the measure to be unconstitutional, and has proposed its rejection. And Bonaparte calls his *régime* the *régime* of authority! S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

TURKEY is again the source of alarming news; how much of it is true and how much fictitious remains to be seen. Let us see what it looks like. Here is an article from the *Paris Moniteur* of Tuesday:—

"It was to be feared at the moment when Prince Menschikoff went to Constantinople in the quality of ambassador extraordinary of his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, that one of the effects of his mission would be to annul the concessions obtained by M. de Lavalette in favour of the Latin fathers of the Holy Land, in the course of 1852. It will be remembered that on the demand of the French Legation the Government of his highness had consented to restore to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, delegated by the Holy See, the key of the great gate of the church of Bethlehem; to give the order to replace in the grotto of the Nativity a star ornamented with a Latin inscription which had disappeared in 1847; and, finally, to grant to the Latin communion the right of celebrating its rites in the venerated Sanctuary, the church called of the Virgin's Tomb. The Government of his imperial majesty could not admit that any of these advantages should be withdrawn from the Latins. The St. Petersburg Cabinet, besides, soon transmitted to the Cabinet of the Tuileries the assurance that its intention was not to constrain the Porte to withdraw the concessions which it had made. The last news from Constantinople, brought by the *Chaptal* steamer, dated the 7th May, permits us to affirm that the maintenance of the *status quo* at Jerusalem, claimed by Prince Menschikoff, does not imply, in the state of the possession of the Latins, any modification susceptible of affecting the arrangements settled with the Marquis de Lavalette. This was, for us, the essential point, the point which could not be, on our part, the object of any compromise. As to the ancient treaties with Turkey no diplomatic act, no resolution of the Porte, can weaken them without the consent of France. Prince Menschikoff demands also from the Divan the conclusion of a treaty which would place under the guarantee of Russia the rights and immunities of the Church and of the clergy of the Greek rite. That question, completely different from that of the Holy Places, touches interests of which Turkey ought to be the first to appreciate the value. If it should produce any complications, it would become a question of European policy, in which France would find herself engaged by the same title as the other Powers which signed the treaty of the 13th July, 1841."

Next we have an explanation from the *Paris correspondent* of the *Morning Post*, dated Wednesday, and written with that diplomatic ability which distinguishes the foreign articles of the journal suspected of being the organ of the Foreign Office in the days of Palmerston:—

"I forward you, this morning, by telegraph, the important announcement of the *Moniteur* relative to Turkey. That announcement was made by the French Government to the public in consequence of the interesting nature of the despatches received from M. de Lacour, which have just arrived by the *Chaptal*, with dates to the 7th instant. I am enabled to furnish you with details, and some important facts in elucidation of the extraordinary state of affairs in the East.

"In the first place, then, the question of the Holy Places is completely settled. The Sultan has issued two firmans of great length, which have at length put an end to this long-mooted business. Both Russia and France are perfectly satisfied with the result. Now, here apparently Prince Menschikoff's mission was ended. But not so; the real purpose of his embassy has been at length disclosed, for on the 5th of May he sent in to the Divan a despatch, together with a draft of a treaty, to which he imperatively demanded an answer by the 10th inst. Now, this treaty, which purports to be between the Sultan and the Emperor of Russia, is altogether one-sided—Russia making no engagements in return for those of Turkey, and the engagements which she wishes to impose on the Ottoman empire as unheard of as they are contrary to the spirit and letter of European treaties. It is proposed that Turkey should yield to Russia the complete protectorate of the Russo-Græco Church in the East. This is the whole sum and substance of the various articles of the act. I need not here enter into any argument to show you what is notorious—viz., that in the Greek Church more than religion is mixed up with religious questions, and that the Greeks would appeal in civil as well as in religious disputes to their 'protector.' In short, I need not argue at length what will be at once seen and conceded, that is, that if Turkey yield the protectorate of the Greeks to Russia, she simply, effectually, and for ever, gives up to the dominion of that power no fewer than twelve million of her most valuable subjects. Will she do so? That is the question. Prince Menschikoff's note was sent in on the 5th. The *Chaptal* and *Caradoc* left Constantinople before the 10th, the day fixed by the Prince for the reply. If Turkey has yielded, she is ruined for ever, and England, more than any other Power, has sustained a severe check in the East. If a positive refusal to entertain the treaty has been returned to Prince Menschikoff, how will Russia act? She can scarcely pretend to make war on Turkey for no other reason than that the Porte refuses to give way to a most unreasonable and unfair demand.

"It is most probable that the Porte will have asked for time to reply, in order that it may confer with other Powers, its allies signatories of the treaty of 1841. In that case the demand of Russia is sure of rejection, for there can be no doubt of the decisive nature of the advice

which will be at once tendered by England and France, and which will be readily acquiesced in by Austria and Prussia. However all this may result, there is no doubt but that the step taken by Russia is very strange, and that the state of affairs in the East is very menacing.

"With regard to the armaments of Russia, they are steadily promoted, and the whole of Bessarabia and the seaboard of the Black Sea are teeming with Russian troops. Great apprehensions of invasion exist in Moldavia, as it is known at Galatz that a contract for the construction of a wooden bridge over the Pruth, just above its confluence with the Danube, has been entered into. At Odessa and other ports of the Black Sea the naval armaments are on a scale of the greatest magnitude."

After this comes a brief note, dated "Constantinople, May 9," and published in the *Times*:—

"Prince Menschikoff has given the Porte eight days to consider its decision on his ultimatum. The representatives of England and France, consulted on the subject by the Divan, have sent off couriers to their respective Governments. Advices from Smyrna are of the 11th of May. The town was tranquil. The French squadron was still in the Bay of Athens. It was asserted in Paris that an electric despatch had been received from Vienna, announcing that the Porte had accepted the Russian ultimatum."

Later in the day, the *Post* denied the acceptance of the ultimatum.

Next in importance are the doings of the German potentates at Vienna. King Leopold has been right royally welcomed by Francis Joseph. The usurper of Hungary met the constitutional King of the Belgians at the railway station, and the monarchs returned "hand in hand," as the German papers say.

A letter from Vienna, of May 12, in the *New Prussian Gazette*, gives us a glimpse of their doings. "The Emperor yesterday paid a visit, in the uniform of colonel of the cuirassier regiment of Francis Joseph, to his illustrious guests, the King of the Belgians and the Duke de Brabant, at the hotel of the Belgian embassy. The whole party afterwards went out together, and proceeded to the imperial palace. This day the illustrious travellers received visits from several members of the imperial family, and from Prince Augustus of Coburg-Gotha. The Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Hildegard, sister of the King of Bavaria, yesterday paid a visit to Queen Amelia of Greece, who is this day to continue her journey to Oldenburg, after having dined with the Princess Wassa."

The King of the Belgians was present at a grand ball given in his honour by Count Buol-Schauenstein, president of the Austrian Cabinet. King Leopold will prolong his stay in the Austrian capital until Sunday.

The King of Prussia set out for Vienna on Wednesday; the Emperor of Russia was expected.

The Brussels *Emancipation* says that "private correspondence from Vienna, received at the moment of our going to press, assures us that the marriage of the Duke of Brabant with her Imperial and Royal Highness Marie Henriette Anne, daughter of the late Archduke Joseph, Palatine of Hungary, is formally resolved upon, and will take place at the beginning of next winter. For our own part we cannot guarantee this important news, but we can assert that our correspondent is in a position to be well informed."

Italy gives slight signs of uneasiness. It is stated that Mazzini intended to publish a book at Genoa; but no sooner had a copy been deposited in the Governor's office than the police waited on the editor, and seized the entire edition. The *Italia e Popolo* publishes a consultation with regard to that measure, and to the arrest of the printer Moutti, in which the lawyers ask—1st, Can there be an offence of the press without a publication, and what constitutes a publication? 2nd, Has the work of Mazzini been published? 3rd, Were the judiciary acts which preceded the seizure legal? 4th, Is the imprisonment of Moutti legal? They examine in succession each of those questions, and solve them negatively, by quoting the very text of the laws, the opinions of the highest legal authorities, and by adducing solid reasons developed with precision. The consultation is signed by MM. Morchis, L. Casanova, A. Caveri, C. Cabella, and Castagnola; and eighteen other distinguished jurists have adhered to it.

For some time past the Swiss journals have been filled with details of the scenes which took place at Bulle, in the canton of Fribourg, at the late election. These recitals have awakened the solicitude of the Federal Council, and M. Droucy has been sent to Fribourg, for the purpose, according to the *New Zurich Gazette*, "of coming to an understanding with the authorities, and of protecting constitutional rights." From a report made to the Federal Council by M. Ochsenbein on the *matériel* and *personnel* of the cantonal contingents, it results that Switzerland would be prepared for any eventuality. The few cantons that had been backward in fulfilling their obligations in this respect, had been ordered to complete them.

The Marquis of Villamo (Pozuela) has been appointed Spanish Ambassador at Paris.

Munoz, Duke of Rianzares, had an interview with Louis Napoleon on Wednesday.

M. Juggelmessy, who held an important charge in the Hungarian army during the campaign of 1849, and afterwards took refuge with M. Kossuth in Turkey, has been captured by the Austrian gendarmes at Hatvan, near Gyöngös, in Hungary.

WILLIAM DARGAN.

OUR account (last week) of William Dargan's career was incorrect in one particular. We stated him to have been "a railway labourer." The impression was borrowed from statements current in Dublin some time ago, and printed without contradiction in one of the daily papers. The popular error was not unnatural: seeing the triumphant energy of Dargan, men believed

that his was power that could have risen from any rank. The following letter comes from one on whose word we rely:—

"Crystal Palace, Railway Works, Sydenham,
May 14, 1853.

"SIR,—In your notice of the Dublin Crystal Palace, your statement respecting 'William Dargan, formerly railway labourer,' is rather calculated to mislead the public as to the origin of that distinguished and really good man. Mr. Dargan never worked as a railway labourer, as that term is usually understood; he was long connected with public works before railways were introduced. Mr. Dargan began life in the office of the late Sir J. Telford, as civil engineer, and so high an opinion had Telford of young Dargan that he confided to him the construction of that portion of the Shropshire Union Canal which crosses the Shellmere valley, a work of great difficulty, but successfully carried out by the untiring energy of Mr. Dargan and his able chief, the 'labouring stonemason.' Mr. Dargan is still spoken of and remembered with affection in this neighbourhood, and well he may by one family whom he formed an important connexion with, for he has treated the members of that peasant family with his usual liberality. As soon as he became a prosperous man he, *unsolicited*, placed his mother-in-law in a handsomely furnished house, allowing her 300*l.* a year; his wife's brothers were each put into farms, well stocked, which must have cost him no little money; and to his sister-in-law he presented 1000*l.* on her wedding-day. Such acts as these has Mr. Dargan performed unknown to the general public; yea, and many more beside. From that neighbourhood he went to the north of Ireland, still acting as a civil engineer on canal works; but, upon the death of Telford, he commenced contracting under the present Sir William Cubitt, who finished the works Telford had in hand at the time of his death. After this, Mr. Dargan's rise was rapid, and is a matter of public notoriety. Well does he deserve the success that has attended him in life, and long may he enjoy it. I am, sir, yours, &c., W. M."

MERCANTILE AND MARINE EDUCATION.

THE "City people" are eager to train English youth in the craft of commerce, and the science of seamanship. At a meeting, on Tuesday, the example of America served to stimulate and guide action on the point. Lord Harrowby said "he knew a good deal about Liverpool, and he knew that if an agent there had his choice of an American and British ship he would not think that he was doing his duty to his employer if he did not select the American ship, as being safer and better found." Not alone in practical cunning, but in enlarged observation, the Americans had surpassed us.

It is proposed to establish, in London, a college for education, in all matters connected with commerce and the sea. Gresham College, enlarged and improved, might supply the want. In connexion with such a college, there might be a trade museum, containing samples of the raw produce and manufacturing skill of the various countries on the face of the globe, charts and models, and a general repository of all sorts of information, statistical, mercantile, and legal, connected with all countries with which we had commercial relations, and a collection of works on commerce, banking, and general science.

The present promoters of the affair are some of the most forward and enlightened of the citizens, and a committee to prosecute its practical achievement has already been nominated.

A WORKING MAN'S "COUNTRY PARTY."

THERE were gay doings on Whit-Monday in the beautiful park and grounds of Wilton Abbey. The people of the town of Wilton came in thousands to enjoy the pleasant walks and noble prospects, and to meet genial welcome from Mr. Sidney Herbert. The occasion of the meeting was a dinner of the Wilton Branch of the Wiltshire Friendly Society. In a well-toned speech after dinner, the honourable host "talked holiday" in a happy way; and also gave some useful advice and information. Regarding benefit clubs in general he said:—

"You ought to ascertain whether, in joining clubs of this sort, the sum you are called upon to pay is not too small to enable you with certainty to calculate on the benefits it proposes to confer, or whether the sum it gives is not too large in proportion to your payments—so that after you have been subscribing to it for years and before you got old, just at a time when you are absolutely requiring its aid, you find the club is bankrupt and your provision entirely lost—before you join any club at all."

His testimony to the beneficial effects of friendly meetings between different classes of the people was happy and valuable.

"I think one of the chief reasons why these anniversary meetings are so enjoyable is that here we see men and women of different classes meeting together for the promotion of one common object; and if I may suggest the means of producing reality of purpose, the society may be benefited by the experiment of producing warmth of feeling between them by rubbing them together—(Laughter)—and if you only rub them together, you will find there arises a warmth of feeling and co-operation beneficial to all classes. Then, I must say we have another feature of very great advantage to these meetings—and what the archdeacon has said is perfectly true—our meetings have never been disgraced by anything like intemperance, which

in former days was usually prevalent with those classes who assembled together on these festive occasions. (Cheers.) There are besides marked signs throughout the whole of this country of great improvement in the habits of the people in all classes of the community. I was only told the other day by a gentleman—an officer commanding a militia regiment—and he was one of the old-fashioned school—who, speaking of education, and the extension of education among the people, thought education was likely to bring us into a state of utter confusion, turning society all topsy-turvy, and heaven knows what besides—that he was quite astonished at the sobriety and honesty of 1000 young men, who assembled under his command, all about 22 years of age—and that he never saw such good order manifested by a body of men in his life, especially at a time when temptations were greatest and their spirit of resistance weakest. (Loud cheers.) I said, 'What should make them so—how do you account for it?' and he replied, 'The people are better off, they are more comfortable, better educated, and, as a consequence, are better contented.' (Applause.) Well, I think my friend was correct after all. (Laughter and cheers.) We have seen a marked improvement in the intelligence of the people of this part of the country during the past few years, and I trust we shall continue to see that improvement in a greater degree than we have done hitherto.' (Applause.)

The day was happily spent; and it is days like these that will cement, if anything can ever again cement, the union of the Wiltshire labourer and the Wiltshire landlord.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

THE "Anti-Slavery" agitation in England has received an impetus much needed, from the arrival of Mrs. Stowe. That lady was the chief figure at the meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on Monday. She sat in one of the side galleries. As she entered the whole meeting rose, and the fervour of the greeting was loud and genuine. Lord Shaftesbury was in the chair, and in the course of some trite remarks said (referring to the 'backsliding' of the Christian churches in the States):—

"We have no patience with those professed leaders who mislead the people, with those who blasphemously rest slavery on Holy Scripture, and who in this way desecrate their pulpits with doctrines better suited to the synagogue of Satan. (Cheers.) This was indeed a dismal prospect to those who trembled at this display of human power, but they had this consolation, that while the enemy came in like a flood, the Lord would raise up a standard against them; and He had done so now. He had raised up a new, wonderful, and inspired protectress; and although her sex was feeble, yet irresistible by her truth she would prove to their adversaries a tower of strength; and the Lord would sell this Sisera into the hands of a woman."—(Loud cheers.)

An attempt to read the report of the society was cut short by the impatience of the audience, who would not hear that the society had spent over 1000*l.* during the year, and were in debt over 200*l.* The Rev. S. Warde, "a black minister from Canada," made a sensible speech.

Professor Stowe spoke at some length, pushing the argument against slavery into the commercial relations of this country. He stated that slaves derived their chief value from our purchase of slave-grown cotton. England consumed four-fifths of the American cotton, thus supported four-fifths of the American slaves, and therefore had a right to interfere. The introduction of cheap Chinese labour into America offered an opportunity for diminishing slavery, and England by discouraging slave-grown cotton could do much towards the abolition of the system; and if they could not make as much profit by using free cotton as slave cotton they must be content to "practise a little of the denial they so properly preached to the slaveholder." In the course of the proceedings it was announced that Lord Carlisle would, on the 30th, call the attention of the House of Lords to the continuance of the slave-trade in Cuba.

If it would not be considered impertinent we might call the attention of Professor Stowe and his wife to a case of slaveholding, in the "guilt" of which, if his logic be good, they "indirectly participate." An "indignation" meeting on the subject has not yet been held at Exeter Hall, nor is a world known story on the subject as yet penned; but the story is telling enough even when barely related. In one large factory (it is not on "a plantation") are confined several young women:—

Work is commenced every morning at seven o'clock, and continued till eleven at night—a period of sixteen hours, the only intervals allowed being about ten minutes for each meal—viz., breakfast at eight o'clock, dinner at half-past one, tea at half-past five, and supper at half-past nine; the total amount of time allowed for eating their food, I was going to say, but surely "bolting" it is the more appropriate phrase—being forty minutes per day; thus leaving fifteen hours and twenty minutes as the period devoted to work. And yet for this continued and unrelenting pressure of sixteen hours' work per day, from year's end to year's end, this firm assume to themselves the greatest possible credit. They thank God that they are not as other firms are at the west end—oppressors and destroyers of young women. They never—not even for a few weeks in the busy season—make their people sit up till three or four in the morning. Oh no! their gas is

always turned off in the workroom by eleven o'clock. Why, sir, the west end system, with its few weeks of severity, followed as it is by months of comparative leisure, is mercy itself when viewed alongside of this unmitigated "never-ending still-beginning" slavery to which I am referring. The only day of leisure which the girls have is Sunday. Then they may go where and do what they please; but from Monday morning to Saturday night they are as complete prisoners as any in Newgate. They know not whether the sun shines or the rain falls all that time. They are not allowed to cross the threshold even to purchase a pair of shoes or a new gown for themselves, and must employ their friends outside to do this for them. Nor is the accommodation indoors such as in any way to reconcile them to this close confinement. The workroom in which ten or twelve of them are employed is only about twelve feet square, and is entirely devoid of arrangements for ventilation, which is the more to be deplored that during the evening they have to encounter the heat and foul air of three flaring gas burners right over their heads, every door and window being shut by which a breath of pure air could possibly enter. The bedrooms are equally uncomfortable, no fewer than six persons being huddled into one, and four into another."

The writer in the *Times* who states the above facts, adds:—

"And yet, sir, would you believe it, these white slaves are at this moment busily employed in making a dress for Mrs. Beecher Stowe, the champion of the black slaves of America! I wish you would ask that lady to take a peep into the cabin where her dress is now being made, and to put a few questions to those who are employed in making it, and tell you what she thinks of the system she is patronizing."

WAGES MOVEMENT.

New interest attaches to the wages claims of the working men, and the movement is assuming additional characteristics. The incidents of the week are many. In Birmingham the most important proceeding has taken place. The carpenters and joiners demand 2s. per week advance, and the employers, led by Messrs. Branson and Gwyther, having refused, offering instead 1s. 6d. a day to "deserving" workmen, the operatives have struck. (The offer of the masters seems fair; but when the selection of "deserving" workmen would be in the employers' hands, the promised increase might be made all but nominal.) That the masters must yield in this case seems probable. The men behave themselves well. The state of the labour market in the town, as evinced by the constant local advertisements for good workmen, and the realized or anticipated advance in the wages of all classes of labourers—the boot and shoe makers being the latest body operating for a rise—shows the good position of the men, and the fact that the employers are under large contracts, makes it still more likely that they will have to grant the required concession. In Nottingham, the lace houses want hands, and a shrewd local writer earnestly advises the erection of lodging-houses for workmen, that new hands may be tempted in from the country. At Lancaster, the joiners are out on strike, demanding 2s. per week increase, the masters having offered in vain a rise of 1s. They also demand two hours less work during the week—one hour's leisure on Monday morning, and the other on Saturday afternoon. The South Shields shipwrights have ceased work, demanding 30s. instead of 27s. per week; and local reports say they are likely to succeed. We notice that between them and the ship-carpenters of Sunderland there is an *entente cordiale* quite diplomatic. Both bodies composed a picturesque demonstration in Sunderland on Monday. The journeyman joiners of South Shields have also ceased work, demanding a rise from 24s. to 27s., but as the employers have finished their contracts, they can adopt a "masterly inactivity," and thus defeat the men. The tailors of the town have followed the general example, by demanding 17. 4s. a week instead of 17. 1s. Some of the masters have consented, and some have refused. The impetus of advancement has reached the Government works at Woolwich; the wheelers of the Royal carriage-works have asked 30s. per week. They have been refused, and some of them—"the best tradesmen"—have given notice of quitting work. In Shepton Mallet Workhouse, a significant state of things exists. There is not an able-bodied man in the house; the inmates are almost entirely old persons, invalids, or young children, and the master has applied to the guardians for leave to hire people to do the work of the house. In some parts of Ireland, agricultural labourers are receiving 1s. 3d. per day wages—unusual in that country—and the employes on the Great Southern and Western Railway are so well contented with their government and pay, that not one has emigrated during the past or present year. (The lowest wages on the line are 12s. per week and clothes.) From the North of Ireland we hear of the general thriving of industry; the weavers (who in spring always work in the fields) have returned to their looms, and the introduction of more English capital is opening fresh departments of labour.

AMERICAN NOTES.

THE printers throughout the United States have, in many places, struck for higher wages, and with a very general success. In Boston, the discontented operatives have been replaced by hundreds of women, who are likely to be largely employed in the craft.

The New York Crystal Palace is far from being complete; it is not likely to be ready before the end of July.

The King of the Sandwich Islands has appealed to the United States to protect him against the designs of France, whose Government intends to "absorb" the islands.

The following additional diplomatic appointments have been made:—Governor Seymour, of Connecticut, as Minister to Russia; General Gadsden, of South Carolina, as Minister to Mexico.

The Californian settlers and adventurers treat the Indians with savage and wanton cruelty. The report of Lieutenant Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California, gives a painful account of numerous outrages committed by Americans on the men, women, and children of the native tribes.

The equipments of the Japan squadron have been altered so as to give the expedition less of a hostile or threatening appearance.

The policy of the Church of Rome respecting education has been lately illustrated in Cincinnati. The *Times* correspondent writes:—

A signal triumph has been recently achieved in the city of Cincinnati by right-minded men against a very injudicious attempt on the part of the Catholic hierarchy to establish a principle in that State which, if once conceded, would become a dangerous, and perhaps, in the end, might prove a fatal innovation upon the conditions by which this Government exists. It was announced by one of the bishops of the Catholic church in the west, a year or two ago, that the canon law and the creed of the Pope required, under the sanction of an oath, that the principles of the church of Rome must be taught by every teacher of youth, wherever it is in the physical or moral power of that church to enforce it. It was, moreover, said that the Archbishop was, by his official oath, bound to teach or cause to be taught to all the youth in his church the peculiar doctrines of the Papacy, including the persecution of Protestants by the Inquisition and other means, the compulsion of heretics to receive and adopt the Papal creed, the absolution of citizens from their oath of allegiance, &c. In pursuance of this régime, the Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati and his whole corps of priests, when at last they felt themselves strong enough to carry a local election by throwing their force at the ballot-box in favour of any party that would sustain their views, entered the field, and, making a distinct issue with the people whether or not Catholic schools should be established by public law and maintained by taxation, were most ignominiously defeated. It was then understood that the entire Catholic force was to be turned directly against the whole system of common schools, and again they were defeated. It is pleasing to remark, that when this same trick was tried in the city and State of New York, some years ago, it met the same fate, and it is still more satisfactory to think and to believe that any subsequent effort will have no better success. The letter and the spirit of American statutes on the subject of common schools drift in one direction. It is left with the elected officers of every school district to elect their own teachers, and those teachers are at liberty to introduce such religious education as their own creed or biases may persuade them to. One of the cardinal principles of American government—national, state, county, town, and district—is, that no connexion whatever shall exist between the church and the state—between any church and any political authority whatever. There is full toleration for all creeds, and no man is disfranchised, whether he believe in Confucius, Mahomet, or Christ. The Americans have never believed that the cause of pure religion could be promoted by enforcing acts of legislation; nor, above all, that an act of disfranchisement on the part of a Protestant was likely to soften the asperity of a Catholic or a Jew.

On the railway between New York and Boston a melancholy accident has occurred. There is a draw-bridge on the line: it was left open by mistake when the train was due: the train dashed on, and the carriages plunged into the river. Over forty-five persons were drowned. The actual scene is said to have been frightful; the hopeless struggles of the passengers hurled into the water and choked up in the carriages were very painful. Many men of professional eminence were among the drowned: also a newly married gentleman of New York and his young bride.

AMERICAN ENERGY IN SCIENCE.

THE old fallacy, that in monarchies alone are art and science fostered, is being refuted, by the Republican Government of the United States. They have organized a fleet of several vessels, for the purposes of a surveying expedition into the northern seas, between America and Asia. The *Vincennes* sloop is the principal vessel of the fleet: in its make it is most suitable, and its arrangements and furniture are both fitting and appropriate. English ship builders, who, in interior ornament, give us loud colours, wide-spread gilding, and glaring mirrors, might well take this Yankee sloop as a model: "she has nothing in her but plain white

and mahogany, but her beauty consists in having a place for everything, and everything in its place, and in the occupation of every possible nook and space for some valuable purpose." Pictures of great statesmen, many hundred volumes of instructive works, and scientific instruments, and apparatus, of various kinds, complete the fitting up of this scientific Argo. The other vessels are a steamer, a brig, a schooner, and a survey and supply ship. The persons entrusted with the objects of the expedition are many, and of various professions. There are officers, of extensive nautical experience, men who have served in former expeditions, and have gone down to the sea, in ships, several times. Astronomers, who have outwatched the stars, with more than Medora's patience, occupy posts of observations, expecting that, in the sky which bends over those strange seas, some new star may "sail into their ken." Draughtsmen, ready, with pliant pencil and facile finger, to sketch nature "on the spot;" photographers, to "hold the mirror up to nature," and afterwards put the reflection "in a fix;" taxidermists, to perpetuate, for the curious, the strange forms and splendid plumage of the birds, brought down to ourselves and to posterity, by means of Sharp's rifles, or Maynard's primers; and craftsmen, to fabricate new, or repair injured instruments, are on board this exploring and inspecting armada. The investigation of all points of nautical science, connected with naval affairs, will, of course, form a prominent part of the work to be done. The expedition, it is thought, will stay out for four or five years, but, from time to time, copies of the surveys, charts, plans, and sketches, will be remitted to Washington, for publication.

The progress of events in the world, and the advance of the American Republic, justify and demand this great national undertaking. Independently of the exploring energy of Yankee trade, there are several causes converging towards the effect of bringing the Americans more and more into those wide seas, stretching between the northern parts of the two continents. Of the widespread Archipelago, in the North Pacific, little is known, and the most inquisitive Yankee may find an inexhaustible field of facts to answer his curiosity. The great whaling trade of those seas, a trade in which America excels the world, gives a crowning necessity and value to this expedition. Should Japan be won over, or persuaded to a fair commercial exchange, and to civil treatment of customers, a new field is opened for the Americans, and the path lies through the waters now to be examined. There are thus many reasons for this great proceeding. Its importance can scarcely be exaggerated.

A fleet entering on a field so foreign, is wisely furnished with the means of defence against possible aggression. The *Vincennes* is fitted up with four thirty-two-pounders, four shell guns; the crew are abundantly supplied with small arms, of the "smartest" kind; and the other vessels are proportionately well armed, with thirty-two pounders, and small brass pivot guns. This expedition is entirely distinct from the diplomatic expedition to Japan. The present has a wide and general field of research: the Japan expedition goes directly to obtain explanation and redress for grave wrong done to American seamen. The latter is, also, professedly pacific, but, of course, it may possibly initiate a "resolved and honourable war," while it is expressly arranged that the surveying expedition is to be, as much as possible, devoted exclusively to the collection of all kinds of information. It has been arranged, for obvious purposes of convenience, that the two squadrons shall meet, but other connexion between them there is none.

REVOLUTION IN CHINA.

CHINA is now nearly revolutionised. The last accounts are ominous. The insurgents were before Nanking. The Emperor had appealed to the foreign consuls: the consuls were not likely to interpose; and the progress, hitherto, of the rebels seems to herald a crowning success at the capital; for the fall of Peking is almost sure to succeed the capture of Nanking.

The story of the rebellion is singular. It commenced at Kwangsee, in the far south. The rebels remained there, and successively defeated the imperial detachments sent against them. Having, by this means, thus weakened the imperial power, they advanced in a line, several hundred miles long, and have now established themselves on a great river, running from east to west, through the centre of China. Thus half the empire is already theirs. From this river, their present operations have been extended: they have taken Han-yang, the Liverpool of China, and Woo-chung, an important town, 400 miles from Nanking. The position of the rebel army is as follows: advancing from the south, their right wing is at Nanking, and their left at Woo-chung. The line between these two towns forms the base of an isosceles triangle, at the acute angle of which

is Peking, the metropolis of the empire. The rebels posted on the base line, four hundred miles long, will advance, by two divisions, up the sides, and concentrate their attack on the capital. To oppose their left wing, advancing from Woo-chung, an army of Northern Tartars, said to be of "sterner stuff" than the average of the Chinese army, has been levied; but the people of the provinces, where these new troops are quartered, give a bad account of them, saying: "To us they are as tigers, but to the rebels, as rats." At Shanghai, the alarm was very great, the commercial interests of the place being closely involved with the districts threatened by the rebels. The Chinese Governor had taken the extraordinary course of applying to the foreign consuls, for their intervention against the insurgents, but the consuls were not likely to interfere.

It seems difficult to characterise this movement. One of the early proclamations of the rebel party, full of grandiloquent expressions, sets forth the reasons for the rebellion. Following several examples known to (Chinese) history, the rebel chief conceals his name; but his principles seem of the most revolutionary kind. He speaks of the rights of the people, in a vigorous style; suspiciously European in his tone, and having a strong flavour of "Louis Napoleonism," in his boasts, that the new dynasty is superior to the old. It is remarkable, in addition, that the rebels are destroying all the Buddhist temples.

THE CONQUERED GAIKA CHIEFS.

SANDILLI has submitted to the English, with the bitter reluctance of one who has lost sorely by the war. He was once the great chief of the Gaikas, a valiant and vigorous tribe, who cling to his fortunes, even to this day, with unshaken fidelity, and whose broad lands extended for two hundred miles beyond the remote boundary now assigned to them by the English conquerors. For twenty-five years they have carried on a series of wars with other native tribes, or with the English, and have made little or no progress in industrial prosperity, each war ending in new calamities. As a punishment for their "rebellions," they have been driven out of the Amatolas; and, although they have now been "pardoned," their broad lands have been "forfeited to the Queen," and are now occupied by the Queen's troops. But, on their submission, General Cathcart allotted to them a territory beyond the Kei, between the Thomas river and the country of the chief Umhala. The subdued Gaikas remonstrated: the territory was too small; it partly belonged to Umhala and to Kreili, who would look on them as intruders. They prayed that the Queen would restore them their own lands; for, if not, they would have "to go to war with each other for grass." But, finally, after much hesitation, Sandilli had to accept the land assigned to him, surrender up one hundred guns, as a sign of his submission, and pledge himself as responsible for the security of travelling on the great roads running through his district. Before this agreement was ratified, an interview between the chiefs and the Governor took place. Sandilli and his allies professed most amicable intentions, but expressed a wish to retain their arms, that they might "fight for the Queen of the English." In the interview, the Governor, as usual, spoke in the native style. He bore witness to the fidelity of the tribes:—

"I have seen how truly your people have adhered to you, their chiefs, and how you can make them happy or miserable by leading them right or wrong, as you choose. Let me see that you, Sandilli, and you, Macomo, as well as the other Gaika chiefs, are as good and as true to the Queen, our great chief, as your people have been to you. The chiefs Pato, Siwani, Umhala, Kama, and Toise, with others, wisely refused to join you in rebellion; they listened to the words of Maclean, and remained unmolested, enjoying the pleasure of peace. Now that you are forgiven, and it is peace with you, Sandilli, my ears will be open to hear your word, and I have placed Brownlee here, to listen to your wishes regarding the welfare of your people, and he will carry them to Maclean and me. He will give you good advice, which, if you listen to, you and your people will escape much trouble. Let there be no more cattle-stealing, and then I shall hope to see you sitting happily in peace, your gardens flourishing, and your cattle feeding and increasing along the rivers, and that the Queen's army will never be called upon to punish any chief or tribe of Kafirs for crimes committed against the colony, or for rebellion against the Queen."

There is an unobtrusive logic in the reply of the native chiefs:—

"When a chief errs, he is punished and forgiven. This young man (Sandilli) erred, and has been punished, and is now forgiven, but the country you have given him is too small. Toise, who formerly occupied it, had but a small tribe. Sandilli has a large one, which will not find room there."

Public opinion, in the colony, inclines to the belief that the hard terms imposed upon the Gaikas will force on a new war. If the tribes be really so restricted, that they must have recourse to "fighting one another for grass," it is questionable whether they will not prefer combination against the common enemy, which

holds from them their ancient territories. The advance of the British rule, and the repulsion, into the interior, of the natives, may be inevitable, but, to make it easy and inexpensive, it should be done with cunning and consideration, not by mere brute force, and the costly application of British soldiers.

LETTER FROM MELBOURNE.

THE following letter has been handed to us. It was written by a deserving young man who went out to the golden land with high expectations. He is described to us as a young mechanic, admirably qualified for contending with the risks and difficulties of an adventurous career, by his intelligence and skill, as by his active and industrious habits and vigorous health; was in the enjoyment of a comfortable livelihood, with daily improving prospects at home. His letter is worth the attention of penmen and others not inclined to rough it like navvies.

Melbourne, Nov. 27th, 1852.

DEAR I.—, I have to inform you that we arrived at our destination on the 22nd October, after a splendid passage of ninety-two days, which was considered good work. We had most beautiful weather; scarcely anything to retard our progress or comfort (such comfort as it is). We had no strong winds, no heavy rain, no sickness except the ordinary sea-sickness; no births or deaths; only a few women, not many children; plenty of singing and music (such as it was); a limited number of rows; and the last Saturday we were aboard, just for a pleasant wind-up, a select party of about twenty, whose berths were in the head of the ship, got drunk, and for the sake of varying the amusements, about twelve o'clock commenced fighting; and the captain's cook, who had likewise got drunk on the occasion (not that he was at all in the habit of doing so more than seven days a week), and who was put down the fore-hold, was released by them, about which there was a great noise. Those and other little incidents, which I intend to give you a more detailed account of when I send a description of the voyage, served to keep us in tolerable good spirits; so that we came to an anchor with a very strong idea that we had accomplished the voyage in a very slap-up manner. But we began to imagine we had better stayed at home when the pilot came on board and gave us such a description as he did of the place. He told us that there was about 250 ships in the harbour; that the people who arrived were all obliged to live in tents—there being no lodging to be had. And sure enough we found his account pretty well verified when we arrived in the harbour, which we did the next day. Friday was the day we got in; but we couldn't get ashore till the next day. We found everything quite as bad as had been described. Hundreds of tents were pitched in places on the Government ground, for which they have to pay 5s. per week; and most of the people we met looked as if they were thinking to themselves, "what the devil shall we do." Fortunately for us, through the influence of Mr. Bateman, we were provided with comfortable quarters at Dr. Howitt's, William Howitt's brother, where I have been up to this time. Ann was there a fortnight, and then took a situation as cook at a gentleman's house close by. She had some difficulty about it; women are more numerous than they were, consequently people can be more particular who they employ. I am at present painting Dr. Howitt's house, for which I get a guinea per week, and board and lodging; and Ann is slaving away at this place, and almost breaking her heart to think I have brought her to such misery. But what can I do? A room ever so small is not to be got for less than a pound or 30s. per week; bread is 2s. 6d. per 4lb. loaf; potatoes, 30s. per cwt.; butter from 2s. to 4s. per lb.; bacon, 2s.; meat, 6d.; coals, 6l. per ton, and wood equally dear; water per load (and you might use a load per week), 8s. 6d.; milk, 2s. per quart; and everything else in proportion. Tea, coffee, and sugar are the only articles that are reasonable—they are about the same price as at home; so that there is little chance of any one without capital making themselves very comfortable. Mr. Bateman and his party left for the diggings on the 8th November. Mr. W. Howitt had only left three days before we arrived. The reason I didn't go with them is, that I was not rich enough. The place they are gone to (*the Ovens*) is 200 miles from Melbourne. The carriers charge 150l. per ton for taking things there. It is necessary, beside taking tools, &c., to take three months provisions; and to do so my purse was at too low an ebb; therefore I made an arrangement with them to send me word if it was worth while for me to come, and I expect to hear this week. If the account is unsatisfactory, I shall go to some of the nearer places, either Balarat or Forest Creek, although the chances of doing much there are very limited, on account of the numbers that are already there. Such, dear I.—, is the state of things with me at present. A wife almost broken-hearted—myself almost mad. No home, or home comforts, that we have been accustomed to; no friends to condole with us; and an exceedingly misty prospect of the future—at any rate, for the first twelve months. And what I say is, —all those who have written those glowing accounts of the beauty of the climate, that have induced the separation of friends, and caused hundreds to abandon what was most dear to them. The only beauties of the climate that I have seen or heard of since I have been here are withered grass, leafless trees, hot winds, which blow the beastly dust almost through one; the air full of insects, of all sorts and sizes. You can't positively open your mouth but what you get it full. In fact, there is nothing pleasant that I have been able to discover. It is either so dirty that you can scarcely walk about, or so dusty that you get nearly blinded. And, however much I should like some of my old friends to be with us, I should be sorry indeed to say, come. Perhaps—in fact I have no

doubt—there is money to be made here. But comfort is not to be purchased. I don't wonder at people returning as soon as they have accumulated a little capital; for I see nothing that could attach one to the place. Sickness is frightful. The influenza is taking off a great many; and it is confidently expected that when the very hot weather sets in (beginning of January) that fever will make fearful ravages, the sanitary condition of the place is so much neglected. Therefore I say to all, stay at home. I have no doubt of being able to do well as far as getting money is concerned, providing I have my health. A letter came from William Howitt yesterday, stating that he was very ill with dysentery, which is a very common complaint. He was only got half way to the Ovens, and had been five weeks on the road. Five weeks going 100 miles, and had two first-rate horses, and only a load of 14 cwt.; that will give you some idea of what travelling in the bush is. The horses that he bought cost him 180 guineas. He was obliged to buy a fresh cart—the one he brought with him being much too heavy for this country. That is a mistake very common: few of the carts brought out are any use for the diggings. People coming out as we did, with only a few pounds, find it very difficult at first to do much good for themselves. An every day scene at the wharf is, passengers just arrived, with open boxes—every one his own auctioneer—disposing of all they have to enable them to proceed up the country. In fact, things altogether are quite alarming to new arrivals. I think I need not trouble you with any more of the horrible, as I have given you nearly enough. I hope you are quite well; and that all our acquaintances and friends are the same. And if you will be so kind as to circulate this amongst them I shall be obliged, as I have no heart to write to any one else till I can give them some information of a more pleasing description than this. * * *

LONDON SEWAGE.

WE have been favoured with some extracts from a letter addressed by Mr. F. O. Ward to a sanitary colleague, on the proposed scheme of draining London by two large tunnels north and south of the river. He objects to the tunnel scheme, and proposes one he thinks will be better.

"It is necessary," he says, "1. To reduce the London sewage into a manageable bulk by intercepting the sewage proper before it fall into, and mixes with, the brook-water of the Fleet, and the other arched over streams which drain wide extents of country.

"2. Having thus rendered the London refuse manageable, to convey it by sewer-aqueducts, aided, where necessary, by steam-lifts, to the sandy, barren moorlands of Surrey and Hampshire, where it is wanted, instead of taking it (like coals to Newcastle) to the immediate environs of London, already superabundantly supplied with moisture and with manure.

"3. To couple the town operation of the collection and conveyance of the sewage with the country operation of its distribution: i. e., to buy or rent, at the present low value, a suitable tract or tracts of the Surrey or Hampshire moorlands; to pipe these lands with distributing pipes, as employed with so much success by Kennedy, Mechi, and others; and to relet the lands so improved, along with the sewage supply, at an increased rental.

"4. To interest in the proceeds of the operation the two classes of persons by whose aid it must be performed, namely, 1. The householders who produce the sewage, and 2. The capitalists who find the money for turning it to account.

"5. To create for this purpose two classes of shareholders. Class A including, under suitable conditions, the owner or occupier of every house draining into the system. Class B including the subscribers of the joint-stock capital. Class B to receive first, say ten per cent. for their money; Class A then to come in for, say a moiety of the surplus profits. N.B., Class A, the sewage-producers, to be wholly free from risk, though having a fair prospect of gains, the object being to put an end to the resistance hitherto offered to all plans of metropolitan drainage, by rendering the scheme popular with the London householders."

Mr. Ward adds, "I have before me valuable official documents concerning the cost of conveying the fertilizing mud of the river Escant to the Belgian moors, and concerning the cost and profit of applying this mud to these moors, and reletting the moors so improved at the increased value. I have also before me the results of positive experiments on surfaces of moorland thus improved. These Belgian moorlands are analogous to our Surrey and Hampshire moorlands (vide Sir Charles Lyell in Geological Society's Transactions); the mud of the Escant is far less fertilizing than town drainage, and my calculations, with a wide margin for contingencies, go to show a profit of thirty per cent. for the capital required, even supposing London to be drained *de novo*, as to a great extent would be necessary, owing to the dilapidated condition, excessive size, and insufficient slope of the existing sewers.

"Immediately on my return to London (in a few days) I shall draw up estimates of the cost, with close details, of every part of the operation. 1. Collection of the sewage by house drainage and main drainage in London. 2. Aqueduct conveyance and steam lift of the sewage to the moors. 3. Purchase or rent of the moors. 4. Pipeage, &c. of the moors. 5. Estimates of the profits, supported by experimental and documentary proof.

"The tunnel sewer scheme, in its present form, will in my opinion involve great expense, and utter disappointment, so far as the profitable agricultural utilization of the refuse of London is concerned. The drainage of London (I say it with irrefragable facts and figures before me) cannot be profitably accomplished, unless in immediate connexion with the fertilization of a proportionate tract of barren lands. And in the present state of the London administrations, and the present temper of the London ratepayers, the resistance to the operation cannot be overcome, unless met by the means I propose, of interesting the ratepayers

as sewage-producers, entitled to a share of the profits. Those profits, I am prepared to show, will not only extinguish existing sewage-rates, but will leave an excess equivalent to a large reduction of the rates, provided always, however, that the London sewers be considered as GUANO-MINES; that the excess of brook-water by which those mines are deluged and made unworkable be shut out; and that their valuable nitrogeous produce, thus reduced to an uniform and manageable bulk, be conveyed by costless gravitation and cheap steam-lifts, to its proper market—the barren Surrey and Hampshire moors.”

THE “FREE PRESS” QUESTION.

OUR report last week of the trial of the question raised by Mr. Collet in publishing the *Potteries Free Press*, was, of necessity, brief. We now present a more complete account. The trial took place in the Court of Exchequer on May 15th. The Attorney-General and Mr. Phinn were counsel for the Crown, and Mr. Collet defended himself in person.

The Attorney-General observed that this was a prosecution for the publication of a newspaper without the stamp required by law. The defendant had taken upon himself to violate the law by publishing a periodical newspaper, subject to stamp duty, without being stamped. The subject had been already before the Court of Exchequer, and the construction put upon it there had led to the belief that the statute might be violated. By the 6th and 7th Wm. IV., cap. 76, sec. 24, it was enacted that every publication containing public news, intelligence, or occurrences, or comments upon news or occurrences, should be taken to be a newspaper. By the 17th section, a penalty of 20*l.* was imposed upon any person who should print or publish any newspaper or paper not duly stamped according to law, or who should sell any such paper. The schedules annexed to the act defined what were to be considered newspapers, but a question had arisen lately, whether the third part of the schedule superseded or absorbed the first; and it was held in the case of Messrs. Bradbury and Evans that, supposing a paper not published within the interval of twenty-six days was within the first clause of the schedule, but not within the third, it might be exempt from the stamp. He was, however, at a loss to see how the decision of the Court in that case could affect the present case, for the *Potteries Free Press* was within the first and the third clauses of the schedule. It was of the size which did not exempt it from stamp duty; it was published, not at intervals exceeding twenty-six days, but every week, and it contained advertisements, news, and comments upon news. He could not see upon what pretext a publication, containing such varied matter, could escape from the stamp. Whatever opinion the public might entertain with regard to the advisability of removing the stamps upon newspapers, it was not for any individual to set himself up in defiance of the law, because the law was to be administered as it stood. He had been informed that the line of defence would be, that the Board of Inland Revenue had allowed other papers to be published without the stamp; but even admitting this, it by no means followed as a necessary consequence that because others escaped, the defendant was justified in violating the law. The jury were, no doubt, aware that there were publications of a class character which bore no stamp, such as the *Builder*, the *Athenæum*, and the *Art Journal*. The *Builder*, however, was devoted to architecture, the *Athenæum* to literature, and the *Art Journal* to the fine arts; and none of these papers, except incidentally, included any topics of news. They came within the class of reviews and periodicals of that description, and therefore the Board of Inland Revenue had not interfered with them. It might be that in doing so the Board had acted with great liberality, for those papers were, perhaps, chargeable with the stamp; but he thought as so much doubt existed on the subject, the Board had exercised a wise discretion in not pressing for the imposition of the stamp. The *Potteries Free Press* was in no way similar to any of the publications he had mentioned, because it was avowedly a newspaper—it was published at shorter intervals than twenty-six days, and was sold at a less price than 6*d.*

The admission in the case having been put in, and also copies of the publication of the 12th, 19th, and 20th of last February,

Mr. Collet justified his alleged violation of the law by showing that so many weekly unstamped papers contained news, and had been allowed to remain unpunished after being presented to the Board for prosecution, that he was driven to the belief that there must be some justification for the conduct of the authorities, which was not to be found in the words of the act. He compared the *Spectator* of Queen Anne's time, which was stamped to death as a newspaper, with the *Family Herald*, which no one would call a newspaper now, but which would have fallen under that description in the days of Anne, though the words of the act were the same now, only with the addition of a greater stringency. He pointed also to the *Athenæum* and the *Builder*, which he contended were newspapers, though the *Potteries Free Press* was not. He submitted that a certain degree of meagreness in a publication prevented it from being a newspaper though it contained news, and cited Lord Lyndhurst's words in the case of *Hetherington's Poor Man's Guardian*, “it seems to me a meagre affair,” which were followed by an acquittal, though one of the numbers prosecuted contained the King's Speech.

Baron Parke.—That was not a legal opinion of Lord Lyndhurst's, and therefore is of no value.

Mr. Collet thought that Chief Baron Pollock's reference, in the case of the *Household Narrative*, to the monthly papers being exempt because they did not compete with the stamped press, was in his favour; his paper could not so compete, and therefore did not injure the revenue, which would lose the paper and advertisement duties now paid, if the paper were put down. He submitted that the meaning of the term newspaper was liable to development; that what was a newspaper in 1712 was not a

newspaper in 1853; and, in short, that the law was not to be found in the words of the act.

Baron Parke.—Then it is my duty to tell you that the words of the act constitute the law.

Having thus decided that the practice of the Board of Inland Revenue had nothing to do with the law, the learned judge refused to hear evidence on that subject, it being irrelevant. Mr. Collet reminded the Court that the Board made a distinction in favour of class news; if this were legal, the *Free Press* was a class paper, but he found nothing about class news in the act.

Baron Parke.—No; there is nothing about class news in the act.

Mr. Collet contended that he was not guilty of knowingly and wilfully publishing, as it was notorious that nobody knew what a newspaper was, and called witnesses who proved that he had been to the Stamp Office, and had requested to be allowed to comply with the twenty-fourth section of the act, so as to give him the protection of the twenty-fifth, which allowed no penalties to be enforced till after notice of the Stamp Office, which he had never received.

The Attorney-General having replied,

Baron Parke ruled that the protection granted under the act was limited to the case of an actual printer possessed of a press, which the defendant, by his own admission, was not; and that the words knowingly and wilfully referred only to his knowledge of the contents of his publication. The facts were admitted, and the jury had to take the law from him. There could be no doubt that the *Potteries Free Press* was a newspaper; they had nothing to do with the question whether other papers had not been prosecuted which were also newspapers. The description of a newspaper was to be found in the schedule to the 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 76. The first definition was, any paper containing public news, intelligence, or occurrences—that is, any paper whose main object was to give news; it had, however, been decided by the majority of the court that the third clause modified the first, and that no paper was a newspaper if published at intervals greater than twenty-six days, and by this decision he must be bound till it was reversed in a Court of Error. But the third clause required a stamp on any paper under a certain size and under sixpence in price, published oftener than once in twenty-six days, if it contained any news, and the *Potteries Free Press* was under that price and size, and was published weekly.

Verdict for the Crown.

LOVELORN.

A BUTCHER'S boy in Camberwell fell in love with his master's daughter. It is the old story, but with a new ending. The father opposed the love-making, and attempted to put an end to a correspondence between the young people. This led to a result unexpectedly painful. On last Wednesday, the young lad was found in a copse near the new Crystal Palace, his head blown to pieces, and a new rifle pistol lying by his side. Two letters were found on him. The first was addressed to his master:—

“Sir,—I have been in your service upwards of four years, and I must say I have met with every encouragement I have wished for until lately. I have noticed that you did not seem satisfied with what I have done, which has made me answer you at times very sharp, which you have noticed; and, as I am to be separated from the sole object of my affections, there is no more comfort for me in this world. My heart is ready to burst with grief. In fact, my agonies at the present time is more than I can bear, and therefore I am determined to ease myself of them by taking my own life. No doubt by the time you receive this I shall have breathed my last. I hope you will forward my box and all that belongs to me to my afflicted parents. I cannot say any more, so farewell, for ever.” The second was addressed to his young mistress:—“These few lines comes from your broken-hearted lover, whose happiness is going, never to return again. I hope you will accept this as a last token of my love, and keep it in remembrance of me. I have now left the world, never to see you more, so farewell, for ever. No doubt you will hear some sad news from your father, after you have received this note.”

MISCELLANEOUS.

OSBORNE and its environs is still the abode and ground of exercise for the Court. Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and the children drive out and walk out daily. On Wednesday, Prince Albert and Sir James Graham went on a cruise to the Needles in the *Fairy*.

From time to time we get accounts of the progress of the popular army in the discipline and habits of soldiers. The Royal Sussex Militia, fine able-bodied young men, are rapidly being drilled at Chichester, and their general conduct is reported very good. The same report is made of the Dorset Militia, now being trained at Dorchester. The Royal London Militia are to be exercised in the City-road, next Friday; the regiment is complete, the men are “eager and ready for duty,” and the young officers have been daily drilled with the Guards. The several corps of South Wales Militia have been active. The Monmouth Light Infantry met for training, on Thursday; the Glamorganshire Militia was exercised yesterday; the Breconshire Rifles met on the 10th; and the Carmarthenshire Militia will be called out before the close of the month. (This last is exceptional in its condition: its number is not completed, and recourse to the ballot will be necessary.) The Pembrokeshire Militia has been judiciously made an artillery corps.

Maidstone has returned a Liberal member. The numbers at the close of the poll were, Lee, 747; Martin, 737.

The *Limerick Chronicle*, an untiring gossip, reports that Mr. E. B. Roche, M.P. for Cork, is to be made a peer, with the title of Viscount Fermoy.

The petition against Sir Joshua Walmsley and Mr. Gardner having been withdrawn, Leicester has celebrated the Liberal victory by a meeting, at which some spirited speechmaking took place. Kossuth was present.

Experience is inducing improvements in the Freehold Land Societies, and their adaptation to the wants of the people is daily becoming more complete. The Reformers' Freehold Land, Building, and Investment Society seems to be constructed on a simple and honest plan, likely to be effectual. The payments can be made by “easy instalments,” and all the profits are divided among the members. The society meets at Camden-town on Tuesday, Mr. Duncombe in the chair.

The objection of Englishmen to the “spy system,” as exemplified in the *espionage* on Kossuth, is taking shape in several district and parish meetings. On Monday, Marylebone is to meet in its Court-house.

An attempt is about to be made to organize a club for the behoof of a very large and highly respectable portion of the population of this metropolis, who are in effect shut out from the existing clubs by the high rate of entrance fee and annual subscription demanded. Experience has shown the absolute necessity of an entrance fee in these cases, and looking to the fact that this item ranges from twenty to thirty guineas in the west-end clubs, we think that a club on the moderate terms proposed is worthy of all support.

Dr. Reid has been awarded 3,250*l.* on account of his claim against the Board of Works for ventilating the new Houses of Parliament.

Lord Ellesmere, with an “unwearied spirit in doing courtesies,” has again opened his gallery to the public. Cards can be procured at Messrs. Smith, New Bond-street.

The Royal Highland School Society had a dinner on Saturday. Sir Archibald Alison presided, and “Mrs. Stowe was in the gallery.” The statistics of the society are interesting. From 12,000 to 15,000 children are being educated in its schools at an expense of less than 5*s.* per annum for each scholar. The society is now one hundred years old.

The visitors at the British Museum on Monday numbered 18,688. Those at the Zoological Gardens, Regent's-park, amounted to upwards of 20,000.

A new establishment for Lloyds is to be built in Broad-street, in the City, on the site of the Excise office, sold last week for 108,000*l.* The old building and the site itself have witnessed some changes. Nearly 300 years ago Sir Thomas Gresham lived there, in a grand mansion; at his death he left the house to the City of London, as a college, and endowed it respectfully. The college was founded; lecturers, a library, and a museum were attached; and there the Royal Society was initiated, in the informal meetings of men of science and wit in the chambers of Sir Christopher Wren, who was one of the college professors. But the corporation (who were trustees of the college) soon neglected their trust: the college observances fell into desuetude, and the buildings fell, bit by bit, into dilapidation and disrepair. In 1767, the city magnates, tired of the onerous duty of regulating a college, or even keeping the building; offered to the Crown “that antient and useless building, Gresham College.” The Crown bought it cheap for 500*l.* a year rent, and built a heavy brick Excise office on the spot.

The thirty-second party of female emigrants, sent out on Sidney Herbert's emigration plan, left England on Tuesday. A party of their titled friends bade them goodbye. This is probably the last party to be forwarded by the Female Emigration fund, as the Government system now offers new advantages to female emigrants; and thus supersedes the necessity of private action.

A lunar rainbow was seen in Essex on Monday evening. It was very beautiful; and as perfect in form as if formed by the sun.

In the line of producing enormous nuggets Australia is unequalled, “none but itself can be its parallel.” The 100*lb.* lump is now extinguished by the latest discovery, a lump of gold weighing 134*lb.* It was found about two miles from Ballarat. The other news from Australia is cheerful; business was active and money plentiful; the price of gold had risen, but the yield from the mines showed no signs of diminution. The immigration is immense; over 11,000 persons arrived in December, and 8000 in January.

The usual intelligence has arrived from Buenos Ayres. The complicated quarrel, involving General Urquiza, the rural population of the province, the Argentine Confederation, and the *de facto* Governors of Buenos Ayres, still continues—the negotiations for peace having failed. Urquiza seems likely to succeed in deposing the Government, but until something decisive is done no clear statement can be given.

We reported last week an accident on the railway near Selby—the York and North Midland line: the engine ran off the line, and the driver and stoker were killed. The accident has been investigated. The servants of the Company stated in their evidence that the line was in proper working order, and the engine all right, but that the rate of speed on the day of the accident was too high, causing oscillation of the rail and the overturn of the engine. But Captain Galton, who inspected the matter for the Board of Trade, deposed that the engine in its construction was unfitted for high speed, and that the wheels were a little worn. His evidence regarding the road was important:—“He found the rails a good deal worn in places and laminated. The keys which fixed the rails to the chairs appeared old. The sleepers were certainly decayed at the surface, he should say generally—and many, he thought, were decayed much deeper. He observed many instances of the spikes which fix the chairs to the sleepers being loose, and when a length of rail was taken up, he perceived the beds of the wood on which the chairs rested were also decayed. The ballast was, at the top, broken limestone; but below he found a quantity of clay mixed with it. On

taking out the sleepers, the clay seemed to retain the water under the sleeper in one or two cases which he examined. He observed several instances of engines passing over the line. These caused the rails to work in the chairs, and the chairs to work on the sleepers, and the sleepers also appeared to work in the ballast a little. If sleepers were packed equally on both sides, it would give an undulating motion to trains, but if one end of the sleeper were more firmly packed than another, this motion would be converted into an oscillating motion. The road was not in such a good condition as it ought to have been. It depended very much on the speed of a train whether the line was in a safe condition. He did not consider it in a good condition with heavy engines at a high speed. If he had been requested to report on the state of the road, not knowing of the accident, he should not have reported that it was safe for the public to pass on with the present traffic going over it." On this evidence the Coroner's Jury, before whom the inquest took place, returned a verdict of "Manslaughter against the Directors of the Railway." In consequence of this verdict, warrants were issued for the apprehension of the directors. They were not, however, executed, as the directors surrendered yesterday. Their own recognizances, in 100l. each, were accepted for their appearance at the next Yorkshire assizes.

An accident, causing extensive damage, occurred on the Western Valleys line on Monday. A very large train, laden with coal, was on its way to Newport; in passing through Sir Charles Morgan's park it was suddenly thrown off, the coal and the heavy carriages falling in immense masses upon the passenger line, blocking it up completely. Information was immediately given at the next station in time to prevent the down passenger train running into the wreck. The broken carriages lay in a place of peculiar peril. Near the spot a steep cliff descended to Ebbw river, flowing beneath, sixty feet below the line; and had the passenger-trains, many of them well filled with holiday passengers, continued their journey, the consequences might have been very serious; unless we cannot apply the word "serious" to events which the companies seem to think matters of course. The "cause" of this accident is stated to be the falling off of one of the wheels of the train; but besides this the part where it took place is now admitted to be "a dangerous piece of road." Worn wheels or dangerous bits of road are always discovered through accidents.

A great fire took place in Liverpool on Tuesday evening. The North Shore Cotton Mill, an immense building, eight stories high, and extending far along the Leeds canal, was totally destroyed by the fire. It was first noticed about nine o'clock, and in a half-hour the flames flooded the building. Floor after floor gave way, the brick walls fell with terrific sound, and the glare of the burning building flamed high and wide. Some estimate the mill, machinery, and stock, as worth 100,000l., while accounts, more probably accurate, state 50,000l. as the probable amount of loss. Over one thousand workmen are thrown out of employment.

Wilson, the person charged with attempting to extort money from Mr. Gladstone, has been committed for trial.

The *Freeman's Journal*, on the authority of a correspondent of a Sydney paper of the date of January 13, announces the escape from Van Diemen's Land of Patrick O'Donohoe, one of the Irish State prisoners who was sentenced along with Mr. Smith O'Brien.

The Frenchmen concerned in the duel near Windsor have been liberated, the two months imprisonment to which they were sentenced having expired. They are four,—Etienne Barroet, Edmond Allain, Emanuel Barthelemy, and Philip Eugene Mornet.

Near Bristol a murder has been committed by a boy under ten years old. He pushed his playmate into the river, and prevented a companion running for help.

A private marine of H.M.S. *Ajax*, who, being drunk, struck his sergeant, has been sentenced at Plymouth "to be hanged by the neck until he is dead at the yardarm of such one of her Majesty's ships," and at such time as the Lords of the Admiralty shall appoint.

A wife has killed her husband at St. Leonards-on-Sea. She stabbed him with a knife because he was jealous—with cause. She is in gaol.

Near Coleshill, about eleven miles from Birmingham, a brave old man and his brave old wife, living alone in an isolated country house, defended themselves on last Saturday with success against the attacks of a party of burglars. They barricaded the stairs and shot one of the ruffians, who immediately decamped. A "suspected" party is in custody.

A boiler explosion took place at Dudley, on Saturday, in a glass factory near the town. Four men were killed and one seriously wounded.

Here is a fact for Mr. Fitzroy. A conscientious cabman has manifested himself during the week, in time to redeem his class from the general stigma. He found in his cab a bag of gold left by a bank clerk, and immediately delivered it up at the Excise-office, in Old Broad-street. The bag contained one thousand sovereigns.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK

THE mortality of London last week was considerably higher than is usual in the middle of May, but it exhibits a reduction as compared with that of the preceding week. The numbers of deaths registered in the last three weeks were 1080, 1159, and 1090. The mean temperatures in the same times were 42.5 degs., 47.9 degs., and 45.3 degs. The depression of temperature at the end of April was followed by an increase of mortality at the beginning of May.

In the ten weeks, corresponding to the week that ended last Saturday, of the years 1843-52 the average number of deaths was 934, which, with a correction for increase of population, becomes 1027. Hence the 1090 deaths of last week exceed the estimated amount by 72.

On reference to the Table of Fatal Diseases a diminution of greater or less amount will be seen under most of the heads that contribute the largest proportions to the weekly

sum. Typhus forms an exception, for the deaths from this disease have risen from 41 in each of the two former weeks to 71 in the last. From hooping-cough also the mortality is high, and does not show much disposition to subside; it was fatal to 59 children.

Last week the births of 870 boys and 806 girls, in all 1676 children, were registered in London. The average number in the eight corresponding weeks of the years 1845-52 was 1383.

At the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, the mean height of the barometer in the week was 29.760 in. The mean temperature of the week was 45.3 degs, which is 6.6 degs. below the average of the same week in 38 years. The mean daily temperature was below the average on every day of the week, and this depression amounted to 12 degs., 10 degs., and 9 degs. on the first three days. The air became gradually warmer, and on Saturday the mean was 51 degs. The mean difference between the dew point temperature and air temperature was 7.9 degs.; the greatest difference was 17.4 degs. on Thursday; the least was 2.1 degs. on the same day.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 3rd of April, at Simla, the wife of Colonel J. Bloomfield Gough, C.B., Aide-de-camp to the Queen, and Quarter-master-General of Her Majesty's Forces in India: a son.

On the 4th of May, at Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. William M. Maule: a daughter.

On the 11th, the wife of the Rev. F. Watkins, one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools: a son.

On the 12th, at Tiptree-hall, near Kelvedon, Essex, the wife of Mr. J. J. Mechi: a son.

On the 13th, at 8, Carlton-house-terrace, the Lady Londborough: a daughter.

On the 14th, at 6, Portman-square, Mrs. Farquharson, of Invercauld: a son.

On the 14th, at Ponty Pool-park, Monmouthshire, the wife of Capel Hanbury Leigh, Esq.: a son and heir.

On the 15th, Lady Charles Wellesley: a daughter.

On the 16th, in Wilton-crescent, the Viscountess Chewton: a daughter.

On the 17th, at No. 21, Chester-square, the wife of John George Phillimore, Q.C., M.P.: a son, stillborn.

On the 19th, at 2, Wilton-crescent, Mrs. Charles Whitmore: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 11th of May, at Watford, the Rev. Edward Henry Loring, M.A., vicar of Cobham, Surrey, only son of the late Venerable Henry Lloyd Loring, D.D., Archdeacon of Calcutta, to Hannah Adelaide, youngest daughter of the late Arthur Cuthbert Marsh, Esq., of Eastbury, Hertfordshire.

On the 12th, at St. James's Church, Paddington, by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester, Major Shakspear, late of the Bengal Artillery, to Marianne Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph Hodgson, Esq., of Westbourne-terrace, Hyde-park.

On the 12th, at St. George's, Hanover-square, by the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, Hugh Francis Lethbridge, second son of Sir Francis D. Astley, Bart., to Augusta Ellen, second daughter of James Cockburn, Esq., and granddaughter of the Dean of York.

On the 12th, at St. Clement's Church, Henry, second son of Major J. R. Godfrey, E.I.C.S., of Northernhay-house, Exeter, to Mary, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Polwhele, vicar of St. Anthony, Helstone, and niece of Major Richard Graves Polwhele, of Polwhele, Cornwall.

On the 12th, at Clapham Church, Edgar Alfred Bowring, Esq., fourth son of Dr. Bowring, late H.M. Plenipotentiary in China, to Sophia, third daughter of Thomas Cubitt, Esq., of Clapham-park, and Denbies.

On the 17th, at Great Saxham Church, Sholto James Douglas, Esq., of the Inner Temple, barrister-at-law, second son of Lieutenant-General Sir James Douglas, K.C.B., to Ann Harriet, second daughter of William Mills, Esq., of Saxham-hall, in the county of Suffolk.

On the 18th, at Lyons-hall Church, Henry Charles Stewart, Esq., of Grove-road, St. John's-wood, to Sarah Frances Isabel, youngest daughter of the late Lieut.-Colonel J. Crosse, K.S.F., of Ovals, St. Crosse, Herefordshire.

On the 18th, at St. John's Church, Notting-hill, Frederick Valiant, Esq., First Bombay Lancers, son of the late General Sir Thomas Valiant, K.C.B. and K.H., to Josephine Anne, only daughter of Charles Frederick Hardman, Esq., of Castledown, Hastings, and Dawson-place, Bayswater.

On the 19th, at Marylebone Church, by the Rev. Lord Bishop of Clogher, assisted by the Rev. P. Green, curate of Finchley, Middlesex, the marriage having been previously performed at the Jewish Synagogue by the Chief Rabbi, the Rev. Richard Henry King, B.A., schoolmaster, and rector of Little Glemham, Suffolk, son of the late Mr. R. King, apothecary, to Fanny Margaret, eldest accomplished daughter of Amédée Miéville, Esq., stockjobber, of the Asylum, Pixham-lane, Dorking, Surrey, late of Burton-crescent, St. Pancras, Middlesex.

DEATHS.

On the 19th of March, killed at the storming of the stronghold of the rebel Mea Toon, in Burmah, Lieutenant James Marriott Taylor, of the Ninth Madras Infantry, son of Lieut.-General H. G. A. Taylor, of No. 3, Clarendon-place, Hyde-park.

On the 31st, at Ashfield, the Rev. Professor Robert Murray, of Queen's College, Toronto, Canada.

On the 2nd of May, at Bideford, North Devon, Jemima, widow of the late Henry Charles Boisragon, Esq., M.D.

On the 5th, in his twentieth year, lost from a rowing-boat, run down by a river steamer, about 5 p.m., near the Nine Elms-pier, Chelsea-reach, William Graham (the orphan son of Thomas Dow, formerly of the Scots Fusilier Guards, and grandson of the late William Dow, of Needham-hall, Elm, Isle of Ely), of 21, Leicester-square, a medical student of King's College, London.

On the 9th, Sir Francis Waskett Myers, K.C.S., of Eaton-square, London, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

On the 9th, at Leyrath, Kilkenny, Ireland, Sir Jonah Denny Wheeler Cuffe, Bart., in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

On the 10th, at Corston, near Bath, Lucy Esther, the wife of Vice-Admiral Charles Philip Boteler Bateman.

On the 12th, at Grosvenor-house, Knightsbridge, Elisabeth, La Marquise de St. Léger, aged eighty.

On the 12th, at 51, Cadogan-place, the Lady Riversdale, aged seventy-nine.

On the 13th, at the Grove, Gravesend, Ellen Maria, the wife of Mr. Edward Baylis, actuary to the Professional Life Assurance Company, 78, Cheapside, aged fifty-nine.

On the 13th, at Leominster, Thomas Davies, Esq., barrister-at-law, Deputy-Lieutenant of the county of Hereford, and an active magistrate of the borough.

On the 14th, at Egham, Surrey, Eliza Charlotte, only daughter of the late Webster Blount, Consul-General from his Majesty the King of the Netherlands to the Emperor of Morocco.

On the 15th, at his residence, Clapham-rise, Surrey, Anthony Brown, Esq., Chamberlain of the City of London, in his seventy-third year.

The Leader

SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1853.

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 CAULDRON.

THE rulers of Europe appear more and more to treat the world as though there were no security in it. They are returning to the savage tenure of property,—actual grasp. The negro who carries about with him his blanket, his tin kettle, and his top boots, believing a moment's repose in freedom on the deck for those valued articles to be total loss, is the prototype of the emperor holding every foot of his ground by a standing army of soldiers, of police spies, and priests. Absolutists, ignoring the principle of insurance, regard "chance," or the natural course of events under Providence, as wholly adverse to themselves, and malignant; and as if to verify that diabolical doctrine, the world is crowning long-continued peace with tumult and ferment in every quarter.

China is admitted to the freemasonry of nations by virtue of her rebellion and the uncertainty of all she is and has. Her dynasty may by this time be with the fugitive monarchs of the world, promoted to equality with that of France—those of France we should say. Her rebel chief may be her Emperor, and the victory of some great "principle" may by this time have suspended her commerce and ravaged her fields with civil war.

In India, the borders of English authority are known by the smoke of war; and in Burmah, true to the type of native India, the barbaric race is expending recklessly its strength in a resistance, the cost of which recalls the economists of the House of Commons to the immorality of aggrandizement by war.

Between India and China, in the Indian seas, Rajah Brooke exemplifies English rule by strange alliances; and British philanthropy weeps over the pirates that are victimized in trying to victimize him.

At the Cape of Good Hope, General Cathcart has just concluded peace by establishing some of the most warlike tribes on a territory too small to hold them—beautiful provision for securing the fruit war out of the seed peace.

It is out of Caffraria that our ally, Spain, is detected in snatching a supply of those Negroes for a trade which she has undertaken to suppress, and about which she has so recently insulted the officers of that very British fleet upon which she counts to protect her against the United States.

In the North of Africa, the Pasha of Egypt is calculating chances of rebellion against his suzerain of Turkey, and resting his hopes in the break up of the empire to which he belongs.

In Constantinople, diplomats are endeavouring to conceal the quarrel amongst themselves, lest one should get the start of the others, and seize the larger share in partitioning Turkey.

Turkey's near neighbour, and sharpest persecutor, Austria, is, in all parts of her dominions, keeping down rebellion by a tyranny which renders submission impossible—Austria the ally of England, who would rather break with liberty, with truth, with her own traditions, than with the ally of 1815! Russia continues to menace Europe with universal subjugation, Europe retorting in the hope of Russian disruption. Germany imprisons Gervinus because he interprets the history of modern times as indicating the victory of the great masses of the people. Germany has aspired to "union," and her kings have continued for the five ensuing years to move about consulting each other how they may keep the peoples apart; for royalty in Europe at the present moment rests its hopes on the influences of anarchy and disunion.

On the seven hills of Italy, supported by foreign contributions, sits that pauper potentate the Pontiff, who assists the emperors in sowing

civil anarchy by spiritual chicane. His last act is to forbid the reading of *Uncle Tom*, perhaps because it contains the word "liberty." Perhaps the worst blow to slavery is the fact that it has been taken under the protection of the Pope, and that the Abolitionist novel has been put in the *Index Expurgatorius*.

France groaning under an upstart despot, who has just re-established the guillotine by which his predecessors suffered, is kept quiet for the moment by an extravagant expenditure that must ruin Government and State; and the country is seething everywhere with systematic official corruption and secret conspiracy.

England, where the blessings of peace continue to be so uninterrupted, is stirred to its heart by the contest of capital and labour; Ireland is yielding up its population to the western Republic; and our peaceful metropolis just now is the scene of battle for every sectarian conflict by which mankind can be divided. Here for the season is that convertible party of pious and benign people who under some form of "humanity" pervert what they profess—that sleek band, who under the name of Abolitionists harden the hearts of the slave-owning interests; who under the name of "peace," keep clear the way for the tyrant invader, and sow the seeds of Kafir wars; who under the name of Teetotallers render temperance ridiculous; who under the name of Protestants, pamper the pious Madiai, and refuse support to Protestant Sardinia in her nascent struggle against the Pope.

Sitting in the midst, we see the national legislature endeavouring to prove, by its committees, that instead of representing the people, it represents only the colourmen, the dealers in "horse-nails," the riff-raff of boroughs, and the devices of parliamentary agents. Our House of Commons is a council of "stags," a legislative Capel Court; our administrators are proved to be such as railway managers, who "make things pleasant." On the Continent, Government performs the work of the bravo; in England, it is a man of straw: abroad, wrong is imperially crowned; in England, conscience disputing with itself in endless crotchets, leaves practical administration to adventurers and political blacklegs: abroad, the world is governed by suppression; with us by agitation: there, it is a great triumph to "detect" some trembling wretch, and to punish him with death or prison for a supposititious plot; with us, the great triumph is to find out some new stimulus to the palled appetite for agitation: there, the object is to press down the lid upon the cauldron; with us, to stir it up and throw in new explosives; and exhausted political invention, stirring up our state agitations with the Exeter-hall ladle, peppers the indescribable broth with Mrs. Beecher Stowe.

STOWE ON THE WHOLE DUTY OF ENGLISHMEN.

Our powerful contemporary discovered last week that possibly the appointment of Mr. Soulé as envoy from the Government of Washington to that at Madrid might mean something, and that the selection of the man who had proposed to place 5,000,000 dollars in the hands of President Pierce, in case of emergencies, Cuban or otherwise, might point to an ultimate transfer of insular territory from the Spanish to the American possession.

Now England has taken a decided part in the endeavour to suppress the slave-trade; that object is dear to the numbers who assembled in Exeter Hall on Saturday, to learn wisdom from the mouths of Lord Shaftesbury, Mrs. Beecher Stowe, and Mr. George Cruikshank. But could any of the Wittenagemote tell us what would be lost to the hopes of the slave-trade suppression by the transfer of Cuba from Spain to America? For some time past it has been notorious that the Government of Cuba, not without sanction from the Government at Madrid, has been secretly conniving at the slave-trade. A British ship which recently captured a Spanish ship, evidently intended for that traffic, was obliged to see its prize taken from it under circumstances of insult so serious as to cast some shadow upon the officers that submitted to it; and that was suffered because, forsooth, our country is in alliance with Spain! It is strange that the name of an alliance on a piece of parchment is sufficient to prevent our public servants from knowing our antagonists and thwarters from our real friends and coadjutors. In spite, however, of its double-

dealing and bullying, at last the Spanish Government is detected. One Capo, the master of a slave-ship, goes to a Portuguese Negro colony on the coast of Caffraria, kidnaps a great number of the population, intoxicated for the purpose; carries off 1300, of whom about 200 perish; and lands the rest in the port of Cardenas, under American colours, with the knowledge and of course the connivance of the local authorities of the island. The Government instituted a colourable enquiry, but neglected real intervention. A portion of the slaves were given up; for the rest, a fine sufficed to satisfy the Commissioners. Such is the manner in which the Spanish Government of Cuba fulfils the treaty of suppressing the slave-trade.

Now it is notorious that the American Government not only prohibits the trade nominally, but prevents it actually. If Cuba were annexed to the United States, the slave-trade between Africa and Cuba would cease.

At the Exeter Hall meeting, Mr. Stowe used an argument which ought to come home very forcibly to Englishmen. England, he says, has a right to interfere in the slavery of the United States, because she shares in the guilt; since, without the assistance of Great Britain, the cotton which the slaves are used to grow could not be consumed. Now it is a very extraordinary argument for a professor and a clergyman, is that plea that the participation in guilt gives to the accomplice the right to be a judge and policeman over his principal. But let us pass by the bad logic and moral of the reverend gentleman, and come to the application of his "solemn truth."

"What did the slaveholders and cotton-growers say? Why, that the English loved to stand up in Exeter-hall and denounce them and condemn them, but would they take any less cotton from them,—would they diminish their profits one penny in their zeal to emancipate slaves by adopting the way in which their zeal might be beneficial? The price of cotton regulated the price of the slave. At present they averaged from 800 to 1000 dollars, and to stock a cotton plantation took from 200 to 400; so that an immense outlay had to be made before slave labour could be brought into competition with free labour. The Chinese were now flocking into America, and would work at the rate of 6d. a day, and the people of Great Britain now had an opportunity of making the slaveholders feel that they were in earnest, and determined to do something towards the abolition of the system. If they could abolish slavery by making speeches in that hall, or by legislation in Parliament, he should be most happy for them to do so. But they could not. The only way was by making them compete with free labour; and, if the English could not make as much profit by using free cotton as slave cotton, they must be content with practising a little of the denial they so properly preached to the slaveholder."

This is not very well said, but there is some force in the argument. While Englishmen use slave-grown cotton, they scarcely have the right to preach to those who grow slave cotton. But does Mr. Stowe really imagine that his proposition can be carried out? Does he think it possible that the English people would be brought to discontinue the use of cotton garments; or that the English manufacturer could be persuaded, for the sake of philanthropy, to buy cotton which is dearer than that of America? Even the anti-Free-trade fervour of Busfield Ferrand could not induce any large number of his countrymen to join the woollen and anti-cotton-lord league. If our manufacturers procured cotton at a price as low as the American, but of a staple less good, does Mr. Stowe imagine that the English housewife would be content to buy a fabric which could not "wear" so well? The very idea is a delusion, like that which none but a closet-read professor could fall into. It would be easier to tear Queen Victoria from her throne, than to tear away the cotton shirting which Britannia wears next her skin.

But still the argument ought not to be lost upon us. If we, in England, find such inseparable difficulty in divorcing ourselves from cotton garments, can we suppose that it will be more easy for any statesman of the Union to re-arrange their system of industry, or the whole of that machinery which is necessary to produce the raw material, not only of that single garment, but of that cigar, which lends its questionable perfume to the garment, and also of some other "notions" of price in our market; to say nothing of the domestic arrangements in a large portion of the republic.

A delusion is systematically employed to con-

ceal the real bearing of this question, and to betray England into a course of conduct which would really impede the professed object in view. At the very meeting at Stafford House, which ought to have been superior to such tricks, a letter was read from "C. M. Clay," and it has since been cited as an epistle from a statesman whose name will be more readily remembered by the common English reader than even the recent fact of his death. Everybody knows that "C. M. Clay" is not Henry Clay, and yet there is a jingle in the sound of the two names, which was allowed to take its chance of deceiving any who might forget the distinction. But the name of Clay ought to be a rebuke to those who would recruit for English intervention on American soil. It ought to remind us that the most hopeful prospect for the Negro lies in the suggestion which Clay put forth, for a prospective emancipation of the Negroes by the action, with mature preparation, of the States themselves. And this should be a spontaneous measure, and not one dictated from without or procured by importunity from Exeter Hall. No! Let us who cannot part with our slave-grown shirting, learn to remember that the Americans may have some difficulty in suddenly getting rid of the shirting-growing slaves.

A REBUKE FROM MAZZINI.

Kossuth has been blamed for declaring that he would talk no more, but confine himself to action; a patriot whose conduct has been more familiar to Englishmen, and more unmistakably direct in their sight, now indignantly puts forth a declaration very similar. A friend sends us an extract from a letter, by Mazzini, apropos to the affair of Hale, of which he had seen an account in the papers.

"The declarations of your Ministers are very foolish, not to say immoral; they reveal all the political atheism which is the ruling principle of their policy. You are quite right in what you say about England's duty.

"But what would be the use of protesting against Government, when the same atheism is pervading in all classes of your society? I except a powerless minority; you all, and some hundreds like yourselves. Is there amongst you a single society feeling the oneness of life, and tracing duties therein?

"Your so-called religious societies are declaring that the Pope is a living lie, that Papacy is the enthronement of the evil principle: are they helping me to put it down? They know that one of our first acts would be the proclamation of freedom for all religious ideas to manifest themselves in Italy: they believe, they say, in the truth—consequently, in the triumph of Protestantism, once allowed to expound itself: do they volunteer to help me in the opening of the arena, on which what they profess to be truth and salvation would peacefully triumph?

"Your peace societies are witnessing the daily loss of lives; they must feel convinced that one day's battle would lead to peace: are they helping us to that short decisive battle? Mr. Grote declares that he is fond of Italy, that her cause is, in his eyes, a sacred one; but he has promised to himself never to devote pecuniary help, except to domestic affairs: the testifying for universal truth is not, for him, part of an Englishman's duty. Christian brotherhood is talked of everlastingly in all your chapels: is there a single token of brotherhood given to those 24,000,000 of Italians, who are suffering in their souls and bodies?

"Your Government is the echo of your society. I am sick of writing, talking, and everything but action. Words have no meaning whatever with the majority of men, and I feel really inclined to shut my mouth for ever, and not to open it, except amongst yourselves."

The force of this appeal is undeniable. Our different societies profess to be ardent in the support of Protestant truth; they can work themselves into a fervour of zeal about the Madiai—a courier and his wife; the one a feeble mind, and the other a meritorious woman, probably, but not very likely to move the world; but, in the mean time, Piedmont has begun, and still maintains, a contest with the Pope, animated, throughout, by the true spirit of Protestantism; and yet our religious societies would be amongst the first to restrain our Government from any step which could risk either war or expenditure. They dread Popery much, but taxes more.

Nay, it would be possible for England thoroughly to counteract the whole power of absolutism and of popery, by declaring, in explicit terms, that she would be the leader and con-

centrator of the liberal force in Europe. If the standard of England were raised in Europe as that of Protestantism and freedom, millions would support it. Hundreds of thousands we believe would come, not only from the bodies of the people, but from the armies now arrayed against it. We believe, also, that in that contest, the expenditure of England would bear no proportion to the nefarious expenditure which she incurred in the endeavour to sustain absolutism against the march of democracy before 1815.

War, it is said, is sanguinary, but can it be so sanguinary, so cruel, as the "peace" of absolutism? Is the loss in killed, wounded, and captive, of the greatest campaign that ever happened in the world, equal to the loss in killed, wounded, and captive, now sustained by Europe under the rule of absolutism?

No; there is no comparison, even in the money loss of a war, and in the money loss of such a peace as this. For it is certain, that if the peoples were relieved from the Governments that restrain them, in all the relations of life, their industry would be ten-fold more productive, their trade with us ten-fold what it is. Take the instance we have cited more than once lately: Turkey, which is but a corner of Europe, half-civilized, takes more of our products than Austria and Russia put together, and yet we know that the peoples subject to Austria alone, if they were free, would take from us more than ten times what Turkey consumes. Verily therefore we are losing a trade of far more than 30,000,000*l.* in "Austria" alone, rather than go to the expense of war. In such a case we say, war itself would be an investment, as safe, and as manifestly profitable as the most prudent speculation which the merchant ever opened in his books. But, as we have repeatedly shown, war, in the old sense, would not be necessary here.

We will not pursue this subject. We, like Mazzini, are sick of writing and talking, where action should be substituted. The action of England, as a state, is at present in favour of absolutism and popery, and against freedom and protestantism. Her Government is in alliance with Austria and the Pope, to put down protestantism and people. But, we say, the principles of the English constitution are now at stake on the fields of Belgium and Italy, and if we suffer Belgium and Sardinia to be defeated, we shall have to fight that battle on our own land.

One word to the friends of Italy. They are prudent men; some of them are closet men; and we are not sure that, like Mr. Grote, they do not fall in with the humour of the day, and so fail, for want of explicit speaking, to arouse the sympathy which is dormant in many an English bosom. There has been a prudential tameness in the representations to the English people on this subject, suited to those who loved writing and talking, and who disliked action as much as trouble or cold water. But such language, such bearing, fails to enlist the sympathies of men who are inclined for a sterner and rougher method. We believe that this sympathy is still accessible, if evoked by a direct appeal. We have long held this conviction, but have abstained from saying so lest we should hinder the exertions of those who were meritoriously devoted to the work. We cannot fail, however, from contrasting the language of Mazzini with that of his friends; and we believe if he could have spoken face to face with the body of the English people, when the English people could have heard him and seen him, he would have obtained different results.

LABOUR AND LIBERTY, IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

THE grand success which appears to attend the fortune of the working classes in Paris, and the reverses which appear to attend their interests in England, for the moment, we hold to be equally fallacious. Wages are important things, and they are among those good things of which we do not believe that the recipient can have too much; but they are not all; and even high wages may be bought at too high a price.

In France the working man appears to have realized a positive gain; but let us look a little at the facts. In the first place, we suspect everything that comes from Louis Napoleon, because he is an untruthful and an unjust man, to a degree unparalleled in modern times: he whose life has twice been spared restores punishment of death; he who talks about "property," has confiscated the property of the Orleans

family; and although they are Princes, they ought to be treated with justice equal to that shown to any other persons.

In the next place, he is evidently embarking in a course of expenditure that must end in bankruptcy. He is promoting expensive building improvements in Paris and other towns; to enable the municipal authorities to support the expenditure, he is lending them money from his banks of Credit Foncier; and he is busy in Paris with the bank of Credit Mobilier. Now these operations occasion a great amount of "employment" for the time; but as they call into existence nothing fresh, and do not create wealth of a very exchangeable kind, they tend to employ the industry of the country in processes that yield no return, or no adequate return available for feeding the people or replacing capital. Such an expenditure, in fact, must come to a natural end. But commercial bankruptcy, which ruins the tradesman, starves the workman. The prosperity of the day, therefore, so far as it is indicated by these building magnificences, is a fallacy.

So is the Government patronage of the workman. The Paris Government is providing model lodging-houses for the working classes who are displaced by the improvements; but we learn Louis Napoleon's animus towards that class in other things. The workers in bronze have lately struck for wages, and their employers have been obliged to shut up shop; whereupon the Government arrested some of the men, and then the rest—*returned to work!* We complain of the decision in the tin-plate workers case at Wolverhampton; but, at all events, our workmen have a process of law; at all events they have the chance of a judgment by a Rolfe instead of an Erle; they have the chance of a bill by Mr. Drummond to explain the law; and they are not liable to be summarily arrested and imprisoned by Lord Palmerston, "to encourage the rest." There are model lodging-houses in London, but there is not a Government spy on each floor, as we are confident there will be in the Parisian model lodging-house.

The case of our own workman is perfectly in contrast. He is not misled by any treacherous pretence of patronage on the part of Government. The law seldom interferes with him, save as an enemy. It permits the master to combine, but prevents the workman, who *hates* the Government for the injustice which he feels practically. He is under no tempting delusion. In other respects, too, he is far better off than the French workman. Trade, whose prosperity he is sharing, in the shape of higher wages, is extending solidly and naturally. The imports of the country comprise large supplies of the necessities of life, or of raw materials, purchased by the surplus of our production. The emigration, which thins the numbers in the market, is not that of a forced exile, bearing political victims to Algeria or Demerara, but it is a spontaneous emigration to America and Australia, bearing the poor man from penury to comfort.

We are far from saying that the condition of the working man in England is what it ought to be; but it is improving, and will continue to improve, and he can help in promoting that improvement. In some trades, his proper advantage is kept back by the employers: the case of the carpenters and joiners at Birmingham appears to us to be in point, since the masters, whose trade is extensive and brisk, are refusing the men an advance not disproportionate to that obtained elsewhere, and a half-holiday on Saturday obtained by other trades in Birmingham. But the men will probably win, if they stick to their purpose, and are not prevented by recruitments of hands from other places.

And if the working classes know their own interest, they will religiously abstain from leaving their own towns to help in bringing down wages where the men are making a stand for a rise; for it is that action of workman against workman which most defeats the interest of the whole body.

In some trades, as in that of shoemakers, the comparative ease of the business, the numbers already engaged, and perhaps a slighter amount of emigration in those branches, prevent an advance equivalent to that in many lines of business; but ultimately the emigration still going on at a great pace, will tell upon these trades also; since it will soon become more profitable to do many things than to make slop shoes; and then the trade will be thinned by a process other than emigration.

Now all these causes of improvement will be promoted exactly in proportion as the working classes obtain sound and complete information as to the opportunities before them. They cannot obtain higher wages in a trade than that trade can yield. Wages depend but partially on the will of the master; chiefly on the ultimate price which the article is worth in the market. But the workman can obtain all the wage that the trade can afford; and to do that he must know how the trade stands. To many emigration offers the best field. On a good land the healthy man is *sure* to obtain more than a livelihood—the means of securing a competency for old age, and a pleasant life for his children; and every healthy man who emigrates leaves a larger share of wage for the less robust man who stays behind. Emigration will proceed exactly in proportion as the workman knows all about it. It is by information, not by blindly directed demands or hasty strikes, that he can obtain his just due: without information he does not know what he is at; with it he knows exactly what he can and cannot do. Union is strength, when he knows on what to unite. And in England information is free—except for the penny stamp, intended to deprive the workman of his paper.

A GUILLOTINE HINT FOR LOUIS NAPOLEON.

FRANCE is blessed just now with a beautiful illustration of the delights of Royalty. As the French once more have a Royal chief, it is argued, the crime of high treason is once more possible; but for the crime of high treason there is only one punishment—death; wherefore that punishment is restored to the penal code. This is a new view of restoration; with the dignity, the scaffold.

After the next revolution in France, therefore, which is, we understand, in preparation, *more Gallico*, though the date is not fixed, some loyalist will of course propose the subsequent change from Republic to Royalty, and then he can say to his fellow-countrymen, "Now let us, for the honour and dignity of France, restore the Monarchy and Gallows." Or the proposition might be simply, "Let us restore the Gallows," the Monarchy understood; the two being, it appears, convertible terms.

Certain improvements occur to us, social and mechanical, as due to this age of practical and political science. If the guillotine is a necessary attribute of Royalty, the gallows should be one of nobility, and with titles the Emperor ought to restore the right of hanging to families noble by inheritance or creation. There is great pains taken just now to control the expression of public opinion—an attempt but partially successful among so mercurial a people as the French; but it *might* be more effectual if there were a diffused power of execution. There is no polemical instrument like the gallows,—no argument, no wit, can fail to be silenced by the halter.

The only mischief is, that in these days of subversive insolence among the people, even they can snatch the manorial privilege to themselves, and if Royalty can establish its guillotine, the populace can re-establish "*La Lanterne*."

The other improvement is mechanical, but it has been suggested by a poet. As Raphael pictorially suggested the paddle-wheel which moves the car of his Galatea, and now moves the steamer of every-day life at sea, so Raphael's compatriot Giusti suggests the new improvement in the guillotine, although he fancifully ascribes the invention to the Chinese.

"Hanno fatto nella China
Una macchina a vapore,
Per mandar la guigliottina;
E questa macchina, in tre ore,
Fa la testa a cento mila,
Messi in fila."

Which being done into English, might read somewhat thus:—

"There's a man has brought in China
Steam to bear on so divine a
Guillotine, that it lays low, Sirs,
Heads by thousands at a blow, Sirs,
All a row, Sirs."

There is no doubt that the inventive genius who could thus improve the machine would receive in France the honour which the poet imagines for him in China.

"L'hanno fatto Mandarinino
Di Pecchino."

"He that made this great machine, Sirs,
Has been made a Mandarin, Sirs,
Of Peking, Sirs."

Giusti represents the little tyrant Duke of Modena as envying the sovereign whose country was blessed by so inventive an engineer.

"Ah! perchè," dice al Canosa,
Un Tiberco in diciottesimo,
'Questo genio non m'è nato
Nel ducato?'"

"Why, oh! why, my chief policeman,
Only guardian of my peace, man,—
Why, alas! was no such great man
Born in our own little State, man?
Born to settle patriots touchy
In one's duchy?"

Shall France be denied what Modena envies and Florence imagines? Is there no gallows-wise engineer to introduce the improvement? It would save time where there is much to be done. English capital has already helped Louis Napoleon at a pinch; why not help him now at a chop? The investment would prove a safe one, for the steam guillotine could soon be tried in France—the police could find a traitor and jury at any moment, to provide the raw material for the experiment; and once successful, no doubt it would be on demand throughout the Austrian dominions, with good prospects in other countries gradually recovered to the dominion of Absolutism.

"UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES,"

AND THE DOCTRINES OF INTERVENTION AND
NON-INTERVENTION.
THE PAST CONSEQUENCES OF THOSE DOCTRINES.
LETTER II.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—Principles of universal national faith have long usurped the place of reason and experience. Starting from the belief that there is a perfect principle upon which each tenet is individually grounded, our public men and private writers have settled their bases upon vague generalities, and founded their structures upon sand. For to render a great political tenet perfect, it must evidently be believed in, and faithfully observed, not only by one country, but by all countries whose weight in the political world is such as to enable them, if so disposed, to render that principle inoperative. This is precisely where our principles have failed us, and where they will fail us still.

But aphorisms are ever more dazzling than veracious. We admire their brilliancy, and receive their logic upon faith. One moment's reflection suggests the impossibility of these universal principles. Impracticable in the present day, where national culture is so irregularly distributed—where intellects are so various—where civilization is so unequally diffused—such all-comprehensive beliefs must be postponed to future ages, when knowledge more universal, prejudices diminished, and minds more upon a level, shall admit of their possibility. Speak to that tangled-haired, gleaming-eyed, fierce and impulsive Magyar of universal brotherhood, he would look upon you with a smile of contempt and incredulity. Expatriate to that Turk upon the beauties of Christianity, he would fell you with his scimitar. Dilate to that Arab upon the rights of property, travel with the next unarmed caravan, he would give you a practical exemplification of his conversion. Preach the law of nations in Japan, non-intervention in Russia, ownership of one's-self in Africa and America, what replies would you receive? The impossibility of universal principles, then, is clear. And must we, after years of painful effort, return upon the policy of expediency? Expediency has been an ill-used word for the paternal consideration with which we might treat infant states, the condescending support that we might render them would be utterly out of place when they had increased in power and riches, caution must take the place of support, distrust that of confidence;* and this is not expediency, but necessity, and it is necessity alone with altered circumstances and relations that must guide our proceedings. We cannot fix stable, universal principles in presence of instability and variously diversified beliefs. Let us in theory, as we are to a great degree in fact, be guided by necessity, and we shall avoid the grave errors of past failures, and the probability of future disgraces which would be ludicrous, if their effects were not so terrible.

The Balance of Power dogma dates from the House of Orange, the non-intervention aphorism

* I do not here allude to our own colonies and dependencies.

from the changes wrought by the first French Revolution. Kings had conducted mighty wars for the maintenance of the limits accorded to royal houses. Royal alliances, royal ambition, royal hatreds, seized the people's arm, and bade it strike. It struck once too often; and hundreds of millions of debt, and, what men estimated less, hundreds of thousands of lives paid the atonement of outraged humanity. Unfortunately where the people decides, it decrees in extremes, but never balances its decisions. The edict of intervention fulminated against liberty had led to mighty evils. Public opinion became a Colossus, and amidst the applause of vociferating multitudes non-intervention was proclaimed the rallying point of Europe. But the despotic rulers of mankind have always known how to avail themselves exclusively of new principles. These unhappily half-enlightened peoples of the West, these half-cultivated communities, struggled against the rapid and subtle wiles of irresponsible powers wielding the ignorant obedience of their subjects. The rapidity and unitedness of despotism overwhelmed the hesitations and doubts of disunited freedom, and Poland, Cracow, Hungary, by a deep red blood-line, were blotted out from the list of nations. "Non-intervention," said Marshal Soult in the French House of Peers, "is henceforth our principle—we will respect this religiously, but upon the essential condition that it shall be respected by others." Soult did not perceive that the people never attaches conditions to its beliefs! Lafayette only expressed the opinion of rulers when he said, "France will not permit the principle of non-intervention to be violated;" and Dupin, the organ of the Court, only uttered the thoughts of statesmen when he declared that "France would not permit intervention," and that "this was the most noble attitude that could be assumed by a strong and generous nation." Alas, this attitude had been *only* assumed,—when the people had grown powerful,—when public opinion had become omnipotent,—when the grossness of past intervention stood revealed; the people, always deceived, and always deceiving itself—the people hugged non-intervention as the serpent that was henceforth to sting and wound its dearest hopes and principles.

And yet, sir, let us tell this poor suffering people, kings have not foregone the faculty of intervention. Again and again has non-intervention been violated, and but thrice, ostensibly, for freedom; in Belgium, in Portugal, and in Greece. But this Portuguese interference was only England's *contre coup* in retaliation of the French entry into Spain in 1823. This shameful entry into Spain, this crushing of Spanish freedom, was one act of the restored dynasty of France. The intervention in Portugal was to hurl the troops of despotic Ferdinand and the royal Portuguese rebels back upon Spanish soil. They were hurled back; but when a revolution in Portugal itself established the brutal Miguel upon the throne, England did not move. Greece was delivered from the Turkish yoke, but Greece was not rendered, nor was it intended she should be rendered free; she was delivered up to internal anarchy, to a despotic administration, and to Russian intrigues. The European Powers were supported by Russia in the Greek Question! And now, in 1853, arises the Patriarch and the Holy Places disputation, and Prince Menzschikoff is received by the Grecian population of Turkey with the ovations due to a God. Russia does not forget her mission!

These liberal interventions disposed of, let us cast a retrospective glance upon Italy and Spain. Naples had revolted in 1820, and Ferdinand had agreed to receive the lately liberalized Spanish Constitution. But the allied sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia interfered. An Austrian army rapidly occupied the Neapolitan territory, and the popular Government was abolished. Piedmont and Genoa introduced the same constitution, "but the old Government was everywhere restored by the Austrian army." France momentarily hesitated whether she would support Italian independence; but presently Colonel Ravinetti proclaims to the Papal troops,—“Good news! The King of France, by express courier, assures the Holy Father of his assistance and intervention to maintain the pontifical states under the Government of the Holy See.” But Austria was about to enter the Duchy of Modena, and you who stand appalled at the falsity of the pretences of mankind, glance upon the foundations of her right! The existence of Modena as an

independent State had been guaranteed by the treaty of Vienna. To justify her interference, therefore, Austria asserted that the possession of a reversionary right conferred upon her the faculty of intervention during the reigning Duke's Government! Strange assertion. What attention would our British courts of law devote to a claim of the right of interference during the life-time of the possessor, in the management of an estate in which we held a reversionary interest? But absolute sovereigns require pretexts and pretences only; if they do not exist, they create them. Right is not always to be had, but pretexts can ever be found. Yet France declared, through M. Lafitte, "that if Austria persisted, there was but one reply, and that reply was—war." All the ministers applauded, and M. Sebastiani, Minister of Foreign Affairs, engaged to answer the Austrian note in this sense: "Marshal Maison, the French Ambassador at Vienna, is charged to present a declaration which formally interdicts to Austria the entry of the Roman States." Austria replied not only with firmness, but with insult. "Up to the present moment," said M. de Metternich, "we have permitted France to put forward the principle of non-intervention, but it is time she were taught that we do not intend to recognize this principle in what concerns Italy! We shall advance our armies wherever the insurrection extends, and should war follow, why, let it follow. We would rather run the chances of war than be exposed to perish in the midst of *émeutes*." But war, nevertheless, did not follow, and the year 1823 saw a French army stifling the liberal constitution of Spain! So much for fixed principles of policy—so much for the universal principle of non-intervention! It was in vain that Lord Brougham's powerful voice reprehended the policy of the Continent and the inactive and timid conduct of the British Government. England did not awake until 1826, and her sleep had been so long that her dream was scarcely thought to have ceased, and it was even believed that a long lethargy would soon succeed. This might have happened had not the Grecian question re-awakened her. It would be useless to recount this mournful history; freedom leading to anarchy, support leading to dependence; the Russian, Austrian, and British alliance to the exclusion of the French, and, what ought never to be forgotten, the separate treaty that Russia dictated to her humbled adversary under the walls of Adrianople, the second city of the Turkish Empire. Is this long list not yet complete, and must I refer to more recent enormities—to Cracow, to Hesse-Cassel, to Hungary, and to Rome, to convince statesmen and the people that absolute principles in diplomacy are destructive to the prosperity of nations? Must I cite the long list of melancholy evidences to prove what we have lost by this absolute principle of non-intervention, and what despotism has gained by it? To prove to the people that it has been mistaken and its policy misguided. This list, sir, is a very long and mournful one, the facts it presents are startling, and yet although these facts, sown thickly over the history of Europe, have been admonishing us for years, their warning has been in vain. Dullards as our liberalists were when they gave tongue to this unhappy cry, they have been sustained and strengthened by the dulcet tones of the Peace Society, whose notes, so to say, rounded the harmony which has filled our ears and ravished away our senses, while the ruin of our "principles" was being forcibly accomplished.

In my next letter I shall give a short *résumé* of the strange doctrines here animadverted upon, and I shall endeavour to prove the imperative necessity of a change in policy so one-sided in its operations and so disastrous in its effects.

ALPHA.

"A STRANGER" IN PARLIAMENT.

SOME member ought to move for a select committee to inquire into the origin of the institution of Easter and Whitsuntide recesses. There is a traditional belief that a session of Parliament should commence about February, and should never last over the 1st September, and that traditional notion is so firmly established that notwithstanding what might be urged as to the consequences of hurry and bustle in public business, it would be quite in vain to attempt to disturb the accepted theory. But why an adjournment at Easter, when a fortnight is lost; why lose another week at Whitsuntide? Lord John Russell would refer you to

the precedents—it has always been so; but this is an age in which everything has to find a justification for itself; and no ingenuity could hit upon an excuse for the rising of the House of Commons from yesterday week to yesterday. As to the Lords, who having nothing to do, always take a longer holiday than the Commons, the inquiry might be, not why they adjourn, but why they meet?—Peers being flies in the amber of the British constitution. But with regard to the House of Commons it is certain that nobody wants these adjournments. Ministers would affect airs of over-work, and speak of the necessity of relaxation from the treasury benches, in order that they may lie for a day or two “in their places” in the country. That, however, would be a sham of impossible credit; and to shorten the session at Whitsuntide, when it is certain that the process would occasion a prolongation in August, is statesmanship only to be paralleled by the impoverished Irish gentleman’s resource for lengthening the bedclothes, by cutting off a tail-piece with a view to the comfort of his shoulders. And the sham is in this: that hard work at great posts is great happiness; that ministers of state never do feel work; and that deprived of the lounge and the emotions of the House in the evening they are ludicrously bored to kill time, as you may easily ascertain by comparing the look at about 10 P.M., wherever you may happen to meet him, of a Minister who is in the Lords, with the look of a statesman who has been fortunate enough not to be born into hereditary legislation—which may be defined as the privilege to do a good deal of work if the Commons would let you have it. Well, if Ministers don’t want inter-sessional holidays who does? Irish members, perhaps, who manage to correct the dissipations of the British metropolis by periodical resort to sea-sickness between Kingstown and Holyhead. But Irish members might contrive to arrange for that remedy by an agreement for periodical suspensions of Irish business, for in Imperial business they scorn to take an interest; and would the British public quarrel with a “compact” which diminished the frequency of Irish rows? Scotch members are too economical to indulge sentiment by unnecessary visits to their own, their native land; Mr. J. McGregor, for instance, considering himself in these days of rapid communication and cheap postage far too well known to the world generally to require him to be planted on his native heath, in order to communicate his name to gazetteers. Then, as to the mass of English members who glory in their crack club, “the House,” and who, though they have all plenty of personal affairs to look after, can always find more amusement for their evenings at Westminster than anywhere else—these ludicrous and inconsequent adjournments are so much positive injuries; and were the suggestion divided on, ninety-nine out of every hundred would vote against any sort of holiday. As regards the public, it can afford to have members killed off by bad ventilation; there are always a hundred candidates ready for every seat, and the public consequently has a distinct interest in the uninterrupted continuance of its principal “public amusement”—Parliamentary proceedings. In the grave business view of the matter, these adjournments are mischievous absurdities, and cause the loss of an immensity of money to promoters of private bills, and to the classes affected (and whose arrangements are thus anxiously suspended) by the legislation in progress—as in this instance, the many trades whom the Budget will revolutionize. Perhaps in these calculations we should consider the Speaker, who, simply because he has not direct mental occupation, would not live through a year of constant “sittings.” Doubtless: but Robert Inglis would meet the difficulty, and recommend a corps of Speakers—say a Trinity.

There was one reason, it may be, for this last holiday—Lord John’s health; for Lord John will not take Mr. Gladstone’s advice, not to over-exert himself, to take rest, change of air—to the House of Lords—and so on—but will totter into the “lead” of the House; and would rather have a bed made up for him on the table—the last of the Whigs treated like a petition!—than not be there at all. But it is becoming a question for a “strong Government,” whether it can afford to be led by an invalid. Lord John’s blunders in the management of the House during his own Premiership destroyed his Government, and he is quietly and carefully now undoing on one hand what Mr. Gladstone is doing on the other. Small defeats will, in the end, break up the strongest Government, for they destroy the prestige without which no Government can get on. Lord John’s notion seems to be, always, that if you take care of great questions, the small questions will take care of themselves; and accordingly, he is nailing his colours of civil and religious liberty to the mast, while the little leaks below are sinking the ship. Before Whitsuntide he put the Government in a minority on the Convents Inspection Bill—the result

of his incapacity to appreciate the tone of the House; and the first night the House meets after its breathe, he lets the Ministry be beaten on the estimate for the annual whitewashing of Maynooth—again, because he did not comprehend what is in progress, and made no arrangement to meet Mr. Spooner’s motion—Mr. Spooner, on the other hand, having packed his side, and tricked the Treasury benches. The Maynooth question is fought yearly in two ways. There is the struggle for the repeal of the permanent grant made by Sir Robert Peel in 1843; and there is Mr. Spooner’s small attempt, at last practically successful, to withhold the annual grant made to Maynooth as among other “public buildings;” and the latter is the “little go” of the bigots who, as they cannot get rid of the scarlet lady altogether, will not allow her to patch her cloak. The very meanness of the motion of Spooner should have been an argument for proper precaution; for the Government which might look liberal if defeated on the “great go,” looks ridiculous if plucked on the “little go.” Mr. Hayter sneaked out of the lobby into his whipper’s bureau after such a vote—contemplating, perhaps, his resignation—or Lord John’s, whose business it was to forewarn him—and, certainly, intending to write a few letters to the Maurice O’Connell class of Irish members, which would undoubtedly diminish their relish of the Dublin Exhibition—for when Government is beaten Mr. Gladstone cuts Mr. Hayter, and Mr. Hayter slashes the “traitor” Irish members; and as for Mr. Spooner, he strutted about the lobby, radiant, like a true-hearted Protestant, reveling in the consciousness that in 1853-4, panes of glass and chinks of doors in Maynooth should remain broken and unrepaired, and that if there must be a Host of Belial in Ireland the said Host shall suffer from lumbago; that if Anti-Christ is to be encouraged he shall have a catarrh. There were few Irish members in the House in the debate and division, and there were, therefore, none of the natural “rows” and “explanations,” which, at another period, would have followed such a significant event; but as members came out after the division, and returned to the coffee and cigars, from which the division bell had summoned them, they looked and spoke gravely, frowned at Mr. Spooner, and confidentially deplored, that just now, when a great exhibition is encouraging internationalism, and Irish Roman Catholics are inviting good feeling, and offering graceful hospitality to English officials, so *malapropos* an insult as this petty, spiteful vote should have been offered, and that the maladroit Russell should have permitted it. Accordingly, the smoking-room was unfavourable that evening to the great Whig chief; and the probability is, that those who were most vexed with him were the gentlemen who, to their intense disgust, had found themselves in the majority. It is a terrible select committee room this smoking-room; and if Mr. Spooner had been there, on Thursday, he might have corrected some errors as to the appreciation by this age of, even by pledged no-Popery senators of men of his class. One suggestion of the smoking-room is, that Mr. Spooner ought to be appointed as one of the inspectors of convents, for obvious reasons. Another is, that Lord John Russell cannot be in earnest about Jewish emancipation, or he would go up as a peer to plead the cause to the Lords. The Peelite Ministers will appreciate the sagacity of the hint all the more readily from observation of Lord John’s demeanour in the sudden debate which arose last night on this Regium Donum. Mr. Cobden, in an emphatic and most impressive speech, which fastened itself on the House, had elicited ringing cheers from the Ministerial side, by a bold declaration that the sort of sectarian strife created out of the ecclesiastical items of the miscellaneous estimates could not go on, and that the end of it all must be—the abolition of all state endowments of all religions. That declaration had stunned the Spooner side of the House, and if the warning had been permitted to pass—Mr. Cobden’s “religious” position giving weight to the threat—we should not for some months, not to prophesy more boldly, have heard any more of the cant which climaxes in anti-Maynooth window-mending motions. But Lord John thought a moment had arrived for sententiousness on civil and religious liberty; the elbows fell into the hands in the usual way; the House stared in dread expectancy of what was to be said for the Cabinet of the defeat of the preceding evening; and then Lord John, after a ludicrous confession—Mr. Hayter shuddered that he had been taken by surprise by Mr. Spooner—Mr. Spooner grinned—went on, “With respect, Sir, to the general question,” to announce that he differed from Mr. Cobden, and that the effect on his mind of the defeat was to induce him to reconsider his old theory for the destruction of the Irish difficulty, viz., the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland! The Treasury benches trembled; the candour was fatal, the blunder irremediable, as Exeter-hall will soon testify.

And Lord John, having made this *coup*, could not sit down without expressing his regret that Mr. Spooner was so ill-advised as to propose such amendments, which tended to promote religious discord. An Irish and Catholic member—Mr. Maguire—a journalist who is gradually getting a hearing for his very practical, and not too patriotic leading articles—caught cleverly at the point, and wondered “really,” amid cheers and laughter, at the correspondent of the Bishop of Durham rebuking Mr. Spooner for so small a provocation of sectarian warfare. Even Mr. ——— was applauded in correcting Lord John Russell, assuring his “noble friend,” in a thick voice and disengaged manner—it is Mr. ———’s style after eleven—that he (his noble friend) did not know what he was talking about; that business was business, and that the House couldn’t afford to “bother” itself with balancing between priests and parsons. “Surr,” said Mr. ——— in the midst of roars of laughter, “we must cut the painther, and sind for our priests as we sind for our docthors—only whin we want thum.” That was the tone of the significant, however short debate; the tone of anti-State Church, in the sense of indifferentism; and because it was so it was madness in the Leader of the House to raise a new suspicion on the part of the Spooners, without ensuring a single new friend from among the Liberals.

But Lord John’s blunders do not end with Thursday and Friday. He has matched Mr. Walpole’s proposal of a militia franchise by his notice of a bill to disfranchise dockyard labourers. The suicidal silliness of the Radical cheers which welcomed that proposal was noticed in this place at the moment; and the disapproval of the scheme has been deepening since among all classes of members—so careful and scrupulous a party man as Whig Mr. Tuffnell actually putting an amendment on the paper, and defying his chief with a counter and substitutive proposition of the Ballot. If Mr. H. Berkeley were wise he would throw over his own annual motion, and collect all his strength to try the Ballot question on Mr. Tuffnell’s amendment; for it could not but be carried; and if carried the question would immediately be:—If we protect intimidated Government employés in the Dock Yards, why not enfranchise all other classes of Government employés; and if we protect Government employés in general, why should we not protect also with the ballot the intimidated classes of the enlightened country generally? The Ballot Society have here their chance of the thin end of the wedge—that instrument which must be nearly worn out; and it is their business to see that their Parliamentary champion, the member for Bristol, does not mismanage a great opportunity. That, then, is the damaging position of Government. Lord John must go on to a defeat, or he must mimic Mr. Walpole and attribute his bill to a misconceived jest of Lord Aberdeen; and in either case the ballot is presented as the experimental remedy for the unqualified corruption and rascality of the majority of the constituencies in England—a great advance in position (which they don’t deserve) for the reformers. Lord John has fallen into this folly because he has generalized no rules of conduct for dealing with the electoral exposures. He is bewildered and he blunders. There are half a dozen writs still suspended; half a dozen commissions have been issued, each commission to end in a recommendation of disfranchisement; and still Lord John does not withdraw his undertaking to propose a reform bill in 1854, the probability then being that British constituencies will be practically lessened one-third in number, and there being no guarantee that any better morality will be practised by the voting bodies which remain, or would be created. Clearly Lord John is not logical, and his colleagues may be sure that they are only postponing their perplexity by refusing to face the question which is now every night put to them upon the successive motions for new writs—what is to be done to check the tendency of electoral society in this country to bribe and be bribed? The dilemma for Englishmen who regard their country as enlightened is, no doubt, very painful; to withhold a writ implies that the affected place is unworthy of the franchise; and to renew a writ when a member has been unseated for bribery implies indifference to recognised rascal practices. And the previous question of all for liberals is—if the countrymen we have enfranchised are such dead failures as independent electors, why add to the corruption by adding to the numbers of corruptors? Or if we cannot prevent national scoundrelism without secret voting why carry on the British constitution on false pretences? These are the inevitable inquiries and perplexities; the tone of the House of Commons at this moment leads to that logic; and, under such circumstances, a Reformer asking for a Reform Bill is a politician reduced *ad absurdum*. The Canterbury Commission affords comment on a great number of the movements of the day somewhat prejudicial to their

chances. Canterbury is a cathedral city, with an excess of ecclesiastical organization; and in such a case, proximity to churches being proved not to be identical with intimacy with Christianity, what is there left to say in favour of the Establishment? Then the voters who were bribed were poor voters; and the Radical remedy would increase the supply so as to reduce the price, and then when they could not get money to vote for, they would vote for conscience sake; or—give them the ballot—and they would take the money, and still vote for conscience sake. Again, the corruptors are the party for Church and State. Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, whose name was mentioned, and who is proved to have given a large sum of money for corrupt purposes, will, of course, be summoned, and placed in the witness box, there to be treated by the indignant and ingenuous Anstey as roughly as Mr. Coppock was in the St. Alban's inquiry: and what a magnificent spectacle it will be for the hyper-Protestant party which selected Mr. Mackenzie, as the most likely and pious man for no-popery Liverpool, to behold that gentleman in the confessional, narrating the ways and means by which the country which is proud of the Reformed Religion, and abhors Maynooth for its "sinful teachings," is bought up for Lord Derby, the Protestant and the chivalrous! And when Mr. Mackenzie, an M.P., has contritely confessed, will the House punish him as they talk of punishing Mr. Stafford? And if Mr. Mackenzie, who else? If Lord John acts up to the spirit of his Dock Yards Bill and his vote against Sir Frederick Smith in the Chatham case, he would rapidly produce this double result: he would abolish all the constituencies, and not leave a single member! For a "leader" that is a very brave policy, but puzzling in a man who has a Reform Bill nearly due.

The four days holiday would have been a great gain to public business if Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli had returned with a policy for their party: but there are no signs that so desirable an idea has yet been hit on by those personages. They find fault—it is the only defect they can detect—in the coalition for postponing all principles: but how far more unlucky are the Tories—that they have no principles even to postpone. Lord Derby, we may conceive, has a possible policy: he may fall back upon the intense Toryism which will always be a distinguished feature of large masses of influential English society: and as the leader of the bigoted and the backward—those who pray for sectarian legislation, and insist on class legislation—he will always, safe from contempt in his peerage and his wealth, be a conspicuous and very powerful politician. But this is not the policy, we may presume to take for granted, which Mr. Disraeli would sanction, or would contribute to. It seems understood, indeed, that he is bent upon making a vast effort to lift his friends to a level with his own conceptions of the true principles and purpose of a Conservative party. Mr. Disraeli, in 1853, desires to see again the party he had built up in 1846—the party which was sneeringly called "Young England," but which he regarded as the true Conservative confederation on the genuine Tory basis. The Protection—versus Free Trade—struggle, which destroyed so much, and created so much, swept away the brilliant band of Young Englanders; but, that struggle over, and the new commercial policy accepted, the Conservative party is now where it was in 1846—in that position which Coningsby sketched—and now Mr. Disraeli feels himself prompted again to apply his re-creative theories. And he has this advantage now which he did not possess before,—there are at present no Whigs. Mr. Gladstone has taken up national finance where Sir Robert Peel left it, and Mr. Gladstone is the Government; the Radicals are now where they were in 1846, not an inch more practical or more powerful. The Liberals are as ready to follow Mr. Gladstone as they were to follow Sir Robert Peel. And of the Conservative party Mr. Disraeli may ask now as he asked before, "What is it that we have to conserve?" He could not have a completer chaos: there never was a better chance for "the coming man." Will he arrive? Mr. Disraeli is too accurate in his perceptions not to see that a party was never kept together by negatives; and that the attitude which the Derbyites have taken up since their expulsion from office,—the attitude of a sulky opposition, profling no plans—is ruinous: it has already given many votes to the Coalition, and it has rendered those who remain in gruff allegiance not only discontented, but contemptuous. Mr. Disraeli is also too unerring in his calculations not to observe that Lord Derby has had his opportunity, and missed it, and will never get a second chance—no man ever did; and that the party which appearances indicate Lord Derby is now left to lead—the stupid and the selfish oligarchical classes—while it will always be strong, will never again succeed in England. Mr. Disraeli has, consequently, only

one course to take—to wrench himself away out of the reach of the Spooner and Newdegate sections, and to proclaim a principle, and lead a new party—the new-constructed and so-called Young England party. Several circumstances combined to present that amiable confederation in a ludicrous point of view to the public, but it had this merit—if "Coningsby" and "Sybil" were its old and new Testament: that its principles were comprehensible, and that its policy, as a programme, was noble and generous. And this is certain, that it was the only party in which Mr. Disraeli would not look out of place—a great advantage for an ambitious statesman. This is a party which is constructible out of the Tory Opposition, for where is the link between Lord Stanley or Lord J. Manners, and Mr. Spooner or Mr. Napier? It is a party which would diminish extensively the "Liberal" ranks, for where is Lord Goderich's place among Whigs or Peelites? It is a party which would be nearer the people than any other party, for the debate on the Stocking-weavers' Bill a month ago have demonstrated, as factory acts debates have demonstrated before, and as the factory acts debates threatened again by Mr. Cobbett, will again demonstrate—that the landed aristocracy sympathize with the masses more than the monied aristocracy do, simply because they can indulge charity without injuring their interests; and Mr. Disraeli has had experience, as a man governing a nation as a class champion, that there is no power where there is not popular support. But to create such a party it is not enough to pass the word to abuse the coalition, or to fasten upon the weaknesses and to ridicule the inconsistencies and the sillinesses of individuals. England does not love coalitions: and does not hate them; it ignores individuals, and judges of Governments by their acts. The gossip of clubs does not govern the polity of a nation; you cannot interest a people whom electoral exposures do not prove very high-minded in the mass, in the objectionableness of men, while their measures win almost universal approval. But a time comes, even for strong coalitions, and opponents should prepare for it by providing themselves with prospects and policies. Meanwhile, an indifferent community does not appreciate epigrams, more particularly bad ones. Even a Junius would not answer in an age, in which the measures are so much greater than the men.

All this is suggested with a view to seeing Mr. Disraeli released from a bondage in which he is not natural, and therefore not successful. In suitable circumstances he would interest us and amuse us; and the public which admires him, and has still faith in him, would gladly help him in an effort at self-emancipation. They would give him again the power he covets, if he has the boldness to arrange a Tory party fit for power; and that is only to be accomplished by the destruction of the existing Tory party. But Mr. Disraeli and England must preliminarily understand one another; and they don't at present. The delusions which he seeks to sustain are not even tacitly admitted. He is not regarded as the "Protestant leader" he pretends to be. He is not supposed to be the natural organizer of the "territorial aristocracy." The Mr. Disraeli of "public life" is accurately known to be a foreign gentleman, above all national prejudices, and of a generous and cosmopolitan disposition, adequately enabling him to take very profound views of our history and of our contemporary politics; for some time figuring as an actor—an advocate—and succeeding in a wonderful performance—making a brilliant defence; but, at present, mistaking his rôle, and confounding his clients with his friends. In short, England knows that there has been a real Mr. Disraeli and an histrionic Mr. Disraeli; and that the real Mr. Disraeli is to be found in the books, and not in the speeches. That, however, the books may be spoken; and that if they were, the Mr. Disraeli of 1853 could vindicate the Mr. Disraeli of 1832; and prove, in the end, the most practical "leader" of his time.

THE STRANGER.

Saturday Morning.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.*

V.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION—RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TUTORS' ASSOCIATION.

EVERY plan of University extension supported by the Tutors' Association carefully preserves "the principle of domestic and personal superintendence by recognised Tutors." It declares the number to be probably inconsiderable of those who would wish to modify the present collegiate system, and affirms that the class of "University students" could but receive an education of a very inferior description, while it would almost necessarily be exempt from the existing domestic control and discipline. "If large, it would affect and deteriorate our moral and educational sys-

tem." In dealing with the assumptions of existing interests, we have repeatedly to complain of exaggerations, painful from the contrast afforded by their actual working. We have often heard of the solemn charges of Deans and Chapters, that we should deal with the heritage of Christ as we would be dealt with at the last day. The Bishop of Exeter talks of the sacred obligations of statutes which he knows to be hourly infringed; and Oxford tutors of deterioration to "our moral and educational system." Our moral and educational system! In the face, too, of evidence so voluminous, so ratified by national opinion, that the difficulty of selection is only equalled by its inutility. "As to personal superintendence," to take the testimony of Professor Wall alone, "if any parent thinks when he enters his son at a college he necessarily puts him where his moral and intellectual training will be carefully watched over by a tutor, I can only assure him he is under a pleasing delusion. What personal superintendence can a tutor exercise over twenty or thirty pupils, young men who must be left to themselves for the greater part of the day, who have their own rooms, and are as much separated from their tutor as if they lived at the other end of the town." Our moral system! Gentlemen, we know something of it; *et nos in Arcadiâ fuimus*. Our system!

We repeat, the Association is not hearty in the cause of University extension, or of Collegiate reform. They know well that any great extension would, to use Mr. Congreve's words, render the present system of discipline obsolete. They take care in this their first, and, so far as we know, their only Report, to pledge themselves against any satisfactory and sufficient solution of the question at issue. They desire no change in the present system and mode of education. They do not venture beyond the trammels of subscription and Church membership, and, we doubt not, they take infinite credit for this their opposition to latitudinarianism. And they see neither industry nor morality beyond the *status pupillaris*. They would have the style to run, "The Chancellor, Tutors, and Pupils of the University of Oxford," in place of the time-honoured form, "Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars." Under their guidance we should get to the "young gentlemen" and the silver spoon at last.

A deduction follows, from a cursory inspection of the names forming the Committee of the Association, and from an examination of such evidence as we possess from its members, not favourable to the confidence they would claim, nor to the encomiums which their labours have here and there received. The names of Messrs. Church, Fanshawe, Haddan, Marriott, Marshall, Tweed, and Woolcombe—seven out of eleven—are not found among those whose evidence is embodied in the Commissioners' Report. This must be ascribed to a refusal to notice the questions circulated. We say that the silence of this large majority of the committee betrays the animus of the Association. Of the remaining four, Mr. Rawlinson, disregarding the subject of extension, confines his evidence to that of college and private tutors. Mr. Melville having, as Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, a strong faith in independent Halls, sees nothing in University extension but a question of expense. Of Durham itself we may remark, in Mr. Blackett's words, that it has succeeded, in a comparatively short period, in attaining the same perfection of mismanagement which distinguishes Oxford and Cambridge. Mr. Lake, on the principle of *nil admirari*, prefaces his observations with the words, "You have implied that some such extension is needed, and I am therefore not called upon to inquire into that point." The very caricature of caution! "Some such extension." And lastly, Mr. Mansel denies that any great scheme of University extension is practicable in the present day. "The amiable enthusiasm which dwells fondly on the memory of 30,000 students in the days of Henry III. must rank with the mediæval dilettantism which sighs for the bygone days of hobby-horses and Abbots of Unreason. I have no great faith in any of those projects of reform which proceed on the principle of making the Universities the direct instructors of the great body of the nation." It may be so; perhaps the disinclination was father to the distrust. But Mr. Mansel may as well be assured in good time that the national temper will not suffer them to rest as they are, and, as we fear, he would desire them to continue, useless and extravagant sinecures. No man is qualified to discuss this question who is not aware that there is no vitality in Oxford as she is. Even Lord John Russell shakes his official finger at this tardy insincerity which threatens to deprive Oxford of the honour and advantages of self-reform. We care little about the collection of 30,000 students at Oxford, but we care much for the character of the education that shall radiate thence as from a centre, and for the classes to be admitted to its advantages. We look for an

* See Leader Nos. 153, 154, 155, 157.

extension that shall break down the distinctions of caste and creed worshipped by the Tutors' Association, and for a reform that shall render an Oxford education an object worthy of the energies of all. "What can you do with your man when you have educated him?" asks Mr. Mansel—a strange question surely from an educator; and he proceeds to knock down cleverly certain hypothetical ninepins which he has grouped together. Perhaps we shall do better for all parties, than if we made an idle fellow of him. Perhaps an university *testamur* will be as intrinsically valuable in England as it is officially now in Germany. Perhaps when we have a national system of education (though, for all the pompous announcements of Lord John, it is distant as the Greek Calends) the Universities will be the direct instructors of the nation again. Perhaps also the results will fall short of our expectations. At least, however, they will not be less than those which will flow from the "principle" solely recommended by the Association. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. Enough has been said to dispose of "the principle." "The principle" has well nigh disposed of Oxford.

The best, indeed the only satisfactory part of Lord John Russell's speech on Education, (apart from the promise of a municipal rate, which will prove better in tendency than in present efficiency,) is that which refers to the Universities. The *Times*, that chartered libertine, which sneers at what it commends, and praises to-day what it will assuredly condemn to-morrow, may talk of schemes of national education being as easily framed as castles of cards, and ending in general disappointment—though Mr. W. J. Fox cited the examples of Ireland, Canada, and the United States, in proof of what is possible,—but it is lamentable to see yet another wasted opportunity for doing the State incalculable service added to the many irretrievably past. It argues utter and alarming ignorance or disregard of the true wants of the country, of the very import of education, to go on stitching at this wearisome patchwork of attempts to reconcile the Church Catechism with the Protestant Manual, and men who care for neither with both. Here are hours of solemn palaver quibbled away in used-up formulas, and customary cheers about the "rules of religion and morality," and commendations of that "right instinct of the people," which declares that "all the great doctrines of Christianity" shall be taught in a system of national education. "What, all?" And so the living are to be still tied to the dead, and our children shall not be taught their duties as citizens, nor instructed how best to use and preserve their rights; shall be debarred from the thousand advantages which attend mental cultivation, while their moral, no less than their physical, growth is stunted and distorted; shall be kept ignorant of the natural laws on which their own physical well-being, and that of their posterity for generations depends, because we will not consent to give them over bound hand and foot to State-church parsons and discordant ministers; because in the great name, and for the great interests of humanity, we refuse to warp their minds into the bitter sectarianism, the abject superstition of their fathers. When shall we see the last of this puerility, this perpetual sowing of new pieces (of very sorry texture too) upon old garments? How many more miserable failures are we destined to carry out and bury before we have a Minister bringing to bear on this paramount subject honesty, courage, and common sense? In Lord John Russell's circumlocutions we see no such qualities. He has sacrificed them (whatever intentions we may give him credit for) to the Coalition, or to the Church: and yet the matter was not forced upon him. His position is a compromise. He volunteers to mount the breach, and straightway preaches that discretion is the better part of valour. Who does not wish the municipalities joy of the prospect before them?—they dwell together in such unity now. They had better proceed to screen off a corner of the Town Hall as a vestry for the chaplains of all denominations, whose assistance will be needed to determine what are "all the great doctrines of Christianity." Near Hyde-park-square is a tailor's establishment, where hebdomadal expositions (and the shop) are advertised, "Christians" being kindly invited to attend. Profit in every way may be made, and we endorse the invitation. Depend on it there are "secular advantages" in store for those who qualify to determine "all the great doctrines."

For his four propositions concerning University reform, and which will be found in our Parliamentary abstract, it is commendation enough that Lord John is threatened with no support from Sir Robert Inglis. They embody the leading suggestions of the Commissioners, and destroy at a stroke the Report of the Tutors' Association, by insisting on the admission of students unconnected with a college or hall. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, is consoled by the reservation that the mode in which these students are to be introduced

shall not impair the present discipline of Oxford. We do not see how that discipline, administered almost absolutely by tutors and Heads of Houses, can survive the approaching changes. That a full University discipline will be established is a matter of course. None but the tutors and Sir Robert Inglis expect that Chaos is about to come again.

In the most important and essential particular of all, Lord John fails to encourage our just expectations. This is, of course, the weak point of his speech in two out of its three divisions. The Minister admits the necessity of national education, and rejects the sole possible mode of effecting it. He declares his belief that the Universities were intended, and ought to be, great institutions for the benefit of the country; and he passes in silence over the means by which their NATIONALIZATION is to be effected. After all, then, the Tutors' Association may take heart. *Tout est perdu fors l'Eglise*; a weighty reservation,—if it could be perpetual. How little this Association appreciates or entertains the question of true University extension is shown by the concluding words of their Report, in which they disclaim the high position we challenge for Oxford. "The University seems to us imperatively called upon to take immediate steps to secure that place at the head of the Church education of the country which is hers by inheritance—hers by the purpose of her founders—hers hitherto by the consent of the country at large!" The country at large, we suspect, will think an extension limited to the effectual superintendence of "the Church education of the country" a very satisfactory proposition to all "Bishops and Curates," if to none beside. Or perhaps it will ascribe a more comprehensive meaning to the words, and hold that the Church of John Bird of Canterbury, and Henry of Exeter, of Gorham and Bennett, of Denison and Gilbert Eliot, of Prince Lee, of the Manchester school of Theology, and Samuel of Oxford, may yet embrace a further variety of opinions, and admit within its protecting arms all creeds, and—no creed.

That question of subscription, on which the nationalization of Oxford depends, the Commissioners were instructed not to entertain; but less "discreet" than Lord John, from whom their instructions issued, they call attention to the strong opinion recorded in the evidence against the continuance of the present policy. It is singular that Mr. Clough advises the abolition of subscription, partly on the ground that sons of rich Dissenters who ought to go to Oxford and Cambridge, and of whom Oxford and Cambridge might make very much what they pleased, are kept away merely by University tests (*Ev.* 213). Mr. Wall also (*Ev.* 147) holds out something of a like *ad captandum* argument. The Commissioners advocate the abolition of the subscription on better grounds. They express their conviction that the imposition of subscription in the manner in which it is now imposed in the University of Oxford, habituates the mind to give a careless assent to truths which it has never considered, and naturally leads to sophistry in the interpretation of solemn obligations. Certainly "the manner in which it is imposed" is *sui generis*. The matriculating student signs his name in a book to which the articles are prefixed, and sometimes he is told by the Vice-Chancellor, or Pro-Vice-Chancellor, that he "thereby expresses his assent to the articles, so far as he knows them;" sometimes that "he probably has not read them, but that he has no objection to them." Thirty-nine or ninety-three, what matters it? It does matter, however, to the "passed" undergraduate. On the morning of taking his degree he breakfasts with the Sub-Rector, or the Dean of Chapel, who, after a preliminary attack on the tea and "commons," reads with no great affectation of solemnity, but with judicious rapidity, as many articles as will not interfere with appetite or digestion. The book is then laid aside, and after a necessary interval of conversation and mastication, is resumed, and so on. Certainly in this case it does matter much how many articles are ordained in the Church, the reading of them being an essential preliminary to the degree.

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,
That makes her loved at home, revered abroad."

But we mean Oxford, and with a difference.

There is a higher ground of objection to these subscriptions. Did it not occur to Lord John, when he drew his elaborate distinction between the rights of our ecclesiastical establishment and system, and the political and civil rights of all citizens, that the Universities are the very ground on which, above any other, the compatibility of the two ought to be tested, and will be tested? Let Dissenters bear this in mind now. But in all honesty and plainness we tell them that they will merit the postponement of their expectations, the absolute defeat of their demands for the present, if they hesitate in requiring the total secularization of the Universities. It is not enough to require the abolition of the subscription to the Articles, or of chapel atten-

dance. They must propose or permit no substitute; no general expression of adhesion to "all the great doctrines of Christianity," nay, nor to any, whether at matriculation or on graduating. Let the Divinity chairs remain for those who require or expect instruction in monastic and Byzantine theology. How they are to afford it is another matter. But let no stigma attach to the man who disclaims those instructions, and who dares to pursue a nobler and more religious education in the cultivation of studies that may "serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability."

It is absolutely too late to talk of Oxford standing at the head of the Church education of the country. There is no such thing. No man accepts anything of the kind for his children. Quiet and pleasant places there are indeed—pretty numerous, too—under the shadow of the parsonage, where children are gathered together, and catechism and collects largely cultivated; where clergymen are great, and visitors edified and interested; and these are called centres of Church education. Many are the lambs gathered into these folds, and numerous the pence collected, to the edification of Mr. Ball; but it is simply to commit a wrong to talk of playthings as education. Oxford has other work to do than to consecrate this delusion, and we trust before long to see that the sentimental commendations of Mr. Gladstone will fail to protect the governing body of the University from a change absolutely subversive of the present "principle." What avail words of farcically solemn phraseology against facts such as those to which we have called attention? Statutes broken systematically and daily; founders' intentions set at naught; University endowments diverted from their legitimate application; professorial instruction suppressed, and superseded by tutorial teachings of such a character that, as we are informed by the Dean of Ely, 80,000*l.* are paid annually for private tuition in Cambridge alone; religious services and chapel attendance desecrated—all shams are desecrations—by their use as *means of punishment*; subscriptions carelessly, laughingly, scoffingly, as well as sincerely made—such is the moral and religious education of the University. On the logic of these facts we rely. Stop an avalanche, but you will not stop the course on which we have entered now. Lord John may play the courtier to Canute, but the sea rises and flows. We have no fear that it can be stayed.

CERTAIN TENDENCIES OF THE NEW COMMUTATION OF THE DEBT.

[THE observations that appeared in our columns of the 16th of April on this subject, from an esteemed occasional contributor, have elicited the following letter, to which we subjoin the reply of the original writer, so as to present to our readers in a compact shape the two aspects of the interesting question in debate.]

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—The remarks of your correspondent on the above subject hardly appear to have been exhaustive enough, and consequently are liable to create impressions which practice may prove to be erroneous, but which being encouraged in the present conjuncture would unreasonably prejudice the propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As the matter is one of interest to the payers as well as the receivers, to the tax payer as well as the stockholder, perhaps you will permit a few observations as an appendix to those of your correspondent.

It may be, that "there is little probability of the conversion taking place in the new 3½ per cent. stock while the 2½ is open," the first having an ultimate claim for 82*l.* 10*s.*, and the last for 110*l.* per cent., but it is probable also that there are many stockholders of large amount who look to their investments for income only, and who would forego an increased ultimate claim for the present consideration of even 2*s.* 9*d.* per cent. revenue.

Omitting this probability, which perhaps is not highly important, your correspondent appears to lay too much stress upon the assumption that the conversion will be into the 2½ per cent. stock, by which the debt is to be increased 10*l.* per cent. at the expiration of forty years, and the accumulations of interest are to be diminished by new expenses or diminution of taxes. Now, if the present arrangements are continued for forty years, it is clear that at the end of that time we shall have the same capital to pay, having meanwhile paid the 10*l.* as interest, whereas under the proposed arrangement we may accumulate the interest as a sinking fund, and at the end of forty years our debt will stand at its present amount, after which, the accumulation still proceeding, the expiration of a second term of forty years would see the capital of the debt actually reduced 10*l.* per cent., and so on successively until its extinction. Allowing, however, that diminished taxation would absorb the remitted interest, the public of forty years hence, if they should know the history of our day in its relation to that of their own, will not have great cause of complaint. If, for instance, the remitted interest should be absorbed in the repeal of the duty on paper, soap, malt, hops, newspapers, wine, or other things, it is very certain that the tax-paying powers of the country will be increased to a far greater extent than the amount of tax remitted, or the amount of interest employed to effect it. The public of forty years hence would be rather likely to congratulate itself upon having obtained a really free trade, and an increased tax-paying power at so small

a cost as the 50,000,000*l.*, which by Mr. Gladstone's proposition might, perhaps, be bequeathed to them.

The third alternative is capable of being viewed in a manner different from that of your correspondent. Instead of the indefinite reserve of labour and skill assumed, we have in your columns reports of the steady advance of wages through the country, showing that "the reserve of labour always at command" has been trenched upon considerably. Scarcity of labour is not confined to home. We hear from America that so scarce and bad are the seamen now obtainable, that for economy's sake it will soon be prudent to have steam-engines to make and set the sails. Our markets are not stationary. The business of buying in England for America increases year after year. Yankees and Canadians are looked for as regularly now in the manufacturing markets as the London buyer. Mexico is promising an increase of custom. India is not only increasing in territorial boundaries, but its native inhabitants, rapidly Europeanising in manners and ideas, are acquiring a taste, indeed a necessity for our products, which is not likely to limit our trade there at present. Beyond these few instances, and others which might be mentioned, there are the Australian colonies, whose wants for some time to come will of themselves add materially to the demands upon our productive capabilities. Labour, therefore, being not unlimited, and our markets obviously extending, with prices all over the world rising, the position of the commercial agency in this country does not appear to be so hopeless as is assumed. Nor does the mobilization of the debt to the extent of thirty millions appear so erroneous and uncalled for, nor the danger to the country and its institutions in "a fever excited to madness," so imminent as your correspondent anticipates.

I read your article with pleasure, inasmuch as it enabled me more thoroughly to understand the subject than before, though my conclusions differ. Whether my reasonings or yours are the juster your readers will judge, and time may show.—I am, sir, yours obediently,

GEORGE WALLER.

London, April 18, 1853.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—I have to thank you for a perusal of Mr. Waller's letter, which I return to you with a hope that it will appear forthwith. The following remarks on it are all that time permits:—

The proposition of Mr. Waller, that a reduction of interest will operate to our benefit, after it shall have compensated for an addition to the principal, is no doubt correct, if we admit also two suppositions. One of these is, that the debt now commuted is to remain without discharge or diminution,—the other is, that the ordinary rate of interest will not be lower than three per cent. If the first of these be not true, then there will remain no interest on which to effect a saving, and we shall have paid the 10*l.* capital into which the saving of interest was converted. If the second should not be the fact, then we might have diminished the interest without increasing the capital. As I said before, Mr. Gladstone's plan looks to the permanence of the debt; it looks not less to the permanence of the present rates of interest.

Mr. Waller truly says, that money in the pockets of the people may be made to earn more than will pay the interest of the same sum in the hands of the public creditor. But if this argument will justify Mr. Gladstone's plan, it will also show that any repayment or diminution of the debt, past, present, or future, is a mistake in policy. But in truth, our large taxation consequent on the debt has other vast evils beyond its mere amount. If our taxes, instead of being fifty-two millions, were twenty-five or twenty-six millions, as they would be without the charges of the debt, half our political difficulties, and not a few social difficulties, would be extinguished. It is, therefore, not enough to compare the money we earn with the capital of the debt, with that we pay for interest; the question comprehends much more than that, and they were right who did what they could to diminish the debt.

This would be true were the debt due to foreigners, and the capital were to be clean taken away on repayment. But, in fact, repayment would not be by so much an abstraction from the total productive power of the country, but only a transfer of capital from the active debtor members of the community to inactive creditor members. The creditor members, when paid off, must bestir themselves like other people to make their capital profitable, and so add their own working energies to the former total productive power. Mr. Waller can hardly conclude that Mr. Gladstone would make us richer, freer, or stronger, by keeping one part of us in debt to the other.

My objection to the new Exchequer Bonds is, I think, not diminished by Mr. Waller's argument, when the facts are clearly understood. In the ordinary state of things I was describing, there seems to me evidently "a reserve of labour always at command;" no doubt that reserve is just now much touched on. I said, we are now within the descent to the rapids. The influx of gold is one cause of the rise of prices, and the consequent demand for labour. Another cause, probably, is to be found in the fact, occurring now as on former occasions, that during the five or six years which have elapsed since the last panic, a part of the mercantile community who learned caution from that convulsion, have been replaced by younger men, less

disposed than they had learned to be to restrict the operation of credit.

The demand for goods, and the rise of prices, are of no value to us, except they originate in an actual increase of consumption, beyond the contemporary increase in our power of production. If it came of an increase of gold equally diffused all over the world, it would only be of service to us negatively,—that is, it would be an evil if it did not occur; but it would alter none of our relations for the better. If, as is most likely, our increase of prices is occasioned in great part by an increase of gold and credit, which, as yet, is local, then we may look for evil days; for it will only lead us to lay out our energies on products which will not realize their high cost at points the tide-wave of gold has not yet reached.

But Mr. Waller refers to several parts of the world as constituting expanding markets for our goods. Let us look at the facts, remembering that it is an increase of markets we need to find. America is affected by much the same causes as ourselves. The appearance of American buyers in our manufacturing towns is no novelty, as my own knowledge for forty years past assures me. Mexico must both improve her government wonderfully, and learn the good policy of a low tariff, before her seven or eight millions of people, scattered over a country almost half as large as India, with its one hundred and fifty millions, can render us much service as customers. The inhabitants of India are "becoming Europeanised," in comparatively small numbers, at the Presidencies, and in a few other cities; but the vast bulk of them are altogether guiltless of consuming European commodities; and they must remain so, while they have no means of sending their goods to the coast at a cost which enables them to meet other countries in the general markets of the world. On a line of more than one hundred miles long, starting at forty miles from one of the seats of our government, I had reason to believe there was neither pump nor wheelbarrow; there was certainly no wind or water-mill, and, probably, not a doctor. I found a town of seven thousand inhabitants in which all the smiths in the place could not muster half a hundredweight of iron, and from which a carpenter must travel fifty miles to buy an English chisel. Men have been met, and in no remarkable solitudes, travelling forty miles to grind their bill-hooks, ready for the season which required them. India is a customer to us at the rate of 11*l.* per head per annum; South America, with, however, only twenty-five millions of people, buys of us at the rate of more than 8*s.* per head per annum. India is ready for any increase of industry and of consumption; but without roads she sits idle and powerless. Our colonies, valuable as they are, cannot possibly afford us an increase of demand of much more than one million per annum, or say twice as much.

Mr. Waller rightly looks to extended and extending markets as the true means of balancing the effects of extended production, through increasing prices, occasioned by increase of floating capital or its substitutes. The object of the foregoing remarks is to show that no such extended and extending markets are available to us. I beg to suggest to him to look over a map of the world, to enquire into the extent and condition of the population of its various countries, into the circumstances affecting our commercial relations with them, and into the accessibility of their people and products; and I shall venture to predict he will conclude we have at present no such extensible field as he now supposes, and that we have, in our own power, only one means of providing such a field, and that is the neglected means which India presents. In necessary consistency with these views I still hold, as I believe Mr. Waller also must in the end, that to add thirty millions of Exchequer Bonds within a brief period to our present capital available for productive purposes, is a measure which, in our present circumstances, can hardly fail "to inflame a fever to madness."

Let it not be supposed that I look with any pleasure on stunted markets, a half employed people, and their consequence a dominant plutocracy. I hold the normal state to be that of full employment and equal independence on all sides. The condition of our people in the brief fits of our most energetic periods gives us glimpses of what it should be in ordinary. What I maintain is, that that state cannot be reached for permanence by means of any artificial stimulus—that the attempt so to reach it without markets to carry off the products, leads only to violent oscillations of condition—that we are now on the upward part of such an oscillation—and that Mr. Gladstone's Exchequer Bonds will carry us to a greater height only to bring us afterwards to a greater fall.

I remain, sir, yours obediently,

J. C.

London, April 20, 1853.

INCOME AND PROPERTY TAX.

THE project of our correspondent, whose intelligent communication we have inserted in our "Open Council," may be described as a half-successful empirical groping after what we take to be the true principle of Taxation. The

writer discerns that property is the true subject-matter of taxation; but he imagines that an intangible advantage of circumstances in earning income is property.

If he had begun by inquiring for the work done of which taxes are the payment, we believe he would have come, on this point, to a different conclusion. "Good-will," although property in the single sense of being saleable, is *not* property in any sense which subjects it to taxation. In so far as the effect of "good-will" raises the selling value of any material objects, through the use of which that "good-will" operates, it is rightly taxed; but in so far as "good-will" depends on the qualities of the man who has possessed and is selling the business, it would be just as reasonable to tax singly diligence, skill, method, integrity, persuasiveness, or any other of the virtues or qualities of which the concrete effect is "good-will," as to tax the "good-will" itself.

Our correspondent, under the fourth head, makes some perfectly just remarks, which appear to us to indicate that he approaches at least the true principle. But when he translates income into capital, for the sake of classing it with capital in taxation, he betrays himself into inconsistencies, such as that of his distinction between the "good-will of a physician's and that of a surgeon's business."



Open Council.

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

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

THE LAW AS TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF OATHS.*

II.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—“It is certain,” says Mr. Best, “that the enunciation of truth and eloignement of wilful falsehood, among men in their intercourse with each other, are secured by three guarantees, or sanctions: the *natural* sanction, the *moral* or *popular* sanction, and the *religious* sanction. And, first, of the natural sanction. Mutual confidence between man and man being indispensable to the acquisition of knowledge, the happiness of the human race, and, indeed, to the very existence of society, the author of nature has planted the springs of truth very deep in the human breast. According to Bentham, the natural sanction is altogether physical in its nature, arising out of a love of ease, and memory being prompter than invention. Bentham mentions the *sympathetic* sanction as a branch of the natural one, describing it to be the feeling by which we are deterred from falsehood, by regret for the pain and injury which it may cause others.

“The *moral* sanction may be described in a word. Men having found the advantages of truth, and inconveniences of falsehood, in their mutual intercourse, and, perhaps, further actuated by the reflection that truth is in conformity with the will of God, and the laws of nature, have, by general consent, affixed the brand of disgrace on voluntary departure from it; and hence, as observed by several authors, the infamy attached to the word ‘liar.’

“Thirdly, there is the *religious* sanction, which is founded on the belief that truth is acceptable, and falsehood abhorrent to the Governor of the universe, and that he will in some way reward the one and punish the other.”—*Principles of Evidence*, &c., by W. M. Best, A.M., LL.B., (pp. 11, 12, 13.) To these three sanctions of truth, the municipal laws of most countries have added a fourth, the *legal* or *political* sanction, which consists in erecting false testimony into an offence cognizable by penal justice.

“As the mode of applying the religious sanction,

* See Leader, No. 154.

Courts of justice, in most nations, exact an oath, (*i. e.*, a recognition, by the speaker, of the presence of an invisible Being, superior to man, ready and willing to punish the deviation from truth,—invoking that Being to attest the truth of what is uttered, and, in some cases, calling down his vengeance, in the event of falsehood,) as a condition precedent to the reception of evidence; and, among us in particular, '*non creditur nisi juratis*,' and '*jurato creditur in judicio*,' have been legal maxims from the earliest times. Hence it follows that the evidence of a witness must be rejected, who either is ignorant, or does not believe in the existence of such a superior power, or refuses to give the required security to the truth of his testimony.

"The celebrated case of *Omychund v. Barker*, established the great and sound principle, that courts of justice are not schools of theology, that the object of the law in requiring an oath is to get at the truth, relative to the matters in dispute, by obtaining a hold on the conscience of the witness, and, consequently, that every person is admissible to give evidence, who believes in a Divine Being, the avenger of falsehood and perjury among men, and consents to invoke, by some binding ceremony, the attestation of that power to the truth of his deposition.

But how is the belief of the proposed witness on these subjects to be ascertained? It is clear that unbelief in the existence and moral government of God is not to be presumed; if such exist, they are psychological facts, and consequently incapable of proof, except by the avowal of the party himself, or the presumption arising from circumstances. According to most of our text writers, and the usual practice, the proper and regular mode is by examining the party himself (p. 182). "The object is not to pry into the speculative views of the witness, but to enable the tribunal to estimate his trustworthiness, in accordance with which it is fully established that he cannot be questioned as to any particular religious opinion, nor even whether he believes in the Old or New Testament. No question can be asked, beyond Whether he believes in a God, the avenger of falsehood; and can designate a mode of swearing which he considers binding on his conscience; and if he answer this latter question in the affirmative, he cannot be asked whether he considers any other mode more binding, for such a question is superfluous. And we apprehend, that although the questions may be put, a witness is not bound to answer, if he is an Atheist or a Theist, for by so doing he might expose himself to an indictment under the 9th and 10th William III., c. 32, and perhaps also at Common Law; and it is an established principle that no man is bound to criminate himself" (p. 185). If, therefore, an Atheist, upon the questions being put, refuses to answer on the above ground, but states that he considers the oath, administered in the common form, binding on his conscience, we apprehend that the judge would not presume, from his claiming his right not to answer, that he had not the necessary belief to enable him to take an oath; because, as has been before said, "unbelief is not to be presumed." To disqualify such a man from taking an oath, other evidence must be given, such as proof of his declarations previously made to others, &c. Now, if this statement of the law be correct, I do not see how Mr. Commissioner Phillips was justified in refusing to allow Mr. Holyoake to take the oath in the Insolvent Court. Mr. Holyoake stated that the oath administered in the usual form would be legally binding upon his conscience, and offered to take it in the usual form, and with the customary ceremonies. There was no evidence before the commissioner to show that Mr. Holyoake had not the necessary religious belief. Mr. H. said he did not wish his taking the oath in the usual manner to be considered as "a confession of his faith," *i. e.*, that "he did not wish to be bound by the faith of a Christian;" he also told the commissioner that he gave "the precedence to the duties of this life over considerations which pertain to another world," and he declined saying whether or not he believed in God, as "he could not answer that question with the brevity the court would require." Nothing fell from Mr. Holyoake to justify the Commissioner in coming to the conclusion, that that gentleman did not believe "in the existence of God, and that Divine punishment would be the certain consequence of perjury." Mr. Commissioner Phillips must, in the absence of any evidence to prove, have presumed, contrary to law, that Mr. Holyoake did not believe "in the existence and moral government of God." Mr. Commissioner Ryland, properly, did not "presume" any such unbelief, and therefore allowed Mr. Holyoake to be sworn in the Chancery suit (*Russell v. Jackson*), as stated in the *Leader* of December 11th last.

With your permission, I will return to this subject.

A BARRISTER.

THE LAW OF OATHS.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—I submit to your legal readers that there is no law in England to compel any man who does not himself object to take the oath, to answer any question as to his religious belief.

Witnesses in England are bound by law to attend Courts of justice, being subpoenaed.

They may be punished for not attending. They are bound to take the oath, and may be committed for refusing; but they cannot be committed for refusing to answer any question relating to their religious belief, whether it be put before or after they are sworn.

The subpoena requires the witness to testify the truth according to his knowledge in a certain action depending between A. B. and C. D.

The oath the witness is called upon to take is—I am now speaking of the practice of the superior courts—"that the evidence he or she will give to the court and jury, touching the matters in question, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Bear in mind, it is the duty of the judge to protect him against answering unlawful questions.

Suppose the witness in the box ready to take the oath, and he is then asked as to his religious belief, and declines to answer, I submit there is no legal power to commit him.

To justify a commitment, there must be an offence against some law.

Now, I ask any lawyer to prepare a warrant for the offence he affirms this man has committed, at the point of time I have mentioned.

He will find his difficulty when he comes to state the offence.

The witness has obeyed the subpoena, and he has not refused the oath.

The oath taken pledges him "to speak touching the matter in question, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." The only obligation he is then under, is to speak the truth as to the matter in question, and that duty he has not violated. The judge may refuse to take his testimony, but the witness, I submit, is guiltless of any legal offence, and cannot be committed.

If a witness, when called, raises an objection, he lays the ground for the rejection of his testimony.

In the case which I wish to submit, I have presupposed that the witness does not object to take the oath, and what I desire to fix attention upon is this, that a witness, being willing to take the oath, cannot be committed for refusing to answer any question as to his creed. Of course, he must bear the *odium theologicum*, but that arises from a social, and not a legal, error. It arises from unenlightened opinion—say judicial ignorance.

When the judges are more enlightened—they are rapidly becoming more so—it will cease.

Social practice is a growth, and requires time, if erroneous, to die out. The question is thus, on the part of witnesses, reduced to a question of policy, and whether or not, they feel themselves conscientiously bound to refuse the oath, that is, to refuse the mode of verifying the truth required by organized society.

EDWARD SEARCH.

INCOME AND PROPERTY TAX.*

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

23, Chancery-lane, 8 Feb., 1853.

SIR,—The question of the Income and Property Tax being much discussed, and the proposal made by Mr. Farr of capitalizing Income being objectionable because very inquisitorial, I take leave, as Mr. Farr's proposed system appears to be viewed with favour by the *Times* and other papers, to submit for your consideration the enclosed copy of a project of a Property and Income Tax published by me in a pamphlet in the year 1849. This project, I trust, you will be of opinion is free from the objections attaching to other projects on this matter. Within these few days I have noticed the advocacy of the principle I have so many years contended for, in an evening paper.

That my project would realize a large sum of money there is no doubt, by some, it is believed, so large a sum as fifteen millions annually. What it would realize cannot, however, I think, be estimated with anything like certainty; and therefore I did not venture to propose that any taxes should be repealed until the amount was ascertained by the actual working of the scheme.

I have submitted this project to many persons who take an interest in such questions, also to many who have hitherto escaped taxation; and, without exception, they admit the justice of the scheme. Those competent to give an opinion have no doubt as to its great productiveness and practicability.

* [These letters have been unavoidably omitted from week to week, owing to the pressure on our space.]

Not a single interest would escape where there was any plant or good-will. This principle is also consistent with sound morality. To permit a realized interest to escape because small is a temptation to make false statements.

The scheme does not propose to tax mere daily labour; because if not unjust, impracticable. Nor does it propose to tax intellect; because if not in many cases impracticable, not politic. But it does propose to tax the plant, or what is the same thing nearly, the good-will; because such an interest is subject-matter of sale. Thus, there is no good-will in a physician's profession generally, and therefore no subject-matter for taxation; but there is often in a surgeon's business, and therefore there is subject-matter for taxation beyond the mere plant or property on the premises.

With these few observations I beg to express the hope you may deem my proposition, as it would meet every case, and also be just, worthy of your approval.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

THOMAS BANISTER.

(Memorandum.)

PROJECT OF A PROPERTY TAX AND ON FIXED INCOMES.

Though it cannot but be admitted that there is equity in the principle of a graduated scale proportioned to the income of individuals, yet that inasmuch as it would require a double operation, viz., to tax the property where found with reference to possession of property elsewhere, would be inquisitorial, and in many cases impossible, the following scheme is submitted for consideration:—

1st. That all real and funded property should be submitted to a certain named duty, and that this duty should be paid by the parties in actual possession; they having the right to claim from the real owners, on a settlement, such sum or sums as such party should pay.

2nd. That all recipients of income from Government, or from Church preferments, and under 200*l.* a-year, 1 per cent.; and above 200*l.* a-year, 3 per cent.

3rd. That all recipients of salary, whether from railways, insurance companies, bankers, merchants, clerks, and others, under 200*l.* a-year, 1 per cent.; and above 200*l.* a-year, 3 per cent.

4th. It may be said that it would be unjust not to tax property engaged in trade, or income derived from trade, professions, &c. My answer is—If a man spends all his profits or earnings, he pays taxes indirectly, and the community benefits by such expenditure. If he save any portion, then that portion enables him to enlarge his business, and so he benefits the community; or it becomes realized property, and as such contributes to the State the following years. However, there could be no objection, and it certainly would have the appearance of fairness, that a tax should be imposed, not upon the profits or incomes made in trade, professions, &c.; but a per centage which the interest of capital would amount to if it were not engaged in trade, &c. Thus—

A publican takes a house, and his capital in trade—his plant—a good-will, in fact, is, say, 3000*l.* This sum would, at 5 per cent., give 150*l.* a-year. This 150*l.* a-year would, therefore, be charged with a tax of 5 per cent.

Again: a merchant is engaged in trade; his capital is, say, 20,000*l.*; the interest of which is 1000*l.* a-year at 5 per cent.; the tax on which at 5 per cent. would be 50*l.*

A shopkeeper at the same rate on the interest of the capital engaged; a farmer, and every other occupation the same; mines, shipping, &c. &c.

There would be no inspection of private accounts or books—no investigation into profits in such a system; and when we consider the enormous amount of property, by some estimated at five, and even six, thousand millions, there cannot be a doubt but that a very large revenue upon an equitable principle would be realized; that no interest would escape paying what is just (to permit any realized interest to escape is to encourage immorality), and that trade and general enterprise would be encouraged, without being oppressive to any one, or without unduly encouraging speculation. And though it would be unwise in the first instance to reduce taxation, yet it is confidently anticipated that almost all, if not all, interior taxes, such as the window tax, malt and paper tax, duties upon life and fire insurances and charter-parties, &c., all of which fall more or less onerously upon parties who are generally not competent to bear them, might be done away with upon experience of the productiveness of this plan proving how they might safely be repealed.

THOMAS BANISTER.

Temple, 1849.

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*.

[HAVING no literary gossip to fill its accustomed place this week, we are tempted to enlarge the already elastic limits of the article which habitually opens the literature of our journal, and to insert a few remarks on the all-engrossing topic of "table-moving," which has become a mania in France, in Germany, and in our own country. Every house you enter has its chronicles of marvels. Cabinet ministers and men of science, fashionables and workmen, all are table-moving and hat-moving with an energy only bestowed on manias.]

WHAT IS THE REAL CAUSE OF TABLE-MOVING?

The fact that if three or more persons stand round a small table, with their hands resting on it, each little finger touching that of the hand belonging to a neighbour, after a lapse of about ten or fifteen minutes the table will commence a slow circular movement which becomes rapidly accelerated, and forces the persons to follow it—this fact, we say, is indisputable.

But what does this fact imply? What is the explanation of the seeming marvel? Have we here the revelation of a new agency, or is the fact referable to well-known agencies? The question is not without its importance; not only from the interest now following the subject, and the eminence of the names which countenance the absurd theories thrown off in explanation, but also from the light which it may shed on many very delicate questions of organic action and of popular credulity. It is high time that those who pretend to lead opinion through the press should rigorously examine this matter, when a journal like the *Literary Gazette*, which has high scientific pretensions, can print, without disavowal, an article by one of its contributors, wherein the following passage occurs. Alluding to the men who have borne public testimony to the fact, the writer remarks:—

These gentlemen are not gullible fools easily imposed on; and it is not to be supposed for one moment that they would deliberately tell falsehoods for the sake of imposing on the public. We have, then, the established fact that the electricity from the human body can, so to speak, animate inanimate substances, and give life, and it may almost be said intelligence, to inert wood. This is evidently one of those "things not dreamt of in our philosophy," of which the poet spoke. The speculations to which it has given rise are very curious. Some people will have it that it is nothing less than a marked advance towards the discovery of the great and mysterious secret of what composes human life, or at least that it is the opening of a wider and nobler field of human knowledge than any now possessed; whilst others opine that it is a sort of unconscious magic, and hence they assume that the art of the Baptista Portas and the Michael Scotts was not only no imposture, as our ancestors and ourselves have sagely decided, but the greatest of all arts—the most wonderful of all sciences. So convinced is one of the principal daily papers that something extraordinarily great is destined to flow from this magnetism, or magic, or whatever it may be, that it has resolved to set apart a certain portion of its space daily to records of what may be done in it.

Very instructive, and not a little amusing, is it to note in the foregoing passage the almost universal tendency to confound facts with inferences. The fact observed is, that tables move; the inference that it is moved by "electricity" is supposed to be "established" by the fact, and away the theorist flies into the "immense inane" of speculation.

Cautious thinkers will cry "Not so fast! All that is at present established is the simple fact of a table (or a hat, for both objects are in favour) moving when a chain is formed by persons round it. When we come to interrogate the meaning of this fact, we shall require something more than the rash assertion of 'electricity'—a word always dragged in to cloak ignorance, and always more used by those entirely ignorant of electricity than by those acquainted with some of its properties."

The table moves. It may be moved by Spirits; it may be moved by Electricity; it may be moved by the unconscious muscular action of persons forming the chain round it. Here are three explanations, not to suggest more, which the investigator may severally examine.

1. *Spirits*. Table-moving issued out of Spirit-Rapping. Indeed we may claim the first article published in this journal as the origin; for it was owing to the translation of that article in Germany, and the sensation there excited by it, that Dr. ANDREE first commenced his experiments of Table-moving; from Germany it spread rapidly to Paris and London. Those who believe in the Spirit-Rappings will have no difficulty in assigning a cause to the Table-movings; but for more cautious thinkers there will be these difficulties: First, the existence of the Spirits requires proof; secondly, their presence requires some more definite proof than lies in an assumption. Indeed, it should be stated here, to exonerate the sensible people who occupy themselves with the new phenomenon, that Table-moving has no necessary connexion with Spirit-Rapping, and is investigated by hundreds who are fully aware of the ignoble imposture practised under the title of Spiritual Manifestations. As we are of the latter we may dismiss this first explanation without further discussion.

2. *Electricity*. This is more plausible, and entraps all but those accustomed to scientific analysis. But we are bound to call attention to the following points: First, there is absolutely no proof whatever of the existence of the current of electricity passing from human beings to the table; it is a pure assumption made to overarch the chasm of ignorance.

Secondly, although what is called nerve-force has many striking analogies with electricity, yet every well-informed Physiologist knows that the identity of the two forces far from being proven, is, in the present state of science, to be rejected. Thus you have to prove the existence of the very agent you assume, and then, having proved it, you have to prove that its mode of operation is that which you assume! For granting that nerve-force is electricity, we have still to learn that this electricity passes in a stream from our fingers to the table; we have still to learn that electricity when it passes into a table or a hat makes that table or that hat gyrate. These are difficulties which will prevent the scientific mind from accepting electrical agency. At present the question stands thus: The table moves; by no known laws of electricity or physiology can this movement be explained as electrical; and to suppose that the movement itself is the proof, is to indulge in the most vicious circular reasoning, by which an assumption is made to demonstrate the validity of the assumption.

3. *Unconscious muscular action*. Instead of unproven "Spirits" and questionable "Electricity," it would seem more natural to try the simpler explanation of unconscious muscular action, did we not know that in such cases the simple explanation is always the last to be thought of. Appetite for the marvellous will not be appeased by commonplaces! Let us, however, inquire a little more closely into this said muscular action, and see if we cannot by the aid of known laws explain all the phenomena.

In standing or sitting round a table for many minutes with the hands lightly resting on it, and the mind eagerly expectant, the fatigue of the muscles causes you to rest with your weight on one leg if standing,—on one side if sitting,—and this gives a stress to the table (unless you are very vigilant), which may cause it slightly to move; no sooner does the movement begin than all the expectant circle, now gratified at the result, unconsciously aid in the movement (in a way hereafter to be explained), and thus, although no one is conscious of effort, but fancies the table moves without his co-operation, yet, in fact, all or most of the persons forming the chain do really co-operate in moving it.

We must beg that no captious verbal criticism be applied to this explanation of the process; we are aiming at an intelligible explanation, and hope in succeeding remarks to clear up every point involved. The reader must bear in mind that expectation of the result is necessary, otherwise the table will not move. Those who adopt the magnetic hypothesis explain the necessity of this condition (as the mesmerists explain failures), by saying that "scepticism destroys the influence." Truly it does so; because the muscular action which produces the movement in obedience to what is called an "expectant attention," will not be brought into play unless expectation be there.

Scepticism, however, is a word of loose signification. There are two classes of sceptics. There is the class of men who are, it is true, perfectly incredulous with respect to the fact, but as perfectly credulous with respect to the inference; they approach the table with laughter, or with an emphatic declaration of "It's all humbug;" yet no sooner does the table move, and they believe in the honesty of those moving it, than their incredulity is suddenly changed to a credulity as rash! They doubted the fact; no sooner is the fact proved than they no longer doubt the inference! But the scientific sceptic, knowing where lies the source of most fallacies, is willing enough to believe the fact, he is only sceptical of the immature hypothesis suggested to explain the fact. It is thus that Spirit-Rappings convert the incredulous. When something is told them which "it is impossible that the Medium or any one present could have known," they—forced to accept the fact—believe they are forced to accept the inference which the impostor wishes them to accept; but a cautious thinker would accept the fact and examine closely the inference. He would say—"It is true I have been told such and such things; but does it, therefore, follow that they were told me by departed spirits? May there not be some juggle in it?"

We dwell on this distinction between scepticism of facts and scepticism of inferences, because it is important, and because men commonly fancy they are bringing strong evidence in support of their opinions when they preface it by saying, "I assure you I approached this subject as complete a sceptic as you can be; I thought it monstrous humbug; I laughed at the idea; but I was forced to own the truth at last." If you interrogate these sceptics, you will find that they all imagine the fact proves the hypothesis—as if no other hypothesis would explain the fact!

The explanation of "table moving" we have from the first suggested, has been this week strengthened by a reprint in the *Journal des Débats* of an article written twenty years ago by M. CHEVREUL, the celebrated chemist, an analysis of which had already been given by LONGET in his *Traité de Physiologie*. We will reproduce its leading points.

In 1833, Paris was amused by the oscillations of a pendulum, as recently London was by the oscillations of gold rings under the pretended Magneto-scope of Mr. Rutter. "Electricity," of course, was the explanation of the following fact:—If an iron ring were suspended by a thread over mercury, and held there by the right hand, it began to oscillate; on introducing some other substance between the mercury and the suspended ring, the oscillations ceased, to recommence with the withdrawal of the foreign substance. But CHEVREUL showed that this was the result of insensible muscular action, by various experiments, of which it is enough to say, that on supporting his arm by a wooden rest, the oscillations decreased in proportion as the wooden rest approached the wrist, and disappeared when

placed under the fingers which held the thread. The curious part of his experiment, however, was this. He fancied that *while his eyes followed the oscillations of the pendulum* he detected in himself a disposition or *tendency to movement*, which, perfectly involuntary, was always the more satisfied the larger the oscillations were; but on *bandaging his eyes the oscillations rapidly ceased, and then the interposition of foreign substances between the mercury and the pendulum exercised no sort of influence on the oscillation!* His interpretation of the phenomena is simple and satisfactory. In holding the pendulum, an insensible muscular movement of the arm set the pendulum slightly oscillating, and when once the oscillations commenced they were augmented by the influence exercised by vision, which caused him to assume that "tendency to movement" before mentioned; this tendency, however, is so delicate and so unconscious that the mere thought of arresting it does arrest it. The two necessary conditions for a successful result he found to be—1st, A belief that the pendulum will move of itself without muscular aid; 2nd, To see the oscillations, which become greater by the influence of vision in directing the muscles.

We should be glad, if space permitted, to cite examples of this unconscious *tendance au mouvement* referred to by M. CHEVREUL, but every one will remember how in fixing attention on a moving object we involuntarily lean in the *direction* of the movement; and many have doubtless amused themselves with the experiment of suspending a book by means of a key, and willing the book to turn in a particular direction—an experiment we have proved over and over again to depend on the muscular action induced by "expectant attention." The reader is referred to Dr. Carpenter's *Human Physiology*, fourth edition, 923 sq., for interesting matter we have no room here to reproduce.

With the light thus afforded, let us examine the phenomenon of hat-moving and table-moving; and in relating our own experiences we shall attempt to give the rationale. In perfect conformity with what has been said of the necessity of "expectant attention," or "faith," for a successful result, we have to declare that although the table has moved in our *presence*, it has never moved when we formed a link of the chain, although we were really waiting with strong desire to analyze the sensations which accompany the phenomenon. The objection that we are "anti-magnetic," and that our scepticism produces a "cross current" is too frivolous for refutation. The main reason of the failure has been the knowledge of our scepticism on the part of the others, and their want of full conviction that it will succeed with us; another reason is this—we have placed them on their guard against the sources of fallacy, and told them how they moved the table unconsciously.

A negative result cannot, we are aware, determine this question. But we have positive results to offer. One evening two believers, an indifferent person, and the "terrible sceptic" who writes this, stood round a table with hands lightly resting on a hat. After about twelve minutes the sceptic's hands were trembling slightly from tension of the muscles, and his legs becoming fatigued, he rested the main weight of his body on the right leg. Presently the hat began to move. We all asked each other, "Are you moving it?" and received a conscientious negative; nevertheless, the hat continued moving, with occasional pauses. The idea occurred to the sceptic that as the hat was moving in the direction in which he leant, perhaps the slight *stress* so produced might cause the moving; to test this he changed from right to left leg. The hat stopped; presently it resumed its motion, but this time *from left to right*—i. e., the reverse way! He was still perfectly unconscious of any *effort* to move the hat, although he felt convinced it was occasioned by the slight stress of his body: he suddenly stood erect on both legs, and the motion ceased. It never moved again during that evening.

At the house of a gentleman who has made frequent experiments, and who for a fortnight was a firm believer in the electrical theory, but whose confidence became shaken by the suggestion of certain doubts, the "sceptic" stood with five other persons round a table which moved with extreme facility on a pivot. This time we waited five-and-forty minutes without the slightest result; yet the five persons had been eminently successful on all previous occasions in less than fifteen minutes. Whence failure? Because we were all on our guard. We determined to remain entirely *passive*; to stand erect on both legs; to watch our sensations; to be vigilant in neither aiding nor preventing the movement. Yet these very persons only the day before had made the table move with considerable velocity in the direction any one *willed* it: the will of the one person and the expectant attention of the others producing a result impossible in the sceptical passive state of mind.

We now ask, whether the phenomenon of table-moving is not more probable when classed with known phenomena of *unconscious* muscular action following expectant attention, than when classed with "mysteries" and "magic?" Of electrical action in this sense we have no proof, no evidence, no analogies; of muscular action we have abundant analogies.

That all believers will renounce their belief, and accept this explanation we do not expect. After the stolid mass of credulity which resisted our exposure of the trick on which Spirit-Rapping depends—after the perverse ingenuity of the arguments brought forward in reply to that exposure—we can have little hope that the foregoing explanation will find much favour. But if our exposition has been intelligible it will make every watchful investigator capable of testing its truth.

Since this was written we have received two letters from a subscriber.

No more decisive proof of the truth of the principles just laid down could be desired by us; for our correspondent has, in perfect good faith, recorded all the details required for his own refutation. The reader will see how *muscular action attendant on expectant attention* produces the results.

SIR,—In the last number of the *Illustrated News*, in the French correspondence, the writer states that a book suspended by a house door-key, the rims of which rested on the right forefingers of two persons, would turn at the will of the holders if both willed the same way, with another result if they opposed each other. The experiment was so easy of proof, that I at once attempted it. The result came. It was tested every way. Each holder willed contrariwise; the book remained stationary. During this time one, without informing the other, changed her will to make both agree, on which the book immediately turned. This may be accounted for by the harmony in the wills so produced allowing the galvanic current to flow in the proper course. I had long credited the possibility that a force or unseen electric fluid pervades our planet and atmosphere, if not the whole universe, which may possibly be an agent to influence us in the same degree that the pole controls the magnet. This force, as most are aware, Reichenbach asserted he had discovered, and named it the Od Force; therefore, the results I had obtained did not surprise me, but what followed is so startling, and so resembles the results said to be obtained by the Spirit Rappers, that I merely relate what occurred, leaving others to try the experiment. Some ladies present observed that with servants and others there was a common superstition that a key so placed *in the Bible* at a certain verse relating to Boaz and Ruth, would, being so suspended, cause the Bible to rotate at the mention of certain names, or rather initials indicating those by whom or whom the experimentaliser *liked*, (an influence, undoubtedly.) Now here, if there be such a thing as Od Force, were the means of using it in a novel way. A key, which is a perfect conductor, inserted in a book, a non-conductor, the current to pass uninterruptedly between the two persons, that current to be disturbed only, and to manifest the disturbance by the key turning itself and the book when some unknown force was brought to operate at certain times, as the caller named each successive letter in the alphabet, and arrived at the one indicating a forename or surname. Here—mixed up with the vulgar belief that the book must be a Bible, was a superstition of the ignorant concealing of the result—was attained a simple but important scientific truth, an impalpable agent causing, when under a certain influence, the comparatively ponderable book to turn and reveal. It was laughingly suggested that with one book (*Cæsar's Commentaries*, by the bye, although a non-conducting block of wood would have done as well) and key the experiment should be tried. *As an utter joke*, another and myself sat down and tried it, and to my unutterable astonishment, at the mention of certain initials (corresponding with my own judgment, although I *willed* no initial) the book turned, and continued to turn invariably at the same ones (with each caller) on repeated experiments. They were not confined to two initials, nor need they be—we are influenced strongly by many, although the first should have the preference in these indications. With two by whose influence the book turned at all times when they willed it, it remained quite stationary during this experiment. In reading of the table-movings, the question has often occurred to me, "of what direct use can they be? Spirit Rappers pretend to answer questions, however absurd their statements may seem; tables answer no questions." It occurred to me, and I did not mention it to the others, that if Spirit-Rapping or its alphabetical indications could be tested, now would there be an easy way by the agency at hand—the book to turn or answer at certain letters mentioned as the alphabet was passed over, and to spell the name of which I *thought of only*. I therefore very slowly called over the letters, thinking in my experiments of names (all dead), no one knowing, of course, who I was thinking of, or what indeed was my object, and to my amazement, the book by turning spelt the names in every instance—in one, a deceased friend of mine, whose name had fifteen letters. As I did not proceed with the usual Spirit-Rapping questions, and as the book *might* turn from my will being influenced (although I endeavoured to abstract it), the result is not conclusive, but is very suggestive of further trial. With the exception of the odometer ring, this was my first experiment in "natural magic." Table-moving requiring such prelude and patience (with the chance of getting one's toes rapped) to obtain what might be a ridiculous result. In this case, those who ridicule will do so at facts. I inclose my address as a guarantee of the good faith of this communication of Book and Key revelations.

M. P. R.

That passage about the "harmony of the wills allowing the galvanic current to flow in the proper course," is a typical illustration of the assumptive reasoning employed on this subject; replace the passage thus—"the harmony of expectant attention is followed by a harmony of co-ordination of muscles to produce the expected result;" and you will not only get rid of an *assumed* "galvanic current," and of an *assumed* influence of the will upon that current, replacing it by *known* phenomena; but you will also be able to understand how, when the caller named the initial letter of the name at which the book was to turn, the *expectation of its turning at that moment*, would naturally produce the result; whereas you cannot be unreasonable enough to suppose the "galvanic current" to be endowed with such perfect intelligence of the alphabet, that on hearing a particular letter it will instantly cause a book to gyrate! So again, when M. P. R. *thought of a name*, and *expected* the book would turn to spell the name, it did so without fail: does he believe the "galvanic current" knew his thoughts?

Our correspondent's second letter, while showing his perfect sincerity, illustrates the rapidity with which these delusions grow when once their premises are intellectually accepted:—

SIR,—I yesterday wrote you on "Key Revelations;" then I was only amused at Spirit-Rapping, now I am an amazed believer, and have arrived at the same result without any *medium* but a key and book.

I asked—How long is it since Mr. — (a friend of mine) died? and counted the figures. Answer correct, the book turning at the proper figure as I named it, beginning at the figure 1. Question 2. Are these revelations for good? The book turned. 3. Will questions intended for evil purposes be answered? Stationary. 4. Recollecting a letter in the *Leader*, on the Spirit-Rapping, I asked, Will these revelations ever be made audibly? The book turned. 5. In how many

years? I counted. Answer: two. 6. Will questions be answered relative to our worldly prosperity? The book turned. (These turnings are prompt and unmis-takeable.) 7. Will questions as to success in horse-racing be answered? Stationary. 8. How long is it since — died? The book turned at the right figure.

Various other questions were asked by persons who were amused sceptics yesterday, but who now are convinced. As a firm believer now that this means of communication exists, I am happy to have had those answers to the questions, as to good and evil purposes. If there be a clearer intelligence than we possess that we can communicate with, and of whom we can ask the question—"Is my present pursuit beneficial to my spiritual welfare?" and the question can be resolved, how thankful may we be that it is thus opened to us.

M. P. R.

If our correspondent will again repeat those experiments with the light attempted to be shed on them in this article, we have every hope from his candour. Let him analyze his sensations, and see how much expectant attention and the influence of the eye has to do with it. Let him bandage his eyes, and try to disbelieve in the result. Or let the reader try the experiment for himself, under the same conditions.

One remark in conclusion. We have endeavoured to explain general principles, not to frame a formula which will of itself clear up every case of table-moving. The innumerable variety of cases which the experience of hundreds of persons will bring forward cannot be met in detail. All we have thought of doing is to direct attention to the fact, that the influence of vision and expectant attention on the muscles, is sufficient to produce table-moving; or, should the table receive an accidental impulse, to continue the motion. It must depend on the vigilance and sagacity of the experimenters to detect the operation of this agency.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

<i>The Threads of a Storm-Sail.</i> By W. D. Jerrold.	Birkbeck Life Assurance Office.
<i>Menzies' Tourists' Pocket Guide for Scotland.</i>	John Menzies.
<i>The Letters and Works of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.</i> Vol. 5.	By Lord Mahon.
<i>The Maiden's Tower; a Tale of the Sea.</i> By E. F. Carlen. 3 vols.	Richard Bentley.
<i>Longer Exercises in Latin Prose Composition.</i> By J. W. Donaldson, D.D.	R. Bentley.
<i>Latine Grammaticæ Rudimenta.</i> By J. W. Donaldson, D.D.	J. W. Parker and Son.
<i>Hints on the Solution of the Eastern Question.</i>	J. W. Parker and Son.
<i>Home Life in Germany.</i> By Charles Loring Brace.	R. Clarke.
<i>The Reasoner.</i>	Richard Bentley.
	J. Watson.

POWER'S RESIDENCE IN CHINA.

Recollections of a three years Residence in China; including peregrinations in Spain, Morocco, Egypt, India, Australia, and New Zealand. By W. Tyrone Power. Bentley.

SETTLED down in the wilds of Kaffraria, away from libraries and books of reference, having no fear of "reviewers" to daunt him, but having a huge and weighty ennui to be cheated occasionally during the uncertain leisure of a tent life, Mr. Power, son of the incomparable and *unreplaceable* Power, turns over the old journals recording his nomadic life, and from their somewhat illegible pages he constructs this most readable and agreeable of books.

Mr. Power has not only travelled, he has *lived* in the countries he visited; by which we mean that he not only *saw* them, but tried to realize their life; and his sketches, even when of merely slight externals, are always vivid and suggestive. A few extracts will suffice to indicate the variety and amusement crowded into this single volume:—

A TETUAN CAID "RAISING THE WIND."

"He was by no means scrupulous in his mode of acquiring wealth, and regularly 'squeezed' every individual under his government. One ingenious plan of extorting a loan from an unwilling capitalist was to tie his hands together, and introduce a couple of wild cats into the wide seat of his inexpressibles. This was a way of bringing them to the scratch which never failed, and by degrees this excellent ruler grew to be enormously rich. The Emperor, thinking at last that his sponge must be full, sent for him to Fez, to have a grand squeeze.

"The wretched old victim was thrown into prison and soundly bastinadoed, a process which relieved him of some of his too plethoric wealth. Strips of cotton, dipped in turpentine, were tied round his fingers and toes and lighted, which produced a grand haul. The wild cats continued for half an hour to produce revelations of fresh hoards. A knight templar or a Norman king could scarcely have been more ingenious in their financial experiments on a miserable Jew. Renewed tortures produced further discoveries of treasure, till the old man's last doubloon and last breath were yielded up together."

Mr. Power's estimate of the Chinese is by no means flattering: a cowardly, sensual, foolish set of barbarians, for whom no interest but that of curiosity can be excited.

THE VALUE OF AN OLD MAN IN CHINA.

"The reasonableness and placability of the natives were, on one occasion, evinced in rather a remarkable manner at Chusan, while I was there. An Englishman had come across some wild ducks in the canal inside the city, at which he fired with ball, all his shot having been previously expended. The bullet missed the birds and, glancing from the water, killed an old Chinaman who was sitting at his own door enjoying his pipe.

"The unfortunate sportsman, horrified at the result of his silly thoughtlessness, hurried away to take counsel with his friends, who recommended him to try to settle the matter with the relatives of the deceased, to prevent their complaint from being laid formally before the authorities, who would be obliged to award a heavy punishment for such reckless carelessness. With this view one of his friends was dispatched to visit the family, to condole with them for their loss, and to explain how thoroughly it was the result of accident. He deplored the unhappy circumstance which had deprived the family of so valuable and so respectable a member, and pointed out the cheering fact that he was very old, and, in the natural course of things, could not have been expected to live much longer, and that pecuniary recompense should be made to console the family for the few months society they might have anticipated enjoying with him. They admitted that he was old, very old, and as he could not have lived long, they mentioned a hundred dollars (20*l.*) as a sum likely to have a good effect in assuaging the bitterness of their affliction. The ambassador, delighted at hearing a demand so much more reasonable than he had anticipated, but concealing his satisfaction, pointed out that the deceased was

so old that he could hardly have estimated his short remnant of existence at such a large sum; that he had died a very quiet and easy death, and that very likely he was wanted in the other world, so that the unlucky bullet might be esteemed a messenger despatched by the gods. He thought, therefore, that fifty dollars, to make a feast and burn plenty of joss-stick and paper money, would be sufficiently satisfactory to the spirit of their departed ancestor. The matter was finally settled to the satisfaction of all parties by the payment of seventy-five dollars (15*l.*); and I question whether one might not have shot two-thirds of the old boys of Ting-hae at the same reasonable rate, notwithstanding the veneration in which age is held."

ART IN CHINA.

"The drama in China is at a very low ebb. It is still in the strolling state: such as might have been when Thespis and his company declaimed from a waggon, or rather, such as it was in the middle ages, when mysteries were performed in the open streets and squares for popular edification.

"A wealthy citizen, or, sometimes, the parish or municipality, hire a company of strollers, who erect their stage across a thoroughfare, with little respect for the public right of way. The entertainer and his friends occupy seats in front of the stage, and the tag-rag and bobtail stand in the rear.

"The actors are mere boys, who are dressed in robes of silk and satin, rich with embroidery, but much tarnished and rumpled.

"The subject of the play is usually taken from the life of some hero of mythology or history of China, and the plot is constructed with an attention to the unities of the drama that would have charmed a critic of the French school.

"The narrative begins with the earliest events of the hero's existence, carrying them on in uninterrupted dulness to his apotheosis. The play usually takes some hours, and some of them, I have been informed, some days. The spouting and posturing are varied by recitative singing in a shrill contralto key; and every scene begins and ends with banging of gongs and squealing of pipes, occasionally varied by the explosion of crackers, when the interest becomes thrilling, and some great event is enveloped in the noise and smoke, being left, in other respects, to the imagination of the audience.

"There are some dramas which treat of the loves of the heroes, in which little is left to the imagination, although the dialogue is carried on in a lofty rant which never descends to comedy, much less to farce. With such taste, it is not surprising that this species of amusement is not in much repute, and that its professors should be classed with the mountebanks and vagabonds, to whose ranks they properly belong.

"There are no moral lessons to be learnt from the Chinese drama: it inculcates no good principles, nor does it hold the mirror up to nature. Buffoonery, coarse ribaldry, and exaggerated passion, are its chief characteristics; one cannot wonder at the low esteem in which it is held.

"Music is not more advanced. All the singing is in an unnatural falsetto key, pitched as high as possible, so that anything more hideous and ludicrous than the sounds produced can scarcely be imagined. A tom cat caterwauling on the pantiles is the nearest approach I know to the vocal music of this refined nation. They frequently accompany the voice with a kind of violin, the scraping of which is sufficient to put one's teeth on edge. A lute with wire strings and a very wiry tone is sometimes used for the same purpose. The instrument, however, that is to be heard on all occasions, is a sort of pipe, very much resembling the bagpipe in tone.

"The songs I have heard were all of very similar character, and were sung in short cadences, alternating with the symphony, reminding me very much of the Spanish seguidilla, as it is heard screeched by the muleteers in the mountain paths of Andalusia: only that while the muleteer screeches, the Chinaman howls in a way that would excite the sympathy of a whole kennel of hounds, compelling them to join in an obligato chorus.

"Chinese poetry is on a par with the music. It either delights in namby-pamby sentimentality, or puerile conceits. Graceful metaphor, subtle allegory, warmth of sentiment, a picturesque feeling for the beauties of nature, are all utterly unknown; while plays-upon-words, and a studied arrangement of phrases, delight the most fastidious critics, and satisfy their tastes."

A WARRIOR IN DEFEAT.

"A curious instance of the utter incapacity of the Chinese to cope with Europeans occurred at Chapor, where the principal mandarin fled at the very first shot, and never stopped till he reached home, an example followed by the whole of the troops with the greatest alacrity. When he reached home it may be supposed that the gallant mandarin packed up his plate and jewels, and betook himself with his family to the safest spot in the country. He sent for his wives, and strung them up to the beam of his house, his children he strangled, and threw into a well, and then heaping up all his valuables about his chair of state, he surrounded it with combustibles, and setting fire to the pile, perished in the flames. His fate would have been worthy of an old Roman, or a hero of Norman times, if he had fought to the last gasp, and adopted such an end to show his contempt for the enemy when all else was lost. But to abandon the field of battle for such a purpose, without striking a blow—to fly from one kind of death on purpose to seek another so inconceivably worse, shows how incapable we are of appreciating the motives of a people whose idiosyncrasy is so entirely different from our own."

THREE NEW NOVELS.

The Diary of Martha Bethune Balfour. From 1753 to 1764. Chapman and Hall.

The Events of a Year. A novel. By Emilie Carlen, author of "The Birthright," &c. 3 Vols. T. C. Newby.

Frank Merryweather. A novel. By Henry G. Ainslie Young, Esq. 2 Vols. T. C. Newby.

THERE is one difficulty in criticism which, more than all other difficulties, perplexes an ingenious mind wishing to "do his spiriting" truthfully as well as "gently"; the difficulty namely of regulating the standard. When a good novel is presented to us our task is comparatively simple; we are at our ease there; the book moves, delights, instructs us, and we say so. But when a novel is not good according to our ideal of the novel, it may be, and most frequently is good, according to the novel readers' standard; and this novel reader would be amazed at our delighting in the exquisite art of Miss Austen, and at our contempt for the ignoble melodrama of Eugène Sue; nevertheless, as this novel reader employs us in the capacity of Taster-General to inform him of what to read and what to avoid, if we judge according to our standard we shall mislead him, if according to *his* standard we shall mislead others, and seem to compromise.

We generally contrive to get over this difficulty in some rough attempt

at indication of the standard. Let us try to do so with the three novels named at the head of this article.

The Diary of Martha Bethune Baliol is a book of considerable merit, and *d'une lecture agréable*, but we do not consider it a good novel, nor would the idler think it very exciting. The diary form is "used up," and was never a very artistic form. We were pleased therefore to find this diarist speedily forgetful of the minute details with which she opened, and setting herself deliberately to the narration of her story. The characters do not stand out with any traces of creative power, but they are cleverly drawn nevertheless. The story is not new, but it is readable; and the writing is throughout that of a cultivated, elegant mind. What we miss is the originality both of observation and reproduction which would make us feel that the book was dealing with realities.

The Events of a Year belongs to a very different class. We are no admirers of Emilie Carlen at the best; but the later novels signed by that writer are twaddeliuss, twaddelissimus. So much talk, and such miserable domestic talk! So much sentiment, and such thin, watery stuff after all! Nevertheless, we find these novels have their readers and admirers; to such we can commend *The Events of a Year* as possessing about the average interest—if we may speak from the very imperfect reading we have been enabled to give it, aided by large-minded liberality of skipping.

A class of readers not yet glutted on the sweets of a circulating library may find interest and excitement in *Frank Merryweather*, "as we happen to know" in one case at least; but for ourselves not even a stern sense of duty has had the power to make us continue this very "twice-told tale;" therefore we leave it with no more precise indication than is furnished in that fact.

Portfolio.

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

OMITTED PASSAGES FROM A BOY'S EPIC.

I.

LOVE AND THE FAUN.

See! where yon sunbeam lingers down the glade,
A winged shape of perfect loveliness;
A boy in look and limb, yet self sustained
By godlike power; dark his orb'd eyes,
His cheek sun-coloured: golden his long hair.
A quiver charged with silver shafts is hung
Athwart his shoulders, and an ivory bow
Fills one small hand. But see! he passes on,
Till by a fountain in whose hollow depth
Of liquid splendour, dreams eternally
The steadfast Heaven, where rose and myrtle mix
Delicious scent and shade, he drops diffused.
But Care lies with him in the embedding grass.
The fountain with its picture of blue air,
Of clouds that journey over branching trees;
Of quivering boughs, and boles all strangely patcht
With mosses red and grey; of flitting birds,
And wavering flowers and insect swarms like flowers,
Charm not his soul, nor win for all their grace
The dreamer's eye. At length a joyous laugh
Broke thro' the silence, and the God arose,
While fiery anger shook his curving lip;
"And who," he cried, "profanes my solitude?
Come forth, come forth, intruder! when I call,
From thy green lair of woven boughs, come forth!"
Among the woven boughs a rustle crept,
And mischievously mirthful thro' the leaves
Peered a broad face that vainly checkt its fun,
For still the overflowing laughter ran
From the loose corners of the puckered mouth;
Until for words like these it found a way:—
"Fair cause for mirth, dread Eros, hath thy Faun,
For see I not the child of Frolic lie
Forlorn and pensive, as Love's self were pierced
By Love's own shaft." So spake the wicked Faun,
Laughing at Eros, yet half fearing him,
By reason of his being more divine,
For Love is of the Heaven. Uplifting then
The ivory bow, and leaning on its arc,
The child of Aphrodite answered him:
"Friend of Silenus! even to the Gods,
Feasting on nectar in ambrosial halls,
Comes Care that casts a shadow as she comes.
And Love, whose home is where the Gods abide,
Yet dwells with men and saddens at their grief.
And thus it chanced that on my boding heart
Thy laughter fell unwelcome, as in spring
Falls on young grass and budding leaves, the snow.
But hear my tale, and hearing, counsel me,
For the high Gods may learn of lowly Fauns,
Tho' Fauns must die. Here, therefore, will we sit,
Under the shadow of this antique tree."

M.

The Arts.

RIGOLETTO.

VERDI's newest opera, *Rigoletto*, although mounted with the care and splendour to which Covent Garden has accustomed its public, is not likely to retain even so firm a hold of the stage as *Ernani*. The libretto is almost a literal translation of Victor Hugo's once celebrated play, *Le Roi s'amuse*, and is certainly a subject admitting both of fine music and fine acting. The tragedian we have—in Ronconi; the composer we have not. There are some charming phrases scattered over the score, one good quartet, and an ear-catching *cantabile*, sung with incomparable grace by Mario—"La donna e mobile;" but for the rest the music is patchy—reminiscent of various operas in various styles (now quietly reproducing the minuet in *Don Giovanni*, then the druid chorus in *Norma*, afterwards the duet from the *Huguenots*, with fragments from the *Barbiere*, and the commonplaces of Rossini and Donizetti), and only redeemed by a certain animation—a *brio*, which carries you along with it, pleased, if not transported. Ronconi has the whole upon his shoulders, and makes the most of it. His buffoonery, however, in the first scene, was, I conceive, a mistake. *Rigoletto*, the court jester, has every license of tongue, but no such license of hand as that of striking the nobleman whose prominent abdomen he ridicules. Moreover, his buffoonery is too much of "gag-gery"—it is not the savage sarcasm of Hugo's *Triboulet*, and Ronconi seems to forget that this buffoon is a tragic personage, sombre even in his mirth. Mario has little to sing, and sings it charmingly. Mdlla. Bosio, insipid and inanimate as an actress, has a brilliant metallic voice, which she manages with effect, though with somewhat less of *singing*, and more of *screaming*, than I altogether desire.

Rigoletto was worth producing. It may serve to vary the repertoire—it will never be a "success."

THE MOUSETRAP.

The Reverend James White, after success as a serious dramatist in *The King of the Commons*, and *John Saville of Haysted*, seems determined to prove Plato's thesis, that the Tragic Poet necessarily contains the Comic Poet also (a thesis which, parenthetically, I beg distinctly to gainsay, and need only mention that Plato himself, in his wiser maturity, saw the error thereof and retracted). Mr. White has not proved his thesis. Yet he has shown himself a man of wit, a writer of really comic dialogue, odd, amusing and unforced; but not a comic dramatist. Plato—to return to that venerable, but not always trustworthy critic—has an excellent passage on the primary necessity of a *good plot*, but I haven't a translation by me, and am afraid of the Greek, the more so as it occurs to me you do not require so august an authority for so obvious a truth! Would that the truth were obvious to dramatists! Mr. White gives no notion of a plot in the *Mousetrap*, and his comedy becomes wearisome from the eternal recurrence of the same position. I got so weary of Captain Smith and his natural child, that not even the odd dialogue and the odd character of a fighting quaker, whose nautical oaths came out so queerly from under the broad brim, giving to drab an unaccustomed scent of tar, could make the three acts pass gaily.

When a comedy has neither the interest of a well constructed story progressive through culminating situations, nor the mirth of farcical exaggeration to laugh down criticism, we demand that the characters be well drawn, and interesting in their originality. But of character the *Mousetrap* has no glimpse; there are some extravagancies combined together in an evident intention of originality, but no life issues from the combination. The scientific nobleman spending his energies on the construction of a mousetrap is meant to be satirical—but is not; the conception of a hale old soldier feigning rheumatism and old wounds as pass-keys to a lady's affection, has an original *intention* underlying it, but the intention is not worked out into a truth; the effect is simply improbable, and not in the least comic. In fact, the comedy is paved with good intentions. The whole thing wants life, movement, mirth. Laughter follows Buckstone through his various speeches, but when he is off the stage a patient pit listens with mild indifference.

THE LAWYERS.

Slingsby Laurence—lucky dog!—has, I am told, made another "hit" at the LYCEUM in the three act comic drama, *The Lawyers*. You must not expect to have my opinion thereon! When at Easter he afflicted us with nine acts of elaborate failure, I "cut him up" with the impartiality one "owes to one's friends." He did not see the "friendliness" of my candour, and there has been "a coolness" between us ever since. If I were to praise him now I should be accused of "interested motives"—a desire to reinstate my fallen position. My best plan is, therefore, to stay away altogether, and as my *critique blond*, the gay, witty, enthusiastic *Chat Huant* is at this moment "restoring his forces" at that grand restaurateur a Country House, I shall quietly extract from the *Times* the notice which that most indulgent of critics has written.

"A comic drama in three acts, entitled *The Lawyers*, was produced last night with such decided success that it promises to equal in popularity the famous *Game of Speculation*. We need not say here that we do not attach much importance to the formalities of applause bestowed on a first night, for we have more than once raised a warning voice against confidence in too friendly audiences. But when we see that a piece of some length is thoroughly enjoyed throughout, we can record a success beyond the ordinary level, and this was eminently the case with *The Lawyers*."

"So slight is the plot of this last dramatic novelty, that, if we said it had no plot at all, we should not deviate widely from the truth. Mr. and Mrs. Bickering Brown, a young married couple, are in the habit of squabbling about trifles, and their disputatious propensities are constantly kept alive by the interference of Mrs. Alimonia Naggins, Mrs. Brown's mother. An act of violence committed by Brown, who throws his mother-in-law's cat out of window, leads to a lawsuit, and threatens

to lead to a separation; but a benevolent solicitor, who is a kind of guardian angel to the other personages, effects a treaty of peace between the belligerent parties. The husband and wife, now comfortably established, find their tranquillity once more disturbed through the good offices of Mrs. Naggins, who calls their attention to the reported trial of the cause 'Naggins v. Brown' in the morning paper. Through circumstances explained by the action of the piece they have not witnessed the trial in person, and, now, the reckless inventions in which the counsel on both sides have indulged arouse suspicions that never before existed. In fact, things are looking worse than ever, till the rival serjeants, who appear as friends of the family, unblushingly confess that the scandals to which they gave utterance the day before were totally without foundation, being merely spoken to gain the cause, in accordance with the received principles of professional morality.

"The slight plot seems to bring together a more amusing assemblage of characters, and to afford more opportunities for good comic acting by a variety of personages, than any new piece that has been produced for some time. There is, indeed, no interest, commonly so called, in the story, but throughout the whole piece some forcible trait of character is exhibited, and not one of the *dramatis personæ* is a mere nonentity. The two serjeants—one celebrated for brow-beating his witnesses, the other for withering them with indifferent jokes—stand out as types of a class, and their peculiarities, rugged and facetious, are admirably embodied by Messrs. F. Matthews and Basil Baker. The stormy mother-in-law—one of those terrible advocates of the rights of women whom Mrs. F. Matthews so well knows how to portray—is ably contrasted with the less irascible, but by no means mild wife—a part played in excellent taste by Miss Robertson, who shows that she can be spirited without vulgarity or exaggeration. The husband, intrinsically good-humoured, but easily irritated and distressed, is a substantial being in the hands of Mr. Roxby. No one can be more bland and business-like than the worthy lawyer, acted by Mr. Cooper; while, towering above all the rest, is a personage to whom we have not yet alluded, as his position is rather external to the plot—a briefless barrister, played by Mr. C. Mathews. This is one of those voluble wights who belong to both generations of the Mathews family. His active endeavours to obtain a brief, and his delight when he has picked up a murderer as a subject for a brilliant defence, are constant causes of amusement whenever he flings himself into the midst of the other personages. Scarcely do we know which to praise most—the author, for fitting so many actors with such appropriate parts, or the actors, for so completely realizing the author's intentions.

"With the full knowledge that *The Lawyers* is founded on a French piece, called *Les Avocats*, written by MM. Dumanoir and Clairville, and produced at the Gymnase last August, we would almost give the adapter, Mr. Slingsby Lawrence, the credit of an original production. In many adaptations the transfer from Paris to London is merely nominal, and M. Dubois, when he becomes Mr. Wood, is as much a Frenchman in his habits and sentiments as when he originally figured on the Boulevard. But *The Lawyers* is a thoroughly English piece; the dialogue is written with English vigour, and the abuses of the Bar are satirised with a perfect feeling for the professional peculiarities of this country. Although the cause of action borders on caricature, nothing can be more life-like than the deportment of the barristers as they lounge through the hall and utter frequent pleasantries on their engagements at the courts. And it is not the colouring alone that is original.

The adapter has altered the plot of the Gymnase piece in several essential particulars, as will be seen at once by all who have witnessed the English version, when we state that the character which is so well acted by Mrs. F. Matthews, and is so important to the general effect, has no existence in the French original."

THE ZULU KAFFIRS.

But if you want to spend an afternoon or evening at an entertainment at once novel, striking, and unusually agreeable, go and see the Zulu Kaffirs perform at the St. George's Gallery. Thirteen veritable Zulus—eleven men, a woman, and a child (the child engaging enough to make all mothers and fathers, putative and real, go off into small ecstasies of sympathy!) are made to represent, amid painted scenes, as on the stage, various aspects of their wild life, so that the spectator assists at a Kaffir drama in which the actors are no wretched "supers" at one shilling a night, but the free, graceful warriors themselves, *being* what they represent. We see them in their Kraals—we see them at their meals—at their dances, at their councils of war, at their hunting, at their quarrels and fights, at their marriage ceremonies, and "witch findings"—we hear them sing, we hear their poet laureate recite his savage ode, accompanied by dance and gestures not in the least resembling those I presume Mr. Wordsworth was wont to employ! We are at home among these wild animals. In a way no previous exhibition has ever attempted, we are made spectators of something more than a few specimens of a savage tribe—we begin to understand their life. If the philosopher can go there without learning much, I would not give much for his philosophy! But no susceptible Frenchman should venture there; otherwise he will be painfully struck by the vivid resemblance of the howlings, quarrellings, gestures, and even intonations of these savages, to those of the Frenchmen who diversify seaport towns with their vivacity. The artist, however, will be delighted by their graceful forms, noble animalism, and free articulation of joints—except the *walk*, which is *large hipped* and *dromedarian*.

I have been too busy to find my way to the ADELPHI, where, as the amazing play-bill informs me, "Shakspeare has made his first appearance" in

THE MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR,

accompanied by perfections of cast, scenery, and all that sort of thing, which are to make this dirty, disagreeable play, entertaining. Yes, I have written the words—dirty and disagreeable! If your reverence for the Swan makes you think otherwise, mine does not. The "cast" of this play seems to me more strange than "powerful;" on that, however, I will be more explicit next week—perhaps!

CREMORNE,

also, may next week tempt my lyrical enthusiasm (or the reverse) on its fireworks and balloons, its dances, its Hungarian brothers, its mount-bankery, its *bosquets*, its happy visitants, smoking and laughing, and flirting a liberal shillingsworth! For the Derby-day a grand *Bal Masqué* is announced. Go!

VIVIAN.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

Friday Evening, May 20, 1853.
No great amount of business has been transacted during the past week, the Whitsuntide holidays and the usual fortnightly settlement of the account having been the causes. Money is said to be still tight, and people still talk of the probability of the Bank raising the rate of discount a $\frac{1}{2}$ higher. If such be the case, we shall hardly have things much higher during the summer. There have been considerable speculative purchases in Buenos Ayrean and other South American Stock, also in Spanish Stock, other foreign Stocks remaining quiet. Consols are steady at 100 $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ for money; and $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ for the account. Mines have been flat. Land Companies have not yet rallied. The great feature during the week has been the active dealing in Crystal Palace shares; they have reached four premium, and fell again to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ premium, but they have been largely dealt in, and one would infer that the promoters of the Sydenham Palace are likely to create not only a most useful and beneficial place of resort, but also a profitable speculation for the shareholders. In our own Railway Share-market but little has been done. The South-Western has held a meeting; shares generally in the heavy market are weak. French shares have been largely dealt in, principally on account of orders from Paris. The Paris and Strasbourg line is still a leader amongst the lines, and additional branches are talked of in connexion with this line. The Lyons and Geneva concession would seem to hang fire. The Victor Emmanuel, or Turin and Swiss line, which would necessarily be connected with the Lyons line, has obtained excellent terms from the Sardinian Government. Gold Mining shares are weak, even the Californian, although the reports are most encouraging, the quartz-crushing and ore-reducing machinery is likely to increase the supply of gold to a fabulous amount. Even in New Zealand they are finding a field of gold. Copper Mines have slightly rallied during the week, Jamaica and Metcalf in particular. Nova Scotian, of which so much was said, turn out to be copperless, and the experiment of working the iron very questionable.

CORN MARKET.

Mark Lane, Friday, May 20, 1853.
The supply of wheat, oats, and barley was again liberal this week. On Monday, wheat was 1s. to 2s. cheaper; to-day there was rather an improved demand from the country for inferior qualities at this decline, but the finer descriptions were neglected. There was a fair demand for oats and barley at fully Monday's rates. The value of beans and peas is firmly maintained.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	228 $\frac{1}{2}$	229	.....	229	229 $\frac{1}{2}$	230
3 per Cent. Red.	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	99 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$
Consols for Account.	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	100 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. An.	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$	102 $\frac{1}{2}$
New 5 per Cent.	.....	.....	.....	125	.....	.....
Long Ans., 1850	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	515-16	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	.....	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
India Stock	.....	.....	.....	261	263	263
India Bonds, £1000	.....	.....	.....	29	.....	30
Ditto, under £1000	30	25	25	25	30	25
Ex. Bills, £1000	6 p	2 p	3 p	3 p	3 p	3 p
Ditto, £500	.....	2 p	3 p	3 p	3 p	3 p
Ditto, Small	.....	2 p	3 p	3 p	3 p	3 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING FRIDAY EVENING.)	
Brazilian Bonds	100 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brazilian New 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cts.	100 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ecuador	6
Granada, ex Dec., 1849, coupon	22
Granada Deferred	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Greek, red	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mexican 3 per Cents	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
Peruvian 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents.	87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Account, May 31	39 $\frac{1}{2}$
Portuguese 4 per Cents.	39 $\frac{1}{2}$
Russian 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents.	104 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sardinian Bonds	98 $\frac{1}{2}$
Spanish 3 p. Cents.	49
Spanish 3 p. Cts. New Def.	24
Spanish Com. Certif. of	.....
Coupon not funded	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Swedish Loan	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ dis.
Venezuela Deferred	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dutch 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents.	65 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	98 $\frac{1}{2}$

Royal Italian Opera,

COVENT GARDEN.

SUBSCRIPTION NIGHT, MONDAY, MAY 23.

The Directors have the honour to announce that Monday, May 23, will be given as a Subscription Night, in lieu of Saturday, August 27. All Ivories and Tickets, therefore, for August 27, will be available for Monday, May 23.

On MONDAY, MAY 23, will be performed for the first time this season, Meyerbeer's grand romantic Opera,

ROBERTO IL DIAVOLO.

Alice—Mme. Jullienne (her first appearance this season); Isabella—Mme. Castellan; Elena—Mlle. Besson. Bertramo—Herr Formes; Erardo—Sig. Polonini; Alberto—Sig. Romoni; Il Priore—Sig. Tagliafico; Cavalieri—Signori Mei and Soldi; Rambaldo—Sig. Stigelli; and Roberto—Sig. Tamberlik.

The Incidental Divertissement will be supported by Mlle. Marnet, Mlle. Besson, Mlle. Esper, Mlle. Barville, Mlle. Santi, Mlle. Roemberg, Mlle. Barville, and M. Desplaces.

Composer, Director of the Music, and Conductor, Mr. Costa. Commence at Eight. Pit, 8s.; Amphitheatre Stalls, 7s.; Ditto, 6s.; Amphitheatre, 2s. 6d.

French Plays.

ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

Last Week but One of the Engagements of M. Regnier, M. Lafont, and Mlle. Madeleine Brohan.

On Monday Evening next, May 23, will be performed, UNE FEMME QUI SE JETTE PAR LA FENÊTRE and MDLLE. DE LA SEIGLIÈRE.

Boxes, Stalls, and Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's, 33, Old Bond Street; and at the Box Office of the Theatre.

MR. ALBERT SMITH'S MONT BLANC, EVERY EVENING, at Eight o'clock, except Saturday. Stalls, 3s. (which can be secured at the Box-office every day from Eleven to Four); area, 2s.; gallery 1s.

A Morning Performance every Tuesday and Saturday, at Three o'clock. A View of the celebrated Mer de Glace, from Montanvers, has been added to the Illustrations. Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

French Plays.

MR. MITCHELL'S BENEFIT,

Under the Gracious Patronage of HER MAJESTY.

Mr. Mitchell respectfully announces that HIS BENEFIT is fixed to take place on WEDNESDAY NEXT, MAY 25th, on which occasion will be presented, the favourite Comedy of (for that night only) LE MARI A LA CAMPAGNE, and (for the last time it can be repeated) LE BONHOMME JADIS, in which M. Regnier will repeat his admirable personation of "Le Bonhomme Jadis," being also the Last Night but Two of the Comedy Performances. Mr. Mitchell solicits the favour of an early application for Boxes and Stalls.

Royal Library, 33, Old Bond Street, May 19, 1853.

ZULU KAFFIRS.—OPEN EVERY NIGHT.

St. GEORGE'S GALLERY, Hyde Park Corner.

The extensive Premises, known as the St. George's Gallery, Hyde Park Corner, formerly the Chinese Museum, have been taken by Mr. Caldecott, a merchant of Port Natal, for the Public Exhibition, with the sanction of the colonial authorities, of a Troupe and Family of native ZULU KAFFIRS, consisting of Eleven Men, a Woman, and a Child, from Eastern Africa. The Exhibition represents, on a most extensive and unexampled scale, the Domestic Habits, Nuptial Ceremonies, Superstition, Witch-finding, Hunting Tramp, and Territorial Conflicts of that wild and interesting tribe of savages. The effective development of the various national characteristic scenes is assisted by Scenery painted expressly by Mr. Charles Marshall.

The EXHIBITION takes place at Half-past Eight o'clock EVERY EVENING, and a DAY EXHIBITION, on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday Afternoon, at Half-past Three. Admission 1s.

Front Seats (numbered and reserved), 4s.; Unreserved Seats, 2s. 6d.; to be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond Street; and at the Gallery.

MR. JAMES HANNAY, Author of

"Singleton Fontenoy," &c. &c., proposes to deliver SIX LECTURES on SATIRICAL LITERATURE. The Course will comprise Notices, Biographical and Critical, of Horace, and Juvenal, of Erasmus, Sir David Lindsay, and George Buchanan, of Boileau, of Butler, Dryden, Swift, and Pope, of some writers of the last age, and of some contemporary writers and publications.

Further particulars will be duly announced.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES ON

INDIA at the Hanover-square Rooms.—Morning Course on Monday, May 23rd, at Three p.m.; Evening Course on Thursday, at Half-past Eight. Tickets One Shilling each. Seats reserved for Subscribers to the Course. These Lectures embrace a general description of all parts of India and its inhabitants, as well as a review of its past history and future prospects, with discussions on the Parliamentary measures necessary for its better government. Full Prospectuses and Tickets to be had at the Rooms.

REFORMERS' FREEHOLD LAND, BUILDING, and INVESTMENT SOCIETY.—A PUBLIC MEETING to explain the objects of the above Society, will be held in the Great Room of the Monarch Tavern, corner of Ferdinand-street, Hampstead-road, on TUESDAY Evening, May 24, 1853. Chair to be taken at Half-past Seven o'clock. Blanchard Jerrold, Esq., Richard Hart, Esq., and Mr. Shirley Hibberd, will address the Meeting. Shares, £30. Entrance Fee, One Shilling. Monthly Subscription, Four Shillings. Several Estates are in progress of Purchase, and a Ballot will be announced forthwith.

J. S. HIBBERD, Manager.

SOCIETY of the FRIENDS of ITALY.—An EVENING MEETING of this Society will be held on WEDNESDAY NEXT, the 25th inst., at the Music Hall, Store Street, Bedford Square. The Chair will be taken at 8 o'clock, p.m., precisely, by P. A. TAYLOR, Esq. The Meeting will be addressed by GEORGE DAWSON, Esq., M.A., and by other Members of Council. LOUIS KOSSTUTH will be present.—Cards of admission, for Members 1s. each, and for Strangers 1s. 6d. each, may be obtained at the Offices of the Society, 10, Southampton Street, Strand, or at the Music Hall, on or before the evening of meeting.

PRESENTATION DINNER.

On THURSDAY, May 26th, 1853, A PUBLIC DINNER will be held in the FREEMASONS' TAVERN, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, after which will be presented the TESTIMONIAL to Mr. G. J. HOLYOAKE, in recognition of services to the right of Private Judgment. Mr. THORNTON HUNT in the Chair. Mr. James Watson will present the Testimonial. The Apollonic Society will sing several of their Choruses during the evening.—Dinner on Table at Half-past Five o'clock. The Chair will be taken at Half-past Seven. Tickets: to the Dinner, 3s. 6d.; to the Presentation, 6d. Admission will in both cases be by Tickets only; and as the numbers are strictly limited, an early application is necessary.

Tickets may be obtained of Mr. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row; Mr. Truelove, 240, Strand; Mr. Goddard, Institution, John Street, Fitzroy Square; Mr. Taylor, Tower Hamlets' Institution, Morpeth Street, Bethnal Green; Mr. Errol, 4, Gloucester Terrace, Hoxton; Mr. Bendall, Hall of Science, City Road; and Mr. Price, Secular Hall, Goldsmith's Row, Hackney.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION at DUBLIN. GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Notice is hereby given, that Tickets, including the fare by steamer from Bristol, will be issued at the Paddington Station, giving persons who wish to visit Dublin on the occasion of the Great Industrial Exhibition the opportunity of doing so at the following low fares:—

LONDON TO DUBLIN.		
First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.
31s. 4d.	28s. 6d.	14s. 4d.

LONDON TO DUBLIN AND BACK, available for Sixteen Days.

First Class.	Second Class.
47s. 3d.	43s.

Any information respecting the departure of the packets from Bristol can be obtained at the Paddington Station. May 19, 1853.

GREAT SPERRIS CONSOLS TIN MINING COMPANY, PARISH OF ZENOR, CORNWALL.

Conducted on the "Cost-Book System."

In 15,000 parts, or shares, of £1 each.—Deposit, 10s. per share, with two calls of 5s. each, at intervals of not less than three months; without further calls or liability.

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Stephen Broad, Esq., Rye Hill, Surrey.
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Eauconberg Shuttleworth, Esq., Old Jewry Chambers.
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(With power to add to their number.)

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SOLICITOR.

Joseph Thomas Millard, Esq., 7, Basinghall Street.

BROKERS.

Messrs. Edward and Alfred Whitmore, 17, Change Alley, Cornhill; Thomas Trulock, Esq., 2, Royal Exchange Buildings.

SECRETARY—Mr. Seymour Smith.

OFFICES—13, OLD JEWRY CHAMBERS.

PRELIMINARY PROSPECTUS.

The Great Sperris Consols Mine sett comprises three distinct mineral properties, denominated the Tremeadow, the Tregerton, ranging from Zennor Church Town towards Towedack, and, with a portion of that estate, bordering to the south on Wh. Montague. It joins the celebrated Ding Dong Mine in Gulval, to the west; and, towards the east, is in the immediate vicinity of Wheal Reeth, Reeth Consols, Balnoon, Wheal Margaret, Wheal Mary, Lelant Consols, Wheal Kitty, St. Ives Consols, Wheal Providence, and Wheal Speed Mines; the whole in a profitable state of working, paying dividends, and too well known to need further comment.

The sett contains upwards of six very promising east and west lodes and cross-courses, or carbonates, from which some considerable returns of tin have been raised and sold, whereby the value of the lodes have been satisfactorily proved, three of which correspond with those in the St. Ives Consols, Wheal Reeth, and Wheal Montague, producing tinstuff of the richest description, both in quality and quantity. Several shafts have been already sunk on the Great Sperris Consols Mine; the main engine-shaft down to about 39 fms., and levels driven on the course of the two principal lodes—namely, one on the Great Sperris lode, supposed to be the Great St. Ives Consols lode; and the other on the Red lode, to all appearances the same lode as that in Wheal Reeth. It may, therefore, very confidently be expected, that after the erection of a suitable engine, with a sufficient number of stampers, returns of tin ore will immediately commence, accompanied with speedy and highly remunerating dividends.

Specimens of the tin stones may be seen, and detailed prospectuses, with reports from experienced mining captains, may be obtained at the offices; or of the brokers of the company, to whom applications for shares may be made in the usual form. Prospectuses can also be had at the office of the Mining Journal, 26, Fleet Street, London.

Every Yard of Cloth sold at the London Cloth Establishment is sold at the Wholesale Price!!!

AS an AUXILIARY to the CLOTH TRADE, the Proprietors of the LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT have appropriated the upper part of their extensive Premises in COVENTRY STREET to the purposes of

A LARGE TAILORING ESTABLISHMENT,

In which experienced, talented cutters, and the best Workmen to be found in the Metropolis, are employed to make up in a superior manner any materials purchased in the CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT, at the charge of only the WORKMEN'S WAGES. Here is provided

A PERFECT SCHEME OF ECONOMY,

In regard to the best and most fashionable West-end Clothing, with advantages never before realized by the public in the FINEST AND BEST DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS. It includes not only choice from the large and superior Stock of Cloths, Trowserings, Vestings, &c. &c., of THE LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT, at the WHOLESALE PRICE, with making up in best style at

WORKMAN'S WAGES,

But also a Guarantee for the Quality, Fit, and Workmanship.

EDMUND DUDDEN AND COMPANY, LONDON CLOTH ESTABLISHMENT,
16, COVENTRY STREET.

THE WELLINGTON.—Entrance, 160, PICCADILLY.—Formerly Crockford's Club. The Dining Rooms and Saloons of this Establishment are now Open.

Scale of Charges:—Dinner from the joint, with vegetables, bread, cheese, &c., 2s.; ditto, with soup or fish, 2s. 6d.; ditto, with soup and fish, 3s.; made dishes, with the joint, as per bill of fare; made dishes, without the joint, but with vegetables, bread, cheese, &c., 1s. extra. Waiter, each person, 3d.

The Wines and Beers will be sold by Imperial measure, and the decanters all marked, so that the quantity paid for will be actually supplied to the consumer. The Public will, therefore, appreciate this novel arrangement, more particularly when they understand that the Imperial pint contains four-fifths of what is usually sold as a bottle.

The Dining-Room will be open daily, from Half-past Two, and on Sundays at Half-past Five. The Saloons will be open daily at Eleven, and on Sunday at Three.

Lessee, HENRY THOMAS MUNDAY,
160, PICCADILLY.

NEW CLUB.—Arrangements are in progress for the establishment of a Club, with Lower Entrance Fees and Annual Subscriptions than most of the existing Clubs, retaining at the same time all the advantages peculiar to the best amongst such institutions. Gentlemen connected with the Newspaper-press and Literature in general; Artists and those connected by taste or occupation with the Fine Arts; Members of Scientific Societies, and of the Liberal Professions; Officers of the Government Civil Service, and Gentlemen of known character and standing in the Banking, Commercial, and Corporate Establishments of the Metropolis, who may be willing to co-operate, are requested, in the first instance, to communicate (by letters only) with GEORGE WALLER, Esq., British Library, Cockspur-Street, Charing-Cross.

Terms proposed: Entrance Fee, £5 5s.; Annual Subscription, £3 3s.

TEMPERANCE LINE OF PACKETS, From LONDON to AUSTRALIA.

For ADELAIDE, GEELONG, and MELBOURNE direct, with guarantee to land Passengers and Freight, the splendid new clipper-built ship CALIFORNIA (A 1), 1000 tons burthen. To load in the East India Docks. The accommodation for passengers by this vessel is of a very superior character, having a full poop and lofty 'tween decks, ventilated on the most approved plan. An experienced Surgeon is engaged, who will have at command an abundant supply of medical comforts. A well-selected Library will be put on board for the gratuitous use of the passengers.

For freight or passage apply to E. K. M. Griffiths and Co., 27, Rood Lane, Fenchurch Street.

SHIRTS.—FORD'S EUREKA SHIRTS

are not sold by any hosiers or drapers, and can therefore be obtained only at 38, POULTRY. Gentlemen in the country or abroad, ordering through their agents, are requested to observe on the interior of the collar-band the stamp—

"FORD'S EUREKA SHIRTS, 38, POULTRY." without which none are genuine. They are made in two qualities—First quality, 40s. the half-dozen; second quality, 30s. the half-dozen. Gentlemen who are desirous of purchasing Shirts in the very best manner in which they can be made, are solicited to inspect these, the most unique and only perfect fitting Shirts. List of prices and instructions for measurement, post free, and patterns of the new coloured shirtings free on receipt of six stamps.

RICHARD FORD, 38, POULTRY, LONDON.

SUPERIOR TO COFFEE, BUT LOWER IN PRICE.

FRENCH CHOCOLATE, 1s. per pound, or in packets, 6d., 3d., and 1d. each, a preparation from the choicest Cocoa of the English markets, and manufactured by the most approved French method. Coffee is far inferior in nutritive qualities to Cocoa. And Chocolate, or properly prepared Cocoa, is now universally recommended by the Medical Profession, as more conducive to health than any other vegetable substance which enters into the human dietary. The superiority of the above One Shilling French Chocolate, over raw and unprepared Cocoa, may be judged of by the perfection attained in its manufacture, owing to which it may be used either as food or beverage.

PARIS CHOCOLATE COMPANY, distinguished by the Patronage of her Majesty the Queen, and the unanimous award of both "Council" and "Prize" Medals at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Manufacturers of Breakfast Chocolate, Bonbons, and French Syrups.

Sold Wholesale and Retail by the principal Grocers, Confectioners, and Druggists in the Kingdom. Chocolate Mills, Isleworth; Wholesale Depot, 35, Finsbury-Lane, City; West-End Agent, Mr. JOHN HARRISON, 21, Regent-Street.

NEW FOLDING CHAIR BEDSTEAD.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has pleasure in offering an entirely new and very ingenious WROUGHT-IRON CHAIR BEDSTEAD, which, from its being extremely light, durable, and portable (measuring, when folded, 2ft. 11in. by 2ft. by 8in. deep), and easily and instantaneously convertible from a chair to a bedstead, or vice versa, presents to military officers and parties travelling, an amount of comfort and elegance long desiderated, but hitherto unattainable. Price, from two to four guineas.

WILLIAM S. BURTON has TEN LARGE SHOW ROOMS (all communicating), exclusive of the shop, devoted solely to the show of GENERAL FURNISHING IRONMONGERY (including cutlery, nickel silver, plated and japanned wares, iron and brass bedsteads), so arranged and classified that purchasers may easily and at once make their selections.

Catalogues, with engravings, sent (per post) free. The money returned for every article not approved of.

39, OXFORD-STREET (corner of Newman-street); Nos. 1 and 2, NEWMAN-STREET; and 4 and 5, PERRY'S-PLACE.

CUTLERY WARRANTED.

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