

Hamilton Esq. 10 Wellington Street, London

# The Leader.

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

## Contents:

NEWS OF THE WEEK—	PAGE
History of Parliament .....	310
Election Matters .....	313
Votes on Parliamentary Reform ..	314
Letters from Paris .....	314
Continental Notes .....	315
Joseph Mazzini and French Socialism .....	316
Preservation of the Crystal Palace ..	316
The Burmese War .....	317
The Poor-law Association .....	317
Department of Practical Art .....	317
Fate of Mr. Boyd .....	318
A Clergyman "in Trouble" .....	318
Miscellaneous .....	318

Health of London during the Week ..	320
Births, Marriages, and Deaths .....	320
<b>PUBLIC AFFAIRS—</b>	
The Government Militia .....	321
A Stanley forfeits his Gage .....	321
Political Reform and Social Reform at the Election .....	321
Reconciliation of Roman Catholics to the State .....	322
Disorganization among the Booksellers .....	322
"Poison"—not to be taken internally .....	323
The Shadow of the Eagle .....	323
Honneur aux Dames .....	324

Mazzini's Rejoinder to the French Socialists .....	324
<b>OPEN COUNCIL—</b>	
Shelly's Phases of Faith .....	324
Localization of Church Property ..	324
<b>LITERATURE—</b>	
Mallet du Pan .....	325
Henfrey's Vegetation of Europe .....	326
An American poet .....	326
Books on our Table .....	327
<b>PORTFOLIO—</b>	
Comte's Positive Philosophy .....	327
The Incredible not always Impossible ..	328

Birds .....	329
Summer Days .....	329
<b>THE ARTS—</b>	
Robert Macaire .....	330
Opening of the Royal Italian Opera ..	330
Her Majesty's Theatre .....	330
Society of British Artists .....	330
The New Print in "The Vernon Gallery" .....	331
Mr. Leslie, R.A. ....	331
Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Tragic Muse" ..	331
<b>COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS—</b>	
Markets, Gazettes, Advertisements, &c. ....	331-332

VOL. III. No. 106.]

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

## News of the Week.

SOMETHING seems to be amiss at head quarters. Early in the week, Ministers had taken an attitude of more confidence, if not defiance; but, on Thursday night, Lord John Russell was observed to confer mysteriously with Mr. Disraeli; after that, the leading Ministers were absent from both houses; and our informant will probably tell the result of this mysterious encounter.

The Militia is one that ought to be more popular than any yet proposed; although the Free-traders of the North are calculating upon it as a fine thing for their opposition. The proposal is, to call out 50,000 men this year, and 30,000 more next year; paying to them a bounty of 3*l.* or 4*l.* in the lump or in monthly instalments, to secure attendance; all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five being liable; but in the first instance voluntary enlistment will be accepted, and should that fail in any district, the ballot will be enforced. The qualifications for officers is modified, especially with a view to the appointment of officers in the Queen's service on half-pay. Thus the Militia will prove to be, for the most part, a volunteer corps—a fragment of a national force. The proposal was, on the whole, propitiously received in the House of Commons. The late Premier accepted it, as if he could not help doing so. Lord Palmerston gave it his hearty support. Mr. Cobden and his more immediate adherents opposed the measure, and again proclaimed their preference for a standing army! In fact, they do not trust the working classes; they do not want to let them be released, even for a brief three weeks, from their steady toil: keep them at work; it makes them docile, and us rich—such is the economical doctrine. Ministers stand in favourable contrast with those Liberals—Mr. Disraeli echoing Mr. Walpole's reliance on the people. The Manchester men did not venture to divide the House, although Mr. Cobden offered to vote if any one else would go into the lobby before him!

In the Militia debate, Mr. Disraeli made an important allusion to the state of the continent. Seeing "the strongest places in the possession of the weakest powers," and "the richest countries under the sway of the feeblest sovereigns," he anticipated "such a settlement of affairs as would lead to great changes, and he could not believe that such changes could be effected by any other agency than war." Mr. Disraeli did not stand alone in

[COUNTRY EDITION.]

this view, which, we believe, will daily gain adherents. The facts are too strong for the opposite delusion. But what becomes of the Vienna treaties?

The success of Ministers did not attend certain movements on the opposite side. The ballot has again offered itself "for rejection." In 1839, 220 Members of the House of Commons voted for the ballot. On Tuesday, only 144 mustered to support Mr. Henry Berkeley in his annual motion. This was effected by enormous shirking on the part of the Whigs; altogether upwards of 250 Members found it convenient to have engagements elsewhere. Some of these gentlemen, probably, will not have the pleasure of voting on the ballot any more: Sheffield will not tolerate the retreat of Mr. Parker, neither will Bradford allow the absence of Mr. Robert Milligan to pass unquestioned. Also, we may ask why the Members for Newcastle thought proper to dine out that evening? It is quite true that the motion was useless—in fact, obstructive; but that affords no plea for the obvious neglect of duty on the part of ballot-men.

Lord Derby seemed elated by his negative success, and accordingly gratuitously advanced his post on Tuesday. He had previously given the Opposition to understand that he would dissolve parliament in April, May, or June, or at least early enough to hold a session in the autumn, and settle the Free-trade question in that autumnal session. He now disavowed that pledge; threw out hints that the present session will probably not be shorter than usual; and seemed prepared to take his time, presuming that the Opposition would not have the vigour to hold him to his word or oust him. The indignation is immense, and we have mentioned above the rumour of retribution on his track. Sir James Graham and Mr. Cobden were laying their heads together on Thursday. What does it portend? Broad-bottom or broad-brim?

Mr. Sharman Crawford's Tenant-right Bill was defeated in a manner different from that of the Ballot debate. There was a wonderful unanimity, as there often is, as to the necessity for some measure enabling the tenant to obtain compensation for unexhausted improvements. The Irish law officers admitted that. Indeed, Mr. Napier promised a bill for the purpose. But by artfully running the debate close on to six o'clock, and then profiting by the discussion among the advocates of the bill, on the question as to whether they should adjourn or divide, Government put up Mr. Conolly, who spoke until the hour of adjourning

the House struck; and so the motion was extinguished. Thus Ministers contrive to get the double credit of not voting against the principle of the bill, and of promising a measure in its stead.

In Ireland, electioneering is proceeding at a reckless pace. The character of the contests is wholly religious. "No Protestant need apply." Good Members, men who have faithfully served the Catholic party, but who happen to be Protestants, have received warning, and have been told to go. The election of Mr. Cogan and Mr. Vincent Scully proved this last week; and the compulsory retirement of the Marquis of Kildare and Mr. Torrens M'Cullagh also prove it. We understand that an ultramontane crusade is to be preached in Ireland by the most eminent of the English seceders to Romanism, on the duty of the people at the elections. *Vogue la galère!*

The Crystal Palace has been the scene of a meeting of committees for its own preservation. There was great enthusiasm, some smart speaking, and a strong feeling that the retention of the building depended solely on the amount of support given by the public. More than one speaker insisted that the house of glass might easily be made self-supporting. Sir Joseph Paxton, as chairman, was very eloquent on the "Goths and Vandals" who threatened "his child" with destruction, and he menaced them in return with the curses of posterity. Some work was done: a committee was formed, and a subscription opened to defray the expenses of the movement.

France is technically restored to a normal condition by the meeting of the Legislative Bodies and the raising of the state of siege throughout the country.

The installation at the Tuileries, and the address of the President, have given the Parisians something new to talk about. The speech is really able, both in matter and form, and not inferior to preceding Napoleonic documents in resolute mendacity. We are once more invited to admire the spectacle of universal suffrage freely exercised, and of powers spontaneously conferred upon the elect of the millions.

The more notable "features" in the speech, are a passage or two—such as that touching the constitutional reaction of 1814—which seem to indicate an apprehension that even these corpses may be galvanized into something like opposition, and that they are at least to be coaxed; and the declarations as to the Empire held in *terrorum* over the heads of refractory parties, which we can only interpret as a decided feeler in that direction,

to which all the *souvenirs* tend. There can be little doubt that the Empire is fully ripe. Pretexts for its establishment will not be wanting, but the higher the man mounts, the more sudden and the more violent will be his fall.

Old Jérôme's speech betrays a latent respect for the necessities of the nineteenth century.

Billault, by no means a silent member in the Constituent and in the Chamber of Deputies, recommends few words. He also says that the Budget and the Taxation will be grave and serious topics of discussion. Very true: but the Budget is already decreed and the Taxation settled for the year. The protest of the three Republican Members is bold and firm; but alas! from Cavaignac's lips the words "public liberties" come with an ill grace: Louis Bonaparte, the Saviour of Society, only bettered the instructions of the Saviour of the Republic.

The Emperor, indeed, is coming; but faster than the Emperor comes difficulty and opposition. Ridicule, omnipotent in France, is daily gnawing at the parody with its thousand teeth; and in France, ridicule kills. The *Salle des Maréchaux* was but sorrily composed at the installation. Véron and Granier de Cassagnac were there exultant; but where were the statesmanship and the genius? Signs there are of a reviving public spirit: Emile de Girardin's return to *La Presse* will be a Pharos in the darkness. It is not easy for the keenest censor to find him tripping, and yet he will, in one form or another, say his say. The Empire undoubtedly alarms Europe,—not so much for what it may bring, as for what it may leave when the tide has ebbed away.

The East India Government seem disposed to prosecute the Burmese war in downright earnest. No less than thirteen war steamers, the largest steam fleet ever fitted out, have sailed for Rangoon, and are now probably sending shot and shell into that strongly fortified town. Six thousand troops, drawn from the Bengal and Madras armies, have been marched to the enemies' territory. Hot work is cut out for the irascible Burmese.

Gold in South Australia! A reward was offered by the Governor, to stimulate the explorers. Two days afterwards there were several claimants. The new auriferous region is Mount Gambier, about 288 miles from Adelaide.

## HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT.

### THE MILITIA.

MR. WALPOLE, on behalf of the Government, stated on Monday the provisions of the new Militia Bill. It will be remembered that on the night of the 20th of February last, when Lord Palmerston defeated Lord John Russell, the House agreed to an amended form of the motion proposed by the late Premier, and on that question the late ministry resigned. As a matter of course the amended resolution remained on the journals of the House as an order of the day, and was adjourned from time to time, until Ministers were in a position to bring the question forward again. The motion was fixed last week for Monday; and leave having been given on the 20th of February to bring in a bill to "amend and consolidate the laws respecting the Militia," Mr. Walpole moved "that Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Walpole, and the Secretary at War, do prepare and bring in the bill."

This motion was preceded by a long speech, in which Mr. WALPOLE stated the reasons of Ministers for bringing in the bill.

He considered himself as obeying the will of the House in bringing the measure forward; but he also felt that he would be neglecting his duty, and actually betraying the interests of the country, if he shrank from the task. On the topic of our perils he was prolific in alarms. Trusting that actual danger was as far removed as ever from our shores, yet looking at the state of Europe with reference to its governments—"I mean," he said, "with reference to the elements of anarchy and confusion which exist," (ironical cheers from the Opposition and counter cheers from the Ministerial benches,) and then, correcting himself, he continued—"I did not say anarchy and confusion; but looking to the elements of anarchy and confusion which might easily break out not many months hence, I think we are bound to see that we are in such a state of defence as to be able to resist any attack which by possibility may be made upon us." (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Replying to a question previously put by Mr. Collins, he frankly answered; that Ministers had not received any information respecting foreign powers, since their accession

to office, which modified the necessity for introducing the bill. In fact, our friendly relations with foreign powers have increased. Disclaiming all improper motives—such as jealousy or fear—he based the reasons for the introduction of the bill solely on the belief of the Government that "it is our first of duties to keep this country in a state of self-defence." Are we in a state of defence? Certainly not. And then he entered into a long statement of reasons to prove his point, similar to those which, on the 20th of February, were made to the House from all sides,—amounting to counter-arguments to these three propositions: First, "that our actual defences are sufficient." This he met by stating that it was based on an inaccurate estimate of our disposable force; those who affirmed the above proposition counting up among our defensible forces, the ships and soldiers engaged in service in all parts of the globe, including the Indian army; while, as a matter of fact, we have a total of nearly 160,000 men, yet there are not more than 25,000 who could be concentrated on a given point for the defence of the island. It was the same with our ships. Admiral Berkeley had said there were ships enough to cover the south coast. Granted; but have we men for them? On the home station there were nine ships of the line, five frigates, one sloop, nine screw and eight paddle steamers. He would not disparage that force, but supposing a hostile squadron evaded their vigilance, and we had no adequate covering army on land, we should then be in a position which a great country like this ought not to be in. Secondly, it was said, "that there was no immediate necessity, because there was no immediate danger." This argument he disposed of by quoting Edmund Burke, who said, that "early and provident fear is the mother of safety," and enlarging generally on the advantages of being maturely prepared for possible dangers. Thirdly, there were those who urged that if there were danger "we ought to increase our army and navy." This he shortly demolished by asserting that the people of England will not endure a large standing army. Having so far cleared his path of obstructions, he dilated on the advantages of the militia as a constitutional force, and laid down the Government plan. The great principles of the proposed bill were to provide by means of voluntary enlistment an armed force for national defence, and to make that force effective by means of drilling and training. The amount of force permanently to be maintained was 80,000 men, of which 50,000 would be raised in the first and 30,000 in the second year. The period of service to be for five years. It was proposed to pay the men by bounties of 3*l.* or 4*l.* each, paid at once or by monthly allowances of 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.*, extending over the whole period of service, the option to be with the men. With regard to the officers, the high qualification fixed by the old Militia Act of George III. would not be required below the rank of major, but half-pay officers and persons who had served would have a preference. The training would be for 21 days in each year under ordinary circumstances, power being taken to extend or reduce that period as might be required. The existing law (for it was an existing law, being merely suspended by an annual bill) in respect to the embodiment of the force, would be followed—that was, it would be embodied in the event of actual invasion or imminent danger of it. The payment of bounties, and the necessity of providing arms and equipments, would bring the expense in the first year to about 400,000*l.*, but in after years it would be about 250,000*l.* a year. The enlistment would be voluntary, but in the event of any district not supplying its quota, power would be taken to put the ballot in motion. The objection, that to raise such a force would interfere with recruiting for the army, would be met by adopting 18 to 35 as the eligible age, and 5 feet 2 inches as the lowest standard of height, the standard of our regular army being 5 feet 6 inches, and that of the French army 5 feet 1 inch. He wound up by warning the House that if they refused to pay for this constitutional defensive force they might have to pay forced contributions levied by a foreign power; and by stating, that if the measure were thrown out, Government would have the melancholy satisfaction of having done its duty, while the responsibility of leaving the country defenceless would fall upon the House.

Mr. HUME opposed the bill. He treated the necessity for it as not proven; and he argued that the forces existing would be sufficient, if properly disposed, and the navy adequate, if called home. He quarrelled with Mr. Walpole's estimate of our military strength; and by enumerating our regular and irregular forces, the marines, the Irish and English police, he made up a grand total of 232,000 men; and undertook, any day, to call together 25,000 men, without touching the regulars. He generally argued against the measure, on the grounds—that it would add to the taxes, that it would demoralize the country, and that it was hostile to the doctrine of the division of labour. Sir DE LACY EVANS thought no case of necessity had been made out, and that, relying mainly on our present army, we should encourage the formation of volunteer corps. Mr. MILNER GIBSON suggested whether it would not be better to defer the bill until the meeting of the new parliament. He appealed to Lord Palmerston for aid in stopping the progress of the bill; and stated his belief that "the people of this country would prefer the increase of the regular army to the embodiment of the militia."

In answer to the appeal of Mr. Gibson, Lord PALMERSTON made a short and decisive speech.

It was his intention to give her Majesty's Government any support in his power for the purpose of carrying the bill. (Cheers.) The necessity for it could not be overstated; we had not troops available for our defence, and the argument drawn from a casting-up of the number of soldiers employed in all parts of the world, and represent-

ing the total as our disposable army of the defence, was absurd. In like manner he scouted the idea that our ships, even if manned, could, as a matter of course, intercept a hostile fleet. Neither could we rely upon having timely information of the embarkation of an invading army from France; as the very watching ships bringing information of the expedition having sailed, would not arrive much before the expedition itself. The present measure was not to meet a present danger, for which it would be inadequate, but a prospective danger, for which it would provide. The country would not bear a permanent addition to the standing army, it would bear a militia.

As to the measure, he thought it, generally, a good one. He had always been favourable to voluntary enlistment. There was some objection to paying the bounties at once, and he thought monthly instalments would be more secure. Excepting details, yet to be discussed, "he felt bound to state that the plan of the Government was one highly deserving the favour and sanction of the House. So far from joining Mr. Gibson in taking advantage of this measure to turn out her Majesty's Government, he should be happy to afford her Majesty's Government every possible assistance in carrying a measure that he considered of the utmost importance to the country. ("Hear, hear," and cheers from the Ministerial benches.)

Colonel THOMPSON joined the ranks of the dissidents, opposed the bill, and counselled delay. His strongest reason was the assertion that "if any Continental States thought proper to cover their countries with a network of fortresses, that would not justify the addition of a single man to the British army." Lord JOHN RUSSELL was one of those who thought that an increase of the defensive force of the country was necessary. He enlarged upon the precarious nature of peace, and instanced the Fritchard indemnity case as one of those unforeseen incidents which bring nations on the verge of war. He criticised the bill somewhat, and asked for explanations respecting the ballot, as he did not feel sure that volunteers would come forward. He objected to paying the bounty in a lump. Although he could form only an imperfect notion of the measure, yet as it was one for the defence of the country, "he should think it most unjustifiable if he offered any obstacle to the introduction of the bill." (Cheers from the ministerial benches.) From this patriotic remark the transition to the conduct of Lord Palmerston was easy.

"He was glad to find that the noble lord, the member for Tiverton, supported the introduction of the bill. (Hear.) It was his (Lord J. Russell's) misfortune that the noble lord did not approve of his bill, because it only applied to England, and Scotland and Ireland not being included the noble lord said it would be presumed that all the Scotch were cowards and all the Irish were rebels. (Hear, hear.) But the right hon. gentleman had made the same proposal in that respect. (Hear, hear.) He proposed a bill for England, and when they were embodied they might be sent to any part of the United Kingdom, and that was the measure which he (Lord J. Russell) had proposed. (Hear, hear.) But the objection of the noble lord did not apply to the right honourable gentleman—(hear, hear, and laughter)—and though the proposition was the same, the noble lord had not made the same objection." (Laughter.)

In reply to some questions from Lord John Russell, Mr. WALPOLE made the following useful statement:—

"It was intended to take the Registrar-General's districts as the districts that would furnish men. On reference to the census of 1851, it would be found that they could fix the quota of men to be supplied by the different places more equitably by going to those districts than by going to the parishes. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the question concerning the ballot, it was a necessary consequence that they should fall back upon it if they could not procure a sufficient number of men by voluntary enlistment, and it would also be necessary that substitutes should be allowed. (Hear, hear.) In regard to the next question of the noble lord, he should lay before the House a calculation which he held in his hand with regard to the expense. If 3*l.* a man were paid as bounty, the sum required for the first 50,000 men would be 150,000*l.*; and the 30,000 men to be raised next year would cost 90,000*l.* Of course, if the bounty was 4*l.*, the expenditure would be somewhat more. The pay and allowances to 50,000 men, with officers, would be for 21 days, 87,129*l.*; marching money for men joining and returning, 6250*l.*; carriage of baggage, 5000*l.*; clothing, at 1*l.* 1*s.* a man, 93,663*l.*; extra allowances to innkeepers, 15,000*l.*; making a total for 1852 of 207,042*l.* The 30,000 men proposed to be enrolled for 1853 would entail an additional expense of 38,027*l.* 10*s.* for the 21 days' training; with 3625*l.* for marching money; 2180*l.* for innkeepers' allowances; clothing (at 1*l.* 1*s.* per man), 53,550*l.*; making, with some allowances for medicine, &c., a total expenditure for the two years of 311,952*l.*, deducting the cost of clothing provided in 1852 (93,663*l.*), and total cost of 80,000 men for 1853 would be 218,289*l.*; and again deducting the cost of clothing in 1853 (53,550*l.*), the cost of training for 1854 would be 164,739*l.* The cost for five years, he believed, might be taken to stand thus:—For 1852, 200,000*l.*; for 1853, 210,000*l.*; for 1854, 160,000*l.*; for 1855, 160,000*l.*; for 1856, 160,000*l.*"

After Mr. DUFF had declared an un-English preference for a standing army, Mr. CORDEN rose and opposed the measure from the "peace at any risk" point of view.

The more he heard the more he was at a loss to understand why our forces were to be increased. Sir de Lacy Evans had given them the weight of his authority to show that it would be impossible for any foreign country to get a large invading army together without our having the timely notice of it. If Lord Palmerston spoke on the question in a military capacity, it must be as a militiaman (laughter); but he contradicted the statement made by Sir de Lacy Evans, and Lord John Russell concurred. Now, on such a measure, he continued, we are not obliged to defer to their opinions. Besides, he did not believe that any real apprehension was felt. We were actually



sending over money to be invested in the railroads of a nation which, if the professed terrors were real, we must believe to be a gang of bandits. Had the French no common-sense, no fear of retribution, no wealth to be plundered? What possible object could France have in attacking us? And here was a proposition for taxation to an amount which ought rather to be taken off various complaining interests. We were perpetually increasing the army, and where was such a course to end? The conduct of Government was not that which would tend to promote good feeling between ourselves and France, which, as a nation, was admitted to be pacifically disposed, while as a ruler's peaceful intentions were guaranteed by Lord Derby and Lord John Russell. The people of England were opposed to any measure of this kind. He suggested proposals for mutual disarming, declared that we possessed powers of destruction prodigiously superior to those of France, and announced his determination to give the Government measure his decided opposition. At the same time, with characteristic caution, he expressed his willingness to vote against the introduction of the bill, although he shrunk from moving an amendment to that effect.

Major BERESFORD, Admiral BERKELEY, Mr. FOX MAULE, and Mr. NEWDEGATE, Captain BOLDERO, and the O'GORMAN MAHON, supported the measure, while Mr. HOHOUSE opposed it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER delivered a short address, very much to the point. He hoped the House would not divide, as Ministers were acting in obedience to an order of the House.

"He should not attempt to answer the honourable member for the West Riding, who had made one of those able and agreeable speeches which he always listened to with pleasure, though he disagreed with them (a laugh.) His argument was not against a militia, but against all defence; against the line, household troops, artillery, and cavalry. (Cheers.) It proceeded upon the assumption that, in the present state of the world, no country need defend itself. He could not agree with the honourable gentleman that the events of the last few years had authorized his adoption of that opinion, although he had triumphantly referred to them as an authority for what he had stated. When he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) recollected that in the course of eight weeks four pitched battles had been fought, and the Adriatic was blockaded, he could not agree that the era to which the honourable gentleman had referred was exactly that halcyon period which he seemed to consider it. But totally irrespective of the disturbances of the last few years, which we had unfortunately witnessed, there were features of long endurance in the political condition of the world, which made him think that we had not entered upon a state of permanent tranquillity. As long as he found the strongest places in the possession of the weakest powers, and the richest countries under the sway of the feeblest sovereigns, it was natural to look for such a settlement of affairs as would lead to great changes, and he could not believe that such changes could be effected by any other agency than war."

As to the ballot, there was a conviction on the part of the Government that the principle of voluntary enlistment might be applied with great, and even complete, success.

Mr. BRIGHT made some smart criticisms on the not unreasonable wish with which Mr. Disraeli commenced his speech—not to divide before they had the bill before them.

"But it struck him that the request was rather remarkable as coming from the right honourable gentleman. He supposed that when an honourable gentleman had passed a fortnight on the Treasury bench, he acquired a gravity of face which enabled him to ask anything of the members opposite to him. (Oh, oh.) The right honourable gentleman sat on the Ministerial side of the House by the violation of the very rule which he now asked the House to observe. (Cheers from the Opposition benches.) He should have borne that rule in mind before he enlisted under the banners of a vindictive noble lord. The right honourable gentleman would find it much easier to get volunteers in some of the south-western counties, where wages were only a shilling a day, than he would in Lancashire and Yorkshire, where they ranged from half-a-crown to five shillings. In Lancashire and Yorkshire, therefore, he must have recourse to the ballot. The right honourable gentleman proposed to ballot all the men from 18 to 35 years of age, employed in manufactures; and he would take from the mills men engaged in delicate, and difficult, and skilled processes. Well, how would this project operate in the manufactures? because that was a question that must be met, and could not be evaded. (Hear.) It was all very well for honourable gentlemen in that house to do as it was said the noble lord the member for Tiverton had done the other night, namely, 'to take an airing on the British lion' (laughter); but when this system came to be applied in Lancashire and Yorkshire, not the great capitalists alone, but the workmen who were to be withdrawn from their regular and well-paid industry, would be found steady and implacable opponents of this measure."

For the rest, he objected that the calling out the militia would disturb the industry of the country; and suggested that it should be deferred until the next parliament.

Mr. WHITESIDE supported the measure of his Government. Mr. ROEBUCK and Mr. OSBORNE united in suggesting that the bill be introduced, and laid on the table; but that no further steps be taken until next parliament. But as no member had the courage to move a direct negative, the motion was agreed to; and after disposing of some routine business, the House adjourned.

#### THE BALLOT.

Mr. BERKELEY brought on his annual motion "for leave to bring in a bill to cause votes of parliamentary electors to be taken by way of ballot," on Tuesday. There was a pretty good attendance, though, as the number who voted show, a great many members "stayed away." Mr. Berkeley made his usual smart speech on the occasion, full of excerpts, and illustrated by anecdotes of contested elections. The novel matter in the oration was the opening sentences on the state of the country, considered from an electioneering point of view—

"We had before us the prospect of an immediate general election (laughter, and cries of 'Hear, hear'), when the electors would be exposed to the evils he had for years been endeavouring to portray, and he now asked leave to bring in a bill with a view to alleviate those evils. (Hear, hear.) Last year we had a great influx of foreigners, and they found us a grave, sedate people, very much attached to order; let them visit us a few months hence, and they would find the most admired disorder—a kind of electoral saturnalia; and, witnessing such riot, confusion, drunkenness, debauchery, and tyrannical interference, they might imagine they had got, if not into a mere *maison des fous*, among a nation of madmen. (A laugh.) This, if any election, bade fair to be marked with violence; a rich and powerful party, after the lapse of several years, had just obtained power, and upon this general election it depended whether the honeyed bowl at their lips should be taken from them. Already the note of preparation for a fearful struggle had gone forth; and herds of low attorneys had crept from the police and bankruptcy courts, where they had wrung fees from the hands of poverty and vice, to become electioneering agents in the hands of the great and noble. What was their agency? A searching inquiry into the lives of the electors, in order to find out their misfortunes and liabilities; and the devilish ingenuity with which they framed screws to force a dishonest and unwilling vote was almost beyond belief. (Hear, hear.) Their trade was the elector's conscience, their means the elector's misery, their employers the House of Lords, the result the House of Commons. (Laughter.)"

He also read a letter in refutation of the charges made by Mr. Disraeli on Thursday week, against the American system of elections.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the extraordinary ability and ingenuity which marked all his speeches, had seized the fact of disturbance, bribery, and intimidation, taking place at New York—the ballot-box, the object of the wrath of the intimidators and bribers, being smashed to pieces. Having resided six years in America, he (Mr. H. Berkeley) could say he never saw elections conducted except with the greatest order. Americans said that they scarcely wanted the ballot, from the absence of bribery and intimidation, but that the ballot was wanted in England, because, by the law of primogeniture and entail, properties accumulated, and the tyranny of classes was felt. The New York disturbance might have taken place anywhere. An American gentleman of great respectability had written as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—The statement made by Mr. Disraeli is no doubt substantially correct; but I have grave doubts whether you will find any American who will consider that his inferences are the same. That intimidation has been resorted to, and very grossly resorted to, and that bribery has been partially successful and very extensively attempted, is, I believe, indisputable; but that the taking the votes by way of ballot has had anything to do with the difficulty is clean out of the question. You will find that the Governor of the State of New York passes a censure upon the irregularities which have taken place, and calls attention to their prevention; but casts not a word of doubt on the subject of the ballot. The destruction of the ballot-box will at once point to the fact, that it was held in no great estimation by the promoters of intimidation and bribery, and I think I may venture to make the calculation that we shall find that our local Legislature will pass a stringent law on the subject of bribery, and in future recommend that our voting-urns be located in a place of more security. In the Carolinas, Alabama, and the southern states, the ballot-box protected the advocate of emancipation from Lynch law. (Hear.)"

Those who refused to trust the people, and spoke of democratic tendencies, might as well anticipate from under the foundation of that House the outburst of subterranean fire.

In the course of his speech Mr. Berkeley alluded to South Notts election, where the gentlemen of the county "routed out the electors like vermin, and sent them like caged rats to the poll," amid some laughter. This brought up Mr. BARROW, the member for that county, who said that his election was the best proof that independent electors could return their own candidate. He was opposed to the ballot, even in clubs, and he hoped that the electors of this country would continue, as in his case, to exercise their franchise independently, owning subjection to no human authority, save to the Queen and the law. (Cheers.)

Sir BENJAMIN HALL, and Mr. W. WILLIAMS (whose uprise was greeted with impatient cries of "Oh, oh!") supported the motion. Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE, unable to obtain much attention for what he has himself to say, managed to make an impression by quoting a speech delivered in 1842 on Mr. (now Sir Henry) Ward's motion for the ballot. Sir James Graham said—

"The whole system of secret voting is inconsistent with the English character. If he be an honest man and a firm

friend he will not want the ballot. If he skulks he will not avail himself of it. The only persons to whom the ballot would be valuable would be those dirty, hypocritical scoundrels—('Hear, hear,' and laughter)—men whose faces belie their purpose—men who pretend to be your friends only to deceive and betray you—who flatter you with vain hopes of support, which they have no intention to realize—men who talk of intimidation, but seek the opportunity of gratifying their sordid envy, their revenge, and that bitter hatred which, combined with their cowardice, marks them as the most contemptible of mankind. These are the men who demand a measure that is a mere recipe to

'Lend to lies the confidence of truth.'

('Hear, hear,' and laughter.) Of course, Mr. COCHRANE opposed the ballot—it was "base and treacherous," he said, and then quoted a quotation which Mr. Shiel had made from Demosthenes to prove it!

Mr. COBDEN spoke upon the necessity of the ballot to prevent bribery, intimidation, and electioneering immorality. Illustrating the necessity for protecting the voter by a reference to the conduct of the landlords, he said—

"On the 2nd of June, 1835, Lord Stanley said in that House that if they had the ballot he, as an English landlord, would not only see that his tenant voted, but would see him put the ticket in the ballot-box. (Hear, hear.) Now, a more unabashed act of despotism, a more scandalous outrage on the rights of citizens he could not conceive. (Cheers.) That a landlord, merely because a man was employed in producing what was essential to human sustenance, though he might be as intelligent and as honest as himself, and as able to exercise the franchise, should declare that he would not even allow the ballot to protect him in his vote, was one of the strongest proofs that could be given of the necessity that existed for protection to the voter. He told Lord Derby and all the farmers' friends that it was their object to protect the farmers against such inquisition, and that if the system of Massachusetts was adopted it would defy even the prying eyes of Lord Derby to discover in what way a tenant voted. (Hear, hear.) On another occasion, Lord Derby distinctly told them that he considered the tenantry of this country to be the political capital of the landlords. (Hear, hear.) He begged gentlemen opposite to hear what he was going to read, and answer it if they could. It was the business of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to answer it, for the farmers would be sure to read this, and know the character of their leader. (Hear, hear.) On the 22nd of February, 1841, Lord Stanley, speaking on the Parliamentary Voters Bill, said:—

"It was a matter of pride and satisfaction to the landlords of England that their tenants usually felt a desire to comply with their landlords' wishes. He neither sought to deny nor to apologise for it, while he condemned the exorbitant or undue exercise of the power; for if it were pushed to an extreme, it was known, that when any man attempted to estimate the probable result of a county election, it was ascertained by calculating the number of the great landed proprietors in the county, and weighing the number of occupiers under them. But was it right that these men should be altogether deprived of their political rights in this way; that they were to be made mere fagot voters for the landlords? (Hear.)"

If the farmers would submit to this, the working classes would not. At a meeting in Stockport, a resolution was passed to the effect that if the people could not have the ballot, they would not have the 5*l*. franchise. (Ministerial cheers.)

"It always puzzled him to know why gentlemen opposite cheered; but he thought he could understand why they did so now, and he thought they were quite right, for the dependent voter might be exposed to the influence of a great millowner as much as to the influence of a great landowner; and he had always declared that the object of the ballot was to protect the voters from any kind of improper influence, whether exercised by landowners, mill-owners, customers, priests, or mobs. (Hear, hear.)"

He wound up with a warning to the "young men" opposite not to commit themselves by voting against the ballot.

Mr. WALPOLE was put up to reply, and referred to two remarks made by Mr. Cobden, before entering on the general question. First, he claimed Mr. Cobden's vote against Mr. Locke King's 10*l*. franchise motion, if this motion for the ballot was rejected; and then he continued—

"The other passage of the hon. member's speech to which I am about to refer I cannot pass over so lightly, and indeed he must permit me to say that it was not worthy of him, because it was not an accurate representation of the words of the noble lord at the head of the Government. (Hear, hear.) The words which the hon. member used were very remarkable: he said, that the noble lord at the head of the Government had made use of the expression, that the landlords of England looked on their tenantry as political capital.

Mr. COBDEN.—No, I did not. (Cries of "Oh, oh!" "Order!")

Mr. WALPOLE.—I am not mis-stating what the hon. member said. (Cheers.)

Mr. COBDEN.—I read a quotation from Lord Derby's speech. ("Order, order!")

Mr. WALPOLE.—I believe the words were, the tenantry of England were political capital. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches.)

Mr. COBDEN: I wish to save the time of the hon. gentleman, instead of allowing him to waste his own time and the time of the House in arguing on a different hypothesis. ("Oh, oh.") I quoted Lord Derby's words from Hansard; and I said in the course of my remarks, after some other



observations had been made, that he claimed them as his political capital—it is an American phrase. ("Oh, oh," from the Ministerial side of the House.)

Mr. WALPOLE: The honourable gentleman shall not put me out. (Ministerial cheers.) That the words I have mentioned were the words used I firmly believe, for they were taken down at the time. If they were not the words let them be retracted. (Cheers.) The honourable gentleman unquestionably went on to quote the identical language of the noble lord at the head of the Government, which language did not contain the expression used by the honourable gentleman—(cheers)—but, on the contrary, it amounted to this, that the occupying tenants of the counties and the landlords of the counties had a mutual regard and good will for each other, and that that influence was exerted by the landlords over the tenants. (Cheers.) These were something like the words quoted from the noble lord's speech, but they did not contain the allusion I have noticed, that he said, or even intended to say, that the tenants were political cattle. (Cheers.)

This little duel being over, Mr. Walpole stated the usual Tory objections to the ballot, including the now famous "New York case," about which so much noise is made.

After Lord DUDLEY STUART had spoken for the motion, the House divided, and there were—

For the motion, 144; against it, 246.

Majority against, 102.

#### TENANT RIGHT.

Mr. SHARMAN CRAWFORD moved, on Wednesday, the second reading of the Tenant Right (Ireland) Bill. An immense number of petitions (109 by Mr. Crawford alone) were presented in support of the bill, and not one against it. He stood there as the messenger of a nation, asking the assent of the House to a measure to which that nation had given its assent.

"The principles of the bill were very simple. The preamble stated that the practice in Ireland had been to let land to tenants at will, or on short leases, without any written agreement, without suitable buildings for residences or barns, or without sufficient allowance being given in consideration thereof, or any allowance for expenses to be incurred in draining, and otherwise improving the land. The preamble then went on to recite the custom of tenant-right, which had been practised in the north of Ireland for a number of years, as a protection to the tenant for labour and capital expended. The bill did not propose to introduce the custom of tenant-right where it was not already established. It only proposed that where that right had been used and established, the valuation should be made according to that custom. The real object of the bill was to provide full and fair compensation for the labour and capital expended by the tenant, and by the expenditure of which increased value has been given to the land; and it provided that that increased value should be assessed according to the tenant-right custom, where that custom had existed. Those enactments, however, were accompanied by two provisos for the security of the landlord. The first was that no landlord should be required to pay compensation if he were willing to continue the tenant at a rent agreed upon, or awarded under the provisions of this bill; and next, that no claim should hold good unless the increased value of the land could be shown. There was one point of detail which was quite open to consideration—namely, the tribunal to which the decision of disputes should be submitted. His proposition was, that in case of a failure in the arbitration, the matter in dispute, if under 100*l.*, should be referred to the assistant barrister and a jury, and if above 100*l.*, to the judge of assize and a jury. That, however, was a point which was quite open for discussion. There were two other clauses in the bill to which he wished to call the attention of the House. The 10th clause provided for the adjustment of contracts made previous to the repeal of the corn laws, because he thought it only fair that there should be a power of re-adjusting such contracts. (Hear, hear.) That clause, however, was not an essential principle of the bill, but he considered it a most useful adjunct. The 13th and 14th clauses were not inserted originally in the bill, but had been added at the pressing solicitation of many gentlemen greatly interested in the subject. The 13th clause was framed for the purpose of preventing evictions for a limited time, and the 14th was inserted for the purpose of effecting an equitable adjustment of arrears. It would be for the House to decide whether these clauses ought to be inserted, but he thought the mass of the people of Ireland required some protection of this sort. (Hear, hear.)

The best protection of landlords' rights was for them to do justice; and their rights would never be safe unless the tenants' rights were justly protected. His object was to do justice to both parties, and to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people in general; and, believing that the bill now before the House would tend to effect that object, he now begged to move its second reading. (Cheers.)

The motion was seconded by Sir D. NORREYS. Mr. NAPIER, the Attorney-General for Ireland, met the bill half-way; agreed with the principle, distinctly affirming that "compensation ought to be given for unexhausted improvements," criticised the details rather sharply, and then briefly promised a bill on the subject, framed and forwarded by the Government. The whole drift of Mr. Napier's speech went in favour of tenant-right, as a measure necessary for the protection of occupiers; he even insinuated that the present race of Irish landlords were not as good as they might be, by stating that good landlords "could not be made by Act of Parliament," and that without coöperation

between Irish landlords and Irish tenants, nothing could be done. But he neutralized all his admissions by laying down the maxim that no enactments ought to interfere between the owner and the occupier restrictive of the conditions of free letting of land. Our free commercial policy must be maintained, and parliamentary interference with contracts studiously avoided. And he clenched his speech by insisting that the remedy for Irish misery and Irish grievances lay in making "the law a terror to evil-doers," and in "putting down the Ribbon conspiracy," with one hand, while, with the other, some mysterious benefits in the shape of simplified and consolidated laws relating to landlord and tenant, were dealt out by the Government.

The supporters of the measure were Mr. E. B. ROCHE, Viscount CASTLEREAGH, Mr. J. GREENE, Mr. Vincent SCULLY, Mr. KEOGH, Mr. GRATTAN, and, conditionally, Mr. OSBORNE. Its opponents were Sir J. EMERSON TENNENT, Mr. WHITESIDE, and Mr. CONOLLY.

The supporters of the measure asked that it should be read a second time, and either referred to a select committee, or discussed and modified in its details by a committee of the whole house. These propositions were met by fiery attacks from the two Irish Tory members opposing the bill, one of whom applauded the tenant-right system as practised in Ulster, but objected, one to its extension by act of parliament, while the other denounced the entire principle. While they were debating respectively, the house grew impatient for a division, for the hand of the dial approached closely to six o'clock. It was suggested that no division should take place; and after Mr. Whiteside's acrimonious speech, Mr. BUTLER moved the adjournment of the debate, which was negatived. It wanted but ten minutes to six, when fate intervened in the shape of Mr. CONOLLY, who, denouncing the bill, with one eye on the Speaker and one on the clock, managed to continue until six, the hour of adjournment, arrived, when the Speaker rose, and the house adjourned.

#### MINISTERS WILL BE BROUGHT TO BOOK.

The House of Lords was unusually well attended on Thursday, as if the members anticipated that some interesting questions were to be put to the Premier. Lord Derby, however, was absent; and the Earl of Malmesbury hastily and prematurely moved an adjournment,—himself leaving the House before the question could be put by the Chancellor. The Lords met at five, and adjourned at a quarter past! Subsequently, in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell beckoned Mr. Disraeli from his seat, and held with him a private conference; after which the Chancellor of the Exchequer communicated with some of his colleagues, and then left the House. Later in the evening it transpired that Lord John Russell had arranged to interrogate the Government closely last night as to their intentions relative to a dissolution of parliament. Should the replies not be satisfactory, the Liberals will, it is to be hoped, unite to take positive steps for bringing the present unconstitutional "Government of a minority" to a proper sense of its position and responsibilities.

#### FOREIGN REFUGEES.

Apparently for the purpose of giving Lord Palmerston an opportunity of making a speech, Mr. MONCKTON MILNES moved the following resolution on Thursday:

"That this House has observed with regret, in the correspondence respecting foreign refugees laid upon the table, a menace on the part of a friendly power to visit upon unoffending British travellers its displeasure at that exercise of the right of asylum which is agreeable to the laws, the customs, and the feelings of the people of Great Britain, and which in recent times has afforded refuge and security to persons of various nations without any distinction of political opinions."

The famous or rather infamous Schwarzenberg despatches, and the shower of notes generally from foreign courts during the last months of 1851, respecting the toleration of conspiring refugees in this country furnished Mr. Milnes with materials for a speech. He especially dwelt on the insulting note from Prince Schwarzenberg, threatening retaliation upon English travellers for the supposed injuries inflicted on Austria by the presence of Joseph Mazzini and the enthusiastic reception of Louis Kossuth. He pointed out how the language of the continental Governments changed when Lord Derby acceded to office—the Austrian Minister expressing his "greatest satisfaction" at that event, and our Foreign Secretary, Lord Malmesbury, reciprocating the joyful feelings. His motion, he said, had a twofold object: first, to give protection to British subjects in foreign countries; secondly, to assert the right of England to grant an asylum to foreign refugees. The motion would likewise have its use in showing foreign Governments that despatches such as that which Prince Schwarzenberg sent to Lord Malmesbury were not acceptable to the people of this country.

Lord DUDLEY STUART seconded the motion, opening his speech by an attack on the Government.

"The Government, by the avowal of their own leader in the House of Lords, were in a minority in the Commons, and it was extremely doubtful whether they were not also in a minority in the Lords. As for the people, the Government durst not appeal to them. (Ironical cheers from the Ministerial side.) The noble lord at the head of the Government, in order to avoid doing that, was driven to violate the assurances he had given in his place in parliament (cheers), and to back out of his engagements (cries of "Oh, oh!" and "Question!" from the Ministerial side); though the House of Commons, upon the faith of those engagements, had consented to vote the supplies. ("Question.") Gentlemen on the other side did not like to hear disagreeable truths."

As the cry of "Question" continued, he justified his remarks by insisting that there existed a feeling of strong sympathy between the Austrian Government and the present British Government. The papers on the table proved a conspiracy of kings to frighten England into yielding up refugees. Quoting the words of the late Lord Holland, who said—

"In all times, and according to all history, if ever anything mean, oppressive, or treacherous was to be done, Austria was the party put forward to execute it."

And when taken to task for these words by Lord Liverpool, he would not retract them, but, on the contrary, repeated that,—

"There never was a Government that had uniformly displayed more meanness, more severity, and more injustice than the Austrian Government."

He hoped the House would sanction the resolution as a rebuke to the political despots.

Mr. WALPOLE put in the Government defence. He read a string of extracts from the foreign despatches, and of replies by our Ministers to show first, that the conduct of the Government of this country, late and present, had upheld and maintained its dignity; second, that the foreign Courts had misunderstood, very naturally, our laws and regulations with reference to foreign refugees, so different from their own; and, third, considering that this misapprehension had been more or less removed by the representations of the late Government, and the conciliatory tone employed, and that more amicable relations now existed, that it was inexpedient by an abstract resolution to revive feelings of dissatisfaction which had disappeared.

The present Government were quite as "determined as any past government to maintain the rights of asylum" in this country with regard to refugees.

After Mr. Anstey had insisted that the conduct of Austria towards English travellers was systematic and deliberate, not adopted in the heat of passion, and that it had not changed, Lord PALMERSTON rose to make the speech of the debate.

"He thought Mr. Milnes had done right in bringing under the consideration of the House a question of great importance in regard to our own law, our international relations, the rights of British subjects abroad, and the obligations of the British Government towards them. Mr. Walpole, he observed, had addressed great part of his speech to one branch only of Mr. Milnes's argument—the duty incumbent upon the British Government to afford protection to foreign exiles; and did not express the determination of the Government to enforce protection to British subjects travelling abroad. With regard to the transactions to which the papers related, some allowance, he remarked, ought to be made for the sensitive anxiety which some of the continental Governments expressed last year in regard to the proceedings of foreign refugees in this country. Unaware of the license given to free discussion in this country, those Governments had also conceived an exaggerated notion of the effects of the Exhibition. In a conversation with Count Waleswski, he had explained the extent to which the law of this country allowed of interference with foreigners. He had likewise endeavoured to convince other foreign ambassadors when they made representations to him upon the subject, that their apprehensions as to the mischief that could be done by the refugees were extravagant. And here he was very malicious. With that simple candour which he knows so well how to assume, Lord Palmerston repaid his foreign friends for their share in his fall, by making the following statement of the mode he adopted in arguing with them on their anxieties."

"I took the liberty further of stating to those persons that I thought they greatly exaggerated the danger to be apprehended to any foreign country from the presence of foreign refugees here. Why, Sir, I think there is nothing in which opinion goes so far beyond fact, as in the notion that refugees can effect any considerable mischief in the country from which they have been alienated. How are they to do it? In the first place, it is said that by their missives and letters, and proclamations, they may excite plans of insurrection. Well, but the effect of a cause depends very much not merely on the cause itself, but on the condition of the thing on which that cause is to operate. A single spark will explode a powder-magazine, and a blazing fagot will burn out harmless on a turnpike-road. (Hear.) If a country be in a state of suppressed internal discontent, a very slight indication may augment that discontent, and produce an explosion; but if the country be well governed, and the people be contented, then letters and proclamations from unhappy refugees will be as harmless as the torch upon the turnpike-road. (Cheers.)"

It did appear to him, that, at one time, it was the intention of the Austrian Government to retaliate upon British travellers, because their Government did not do what the Austrian authorities knew they could not legally do; and, therefore, Mr. Milnes did right in calling the attention of the House to such a menace. Lord Palmerston



bestowed some satirical comments upon the "Arcadian dialogue" between the Austrian Government and the present Administration, worthy, he observed, of Virgil. Believing, he said, that we had now a Government which sympathized with Austrian principles, and that with so much mutual confidence there would be no danger to British travellers, he suggested to Mr. Milnes that as the discussion had sufficiently accomplished the object in view—although the resolution contained an assertion which no one could deny—if the Government would move the previous question, he should not go to a division.

This virtually settled the discussion. Mr. BAILLIE COCHRANE spoke, and managed to mis-state facts and malign persons not defenders of despotism. Sir JOHN WALSH, though with more tact, had done likewise. Mr. VERNON SMITH held that the Austrian "menace" had not been withdrawn, an assertion indirectly contradicted by Mr. HENLEY, who, adopting the suggestion of Lord Palmerston, moved the "previous question," which was agreed to.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Monday the Earl of ELLENBOROUGH moved for a copy of the proclamation issued on the 21st of January, 1852, by Mr. Frere, the Commissioner in Scinde. In that proclamation it was declared that Ali Mourad, who was an independent prince, and an ally of the British Government, and who was in possession of considerable territories in the northern part of Scinde, had, by a commission appointed by the British Government, been found guilty of having forged a certain treaty by which he had obtained possession of certain districts instead of certain villages, which he claimed to be entitled to under a treaty called "the treaty of Nownahur;" and that, in consequence of his having been thus found guilty, he had been deprived of all his territories,—not merely of those territories which he had obtained fraudulently, but of all his territories, save those which he had inherited from his father. Great as the prejudice must be against the disgraceful crime of forgery, he was sure that their lordships would not willingly see even the poorest person deprived of these three advantages when placed on his trial for any offence—first, a tribunal free from every suspicion of partiality; next, evidence free from taint; and lastly, if guilt were proved, a punishment not incommensurate with the offence, and not inconsistent with the position of the accused person. Lord Ellenborough contended that not one of these conditions was observed in the case of Ali Mourad. The British Government in India had a dispute with him regarding certain lands, which he was accused of having obtained fraudulently. But we were not justified in dealing with him as a prince and a subject at once. We had a right to demand compensation from him, but not to proceed against him, as a prince, for forgery, and then to deprive him of all that constituted dominion. Ali Mourad had rendered great services to Sir Charles Napier in the campaigns in Scinde, of 1842 and 1843. On a subsequent occasion he had assisted Sir Charles Napier with a force of 5000 men. His fidelity at the time of the campaign of the Sutlej, in 1846, had also entitled him to great consideration. Lord Ellenborough objected to the constitution of the commission of inquiry which had decided on Ali Mourad's guilt, which was nominated by the British Government, the plaintiff in the case. And he believed that all the witnesses, some of them men who had been dismissed and punished by Ali Mourad for various frauds, were unworthy of credit. And as the whole annual value of the lands said to have been unjustly withheld was 4000*l.*, while the estates confiscated by the British Government produced 100,000*l.* a-year, the punishment was evidently excessive, and the sentence ought to be revised. And even if it were just that these lands should be confiscated, the Nawab of Bahawalpore had a prior claim to them, which ought to be duly considered by the Government, as the Nawab had rendered us valuable services during our campaigns in Afghanistan, and at a later period in the Punjab. Lord BROUGHTON said, that if there really had been any violation of equity in this case, he and he alone was responsible for it, as he had, when President of the Board of Control, authorized the transmission to India of the despatch by which this prince was deprived—as he thought justly—of his ill-gotten possessions. Even in the year 1847, Sir Charles Napier had become cognizant of the forgery by which Ali Mourad had appropriated a district belonging to the British Government; and Mr. Pringle, the resident, having made inquiries, by desire of Sir George Clerk, then Governor of Bombay, reported to the Government that he had no doubt of the guilt of Ali Mourad. The commission which had been appointed was composed of men of great experience, and nothing could be fairer than the mode in which the inquiry had been conducted. The report of the commission, and all the documents appended to it, had been transmitted to the Governor-General, and all the various reports had afterwards been sent to the authorities at home, and he did

not believe there was a difference of opinion in India or even in England, as to the guilt of Ali Mourad. He thought, that in dealing with the acts of great public functionaries, placed at a distance from home, they should be very kind to their virtues, and a little blind to their imperfections, and he hoped he had satisfied their lordships that there was no foundation for these charges and allegations.

The Earl of DERBY commented with some severity on the course taken by the Earl of Ellenborough, and expressed his satisfaction at Lord Broughton's vindication of the East India Company, whose proceedings had been characterized by equity and moderation. Only those lands had been taken from Ali Mourad which he had unlawfully obtained, and his patrimonial possessions had been left to him. On the part of the Government he had no objection to give the papers moved for, but he thought that, in fairness, the report of the Commissioners should be included. After a few words from Earl GREY, the papers moved for, with the addition suggested by the Earl of Derby, were ordered.

But two weeks ago, our readers will readily remember, Lord Derby pledged himself to dissolve Parliament as soon as possible, and convene a new one in the autumn. The proceedings of the House of Lords on Tuesday show that he has withdrawn his pledge, and that gratuitously. As will be seen, he made an opportunity.

The Earl of MINTO incidentally asked Lord Lyndhurst whether it was his intention to proceed with his bill for enabling each House of Parliament to take up in an ensuing session a measure which had been passed by one of them in the preceding session? His inducements to ask this question were, that there was a general impression abroad that we might very shortly expect a dissolution of Parliament. It was also said, that as a very short and hurried session would follow the general election, many measures would be passed in one house which there would not be time to consider in the other. He suggested that some of such measures might be proceeded with during the present session, as their lordships had at present a great deal of leisure in their house.

The Earl of DERBY.—Before my noble and learned friend answers this question, I beg to correct a misapprehension under which the noble earl opposite labours as to what fell from me some nights ago. Nothing has ever fallen from my lips which could lead any man to suppose that the present would be a session of unusually short duration. I never said anything that could justify such a conclusion. I say further, that the continuance of the session depends on causes over which I can have no control. As far as I can form an opinion, the next session, so far from being a short and hurried session, will commence at an early period, and will be of no ordinary duration. The noble earl has done me the honour to allude still further to what he supposes me to have said. What I did say was this, that I thought it advisable that the autumn should not pass over without Parliament coming to a decision on certain subjects deeply affecting the welfare and interests of the country. But I did not say anything which could lead the House, nor did I intend to lead the House, to the impression that there would be an early dissolution in the spring, to be followed up by a short and hurried session in the summer. On the part of her Majesty's Government there was no such intention. As to the object of the question now put by the noble earl opposite to my noble and learned friend, as to the expediency of passing a bill to enable us to keep a measure hanging over from one session to another, I have only to say, that whatever may have been his intention or mine as to enabling one House of Parliament to take up in a following session a measure passed by the other in a preceding session, I never contemplated a measure for enabling us to continue in one Parliament a bill commenced in another.

The Earl of MINTO complained that he had been misunderstood by the noble earl opposite, and explained what he actually had said; but in too low a tone of voice to enable us to report him.

The Duke of NEWCASTLE.—My lords, my understanding is, that the present explanation of the noble earl (Derby) is not in accordance with that which I understood to fall from him on a former night, nor with the understanding which other noble lords have of the expressions which he then used, and which gained their approbation, nor with the general interpretation of the public. The noble earl has stated with great correctness the latter part of the answer which he then gave me; but the noble earl will not, I think, deny that he also stated that he did contemplate an early dissolution of Parliament, and that he did not think it right, considering the temper of the present House of Commons, to persevere with any measures of legislation except those which were of instant urgency. He will not, I think, deny that he also stated that which, of course, produced a great effect, and rendered his explanation more satisfactory—that he would not pledge him, self to dissolve Parliament on any definite or particular day—that he would not pledge himself to dissolve in April, May, or June—

The Earl of DERBY.—I never mentioned those months, The Duke of NEWCASTLE.—I must then appeal to the recollection of your lordships—for my recollection on the point is distinct. If the noble earl says that he made such a statement without intending it, I am ready to admit it; but from my perfect reliance on my own recollection I must say that the noble earl has forgotten his own state-

ment; for I aver that he distinctly said that he did not pledge himself to the time of the dissolution, and that he would not say whether it was to take place in the month of April, May, or June.

The Earl of DERBY.—The noble duke has evidently misunderstood what fell from me on a former occasion. I said that I would not pledge myself to specify the day on which I would advise Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament, or the month in which a general election should take place. I said that I thought that it was expedient for the public advantage that the autumn should not pass over without a new Parliament having an opportunity of discussing certain questions of deep general interest; and I added, almost in the same words which I repeated to-day, that I thought it was expedient that those questions should be disposed of before the ordinary time of assembling Parliament for the session of 1853. That statement I repeat again. Beyond that I have not bound myself, nor will I be induced, to go.

Here the conversation dropped.

AN ARMED MERCANTILE STEAM-MARINE.—The House agreed, on Tuesday, to a resolution moved by Mr. ANDERSON, worded as follows:—"That it is the opinion of this House that, in order the better to provide for the public safety, to economize the public resources, and to preserve peace, it is desirable that measures should be adopted with a view to render the commercial steam navy promptly available for the national defence in case of emergency."

IMPORT DUTIES ON WINES.—Mr. ANSTEE moved on Tuesday for a select committee to inquire into the causes of the decline in the revenue derived from the import duties on wines. Mr. DISRAELI objected that the revenue had not declined, and consequently it would be absurd to inquire into the alleged decline. Mr. Anstee agreed to leave out the words objected to, and the committee was granted.

THE BALLOT DIVISION.—In addition to the legitimate Tories who, as a matter of course, voted against the ballot, on Tuesday, we find sixteen decided Whigs; most conspicuous among whom, are Mr. Cayley, the Hon. W. F. Cowper, Mr. John Hatchell, Lord Alfred Hervey, Viscount Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and the new Whig-Conservative, Mr. Frederick Peel. Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Goulburn, also voted in the majority; while in the minority the only name one meets with which affords any surprise, is Sir Robert Peel. All the members for the metropolitan boroughs voted for the motion. Of the City members two, Sir James Duke, from choice, Baron Rothschild, from necessity, were absent; two, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Masterman, voted against it. Of the Middlesex members, Mr. Osborne was in his place, and voted for, while Lord Robert Grosvenor was absent. Greenwich was compelled to vote against the ballot, Mr. Salomons being absent per force, and Admiral Stewart voting with Lord John Russell. Salford (Mr. Brotherton) was absent; the West-Riding was for, in the person of Mr. Cobden, Mr. Beckett Denison being absent; Sheffield was for, Mr. Roebuck having paired off, and Mr. Parker being absent; Leeds was divided, Mr. Marshall for, Mr. Beckett against; Gateshead (Mr. Hutt) by mistake, got among the "noes;" Newcastle shirked the division, both members absent; Bradford voted for, in the person of Colonel Thompson, Mr. Milligan contrived to be absent; Bath, Birmingham, Derby, Glasgow, Leicester, Macclesfield, Manchester, Oxford, Preston, Rochdale, Southampton, South Shields and Wolverhampton, voted for; both the Liverpool members voted against. Of the Oldham members, Mr. Fox voted for, Mr. Duncuft found it convenient to be away. Hull divided in like manner, Mr. Clay voting. Such are some of the results of the last division on the ballot.

The number who voted with Mr. Hume last week, was by a mistake printed 84 instead of 89.

The *Morning Herald* states, that on Thursday night Sir James Graham and Mr. Cobden were observed in the House of Commons "in close and earnest conference for a considerable time." This is headed "mischief brewing," by the ministerial organ.

HARWICH.—This maculate borough is without a representative. Sir de LACY EVANS, to remove the anomaly of a virtual disfranchisement without good reasons, moved on Thursday for a commission to inquire into the existence of bribery in Harwich: but Government, and Whigs and Tories opposed the motion. Sir de LACY EVANS was obstinate, however, and on a division, there were—for the motion, 95; against it, 137. Seeing this, Mr. Thomas Duncombe logically concluded, that as Government had refused inquiry, the writ ought to be issued at once. Mr. BRIGHT, however, and others, contended for delay and a proper notice. Government supported him, and Mr. Duncombe withdrew his motion.

## ELECTION MATTERS.

Mr. George Henry Vansittart, of Bisham Abbey, is the first to commence the contest for the county of Berkshire. He has issued an address to the electors, declaring himself a Protectionist, a supporter of Lord Derby, "and a decided opponent of the selfish and levelling doctrines of the Manchester school." His great object is to secure the rejection of Mr. Philip Pusey.

Mr. Alexander Henry intends to retire from the representation of South Lancashire, and there is a probability that Mr. Alderman Watkins, a Manchester merchant, of liberal politics, will be brought forward as a free-trade candidate.

The report that Mr. William Entwistle would become a candidate for Manchester is denied. The present members, Mr. Bright and Mr. Milner Gibson, will be re-elected without opposition.

Mr. J. B. Smith's friends are very sanguine of his

success at Stockport, and expect to return him as the coadjutor of Mr. James Kershaw, the present liberal member. Mr. Heald, the Conservative member, is supported by two strong religious parties—the Church and the Wesleyans—but at present there is a split among the Methodists, as Mr. Heald has always been an ally of the Conference, and the Wesleyan Reformers are numerous in Stockport.

It is rumoured that Dr. Layard will be a candidate for Merthyr Tydvil. Sir John Guest, the present member, who possesses great influence in the borough, will probably retire on account of long indisposition, and Dr. Layard is related to his wife, Lady Charlotte Guest.

The electors of Plymouth are fortunate in having no less than four candidates for their suffrages. Lord Ebrington, one of the present members, will retire, preferring the family borough of Barnstaple. Mr. Roundell Palmer, the Conservative member, will again come forward; and the three candidates for the honour of filling the place which his colleague will vacate, are Mr. R. P. Collier, a Radical; Mr. G. T. Braine (deputy chairman of the Eastern Steam Navigation Company), a moderate Whig; and Mr. Bickham Escott, once a Conservative, but now a Radical.

The *Free Press*, of Sheffield, announces another candidate for that borough: Mr. George Hadfield, of Manchester, but a native of Sheffield.

Mr. Beckett, the free-trade Conservative, has retired from the field at Leeds, and it is now almost certain that the two liberal candidates, the Right Hon. Matthew Talbot Baines and Sir George Goodman, will be returned without a contest.

Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton has declined to be put in nomination for the city of Lincoln, but Sir Henry Bulwer has consented to stand if a requisition as numerously signed as that presented to his brother were obtained. The heads of both Whig and Tory parties are working in his favour. Of Sir Henry Bulwer's present political sentiments comparatively nothing is known, but the parties canvassing for signatures to his requisition represent him as being much changed in opinion since he represented the liberal constituencies of Marylebone and Coventry. Colonel Sibthorp is proceeding with his canvass.

At Sheffield, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall on Monday, the Mayor in the chair, when it was resolved by an overwhelming majority, on the motion of Mr. Alderman Hoole, seconded by Mr. Alderman Schofield, "That George Hadfield, Esq., is, in the opinion of this meeting, a fit and proper person to represent Sheffield in Parliament, and that he be recommended at the next election, along with Joshua Toulmin Smith, Esq."—*Sheffield Free Press*.

The *Patriot* mentions the following six gentlemen of Nonconformist principles who have offered themselves as candidates for Parliament at the next general election:—Mr. Miall for Rochdale, Mr. Gilpin for Perth, Mr. Hadfield for Sheffield, Sir George Goodman for Leeds, Mr. Williams for Huddersfield, and Mr. Francis Crossley for Halifax. If most of these gentlemen have good prospects of success, the influence of Protestant dissenting opinions in the West Riding is likely to be very strikingly illustrated.

#### IRELAND.

ELECTORAL addresses are now beginning to be profusely scattered over the columns of the Dublin and provincial papers, and the struggle will unquestionably be the hardest fought since the memorable election of 1841; and now, as then, religious ascendancy will be, in a great measure, the rallying cry at the hustings. The Roman-catholic clergy, aided by the influence of the Defence Association, are already straining every nerve towards swelling their strength in Parliament. A not insignificant symptom of the nature of the coming campaign, and of the weapons with which it will be fought, is to be seen in the retirement of the Marquis of Kildare—the eldest son of "Ireland's only Duke"—from the representation of the county from which his title is derived; and in the fact that Mr. O'Connor Hencky, a Roman Catholic, has offered his services, in conjunction with Mr. Cogan, a co-religionist, as the advocate of all such measures as have received the sanction of Archbishop Cullen and the Defence Association. The retirement of Mr. Torrens McCullagh from the borough of Dundalk is another indication of the exclusive system which is to be put in practice at the day of general reckoning. This gentleman worked steadily with the "Irish brigade" during the toilsome debates on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill; but he is a Protestant, and is now forced to seek the suffrages of an English borough. The electors of Ennis have met, and passed a vote of total want of confidence in their present representative, the O'Gorman Mahon. A requisition has been forwarded to Sir Coleman O'Loughlen to stand for the borough.

A meeting of the citizens of Dublin, convened by

the Lord Mayor, to support Mr. Sharman Crawford's Tenant-right Bill, was held on Monday in the Music-hall. The Lord Mayor took the chair, and among the speakers were Lord Miltown, Mr. M'Tiernan, Mr. Tristram Kennedy, Dr. Gray, Town Councillors Bagnall and Fergusson. The meeting unanimously declared in favour of the landlord and tenant measure introduced by Mr. S. Crawford, adopted petitions to that effect to Parliament, and pledged itself to support no other candidate, at the general election, but such as were staunch supporters of a national tenant right.

Mr. Luke Joseph Shea, a Roman-catholic Protectionist landlord, and justice of the peace in the county of Cork, has addressed a letter of remonstrance to his tenants, on account of their having unanimously voted for the free-trade and tenant-right candidate, Mr. Vincent Scully, in opposition to his wish that they should support the unsuccessful Protectionist, Mr. Frewen. Mr. Shea points out how much, in his opinion, both he and they have suffered from free trade; but as the tenantry have voted against Protection, he hopes they will not consider it unreasonable on his part to expect them, "in their supposed prosperity," to pay up strictly the sums for the future to which they are bound by their leases. Of course this is not intimidation, but merely a paternal hint on the virtue of punctuality.

#### VOTES ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

MR. HUME has brought forward his motion for reform in the sessions of 1848, 1849, 1850, and in 1852:—

In 1848 his motion was supported by . . . . .	86
In 1849, by members who did not vote in 1848 . . . . .	22
In 1850, by members who did not vote in 1848 or 1849 . . . . .	15
In 1852, by do. who did not vote in 1848, 1849, or 1850 . . . . .	18

Total number of members who have voted in support of Mr. Hume's motion in 1848, 1849, 1850, 1852 . . . . . 141  
Deduct members not now in the House . . . . . 9

132

#### THE BALLOT.

##### DIVISIONS.

	Aye.	No.
1836 . . . . .	92	141
1837 . . . . .	157	269
1838 . . . . .	202	319
1839 . . . . .	220	337
1842 . . . . .	161	294
1847 . . . . .	90	85
1849 . . . . .	89	140
1850 . . . . .	125	180
1851 . . . . .	91	53
1852 . . . . .	146	248

In 1851, it will be remembered, that Mr. Berkeley, by an accident, was successful—the success, however, coming to nothing.

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

##### LETTER XIV.

Paris, Tuesday Evening, 30th March, 1852.

WE are supposed to have entered upon a regular system of government since yesterday, the 29th March. The State of Siege is raised throughout France. We are indebted to MM. Billault, Abattuci, and Jerome Bonaparte, for having pointed out the contradiction which there would be in the new constitution, working side by side with the state of siege, which suspends all law.

The raising of the state of siege, unhappily, cannot restore the lives and liberties of the thousands of citizens who have been the victims of its cruelties. Louis Bonaparte has raised the state of siege, because he finds no one to persecute.

Yesterday, at one o'clock, the ceremony of the installation of what Louis Bonaparte is pleased to call, the great Bodies of the State, took place. The Senate, the Council of State, and the Legislative Body, having taken their seats on the benches which had been prepared for them, in the *Salle des Maréchaux*, Louis Bonaparte entered, followed by the officers of his household, and accompanied by the Ministers. Neither acclamation nor applause saluted him. He then proceeded to the platform which had been raised for him, opposite the benches of the Senators and the Legislative Body, and proceeded to make a rather long speech. He declared that he might have been proclaimed Emperor on the 10th December, 1848; on the 13th June, 1849; and again on the 2nd December; but that he had not desired it. If, however, the factions continued their agitations, he was ready once more to appeal to the people, and he was confident the people would eagerly respond in the affirmative, to his appeal. The last part of the speech was received in profound silence.

The names of the Deputies were then called over: nearly all were present. But when the names of MM. Cavaignac and Carnot were called, a complete pause ensued; they were absent. This incident caused a vivid sensation. M. Hénon, the Socialist deputy from Lyons, was also not there. He judged that, being elected by the people, he had no business at the Tuileries. MM.

de Kerdrel and Boubier de L'Ecluse, two legitimist deputies, took the oath of fidelity to Louis Bonaparte.

There were about twenty deputies present *en costume*; among them figured M. Belmontet, the *barde Napoléonien*, and the two political mountebanks, Granier de Cassagnac and La Guéronnière—one the editor of the *Constitutionnel*, and the other of the *Pays*.

The question is now raised—Shall we have the Empire? For my part I have no hesitation in saying that we shall. The Empire is decided upon. It would even have been accomplished long since, but unfortunately the other Powers are opposed to it; the Emperor of Russia especially. He has placed his most absolute veto upon it. L. Bonaparte recoiled before these *ménages diplomatiques*, but to advance again more surely. Now he is going to work against the Emperor of Russia, as he did against the Parliament. He is to repeat the farce, and the *mise-en-scène* of the reviews and petitions of December. Things will be so managed, that he will appear to have been compelled to *passer outre* the veto of the Czar, and submit to be proclaimed Emperor. The comedy began on the 20th of March. On that day there was a review in the Place du Carrousel. The legion of *Décembraillards*, that is, the five or six thousand hired blackguards who represent the people, by appointment, on state occasions, had been summoned, and to the "*Vive l'Empereur*," which the soldiers had been commanded to shout, did these gallows-birds respond most heartily. Another act of the same comedy was played on Sunday last, but on a larger scale; the parts were again admirably distributed. On a signal given by the *chefs de corps*, the soldiers cried out, "*Vive l'Empereur*!" the chorus, as on the former occasion, being undertaken by the *Décembraillards* aforesaid. The officers, who were obliged to join in or be cashiered, merely cried "*Vive Napoléon*."

At present there is being organized, by means of the secret Bonapartist societies, whose members are all vile stipendiaries, an immense propagandism throughout France for the proclamation of the Empire. In fact, the legislative body is to be made the catspaw. As there are many avowed Bonapartists in the Assembly, much reliance is placed upon their zeal to bring forward the measures that may be necessary. For some days past they appear to have received their *mot d'ordre*. They all declare that they will have an Emperor; that they have received from their constituents an imperative charge on the subject, and that they must lay before the Assembly a proposition demanding an Emperor *à vie*; and the Bonapartist journals, of course, do not fail to chime in. The *Bulletin de Paris*, for instance, has formally demanded the proclamation of the Empire in the following terms:—"France knows too well the cost of a short-lived government: she is tired of endorsing worthless paper, and protested obligations. The persevering votes of the 10th and 20th of December are conclusive. Appeal to her again, and it will be found that what France desires is the Empire. She will obtain it, for we are sick of anonymous governments."

In fact, L. Bonaparte himself, in his speech, leads us to believe that he will proceed (*passer outre*) to cause himself to be proclaimed Emperor. The words, "the factions compel me to do it," were cleverly put forward: they will be the pretext—the appeal to the people will be the means. We shall have a second voting of "Ayes" and "Noes." The game will be played out in spite of the Emperor of Russia, as it was on the 2nd of December, in spite of France. The parts of the actors in this *grande comédie* have already been cast. The General Excelsmans has been secretly named *grand-maréchal* of the palace. M. Berthier, otherwise the Prince of Wagram, is named *grand-veneur*. The Comte d'Orsay is to be the *grand-écuyer*; and last, though not the least amongst these quasi grandees, figures M. Persigny, as *archi-chancelier* of the Empire.

Thirty-one decrees in two days appeared in the *Moniteur*. The two last days of the dictatorship cannot be said to have been idly spent. One of these decrees provides for the immediate execution of the confiscations against the Orleans family, and the sale of the domains of Albert, Lamballe, La Fère, Lépeaux, Monceaux, and of Neuilly, forming part of the property of that family. Another decree doubles the salaries of all the prefects and sub-prefects; a proof that a further demand is to be made upon their devotion.

Amongst the decrees issued previous to the thirty-two, there is one which has given rise to a good deal of comment: it is that on the *decentralisation administrative*. Everything is centralized in France. All the communal and departmental administrations are centred in the hands of the Government. Never so small a bridge, or road, or wall, can be constructed, even in the smallest village, without the sanction of Government. It has been reckoned that it required 87 processes of petitions, letters, &c., to obtain a deci-



sion for any one of these objects. This excessive centralization required some modification. There was a great desire that communal matters might be left to the commune; that departmental affairs should be arranged by the *conseil-général* of the department; and this reform was called *decentralisation administrative*. You will readily conceive that the measure decreed by L. Bonaparte is but a sham. In fact, his decree merely removes these matters, from the central bureaux in Paris, into the hands of the prefects; and it is well known that the prefects are but the servile instruments of the Government; so that, virtually, the Government will still continue to administer for the communes. The *decentralisation administrative* is therefore nothing but another fraud.

The opposition against Bonaparte is steadily increasing in the provinces. In Paris it is universal, not to say unanimous. A torrent of squibs, caricatures and pamphlets are poured upon this *pauvre Sire*. These tit-bits of bitter satire are sedulously handed about, to the great amusement of the public. This new species of warfare has provoked the malignant ire of the Government. It thunders its decrees against printing, like the bear in the fable, throwing stones at the fly. One of these decrees goes on to say, that "no one, upon any pretext whatever, shall be allowed, without authority, to make use of any printing presses large or small, and that the manufacturers of such presses shall be bound to give notice of the names of all purchasers." Even the letter-copying machines in mercantile houses must be authorized. Can you conceive such a deplorable state of things?

Another decree abolishes the right of association and meeting. Every meeting of more than twenty persons must be authorized by the Government. There is a wide difference between this and your meetings in England!

The transportations are still going on in every direction. The Bonapartist journal, *La Patrie*, owns that there are 6350 persons exiled to Algeria alone. Fresh arrests are taking place every day in Paris. About twenty persons were arrested in the Faubourg St. Denis last Friday, under the pretext of participation in the barricades of the 4th December. The Government still continues to incarcerate, without any motive being assigned, persons suspected of liberal tendencies, and who are obnoxious on that account. After having been in prison a few days, a passport is offered to them for Belgium or England; and these unhappy men are thus exiled, though innocent. We have read of the despotism *illustré* of Metternich; we now feel the ingenious despotism of Louis Bonaparte.

The Prince President persists in his aggressive demands on the neighbouring States. Now it is the turn of Spain to bend before his will. The Spanish Government has been compelled to summon before the tribunals, the journal, *La Nacion*, guilty of some articles against Bonaparte.

As to the Swiss affair, everything appears to have been definitively arranged. Louis Bonaparte, at the instance of Lord Cowley, the English ambassador, modified his pretensions as to the expulsion of the political refugees. He has been obliged to be satisfied with the promise made by the Federal Council, that it would not permit any steps to be taken on its soil, against the government of Louis Bonaparte.

S.

## CONTINENTAL NOTES.

WE give the text of the President's Speech (alluded to by our Paris correspondent) at the installation of the Great Bodies of the State.

## THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

MESSIEURS LES SENATEURS—MESSIEURS LES DEPUTES,—The dictatorship which the people confided to me ceases this day. Things are about to resume their regular course. It is with a feeling of real satisfaction that I come here to proclaim the putting in practice of the constitution, for my constant anxiety (*préoccupation*) has been not only to re-establish order, but to render it durable, by endowing France with institutions suited to her wants. But scarcely a few months ago, you remember that the more I confined myself within the narrow circle of my attributions, the more it was attempted to render that circle narrower still, in order to deprive me of movement and action. Often discouraged, I confess it, I have thought of abandoning a power so much contested. What restrained me was that I saw but one thing to succeed me—anarchy! Everywhere, in fact, rose up passions, ardent to destroy, incapable of founding anything. There was nowhere either an institution or a man to cling to. Nowhere a right uncontested, any kind of organization, any practical system. Therefore, when, thanks to the assistance of a few courageous men, thanks above all to the energetic attitude of the army, all the dangers were dispelled in a few hours, my first care was to ask institutions of the people. For too long a time society had resembled a pyramid turned upside down, and attempted to be placed upon its point. I have replaced it upon its base. Universal suffrage, the only source of right in such conjunctures, was immediately re-established. Authority regained its ascendancy. Afterwards, France, adopting the principal provisions of the constitution which

I submitted to her, I was permitted to create political bodies whose influence will be so much the greater from their attributions being wisely regulated. In fact, no political institutions are durable but those which fix in an equitable manner the limit at which each power should stop. There are no other means of arriving at a useful and beneficent application of liberty. Examples are not remote from us. Why, in 1814, did we see with satisfaction, in spite of our reverses, the inauguration of the parliamentary régime? Because the Emperor, let us not fear to confess it, had been carried on, by reason of war, to a too absolute exercise of power. Why, on the contrary, in 1851, did France applaud the fall of this same parliamentary régime? Because the Chambers had abused the influence which that régime had given them, and in desiring to rule over all things, had compromised the general equilibrium. Again, why was not France troubled by the restrictions applied to the liberty of the press and to individual liberty? Because the one had degenerated into license, and the other, in place of being the regulated exercise of the right of every individual, had by odious excesses threatened the rights of all. The extreme danger, for democracies especially, of seeing badly-defined institutions continually sacrificing power and liberty by turns, was perfectly well understood by our fathers half a century ago, when, on emerging from the revolutionary tempest, and after vain experiments of all sorts of systems, they proclaimed the constitution of the year VIII., which has served as a pattern for that of 1852. Doubtless, it does not sanction all those liberties to the abuses even of which we were accustomed, but it consecrates others that are truly liberties. On the morrow of a revolution, the first guarantee for a people does not consist in the immoderate use of a tribune and the press. It consists in the right to choose a government such as it likes. Now, the French nation has, perhaps for the first time, given to the world the imposing spectacle of a great people voting, in all liberty, the form of its government. Thus, the chief of the state, whom you have before you, is really the expression of the popular will. And what do I see before me? Two chambers. One elected by virtue of the most liberal law that exists in the world; the other, nominated by me, it is true, but also independent, because it is irremovable. Around me you see men of admitted merit and patriotism, always ready to support me by their counsels, and to enlighten me with regard to the wants of the country. This constitution, which from this day forth will be put in practice, is not, then, the work of a vain theory and of despotism. It is the work of experience and reason. You, gentlemen, will aid me to consolidate, to extend, and to improve it. I shall communicate to the Senate and to the *Corps Législatif* a report (*exposé*) of the situation of the republic. In that they will see that confidence has everywhere been re-established, that industry has everywhere revived, and that, for the first time after a great political change, the public fortune has increased instead of having diminished. Within the last four months my government has found it possible to encourage many useful enterprises, to reward many services, to relieve much distress, to elevate the position of the greater part of the principal functionaries, and all that without increasing the taxes or deranging the estimates of the budget, which we are happy to present to you balanced. Such facts, and the attitude of Europe, which has received the changes that have taken place with satisfaction, give us a well-founded hope for the security of the future. For if peace is assured at home, it is equally so abroad. Foreign powers respect our independence, and we have every interest to keep up the most friendly relations with them. So long as the honour of France shall not be engaged, the duty of the government will be carefully to avoid every cause of perturbation in Europe, and to direct all our efforts towards internal ameliorations, which alone can procure the well-being of the industrious classes, and assure the prosperity of the country. And now, gentlemen, at the moment when you are patriotically associating yourselves with my labours, I wish frankly to express to you what will be my conduct. People seeing me restore the institutions and *souvenirs* of the Empire have repeatedly said that I desired to restore the Empire itself. If such had been my constant anxiety, this transformation would long since have been accomplished. Neither the means nor the occasions have been wanting to me. Thus, in 1848, when six millions of suffrages elected me, in spite of the Constituent, I was not ignorant that the simple refusal to acquiesce in the constitution would have given me a throne. But an elevation which must necessarily have produced grave disorders did not seduce me. On the 13th of June, 1849, it would have been equally easy for me to change the form of government—I would not do it. Finally, on the 2nd of December, if personal considerations had prevailed above the grave interests of the country, I should have at once asked of the people, who would not have refused it to me, a pompous title. I was contented with that which I had. When, therefore, I look for examples in the Consulate and the Empire, it is because there, more than anywhere else, I find examples stamped with nationality and grandeur. Being now, as heretofore, resolved to do everything for France, nothing for myself, I would not accept any modification of the present state of things, unless I were constrained to do so by an evident necessity. From whence can that arise? Only from the conduct of parties. If they resign themselves, nothing shall be changed. But if by their hidden intrigues (*sourdes menées*) they should seek to sap the foundations of my government; if, in their blindness, they should deny the legitimacy of the result of the popular election; if, in short, they by their attacks should unconsciously put the future prospects of the country in question, then, but then only, it might be reasonable to ask of the people, in the name of the repose of France, a new title which might irrevocably fix upon my head the power with which France has invested me. But let us not occupy ourselves beforehand with difficulties which doubtless have no probability about them. Let us keep the republic. That threatens no one—it may reassure everybody. Under her banner I desire to inaugurate once

again an era of forgetfulness and conciliation, and I call without distinction upon all those who will concur with me for the public good. Providence, which has hitherto so visibly blessed my efforts, will not permit its work to remain unfinished. It will animate us all with its inspirations, and give us the wisdom and strength necessary to consolidate an order of things which will secure the happiness of our country and the repose of Europe.

On Tuesday the *Corps Législatif* met in the Palais Bourbon, and held a sitting in the hall devoted to their deliberations, which commenced at two o'clock. The board was first constituted. M. Billault, the president of the chamber, then addressed the assembly. A document was, however, communicated by him, which produced a much greater sensation than his address. This was the letter written by General Cavaignac and MM. Carnot and Henon to refuse the oath:

## TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CORPS LEGISLATIF.

Monsieur le President,—The electors of Paris and Lyons came to seek us in retirement or in exile. We thank them for having thought that our names would of themselves protest against the destruction of public liberties, and the rigours of arbitrary rule. But we do not admit that they wished to send us to sit in a legislative body whose powers do not extend to repairing the violations of right. We condemn the immoral doctrine of mental reservation (*reticences et arrières pensées*), and we refuse the oath required upon entering the *Corps Législatif*. We beg you, M. le President, to be good enough to make this declaration known to the Assembly.—Paris, 29th March, 1852.

CAVAIGNAC.  
CARNOT.  
HENON.

The following are the most striking passages in the opening speech delivered by M. Billault:—

"Placed under the invocation of the great principles of 1789, fortified by that government spirit which marked the Consulate, these institutions have received an evident consecration by the *scrutin* by which we are elected—ours is the duty to infuse into them practical life. That is the commencement of our mission: and that mission, whatever may be said of it, is certainly not altogether without grandeur and authority.

"We shall not, indeed, see the Legislature surrounded by parties which incessantly hold the Ministry in check, compelling it to concentrate all its forces upon its own preservation and defence, and by so doing not unfrequently enervating the power of the State. Whenever, as Ministers or Deputies, we may employ these Parliamentary tactics, it is to business now that we shall be obliged to consecrate them—serious and practical business. This is our part in the Constitution. It consists in voting the taxes, the discussion of the budget and of the laws. It implies not merely the right of deliberating freely and publicly, of adopting or rejecting, but also that of amendment, no longer, undoubtedly, with the same facility of improvisation, against which previous Assemblies vainly endeavoured to defend themselves, but with a degree of maturity which can only prove fatal to utopian projects."

Marshal Jérôme Bonaparte opened the sitting of the Senate with an address, of which the following are the principal passages:—He took a retrospective view of the past, and stated that the régime of the Empire was so powerfully constituted—that its overthrow could only be brought about by a general coalition of the European Powers, which in their turn were aided by treachery. He spoke next of the *coup d'état* of 1851, and explained it by the prestige of the name of Napoleon, which name, according to his ideas, is the personification of order and liberty at home, of independence, of national dignity, and of greatness abroad. The act of the 20th December sprung from respect for the only sovereign—the people—and for the advantage of the people alone was it consummated.

He declared further that the period of the Dictatorship had now reached its termination, and he pointed out that the Constitution was open to improvements. It contained but a limited number of principles, which sprung from the various institutions of France.

He next pointed out the duties of the Senate. That Assembly was not called upon to make the laws; its character, influence, and functions were essentially conservative and moderating. Nevertheless, that Assembly possessed a right of proposing draughts of laws of great national interest. He intreated the members of the Senate to show energy, and he laid great stress upon that word, but he exhorted them also to moderation and clemency. (It is presumed that these words refer to a demand for an amnesty of which it is supposed that it is to be preferred by the Senate.) The Marshal Jérôme concluded his speech by stating that he believed his political career was terminated; but when the President appealed to his patriotism and his devotion, and that, too, after so many years of exile and of vicissitudes, and when Providence seemed to decree that he, the last of the Senators of the Empire, should be the first among the Senators of the new reign (*régime*), he had felt happy to accept the place, and to be, as it were, the connecting link which chains the past to the present.

The *Moniteur* of Tuesday published a decree ordering the erection of a Crystal palace in the great square of the Champs Elysées, to serve as a permanent building for the Exhibitions of national industry and other public purposes, including civil and military fêtes and ceremonies. The Minister of the Interior is ordered to report to the President of the Republic as to the best means of execution. It was even said at Paris that the government was in treaty with Messrs. Fox and Henderson for the purchase of their building. The text of the decree runs thus:—

Louis Napoleon, President of the French Republic; considering that there does not exist in Paris any edifice adapted for public exhibitions which can respond to what is required by national feeling, by the magnificence of art



and the developments of industry; considering that the temporary character of the constructions which up to this time have been appropriated to the exhibitions, is not worthy of the grandeur of France, on the report of the Minister of the Interior, decrees—

Art. 1. An edifice destined to receive the national exhibitions, and which may serve for public ceremonies and for civil and military fêtes, shall be constructed on the system of the Crystal Palace in London, and established in the Great Square in the Champs-Élysées.

Art. 2. The Minister of the Interior is charged to propose to us, in concert with the city of Paris, the most proper means of arriving at a prompt and economical solution of this project.

(Signed) LOUIS NAPOLEON.  
(Countersigned) F. de PERSIGNY.  
Minister of the Interior.

M. Emile de Girardin, who was allowed to return to Paris (on private business) has resumed the chief editorship of *La Presse*. After showing the difficulties to be encountered by a journalist, he nevertheless concludes that he may without danger enter on his renewed enterprise; for as conspiracy could only serve the purposes of a monarchial restoration, to which he is opposed, he will faithfully serve a Republic that, resting on the basis of universal suffrage, must lead to future liberty.

The report of the unwillingness of the Papal government to allow the Prince de Canino to approach Rome, although charged with despatches from the French government, is confirmed.

The Commission appointed by the Austrian government to consider the practicability of reducing the expenses of the war department have reported that at present it cannot be entertained. The chief reason is the eventualities of the present state of France.

Mr. Millard, who had imported Bibles into Austria and Hungary, for missionary purposes, has been promised their recovery when they had been removed from the Austrian dominions; and he has been given to understand that any future attempt to sell Bibles would cause his immediate expulsion from the country.

The Russian princes have left Vienna for Munich.

Mademoiselle Anna Zerr is at length permitted to come to England to fulfil her engagement at the Royal Italian Opera; but after having pledged her word to sing neither in public nor in private before her departure, she was ordered to leave Vienna as privately as possible.

Reschid Pasha is once more Grand Vizier: and Mustapha Pasha the President of the Council, is a man of the greatest ability and energy.

Sir Stratford Canning is coming to England on leave of absence.

The new constitution for Frankfort recognised a strict equality between Jews and Christians, but the proprietor of the public gardens throws them open to the "Christian public" exclusively.

There was recently a very stormy debate on what we should call the "Estimates," in the chamber at Berlin; the ministry succeeded in carrying all the votes.

The Danish government is in a minority in both Houses, and but for the patriotic moderation of the opposition, a vote of want of confidence would have been passed against them.

A son of the Austrian Minister of Finance was among those lost in the Austrian steamer *La Marianna*, a crazy old tub in the gale of wind, in which the young emperor lately disported himself.

The Grand Duke of Baden is dangerously ill; and Prince Frederick, the co-regent, is named his successor.

The property of Count Casimir Bathanyi, in Hungary, has been finally taken by the Austrian Government.

The Duchess of Montpensier is reported to be again in an "interesting" situation. She is en route to England, with her husband, on a visit to Claremont.

The conductor of the *Courrier des Alpes*, a journal of Savoy, is under prosecution for having attempted to incite the people of the duchy to refuse payment of taxes to the Piedmontese government, and for having recommended an appeal to France.

There are 6000 Jews at Frankfort. The Rothschild family lived for years in the Jews quarter of the town.

The Queen Dowager of Denmark is dead.

The Elector of Hesse has fallen out with his notorious minister, Hassensplug. The Hessians are deserting the state, *en masse*.

The conference at Hanover, for the purpose of saving the German fleet from the auctioneer's hammer, has failed in its aim. The German states convened could not manage all together to raise the necessary annual sum of 135,000*l*.

The King of Prussia has been making a tour in the Rhonish Provinces, and visiting his subjects of Hohenzollern. The official accounts report "enthusiasm."

A conspiracy has been discovered at Athens for the suppression of the Constitution in favour of despotic institutions. Of course the king has nothing to do with this conspiracy; but the fact is, that the Greeks have shown little fitness for their constitutional liberties, and the king *none*, to preserve them.

A decree establishes a Consistory of the Reformed Churches in France, for their better government and protection.

The majority of the political prisoners destined for Cayenne, are to be sent to Lambessa, in Africa.

The decree of March, 1848, on Club, has been repealed in all its *permissive* clauses, leaving only the *prohibitive*. This decree had been in abeyance since June, 1848.

M. Hénon was elected at Lyons, by a majority of more than 5000, and at Brest the opposition candidate by a majority of 3000.

A Swiss journal states, that the Federal Executive has come to terms with the Government of Geneva respecting the refugees. Those who remain must be furnished with a special permit: many have received passports for England and America.

The council of the Canton of Ticino has announced to the federal government that the Austrian government has spontaneously offered full satisfaction to the canton for the violation of its territory, committed some time ago by three Austrian soldiers, between Germignano and Ponte Tresa, in the district of Lugano.

The Free Town of Bremen resisted the Germanic Diet. An intervention of the federal authority has taken place.

General Jacobi, the federal commissioner, has entered upon the exercise of his special powers. Acting in concert with the Senate of the free city, he suspended the right of meeting, the liberty of the press, and the action of juries. He then pronounced the dissolution of the assembly of burgesses. The decree by which this measure was effected states that a new assembly will be elected, according to a different electoral law, which is to be speedily issued. As the public mind was quite prepared for these measures, Bremen remained quite tranquil after their publication.

The *Patrie* of Tuesday evening says that it is not intended to proceed to elections to supply the vacancies just caused in the Legislative Body, by the refusal of Cavaignac, Carnot, and Hénon, to take the oath of fidelity to the President.

#### JOSEPH MAZZINI AND FRENCH SOCIALISM.

WE have received the following letter from the Signers of the Reply to the Circular of M. Mazzini, which appeared originally in a Belgian journal. We published the Circular from the translation we found in the *Morning Chronicle*—a translation, we believe, extracted from *Galignani's Messenger*. We have also received an "indignation" letter from Mr. W. J. Linton, imputing to the authors of the Reply the omission of the passages which those gentlemen now challenge us to supply.—ED. of *Leader*.

(To the Editor of the *Leader*.)

SIR,—We heartily thank you for the publicity you have given to our Reply. But allow us to impress upon you that M. Mazzini's CIRCULAR was far more violent, far more unjust, far more insulting to the Socialists, than the readers of the *Leader* were led to imagine from the form it assumed in your journal. You extracted, no doubt, M. Mazzini's article from *Galignani*, which had only published it in an imperfect shape. We subjoin some of the passages omitted, and we earnestly request you to re-produce them, because their inconceivable harshness but too well explains the emotion and the warmth of the reply we felt to be unhappily imperative after such an attack:—

"I accuse," said M. Mazzini, in that Belgian journal in which his attack first appeared, "I accuse the Socialists of having sunk the *Man* in the Sectary."

"I accuse them of having dried up the sources of faith, animalized humanity, and incited the working class to egoism."

"I accuse them of having inculcated a belief that to fatten, is to regenerate, the people; of having, in a word, degraded the question of humanity to a question of the fleshpots of humanity." &c., &c.

Such, sir, are the precise terms in which M. Mazzini has dared to speak of men who, to this day, had always defended, supported, aided him; of men who, at this moment, are all, either imprisoned or condemned to deportation or in exile for the crime of having desired the alleviation of the people's sufferings; of men, in a word, many of whom have lost their ALL—position, fortune, and country—for having raised an armed protest against the odious aggression by the government of Louis Bonaparte on that Italian independence of which M. Mazzini is one of the representatives!

Profoundly deploring as we do this strife, into which nothing less than the absolute impossibility of allowing the cause of truth and of justice to be trampled under foot, could have made us engage; and knowing too well the disastrous effects of a division which fills the hearts of our common enemies with exultation—it is, we feel, essential that the facts be well established, in order that the responsibility may fall where it is due.

It was M. Mazzini who, without any provocation on our part, assailed us. He has done so with an unheard-of excess of violence. He has even reiterated the attack; for his last indictment was but a revival of the bitter invectives contained in a former address delivered before the *Society of the Friends of Italy*—an address to which one of ourselves, as you can testify, has replied in your own columns, in language not merely of moderation, but of friendship.

Now let the public conscience pronounce the verdict. You have stated, sir, that a certain number of those who signed the Reply were representatives of the people in the last Assemblies. You may add that, for having loved the people, THEY ARE ALL PROSCRIBED. Receive, sir, our cordial salutations.

(Signed)

BIANCHI,	PIERRE LEROUX,
LOUIS BLANC,	MALARMET,
CABET,	NADAUD,
LANDOLPHE,	VASBENTER.
JULES LEROUX,	

#### PRESERVATION OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

THE anxiety to preserve the Crystal Palace from threatened destruction cannot be misconstrued after the numerous and enthusiastic meeting of committees, held in the Exhibitors' Refreshment court of the building on Tuesday. On the motion of Mr. Oliveira, seconded by Sir Henry Webb, Sir Joseph Paxton was called to the chair. He said that the object of their meeting was to concert preliminary measures for the preservation of this edifice, the construction of which was a sufficiently arduous undertaking. This could only be accomplished by a strong expression of public opinion, for they had a very up-hill game to fight. They were deserted by the Government and the Royal Commission, and had nothing to rely on but popular sympathy. They had, however, only one class of avowed opponents, consisting of those who held house-property in the neighbourhood. In what way the retention of the building could prove detrimental to them, he was at a loss to imagine. Yet such was the present position of the question, that it was absolutely necessary to lose no time in organizing a powerful committee, by which the preservation of the Palace for public uses might be secured. (Cheers.)

Admiral Sartorius moved the first resolution:—"That the preservation of the Crystal Palace for purposes of public instruction and recreation is extremely desirable." Mr. Gordon Gyll seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Sir Henry Webb proposed the second resolution:—"That it is expedient to combine the different committees formed for the preservation of the Palace, and that this combination be considered as now effected."

Mr. Oliveira, who seconded the motion, said that he had probably been selected to do so because he had been instrumental in forming one of the committees. Our noblemen had their palaces, and the wealthier classes had their gardens and hot-houses. The middle and humbler classes were now rising to a position of intelligence and social advancement, which made it necessary that they, too, should be furnished with suitable facilities for agreeable instruction and elevated amusement. (Cheers.) Now, this structure was the very thing to supply such wants, and therefore it ought to be dedicated to the use of the people by the people themselves. (Cheers.) Dr. Evans said that the feeling of the borough of Lambeth was almost unanimous in favour of preserving the Crystal Palace, and that all were indignant at its contemplated demolition. Mr. Williams and Mr. D'Eyncourt had taken a part in this matter which would tell in their favour not only at the next election, but at many others to come, and their conduct was entirely in accordance with the prevalent feeling of the borough of Lambeth. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put and carried by acclamation. Mr. Le Neve Foster moved a form of petition to be issued for general signature.

Dr. Royle seconded the motion, and drew a lively picture of what the interior of the Palace might be made, with all the most beautiful objects in nature or created by art, collected and skilfully arranged, and with a plan of ventilation carried out which would secure a refreshing shade from the heat of summer, and an equally agreeable refuge from the cold winds, the gloom, and the rain of winter. Instruction might be communicated in all that was useful in manufactures or refined in art. And thus would be supplied the most valuable species of education for a commercial people, yet, strange to say, that in which the most commercial nation on the face of the earth was most deficient. (Cheers.) Mr. Dunford, as one of the people, applauded the effort which was being made to preserve the Palace. There a poor man might bring his wife and children to enjoy themselves, instead of, as at present, being compelled to seek for recreation in the beer-shop. He hoped that the working-classes would never allow the removal of their favourite Palace to any other country, as it now appeared was likely to happen. (Cheers.) The resolution having been put and carried unanimously, a sub-committee was nominated for the purpose of organizing the most effectual means for obtaining the preservation of the building, and to report progress at the next meeting of the general committee.

Mr. Alfred Smee moved, and Dr. Trueman seconded, a resolution providing for the expenses of the movement. This resolution was at once adopted, and an account authorized to be opened at the London and Westminster Bank, in the names of Mr. Benjamin Oliveira, and Mr. William Curry, the treasurers.

Mr. Heywood, M.P. moved, and Mr. Moffat, M.P. seconded, a vote of thanks to Sir Joseph Paxton, and complimented that gentleman on the deserved reputation among his countrymen which he had achieved in connexion with the Crystal Palace. Mr. Moffat remarked, that it was alleged that they could not make the building self-supporting; but they would try.



(Cheers.) He was accustomed to figures, and he ventured to say that it would not only be self supporting, but would leave a very large surplus.

Sir Joseph Paxton, in returning thanks, said that he had been advised not to come forward in the present movement, and he did not know that he would have done so, but he had been so vexed by the report of the recent Commission, which was so contrary to all the evidence, that he had made up his mind to act. (Cheers.) The Commission had tortured some answers of his, given in a conversational style, into an admission that a better building could be constructed at Battersea at a cost of 150,000*l*. They had completely misunderstood him, and yet they had brought this part of his evidence forward as the principal and most important information derived from it. He had explained to the Commission how the building might be appropriated to useful purposes, and "even how it might be illuminated and made a fairy spectacle, filled with the most beautiful objects in nature and art." (Cheers.) "Yet after all this they made him kill his own child." (Loud cheers.) The public must rescue the Palace from those Goths and Vandals who threatened its destruction. Though it looked fragile, it was composed of lasting materials, and as damaged portions might be replaced, like the cloth on the table before him, he calculated that the whole fabric was more enduring in its character than any other edifice in London. If they allowed this building to go, posterity would damn them for doing so. (Cheers.) The proceedings then terminated.

#### THE BURMESE WAR.

FROM the despatches in anticipation of the overland mail, which left Bombay on the 4th of March, we learn that war with Burmah is inevitable. The Government of Ava manifests the same peculiar and irrational obstinacy with which they continued after two years of signal and incessant defeats in the last war to refuse the terms offered them, until the British force was within forty miles of the capital. Despatches from the Marquis of Dalhousie reached Commodore Lambert off the Rangoon river on the 30th. The Commodore intimated to the Burmese authorities that he should ascend the river in the frigate next morning with a fresh communication from the Governor-General. Notwithstanding this, the first stockade he passed on the following day opened a heavy fire on the *Fox*, and one of her crew was killed. The frigate, without stopping her course, silenced the enemy's guns, and set the stockade on fire. Two other stockades fired on the *Tenasserain* steamer; she replied with shot and shell, and a few rockets, which set the wooden fortifications in a blaze. On arriving off the newly-erected defensive works which now occupy the site of the old town of Rangoon, the Commodore sent an officer and an interpreter to the Viceroy with Lord Dalhousie's letter. The terms offered in this communication were of extraordinary moderation. Their substance was a demand of an apology for the insult to our flag, and the payment of the 900*l*. previously demanded as compensation for losses inflicted on two of the many British subjects who have been pillaged at Rangoon. On these demands being acceded to, the blockade should be raised, and the Burmese ship restored. The reply was returned by the hand of a dirty labourer in an equally dirty canoe—of course, a studied insult. The Viceroy took no notice of the two first demands; he refused to negotiate with the Commodore at all, but said he would talk over the matter with any other agent the Indian Government chose to send; and he concluded by remarking that the blockade did not inconvenience him at all. Intelligence of all these occurrences was sent at once to Calcutta, and on receiving the Rangoon Viceroy's answer to their last overtures, the Supreme Government decided that all further negotiation was out of the question. The Governor-General immediately ordered a force consisting of the 18th Royal Irish, the 38th and 40th Native Infantry and a company of European Artillery, to prepare for instant embarkation. The Madras Government was ordered to send her Majesty's 51st Light Infantry, the 9th and 35th Native Infantry, and three companies of Artillery. The whole force, six thousand strong, is to be placed under the command of Major-General Godwin, C.B., of the Queen's army, who was actively engaged throughout the last Burmese war; and Brigadiers Warren and Elliott will command the Bengal and Madras brigades respectively. Colonel Poord, of the Madras army, is to be in charge of the Artillery, and Major Hugh Frazer, of the Bengal army, is to be the chief engineer. Orders were at the same time sent to the Bombay Government to despatch without delay all the war steamers they could spare, manned with their full war complement, and ready for immediate action. The squadron was to touch at Fort St. George, and convey the Madras force to Burmah.

The Bombay Government immediately decided on sending six steam frigates—the *Feroze*, the *Moozuffer*, the *Sesostris*, the *Berenice*, the *Medusa*, and the *Zenobia*, the *Semiramis*, now in China, to join, if required, in the river. The first four (three of them as large as the Atlantic steam-ships) started from Bombay in four days; the *Zenobia*, which was hourly expected with the English mail of the 20th of January, not having yet arrived, the *Queen* has been sent off instead, and the *Zenobia* is only waiting for the arrival of a detachment of artillery to follow the other five. The squadron is to embark the Madras force about the 12th of March, and Rangoon will probably be in our hands about ten or fifteen days after. The new fortifications at Rangoon, however, are said to present a most formidable appearance, mounting at least a hundred guns; and an officer of the *Fox*, writing to one of the Calcutta papers, says that "Rangoon will cost a few the number of their mess before it is taken." When General Godwin's force is all assembled on the Burmese coast, it will amount to nearly ten thousand men, as the 26th and 49th Madras Native Infantry are already stationed between Moulmein and Mergui. The Burmese have on their side been actively engaged in collecting troops, and making every preparation for a stout resistance.

#### THE POOR LAW ASSOCIATION.

##### IMPORTANT MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

A NUMEROUS and influential meeting to promote the objects of the Poor Law Association, viz., the substitution of reproductive employment of the indigent poor for the present almost universal system of compulsory idleness and useless task-work, was held in the Lever Street Chapel School, Manchester, on Monday evening. The meeting was convened to ascertain the opinions of an important and populous district, embracing the collegiate and St. Clement's wards and neighbourhood. Thomas Wortley, Esq., an extensive manufacturer and rate-payer, occupied the chair; and on the platform were Mr. Town-councillor Heywood, Town-councillor Stracey, Town-councillor Scholefield, Town-councillor Thackray, Town-councillor Craston, and other gentlemen, including Mr. Archibald G. Stark, the secretary to the Poor Law Association.

The chairman opened the business by expressing his cordial approval of the soundness and practicability of the plan propounded by the Poor Law Association to reduce the burden of poor-rates. He referred to the beneficial results attending industrial training schools in Hereford and other places, and then called upon Mr. Archibald G. Stark, who addressed the meeting at considerable length. Great as was this immense charge upon the property and industry of the country in the support of pauperism, he contended that indigence was not efficiently relieved under the Poor Law. The returns showing the number of wretches who sought shelter in the night asylums of Manchester proved this; and if this were the case there, it must be worse elsewhere. The fact commented upon by the *Times*, the other day, that in wealthy luxurious London one out of every twenty persons was in a state of destitution, and unable to exist except upon charity, was another proof; and the movement to establish soup kitchens for the starving poor, was an emphatic admission that the Poor Law was a failure. He dwelt upon the evils of the present system of workhouse relief—its degrading effects upon the recipients themselves, and its unnecessary cost to the rate-payers. He vindicated at length the justice, economy, morality, and humanity of the principles of the Poor Law Association, and cited the examples of Cork, Thurles, Waterford, New Ross, and other Irish unions, where the claimants for relief had been put to productive employment instead of the old vicious system of idleness and task-work, and where the results had been exhibited in the permanent benefit of the poor, and the reduction of the rates. He had no doubt that similar beneficial effects could be produced in England, under the superintendence of prudent and energetic boards of guardians. He proceeded, amid considerable approbation, to rebut various objections that had been urged to reproductive "pauper" labour, and concluded by calling upon the meeting to enter its protest against the present system, which was a satire upon the common sense and humanity of the age and country we live in.

Mr. Councillor Heywood, in rising to move the following resolution, was warmly applauded.

"That in the opinion of this meeting the substitution of reproductive employment of the destitute poor, instead of compulsory idleness or useless and degrading taskwork, is not only calculated, under judicious management, to ameliorate their condition by preparing them for a life of industry and self-reliance, but that it is fraught with great advantage to the community, by reducing the burden of poor rates, and di-

minishing the number of persons exposed to the temptation of crime."

He had been told that thirty or forty years ago an attempt had been made in Manchester to render pauper labour reproductive, and that it had failed. But that was no reason why it should not succeed now under a different management (hear). Nothing was complete at first in human actions; for every success in arts and sciences had been promoted by failures (cheers). The thing was to try again, and so better it. He considered it quite possible to obtain persons of sufficient intelligence, and ability, and faith in the principle, to conduct workhouses so as to render them self-supporting. He wished, therefore, God speed to the Association.

Mr. Willis seconded the motion. He had been opposed to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, in 1834, and his experience of its working had assured him that his anticipations had been too well founded.

Mr. Town-councillor Stracey, and other persons, supported the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Town-councillor Scholefield moved the adoption of a petition to Parliament in favour of the substitution of reproductive employment for the present system.

Mr. Samuel Ogden, Honorary Secretary to the Manchester Athenæum, seconded the resolution. The sum of 103,800*l*. was spent last year for the relief of the poor in Manchester. This was a serious charge upon an industrious community, for he calculated that the investment of 100,000*l*. would give employment to a thousand hands, the capital still remaining intact at the end of the year. The 80,000,000*l*. that had been expended for the relief of the poor in England during the sixteen years that followed the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, would have given regular employment to 400,000 persons. There was no necessity, therefore, that, if we had a good system of reproductive employment, we should be so heavily taxed for pauperism (hear, hear).

The motion was carried unanimously, as was also the appointment of a committee to promote the objects of the Association, after which the meeting separated.

The usual fortnightly meeting of the committee of the Poor-law Association, established to procure the general adoption of reproductive employment of persons dependent upon the rates, in lieu of idleness and useless tests, was held on Thursday, at 11, Dickinson-street; Mr. Councillor Greig in the chair. A vote of thanks was passed to the following journals for having promoted, or given publicity to, the objects of the association!—*London Morning Post, Morning Chronicle, Morning Herald, Standard, Sun, Daily News, Examiner, John Bull, Spectator, Leader, Manchester Examiner and Times, Manchester Courier, Manchester Guardian, Dublin Commercial Journal, Nation, Daily Express, Limerick Chronicle, North British Daily Mail, Leeds Intelligencer, Bolton Chronicle, Aris's Birmingham Gazette, &c.*—The secretary, Mr. A. G. Stark, read a number of letters from various parts of the country, in favour of the objects of the association. Mr. G. Poulett Scrope, M.P., writes:—"I cannot refrain from suggesting how desirable it would be to get some authentic reports of the Dutch and Flemish systems of pauper colonization. I know of some imperfect statements by Lord Blantyre,—I think published by the Highland Patriotic Society,—but nothing recent, or to be relied upon. I would readily subscribe, say 10*l*., towards the expenses of a 'commissioner' travelling for this purpose to the poor colonies of both countries."—Sir Joshua Walsley, Bart., M.P., in acknowledging the receipt of the petition adopted at the Bolton meeting, says:—"I shall have pleasure in presenting your petition, and giving to the house all the particulars that the forms permit. It is a subject in which I have long felt a deep interest, and one in which I shall be glad to be useful."—Sir John Stuart Forbes, Bart., Fettercairn, Scotland, writes:—"I cannot but regard the present as a favourable opportunity, under a new administration, and on the eve of a general election, to push this object. I beg to inclose, as a small donation, a post-office order for 8*l*., and to say that I shall be happy to do all in my power in this part of the country." New subscriptions acknowledged:—Sir J. S. Forbes, Bart., 3*l*.; T. Bazley, Esq., President Chamber of Commerce, Manchester, 2*l*.; J. Knowles, Esq., Tottington, 2*l*.; T. Grundy, Esq., Bury, 1*l*.; W. Slater, Esq., 1*l*. 1*s*.; S. Ogden, Esq., hon. secretary to the Athenæum, 1*l*. 1*s*.; John Crook, Esq., 1*l*. 1*s*.; S. H. (per Mr. Stark) 1*l*. 1*s*.; T. Cullen, Esq., J. P. Bolton, 1*l*. 1*s*.; J. Arrowsmith, Esq., J. P. Bolton, 1*l*. 1*s*.; Mr. Waterhouse, Bolton, 10*s*.; with numerous smaller sums. The secretary announced that the following gentlemen had consented to have their names added to the general committee:—Sir Robert Gore Booth, Bart., M.P.; Mr. William Sharman Crawford, M.P.; Rev. A. W. Archer, A. Barrett, T. R. Bently, William Huntington, II. W. McGrath, T. G. Lee, Wm. Kolk, Ephraim Harper, Wm. Trail, Samuel Warren, LL.D. and A. E. Pearce; and Messrs. Matthew Hall (Hulme), R. A. Leake, J. H. Law, Thomas Grundy (Bury), Williams (town councillor), Pilling (alderman), Bowker (town councillor), T. R. Bridson (Bolton), and John Crooke.—*Manchester Examiner and Times.*

#### DEPARTMENT OF PRACTICAL ART.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE has been fixed on for the "Annual Exhibition of the Works of the Students" of the Schools of Ornamental Art, late Schools of Design, throughout the country; and a circular has been issued

to those Schools, containing a form and rules, as follows, for a

RETURN FROM THE ——— SCHOOL FOR  
ORNAMENTAL ART.

"With the view of ascertaining the progress made during the year ending March 31, 1852, in the several Schools of Design for Ornamental Art, and submitting the works of the students to public inspection, the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, have determined that the following number of works from the ——— School be sent up, addressed to W. R. Deverell, Esq., Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London, on or before the 24th of April next.

Number of Works required.	No. of Class.	CLASSES.	Number of Works forwarded.
1	1	Geometrical, Perspective, &c., Drawings	
2	2	Ornament, outlined from the Flat	
3	3	" " from the Round	
4	4	" " Shaded from the Flat	
5	5	" " from the Round	
6	6	The Figure, outlined from the Flat	
7	7	The Figure shaded from the Flat	
8	8	" " from the Round	
9	9	Anatomical Drawings	
10	10	Flowers drawn from Nature	
11	11	Ornament painted in Monochrome, from Casts	
12	12	Ornament painted in Colours	
13	13	Flowers and Fruit painted from the Flat	
14	14	Flowers and Fruit painted from Nature	
16	16	The Figure painted from Casts	
18	18	Ornament modelled	
19	19	The Figure modelled, Reliefs, Hands, and Feet	
22	22	Elementary design	
23	23	Applied Designs	
24	24	Executed Designs in Fabrics	

Rules:—To every work there must be attached—1. The name of the School from which it is sent. 2. The name and age of the student. 3. His present or prospective occupation. 4. The length of time he has studied in the school. 5. The number of the class to which the work belongs. 6. The signature of the master, and date.

If any design made in the School has been manufactured, a specimen of the manufacture when possible should be sent, marked with the above particulars, together with the name of the manufacturer. If this is not possible, a description of the work should be given, and the name of the manufacturer.

No Chalk Drawings of Heads or Figures, unless copied from the Round, are to be sent up. No student is to contribute more than one work in each class; and it is desirable that as many of the works of different students as is possible should be forwarded. Landscapes unconnected with Decoration or Ornament, are not to be sent; nor works framed or glazed. Casts from modelled ornament or figures should not exceed two feet nine inches in height, two feet in depth, and one foot six inches in width.

N.B.—This printed list, properly filled up, is to be returned with the works, and a duplicate of the same is to be retained in the local School. It may be accompanied by any remarks or observations which are deemed explanatory or useful.

By order of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade,  
(Signed) W. R. DEVERELL, Secretary.  
Board of Trade, Whitehall,  
March 18, 1852.

#### FATE OF MR. BOYD.

ON the authority of private letters, the *Liverpool Albion* details the reported particulars of the death of Mr. Benjamin Boyd, formerly a leading member of the London Stock Exchange, and of late years a colonist in Australia. The story copied in these letters from the Sydney journals, is exceedingly incongruous, to say the least. It seems that Mr. Boyd's little vessel came to anchor off the island of Gundalcanar (one of the Solomon group) on the evening of the 14th of October, and on the following morning Mr. Boyd went on shore, accompanied by a Kannaka, with the intention of shooting game. Now Mr. Boyd, from his long residence in the southern hemisphere, very well knew the savage nature of the inhabitants of these islands; indeed, he had had a painful experience a very few years ago, when the captain, officers, and crew (with one exception) of a vessel belonging to himself were massacred at one of these islands. Nor are we aware what game there is to shoot on these islands. The only reasonable hypothesis is, that Mr. Boyd went ashore to pay the natives a friendly visit (being possibly short of water), and therefore purposely avoided being accompanied by more than the Kannaka, as an interpreter. The *Wanderer* was subsequently surrounded by not less than 200 of the savages in their canoes, and the native crew heard them speaking of the death of Mr. Boyd. The savages then commenced a desperate attack with spears, clubs, and stone; and after a struggle of half an hour were beaten off, with a loss of twenty-five of their number. The Europeans in charge of the *Wanderer* were only four, and after the natives were beaten off, went ashore to make diligent (but fruitless) search for the body of Mr. Boyd and his companion. It appears strange, after the sad fate of

Mr. Boyd and the Kannaka, that four Europeans should land so immediately subsequent to the fearful conflict in which they had been engaged, to make a diligent search for the victim's corpse. They state that they discovered the spot where he had been evidently surprised and massacred, and they picked up the belt which he wore when he left the vessel. Now, it seems highly improbable that such a trophy as the belt would have been left for the four Europeans to pick up. Being unable to find any further traces, they returned on board, having first burned all the houses in the bay. They remained a week off the island, and the four Europeans went ashore every day in the boat, landing at different places, to make diligent search for the bodies, but without avail. We then hear that the *Wanderer* appears off the bar of Port Macquarrie, on the Australian coast; and why she attempted to cross this dangerous bar, instead of proceeding direct to Sydney, about eighty miles down the coast, has yet to be cleared up. As the result must have been foreseen, she got stranded. All this, we repeat, wears a very incredible, not to say a suspicious air. However, the account of the catastrophe had reached Sydney by the crew of the schooner *Wanderer*, and had created throughout the colony, where he was so well known for his public spirit and benevolence, a feeling of universal sympathy and regret. It is generally admitted, that during his comparatively short residence in Australia, few men had done more than Mr. Boyd to advance the interests of those colonies, an object in the pursuit of which he was aided by high mental endowments, great energy, and untiring zeal, as well as by the possession of extensive influence in the mother country. As a member of the Colonial Legislature, and chairman of the Pastoral Association of New South Wales, he was mainly instrumental in giving permanency to the property of the stockholders, by obtaining for them leases, instead of a merely permissive yearly tenure; and the exertions of himself and other members of his family, in the cause of Australian emigration, are sufficiently familiar in this country to render any observations upon them unnecessary. If we are to accept as true the version given by the crew of the *Wanderer*, we cannot regard the untimely fate of Mr. Benjamin Boyd but as a great public loss, which will long be deplored by his fellow-colonists, as well as by his numerous friends in this country.

#### A CLERGYMAN "IN TROUBLE."

THE trial of a case which has excited intense interest in Manchester and its vicinity, was commenced on Monday at Liverpool, before Mr. Justice Creswell. The action was brought against the Rev. Mr. Middleton, Incumbent of St. George's Fields, Manchester,—"a widower and a father, 50 years old," by Mr. Harding, a merchant, residing at Ramsdale-hall, Didsbury, for criminal conversation with his wife, a lady 35 years of age. The closest intimacy and friendship had prevailed between Mr. Harding and Mr. Middleton ever since the severe illness of a son of Mr. Harding's by a former marriage, when Mr. Middleton was in constant attendance, and used to pray by the sufferer's bedside. From that time his visits to Ramsdale-hall became continual, but no cause for suspicion arose in Mr. Harding's mind until July, 1851, when after a series of slight differences on account of Mrs. Harding's constant disregard of her husband's wishes from the influence exercised over her by Mr. Middleton, Mr. Harding forbade the clergyman the house; but even at the period of this quarrel he had no doubt of his wife's fidelity. The guilty pair could not submit to this forced separation, and numerous clandestine interviews took place, until at last their conduct became notorious in the neighbourhood, and on several occasions circumstances left no doubt on the minds of the witnesses as to the nature of their intercourse. Two gentlemen, Mr. Dumville, and Mr. Ogden, having observed a meeting in a lane between Mr. Middleton and Mrs. Harding, and having heard him propose an assignation at his own house, communicated all that had passed to Mr. Kidd, the Incumbent of Didsbury, who advised them to go at once and inform Mr. Harding. Inquiries were now instituted, and a mass of testimony was obtained from the servants, and other persons, regarding the conduct of Mr. Middleton and Mrs. Harding, from a period long anterior to the quarrel with her husband, which was all detailed in evidence on the trial. Sir Frederick Thesiger, the Attorney-General, was counsel for Mr. Harding, and Serjeant Wilkins appeared for Mr. Middleton. Martha Norton, formerly upper housemaid in Mr. Harding's family, remembered Mr. Middleton very frequently calling at the house at the latter end of 1850, and very often when Mr. Harding was not at home. He used to remain in the breakfast room with Mrs. Harding for an hour and a half or two hours. On one occasion she saw Mr. Middleton sitting with one arm round her mistress's waist, and another on her neck, and kissing her. One morning she saw Mr. Middleton walk into the breakfast room where Mrs. Harding was; he placed his hand on her bosom, and said, "It is very cold, mamma." On cross-examination by Serjeant Wilkins, she said there was a great deal of misery in the family, but she never saw her master and mistress quarrel. Maria Evans succeeded the last witness as upper housemaid in December, 1850, and remained until the following April. Frequently saw Mr. Middleton at the house during that period. He was frequently in the breakfast room with Mrs. Harding for two hours together, with all the blinds drawn down. Before Mr. Harding came home

Mr. Middleton used to leave the house, and return in the course of the same afternoon, or evening, and on entering the room where her master and mistress were, he would say, "Good morning, mamma, have you been out to-day?" One day she went to take some coals into the room, and saw Mr. Middleton standing with his arm round Mrs. Harding's waist; she was very much agitated when the housemaid came in, and dropped her smelling bottle, while Mr. Middleton walked away to the window. Catherine Hollinsworth had been in the service of Mr. Harding for three years, and stated, that Mr. Middleton used to come nearly every day to see Mrs. Harding when her husband was not at home, and regularly leave the house a quarter of an hour before the time of his return from business, returning again in the evening. Mr. Middleton used to go out by the back gate, Mr. Harding came in by the front door. She had often carried notes from Mr. Middleton to Mrs. Harding. On cross-examination, she said, that her master and mistress sometimes had words certainly, but she had never seen them quarrel. Had never seen Mr. Harding take up the poker to his wife. Had never known Mr. Middleton interfere to preserve peace. Did not recollect having said that her mistress was an ill-used woman, or crying about the cruel conduct of Mr. Harding. She recollected the day that Mr. Harding separated from his wife, and left her alone in the house—it was the 9th of December, 1851. He had slept with her the night before, and every night during the week before he left her. He had always slept with her. I remember Mr. Brotherton and Mr. Nield passing the evening with the plaintiff and Mrs. Harding two days before. They appeared very happy. She remembered two sheriff's officers coming to the house about a week after Mr. Harding left it. She believed that he sent them. He used to come every day and speak to them. They had the keys of all the doors, and the windows were screwed down. Mrs. Harding was in great trouble all that time. "I do not think I ever cried with her about it, or told her that she was an ill-used woman. I will not swear that I did not." No one was allowed to see Mrs. Harding but Mr. Heelis and the surgeon. Mrs. Harding's mother was ordered out of the house. Did not know that the bailiffs cried out shame at Mr. Harding's conduct. Mr. Harding's cook, Margaret Allen, deposed to having carried notes between her mistress and Mr. Middleton. One witness, Elizabeth Eccleston, the servant at a boarding house at Southport, deposed to having witnessed circumstances in the conduct of the accused persons, which could leave no doubt of their guilt; but her cross-examination by Serjeant Wilkins brought out several contradictions in her story, and threw great suspicion over her own private character. The conversation which Mr. Dumville deposed to having heard behind a hedge was wholly uncorroborated by Mr. Ogden. At the sitting of the Court on Tuesday, Serjeant Wilkins commenced his address for the defendant. He went carefully through the whole case, dwelling especially on the incredible nature of Elizabeth Eccleston's testimony. Mr. Justice Creswell having summed up the evidence, the jury retired about half-past 12 o'clock, and returned in the course of an hour, when the foreman stated that there was no chance of their coming to any agreement. The Judge desired them to retire again, and after a long consultation a verdict was returned for the defendant.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Princess Mary of Cambridge, aged eighteen, made her debut at the Queen's Drawing-room, on Thursday afternoon.

It is said that Mr. Sidney Herbert is very shortly to be raised to the peerage.

His Royal Highness the Count d'Aquila, brother of the King of Naples, and the Countess d'Aquila, attended by the Neapolitan Minister, Prince di Carini, had an audience of the Queen on Wednesday at Buckingham Palace.

The Reverend Lord Mark Ker is said to have formally renounced the "heresies" of the Church of England, and joined the Roman Catholic Church.

The Lord Chancellor of Ireland (the Right Hon. F. Blackburne) has been seriously indisposed; he is improving in health, but will be unable to take his seat in the Court of Chancery before next term, which commences on the 15th of April.

Edward Lombe, Esq., of Melton Hall, Wymondham, who recently died at Florence, has left his personal property, subject to the life interest of his wife, to the University College Hospital. The property is estimated at more than 25,000*l*.

The Draper's Company of London has sent a contribution of 100 guineas, besides an annual subscription of 25*l*, to the Irish Church Missionary Society; and a sum of 50*l*, to the Bennis Fishing Society, which has been established for the employment of converts to the protestant faith.

Captain Gregg, inspector of pensioners in the Liverpool district, has been elected by the Watch committee to the post of head constable, *vice* Mr. Dowling. There were forty applicants for the appointment, one of whom sent a plaster cast of his head instead of the required testimonials, and another his portrait.

The Very Rev. "Monsignore" Searle has written a letter to the papers, in which he throws the entire blame of his presentation at court, under the above title, upon the Lord Chamberlain under Lord John Russell's ministry, by whom, according to his statement, inquiries were made previous to his presentation to the Queen, and the objection to his foreign title was first raised by the present ministry.

The United Flint Glassmakers of Birmingham intend to present Mr. George Dawson, M.A., some time in April, with a splendid specimen of their manufacture, as a testimonial of their admiration and respect "for his advocacy of the cause of humanity and progress, more especially the cause of Hungary." Their present is a cup in the form of a tulip, fourteen inches high, capable of holding half a



gallon. The bowl is ruby coloured, the pedestal white, and the foot green, and it weighs upwards of four pounds. On one side of the bowl are engraved the rose, thistle, and shamrock, and on the other is a suitable inscription.

On Saturday, from an early hour, the Crystal Palace was thronged with visitors, and several thousands affixed their signatures to petitions to parliament, praying for the preservation of the building, either in its present or some other suitable site, as a place for public recreation.

The directors of the South Western, in order to encourage the erection of cheap suburban dwellings, have resolved to contract with persons building such houses in the vicinity of the line for the issue of residential tickets for any given number of years, the same to be transferred with the key of the house to the occupier, for the conveyance of himself and family.

The *Patriot* announces that three students have been expelled from New College, St. John's Wood, belonging to the Congregationalists, for having denied the plenary inspiration of the Bible, and for having distinctly avowed their conviction that the ultimate standard of appeal in matters of belief is the individual conscience, and not the written record of Revelation. Dr. Harris, the principal, and the council of the college, offered the three students an opportunity of withdrawing from the college for three months, for the purpose of a re-examination of the subject, but the offer was rejected.

Emile Girardin has resumed the editorship of *La Presse*.

Two pairs of glass chandelabras, ten feet high, manufactured at Birmingham for the Viceroy of Egypt, have been sent by him to the tomb of Mahomet at Mecca.

Prince de Joinville arrived at Cruise's hotel, Limerick, on Wednesday, and left next morning for Galway on a fishing excursion.

A royal decree prohibits the admission into Spain, or into any portion of the monarchy, of two journals printed in London and Paris in the Spanish language. These journals are entitled *El Eco de Ambos Mundos* (The Echo of both Worlds) and *El Catolicismo Neto* (Pure Catholicism.)

Professor Rauch, of Berlin, has just completed the model for the memorial statue of Immanuel Kant, which is to be erected on the Philosophengange at Königsberg, the favourite promenade of the great metaphysician.

The queen-dowager of Denmark, Marie Sophie Frederica, born princess of Hesse Cassel, died on the 21st ult. She was born October 28th, 1767; married King Frederick VI. in 1790, and became his widow in 1839.

On the 20th ult., the mother of General Garibaldi died at Nice, at a very advanced age. She was buried the same afternoon, and all the French and Italian refugees attended the funeral; the corners of the pall were held by four political exiles—a Frenchman, a Pole, an Italian, and a Russian. Many ladies were present.

The *Indépendance Belge* having included the name of M. Jules Janin among the guests at a brilliant party given at Paris, M. Janin has corrected the statement in the following note:—"Paris, March 26.—Monsieur,—I was not present at the elegant festivity which the historian of our incredible daily fêtes relates to you with so much grace and spirit. I have the honour to belong to a group of crotchety persons who fancy that they have no right to be amusing themselves while their legitimate chiefs and masters—M. de Remusat, M. Thiers, and M. Victor Hugo—are expelled from this France, of which they are the glory and pride. Receive, &c.—JULES JANIN."

The Viscountess Hawarden died on the 24th ult. at Calais. She was the youngest daughter of Patrick Crawford Bruce, Esq., of Taplow Lodge, Bucks, and was married in 1811. The Countess of Yarborough is her daughter.

Lady Lyons, wife of Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B., British minister at Stockholm, died in that city on the 10th ult. She was married to Sir Edmund in 1814, and is the mother of the Countess of Arundel and Surrey.

Lady Olivia Acheson died on the 28th ult. at Birmingham, in the forty-first year of her age. Her ladyship was daughter of the second Earl of Gosford, and was sister to Viscount Acheson.

Lady Milford, who died on Thursday week at Picton Castle, near Pembroke, was daughter of John Gordon, Esq., of Hanwell, and married the present Lord Milford, by whom she has left no issue.

Sir John Shelley died on the 28th ult. at Lonsdale House, Fulham, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was the son of the first baronet, and succeeded to the title in 1783. Sir John was a claimant of the ancient barony of Sudley, which has been in abeyance since 1808. His son, John Villiers, born in 1808, and now a candidate for Westminster, succeeds to the baronetcy, and the family estates in Sussex and Lancashire.

There having long been wanting in Pimlico an institution where working men might obtain the elements of a good education, and instruction, and mental culture, by means of a library, reading-room, and lectures, the Westminster and Pimlico People's Institute has lately been formed for the purpose of extending these advantages to the populous and rapidly improving district. On Wednesday evening, a Soiree was held at the Lecture-room, Vauxhall-road, to inaugurate the opening of the reading-room and library in St. Leonard-street, Upper Tachbrook-street, Pimlico. Mr. Edward Vansittart Neale presided, and Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, M.P., Mr. F. J. Furnivall, Mr. Edmund Stallwood, the secretary, and other gentlemen, addressed the meeting in favour of the objects of the institution.

Prince Albert presided on Wednesday evening at a meeting of the Society of Arts, when Mr. Bazley, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, delivered a lecture on Cotton as an element of industry, its extending consump-

tion, and its confined supply. Mr. Bazley remarked that from a careful examination of the cotton fabrics in the Great Exhibition of last year, it was evident that, so far as beauty of design, of colour, and refined taste were concerned, the French and other continental manufacturers took deservedly a high position; while in useful goods, adapted rather for comfort than for ornament, British manufacturers were pre-eminent. "Here, however, a word of advice, or of admonition, may be offered to both British manufacturers and merchants: there is unquestionably a cheapening tendency pursued by them, which, with its consequent deterioration, must inevitably lead to an ultimate diminution of business, and which, it is feared, is already damaging our national character, and giving to foreign rivals for their superior productions fame and profit exceeding our own." At the conclusion of the lecture, which occupied two hours, Lord Granville moved, and Sir John Royleau seconded, a vote of thanks to Mr. Bazley. Prince Albert then rose and said—"I will ask Mr. Bazley to add my thanks to those of the meeting for the very clear and comprehensive statement which he has made. (Applause.) He has given me many lectures on the subject, and one especially, in his factory, which I shall ever remember with pleasure, from the great skill and wisdom with which that establishment is arranged and conducted." Prince Albert afterwards joined the Queen at the Haymarket Theatre.

We are glad to learn that there is a prospect of the establishment of Public Baths and Washhouses in the parish of St. George's, Hanover-square. The vestry by a majority of two-thirds have the power to advance funds out of the poor-rate, under the act of Parliament for that purpose, and experience in other parishes proves that these institutions can support themselves in which case the repayment of the amount advanced from the poor-rate is proposed to be secured by means of a sinking fund. In the adjoining parishes of St. Martin-in-the-fields and St. Marylebone the returns for the year 1851 show the receipts to have been—in the former, 3,437l. 17s. 7d. for bathers, and 499l. 14s. 1d. for washers; and in the latter, 2,242l. 3s. 7d. for bathers, and 300l. 18s. 10d. for washers. In a parish like St. George's, where rents are high, the humbler classes are obliged to put up with confined accommodation at home, and these buildings would, therefore, be of particular service to the poor, who are likely to prove even better customers than the inhabitants of less highly rented adjoining parishes.

On Tuesday, a deputation consisting of several members of the House of Commons, waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Downing-street, to make a proposition on behalf of the depositors who suffered by the bankruptcy of the Cuffe-street savings bank, in Dublin. Mr. Reynolds observed that, referring to the recent vote of the House of Commons on the subject of the Cuffe-street savings bank, he was not prepared to accept it as a general settlement of the question, and that he still entertained the hope that the Government would reconsider the case of the 2000 unfortunate persons in Dublin, who in their old age had been deprived of the means of existence by the dishonest practices of the managers of this bank. The case ought to be tried in a court of law; as, by compliance with this request, a question would be finally set at rest which was now regarded with the most intense anxiety. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that this was not a new case, as the facts had been repeatedly brought under the notice of the house and the late government. If Mr. Reynolds would put his proposition, on behalf of the depositors, in writing, he would take care that it should receive full consideration. Mr. Reynolds undertook to put the proposition in writing, and the deputation then withdrew.

A locomotive is now at work daily on the Bombay railway, and crowds of natives assemble to gaze and wonder at the "Ag Ghazee" or "fire-chariot," as they have christened it.

Sir John Grey, the commander-in chief of the Bombay army, who left home to assume that important post in a tropical climate, at the age of seventy-two, had a stroke of paralysis in the latter end of February, and is on his way to England. The commander-in-chief at Madras, Sir Richard Armstrong, is expected to follow him very shortly.

A formidable rebellion against the reigning dynasty has been raging for nearly a year in the empire of China. The progress of Tien-teh, the rebel chief, appears by the last accounts to have been decided and unquestionable; his proclamations and bulletins of victories are openly shown in Canton. The governor of the Canton province is besieged in one of his own towns, and the imperial forces have been signally defeated. The only hope of the Manchoo dynasty lies in the chance of dissension among the rebel leaders.

Mrs. Mowatt, the actress, had several of her ribs broken and was otherwise injured, by an unruly horse in Boston, on the 18th of March.

The New York Legislature has passed a bill chartering the erection of a "Crystal Palace," in the City of New York, and Governor Hunt signed the bill on Saturday, the 13th inst. So there is now no doubt of an "American World's Fair."

The Legislature of Massachusetts, having appointed a committee to consider and report on a portion of the Governor's message relating to Kossuth, the committee reported on Saturday to the Senate, through Mr. Hazlewell, their chairman, a series of resolutions in favour of Hungary, lauding Kossuth, denouncing Russia and Austria, and declaring that it is the duty of all constitutionally governed countries to cultivate intimate relations, in order to repel the attacks of despots.

A letter from Washington, dated March 11th, says:—"The Senate to-day, after a good deal of discussion, passed a resolution directing the payment of Kossuth's hotel bill, whilst here, out of the contingent fund. The bill amounts to 4500 dollars for thirteen days' board and lodging of

the great Magyar. This is at the rate of about 120,000 dollars a year. The President 'de facto' of the United States receives for all his expenses 25,000 dollars a year. The Governor 'de jure' of Hungary, as his admirers express it, requires 120,000 dollars a year for board and lodging alone. Although we pay our own public servants with a rigid eye to economy, we could not afford to appear mean to 'the poor exile,' and of course the Senate unanimously ordered the money to be paid. It would be worth fifty times the sum could the Senate by so doing blot out from the record all the ridiculous proceedings which Congress has been guilty of in connexion with the whole Kossuth humbug."

The *Megara* steamer, which took out the battalion of Rifles to the Cape, and of whose crowded and inconvenient state so many complaints were made, was on fire three times between Plymouth and Madeira.

The *Times* states that there is at present loading in the river Tyne a new vessel belonging to a company at Ham-burgh. She was built at Sunderland for emigration purposes, is 484 tons measurement, was built at 9l. per ton, and is stated to have cost her owners in her building and fitting out 1,500l. less than what would have been the out-lay at Ham-burgh.

The rapidity with which screw-steamers trading with foreign parts increase at Liverpool is astonishing. On Saturday no less than three large and powerful screws sailed from the Mersey, namely the *Pelican* for Rotterdam, the *Arabian* for Constantinople, and the *Osmanli* for Messina. Two also arrived, viz., the *Orontes* from Alexandria, and the *Astrologer* from Constantinople.

By letters received from Port Victoria, Vancouver's Island, dated the 10th of January, it appears that gold of great purity has been discovered at Queen Charlotte's Island. Several vessels have recently returned from Queen Charlotte's Island, the severity of the winter not permitting mining operations. Gold has been discovered there in great abundance, and it is expected that in the course of the spring the mines will prove richer than California.

On the morning of the 23rd inst., the ship *Emma*, of London, from Honduras to Queenstown, for Ordens, with a valuable cargo of mahogany, logwood, &c., struck on a sunken rock to the east of Filcareel Bay, Dunworey, on the Cork coast, and instantly became a total wreck; fifteen out of the eighteen hands on board were drowned. The three sailors who were saved contrived to cling to a rock until they were taken off by the coast guards, but they were sadly bruised.

The screw-steam troop ship *Vulcan*, Master Commander Penn, arrived at Plymouth on Sunday night from Simon's Bay, after a voyage of a hundred and seven days! This passage does not reflect much honour on the steam-navy of England. The engines and machinery of the unfortunate *Vulcan* have scarcely ever been in proper condition. The engines were constructed by Rennie, and have been in use only since the 23rd of January, 1851. During the passage home, on the 16th of January, after steaming thirteen hours, the engines were stopped in consequence of a favourable breeze having sprung up. The next day (the 17th), when the enginemmen were clearing the machinery, which was out of gear, they discovered that the foremost main crank was cracked or split, and this circumstance having been duly reported to the commanding officer, the engines have never been tried since, and the greater part of her coal was discharged at Ascension. All hands were on short allowance of provisions during the latter part of the voyage.

In the Register of Deaths for the month of March a remarkable case is mentioned: a lunatic hairdresser died at the Peckham Asylum of peritonitis produced by his having swallowed the handle of a tablespoon. On a *post mortem* examination, "thirty-two handles of tablespoons, about a dozen of nails, two or three stones, and a button, were found in the stomach of the deceased."

On Monday evening Mr. Payne held an inquest at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, on the body of William Mainwaring, an engineer, who was thrown out of a chaise in Moorgate-street by the horse slipping down. One of the witnesses said, that the only way he could account for the accident was that the roads were kept so bare by the street-orderlies that the horses could not find sufficient hold for their feet. The coroner remarked that this was now a general complaint. The verdict was "accidental death."

Charles Bartlett, a bailiff of the Westminster County Court, went to arrest a journeyman baker, named Greenwood, on the 20th ult., at the house of his employer, named John Meek. Greenwood took refuge in a loft, and while Bartlett, the bailiff, was endeavouring to follow him, Meek called some more of the journeymen, and so overwhelmed the "executive power" with clouds of flour, that all his clothes were spoiled, and he had great difficulty in making the capture. Meek was brought before Mr. Henry at Bow-street, on Saturday, charged with this assault, and was fined 5l.

Daniel Billington, a costermonger, better known it was said by the name of Daniel Good, from his savage character, and a real or fancied resemblance to the notorious murderer of that name, was charged at the Thames Police Court, on Wednesday, with having stabbed in seven places a woman with whom he lived, named Ellen Sweeney. He had stabbed the poor woman also on a previous occasion, but owing to her infatuated fondness for her brutal paramour he escaped justice. She was brought from the London Hospital and gave her evidence on Wednesday with extreme reluctance. Billington was committed for trial.

William Rollinson, an aged poisoner, was condemned to death at Bury St. Edmunds last week. The miserable old creature is 83 years of age, and he was convicted of administering arsenic to a married woman named Cowell.

On Wednesday, George Briggs, a shepherd, aged 61, was committed for trial by the magistrates at Doncaster, on the charge of having committed a capital offence on



a girl nine years old, named Clara Thompson. On Thursday morning he was found hanging from the bars of the window of his cell in York Castle, by a belt which he used to wear. Life was quite extinct. He lived with his daughter, and hearing she was about to get married, and thinking he would be deprived of his home, he endeavoured to dissuade her, and failing in doing so, he mixed arsenic with her food, and altogether, it is said, upwards of a dozen persons innocently partook of it, the deceased woman Cowell dying from the effects of it. When sentenced he was removed from the dock in apparently a dying state, and it is considered a matter of much doubt whether he will live until the sentence of the law can be carried into effect.

Abel Ovans and Eliza Dore, both under twenty-three years of age, were tried at Monmouth, before Mr. Justice Wightman, on Saturday, for the murder of their child, an infant six weeks old. They had been living together for some time, though not married, and were in very distressed circumstances. On Sunday, the 11th of January last, they were turned out of their lodgings for non-payment of rent. They were seen by different persons wandering about the town of Newport for several days, and the 14th of January was the last day the infant was seen alive. The next morning its body was found in a pond. They were arrested on suspicion, and in a few days Eliza Dore confessed voluntarily that Ovans had thrown the child into the pond. They were both found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged.

About ten o'clock on Monday morning, as Mr. John Giles Pilcher was crossing the road at the foot of the incline of the railway terminus near St. Thomas's Hospital to the corner of Duke-street, leading to Tooley-street, in which his extensive warehouses are situated, one of the Paddington omnibuses knocked him down, and the wheels passed over his body. He was instantly conveyed by the railway officers and some bystanders, to the hospital. At his own request he was removed home to his family, among whom he expired on Tuesday night at seven o'clock.

An adjourned inquest was held at Barnsley on Tuesday, by Mr. Lee, one of the coroners in the West Riding of Yorkshire, on the bodies of Annis Smith, aged 24, and Emily Smith, her daughter, aged 10 months. The bodies of the mother and the child were found with their throats cut on the highway at Smithies, near Barnsley, on the morning of the 24th ult., and a man of the name of James Gledhill, a damask-weaver, with whom the deceased woman (who was separated from her husband) had lived for upwards of a year, was taken into custody on suspicion of being the murderer of the woman and child. The evidence, however, tended to show that the woman had first cut the throat of her child, and then had in a similar way committed suicide. The deceased and her paramour often quarrelled, and she had been brutally struck by him. The day before she was found as described, she told two or three neighbours that she would kill both herself and her child. The fatal deed was perpetrated with a razor. The jury, after a long and patient investigation, which occupied two days, returned an open verdict, declaring that there was not evidence to show by whom the throats of the woman and child were cut. After the inquest Gledhill was set at liberty.

#### HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

THE mortality has been great in the London districts during the whole of March. In the first week of the month the deaths registered were 1128, in the two following they rose to 1232 and 1208, and in the last week, as shown by the present return, they were 1219. It must be observed, however, that the small increase which now appears over the preceding week arises from more than an average number of coroners' cases. Excluding from the returns deaths from poison, injury, and other external causes, of which inquest-cases principally consist, the numbers in the last three weeks stand thus: 1160, 1183, and 1161.

In the ten corresponding weeks of 1842-51 the average number of deaths was 1126, which, if raised in a certain proportion according to increase of population, is 1239. The deaths registered last week differ, therefore, little from the calculated amount; but this as a comparative test of the actual mortality is disturbed at the end of the quarter, when cases on which inquests have been held, and many of which occurred at previous dates, are entered in more than a fair proportion in the register books.

#### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

##### BIRTHS.

On Sunday, the 28th ult., at 12, Bloomsbury-square, the wife of W. P. Brodribb, Esq., surgeon: a son.

On Sunday, the 28th ult., in Harewood-square, Mrs. Alfred Howard: a son.

On the 30th ult., at Smallbridge-house, Cambridge, the wife of E. T. W. Thomas, Esq., of Caius College: a daughter.

On the 30th ult., at Claridge's Hotel, Brook-street, Lady Olivia Ossulston: a son.

##### MARRIAGES.

On the 27th ult., at the parish church of St. Margaret, Lee, Kent, Alexander Hannah, of Newhouse-field, Huddersfield, to Miss Louisa, fourth daughter of the late William Brook, of Gledholt, near Huddersfield, Esq., J. P.

On the 30th ult., at Trinity Church, Marylebone, Alfred Wilks Drayson, Esq., Royal Artillery, to Mary Catherine, fourth daughter of R. M. Preece, Esq., of Devonshire-street, Portland-place.

##### DEATHS.

On Thursday, the 25th ult., sincerely regretted and respected, David Hills, Esq., of St. Faith's-lane, Norwich, in the 81st year of his age.

On Friday, the 26th ult., William Hyde, Esq., of Louth, Lincolnshire, aged 87.

On Tuesday last, the 30th ult., sincerely regretted by his family and friends, John Giles Pilcher, Esq., at his residence, Stockwell, Surrey.

On the 30th ult., at her house, in Portugal-street, Grosvenor-square, Maria Elizabeth Sotheby, the eldest daughter of the late William Sotheby, Esq.

On the 30th ult., at his residence, 65, Regent-street, Edward Fitzwilliam, Esq., the popular comedian and vocalist, aged 67.

On the 31st ult., at his residence, Prospect-place, Deptford, William Hookey, Esq., late Timber and Store Receiver of her Majesty's Dockyard at that place, aged 88.

#### TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication. No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Whatever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith. We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London. Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

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

### Postscript.

SATURDAY, March 27.

LAST night, on the order of the day being read for going into Committee of Supply, Mr. SLANEY made a statement to the effect that land was overtaxed in various ways, particularly specifying the taxes on legal documents relating to the transfer of real property; and he found a remedy for these grievances in a simplification of the law in that behalf, and a repeal of the law of unlimited liability. The House then went into Committee of Supply, through which the ordinance and commissariat estimates were speedily passed; and in a Committee of Ways and Means, the house agreed that 17,742,800*l.* should be raised in Exchequer Bills for the service of the year 1852. The other business of the evening consisted in reading a second time, after a smart talking opposition, a bill enabling Government to give up foreign seamen who had deserted from their ships. The house also went into committee on the Charitable Trusts Bill. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said, that the bill proposed to establish a board of five commissioners, two of them to be paid, power being given to the Lord Chancellor to appoint a third paid commissioner. This board was to have no jurisdiction over charities,—only powers of supervision, control, and advice; and it was proposed that no suit or proceeding should be instituted in respect to any breach of trust with reference to charities without the consent of the board. It was proposed to give jurisdiction in respect to small charities to the County Courts and district Courts of Bankruptcy. Provisions were inserted to enable trustees and others interested in charities to obtain the advice of the commissioners; and persons acting under such advice would be indemnified, though the decision of a Court should hold the advice to be erroneous. The commissioners would have power to send questions relative to charities under 30*l.* a-year to County Courts and district Courts of Bankruptcy, and to interfere and stay proceedings which they might think improperly conducted, and, by way of check, they would have no control over the Attorney-General acting *ex officio*. It was proposed to tax charities having 10*l.* a-year and upwards 2*d.* in the pound, no charity to pay more than 50*l.* This rate, it was computed, would raise 8,500*l.* a-year, a sum sufficient for the support of the Board and its staff. The bill would exempt from its operation the universities, collegiate and cathedral churches, the British Museum, and institutions supported wholly by voluntary contributions.

An attempt was made to exempt the Royal Hospitals and the City Charities, but it failed, both sides of the house agreeing in pressing forward the measure.

In the House of Lords, the bill for shortening the interval between the dissolution and meeting of a new parliament, entitled Proclamation of Parliament Bill, was read a second time; the LORD CHANCELLOR reserving his opinion until the bill should be in committee.

Among the names who voted *against* Mr. Hume's motion are Viscount Castlereagh, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Hatchell, Mr. Hayter, Lord Alfred Hervey, Viscount Palmerston, Frederick Peel, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Shelburne, and Lord Seymour. The Radicals voted with Mr. Hume. How is it that Mr. George Thompson was not among them?

The Duke of Argyll was installed on Thursday, in his chair as Chancellor of the University of St. Andrew's.

Mr. Douglas Jerrold presided over the annual festival of the Printers' Pension Society, on Thursday. The meeting was highly successful, and a sum subscribed greater than at any previous gathering.

Sir James Graham addressed the electors of Carlisle, in conjunction with Mr. Ferguson, on Thursday, as a Parliamentary Reformer and Free-Trader:—

"I do not know how it is in Carlisle, but in London, since Lord Derby's accession to power, the difficulty is to find a frank Protectionist. (Laughter.) I will illustrate the matter in a familiar manner, suggested by Lord John Russell. I say from him as a proof of our returning confidence and friendship. (Cheers and laughter.) He says, were an owner of two race-horses about to start two horses for a stake, he is bound to state beforehand with which

horse he means to win the race. (Laughter.) Now, observe, Lord Derby and Lord Lonsdale, the President of the Council, are great jockeys. (Laughter.) They are leading members of the Jockey Club, and this rule of previously showing with what horse it is intended to win the race is a standing rule at Newmarket itself, for the purpose of preventing frauds. (Laughter.) Now, we will call the corn-law a race-horse; we will call that horse the "Screw"; (laughter) and compensation to the agricultural interest through the medium of direct taxation I will call the "Artful Dodger." (Loud laughter.) At Carlisle we like a race, and are anxious to know the names of the owners and colours of the riders. The name of the owner of both the "Screw" and the "Artful Dodger" is the Earl of Lonsdale. (Loud laughter.) The colour of the rider—I think—(turning to Mr. Mounsey—I think they call it yellow. (Shouts of laughter.) Who is the jockey? (Laughter.) I think I need not say. (Cheers and laughter.) We are about to have two plates—the county stake and the city plate. (Loud laughter.) I tell you I think the "Screw" will be started for the county stake, and the "Artful Dodger" for the city plate. Mr. Hodgson is an extremely good jockey, and a very good man; but we are too far north (Loud laughter) to have any such crossing and jostling; but we must come to a distinct understanding, and it must be plain what are the real intentions of that gentleman. I think we have a horse in our stable that will beat them for the city plate (loud laughter), and if I were not afraid of losing the election, I think I dare bet two to one I name the winner. What is the name of that horse? It is a well-known name, and we call it "Bonny Blue." (Uproarious applause.)

Sir James considers himself pledged to stand for Carlisle, and nowhere else.

The United States steam ship, *Franklin*, arrived off Cowes, yesterday. She left New York on the 13th, but she brings no news of any importance. A disgraceful scene, in the House of Representatives, at Washington, between two members for Mississippi, is reported in the New York Journals. Mr. Brown attacked his colleague, Mr. Wilcox, who sharply retorted. The bone of contention was the Southern right movement.

"My colleague," says Mr. Wilcox, "says there was no party in Mississippi in favour of secession. I had thought that the gentleman had too high a regard for truth to make a declaration so baseless of truth. (Sensation.)"

Mr. Brown asked if his colleague charged him with falsehood?

Mr. Wilcox: I have spoken boldly. My language cannot be misunderstood on that point.

Mr. Brown: Do you mean to say that what I have stated is false? (Looking sternly at his colleague.)

Mr. Wilcox: If you mean to say there is nobody in Mississippi in favour of secession, it is false.

The last word was scarcely uttered before Brown drew off, and planted a blow in Wilcox's face. Wilcox returned it, and both clinched.

The scene of confusion that followed was most terrific. Brown was dragged off to a distance, and Wilcox jumped on his desk, shouting that he could whip him. Calls, in vain, were made for the Sergeant-at-Arms; the Speaker rushed into the house, took the chair, and rapped to restore order, which was partially obtained, after a long effort. The Chairman of the Committee reported progress.

Both members then made very humble apologies to the House, asking forgiveness, and entreating the country's pardon for their most disgraceful conduct.

Two cases of cruelty came before the Courts yesterday. Dennis M'Nally, a labourer, was charged with cruelly ill-treating and neglecting his son, Edward M'Nally, a child ten years old. The poor boy, who looked weak and half-starved, made the following statement:—"I went into the workhouse on last Tuesday fortnight. I have a step-mother; my own mother has been dead five years. I lived at home with my father, and had two meals a day, and sometimes only one, consisting of a piece of bread; but it was not enough. My bed was some old oyster sacks. I was once shut up in a dark room by myself for a fortnight. There was a bed in the room, but I could not get on it because I was chained to the bedpost so tight that the chain was not long enough. The last time I was kept like that was from the night of Saturday, March 13, until the morning of Tuesday, March 16, when I was taken by my father to the workhouse, and during that time I had a small basin of sop once a day. I have frequently asked for more, but could not get it. I was chained by the leg, and the chain was passed several times round the bedpost, so as to shorten it and prevent my moving. I have been treated many times like this, and have been chained up for a fortnight and three weeks at a time. My father has often taken all my clothes off, and tied my hands and feet to the bedpost, and beaten me with a penny cane. He did not give me a whacking the last time I was locked up. He used to beat me because I was naughty by running away from him. I was obliged to run away, because he locked me up in a dark room with nothing to eat, I ran away a great many times, but never stayed away more than a week, and then I always slept in the streets at night, as I was afraid to go home."

This was backed up by credible witnesses, and the sitting Alderman determined to send the case to a jury.

The other case was very curious. Jane Brennan has a daughter, Alice, and being herself somewhat educated, has been instructing the little thing "in the languages." Meaning French, German, Italian, and Irish. But poor little Alice has not always been able to remember names and words, and whenever the memory of the small student failed, Mrs. Brennan beat her so cruelly, that at length the neighbours interfered. The mother was then brought before Mr. Yardley, at Clerkenwell, and evidence taken sufficient to prove great cruelty on her part, and considerable proficiency in French on the part of tiny Miss Alice. Mr. Yardley, desirous of seeing Mr. Brennan, a painter, and hearing what he has to say, adjourned the case until the husband could be brought up.



# The Leader

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1852.

## Public Affairs.

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

### THE GOVERNMENT MILITIA BILL.

THE Government plan for organizing the militia is a half measure; but the mood of the public, on all subjects, is in itself a half measure; and the plan has in it the merit of being expansive. It is an immense improvement on the Bill proposed by the late Government. The expansion of the age from eighteen to thirty-five, the acceptance of volunteers in the first instance, the waiving of qualification for officers in certain ranks, are all advances towards a really national force, which stamp the measure, indeed, not only as an improvement on the last abortive scheme, but on those which have previously been in operation. The imperfect extension of the force is not of very great moment: this force may be a model or trial for one of larger extent. We do not yet perceive clearly how the independent volunteer corps are to be dealt with, and we trust that no attempt will be made to discourage them. But here is a force that will comprise representatives of the various classes of society, will accept the members as volunteers, will arm them at the public expense, and will, in short, prove the official disposition "to trust the people." The enforcement of a militia ballot in districts which do not furnish their quota, would be a proper lesson on public duty to any defaulting district. The plan is very generally ascribed to Lord Hardinge, and it does credit to the colleague of Peel.

The Conservatives are setting a lesson to the Liberals of trust in a great political truth, that freedom armed for its own defence is *not* necessarily turbulent. The turbulence of Switzerland may be traced, like that of Ireland, to her *poverty*; her independence, in the very midst of despotic Europe, to her mountain spirit, and her domestic rifle. In the United States, the volunteers maintain the law. The First Division of New York restored order at the time of the Macready riots; and at the great gathering of Volunteers to welcome Kossuth, that division received the cheers of the other regiments.

The old objection—rather a strange one to be repeated by Mr. Roebuck, who talked at Sheffield of a *national* force!—that it would "make good artisans into bad soldiers," is idle. An ill-contrived and ill-trained militia may make bad soldiers, but a well-trained force does not do so. As a speaker said in the debate of Monday, of the Duke's army at Talavera, a large portion were drawn from the militia. And we have already mentioned the Mexican victories of militia regiments, who had never seen service before. Old Zachary Taylor accused the Yankee militia-men of the very same ignorance which has been ascribed to British soldiers—they did not know when they were beaten.

We do not keep out of view the fact, that much will depend on the *administration* of the statute that parliament may pass. The bounty may be wasted in gifts to men who will leave their standard as soon as they finger cash, or the instalments may be reserved until service be fulfilled. The bounty may be given as *wages*, in which case it would be ludicrously inadequate; or it may be bestowed as a real bounty, in a spirit and manner that shall convert it into a token, and a very welcome token, of good will. The actual field service may be limited to twenty-one days, and may be rendered very odious and irksome, if officers are harsh and supercilious; or the meetings may be held yet oftener, without compulsion, and be made the most attractive and agreeable incidents to all concerned, if the officers have the *true* "aristocratic" sympathy with their countrymen of all classes. It has been suggested that, during the summer, volunteer companies might make the Saturday afternoon a half-holi-

day, for practice. Why should not the militia have permission and facilities to hold the same strictly local gatherings at the same time. If officers of tact, public spirit, and good humour, were selected for so important a service, such weekly meetings would be a very wholesome usage, and the contemned militia might become the model to the young men of the country.

Lord John Russell proposed to abolish qualification for officers, and the present measure partially retains the qualification. This is rather a serious flaw, since it preserves that sign of "caste" which ought not to exist in any national force, where feudal customs have ceased. But, even here, a judicious administration might do much to temper the evil, by a well-conducted plan of promotions; especially if the qualification were waived in special instances of combined merit and ability. But why continue it at all, why not be content with the proper discretion in supervising *all* commissions for the force?

From the spirit in which the measure, in its general structure, is conceived, we indulge the confidence that there is a real desire to work it in a national spirit; and, if so, we may yet see restored to our village-greens and town-greens, those manly sports, for *real* objects, which have declined amongst us, followed by a marked decline in the independence and physical comfort of the people. We are not half so anxious for the spread of "democratic" *opinions*, as we are for the revival of national *feeling*—that great guarantee of national independence, and even of personal independence. There was a time when to be an "Englishman" was to be conscious of a transmitted privilege; an hereditary obligation neither to do nor to suffer anything craven, mean, or ungenerous. We long to see that spirit abroad amongst us once more; and we will thank "Conservatives" as heartily, if they help to revive it, as we would any other set of men. For he who sets an example of love of country, of a high and quick sense of the national honour, does more for the freedom of any country, than he who passes laws however "liberal" in their clauses.

### A STANLEY FORFEITS HIS GAGE.

STANLEY of Derby said one thing a few days back, and now says another thing! He denies his words. We quote them, with the dates, from the *Times* :—

On the 15th,—[This [Protection or Free-trade] is a question which ought not to be allowed to remain any longer in abeyance than possible.] Further on he said—"I repeat that the period of suspense ought to be as short as possible,—that the appeal to be made to the country ought to be made as early as the great interests of the country will permit."

On the 19th,—[after declining to comply with the wish of the Duke of Newcastle, and to name any precise time for a Dissolution, inasmuch as circumstances might possibly arise that would render it inexpedient to dissolve in this or that month.] "I repeat that I desire only to conduct such business through the present session as it is necessary for the good of the country should be passed. I will not specify what are the measures included in that category, except to say that I do include among them one of paramount necessity—the organization of the internal defences of the country. After I shall have discharged the duty incumbent upon me for the present session, I beg to repeat that I shall be as anxious as the noble Duke can be that an early decision and judgment of the country should be taken, and that Parliament should upon that judgment, before the close of next autumn, pronounce its definitive and final decision."

On the 29th,—[In reply to Lord Minto.] "Nothing has ever fallen from my lips which could lead any man to suppose that the present would be a session of unusually short duration. I never said anything that could justify such a conclusion. I say further, that the continuance of the session depends on causes over which I can have no control."

We need do no more than record those incompatible phrases, with the expression of a regret that a Stanley, speaking in presence of the country, should have uttered *both* averments. We stand not upon the precise words, indeed, but upon the general tenor: Lord Derby conveyed an impression by his first statement, and still more by his second, that he would make the appeal to the country, and reassemble Parliament to act upon it, before the closing of the autumn. On the strength of that assurance the combined Opposition waived its aggressive tactics. We were

in some degree reconciled to the new Ministry, in the belief that the relics of the Tory party did retain the relics of the high bearing and the chivalrous spirit which they vaunted of old. If they did not monopolize that spirit, as the history of many a gentleman not "ennobled," and of many a plebeian can prove, at least they vindicated it. If some fell off from it, the order generally stood by their standard. The relics of the Tories professed still to bear it unabated. We used to believe that the present head of the house of Derby was high in bearing, and chivalrous in spirit: he is still high in bearing.

But there is a question beyond that of Lord Derby's word. He vaunts the confidence of the Crown, and asserts his right to continue in his post so long as he has that confidence: Lord Derby is breaking through the custom which shields the Crown from direct allusions in party debates; and it is the more remarkable in that the present wearer of the Crown is a woman. However, he has the *right* to assume that position. Ministers are the Monarch's servants, appointed by the free choice of the Monarch. But the constitution knows a correlative right, and there is the one proper answer to the vaunt—to *stop the supplies*. No Minister making a vaunt of that sort ought to remain one hour in possession of the tacit sufferance of Parliament; and for the Crown's sake as much as for the people's.

But Lord Derby counts upon the divisions in the opposite ranks, upon the faintheartedness of those whom the Liberal party still endures as its leaders—upon the servility of those who consent to remain behind where a Russell leads *not*. He thinks the Liberals will not dare to go to the extremes which *he* has forced upon them. Degenerate as he may be, he holds himself not so degenerate as they. At first he cowered; but he learned to measure his puissance by their weakness; and now, a hero among cravens, he swells out his chest, exalts his voice, struts exultant, and crows defiance. An Osborne would not stand his ground, for he had none to stand upon, and a Russell had trodden off his own spurs. Stanley feels safe, and again he rears his crest as high as ever.

In the calculations of sure party manoeuvres, English statesmen seem to us to be forgetting their duty. Any man, even a practical man, who thinks the constitution worth preserving, should have summoned the Commons to do their duty, and enforce upon the repudiating Minister the responsibility he denied. Lord Derby may have a right to be the Treasurer for the Crown, but he has forfeited his right to claim a single shilling from the people, and to entrust him with the public moneys would now be a breach of trust in the Commons.

### POLITICAL REFORM AND SOCIAL REFORM AT THE ELECTION.

THE relation of the Radical party to the party of the late Ministers has caused, and still causes, much embarrassment to hearty Reformers. It should be sternly revised, or the best Reformers must be content to remain, in the eyes of the very classes whom they desire to enfranchise, "as bad as the Whigs." No sooner was Lord John Russell out of office, than he convoked the Liberal Members to support him, and they responded to the call. Some of them gave him counsel freely, but still proffered adhesion. Mr. Hume brings forward his motion, and then the Radicals find that the Whigs have no intention of obeying their summons. Sir William Page Wood still supports them—in the abstract; but not in the lobby. Mr. Hutt is absent. But we have no desire to pillory individual Members, nor to parade comparative statistics of the division; suffice it to recognise distinctly the one or two facts established by the division. First, the general aspect of the division is this: the minority of 89, with its two tellers, represents the Radicals, "who go as far" as Mr. Hume, or further; while the majority displays an union of Tories and Whigs distinctly united against a Home Suffrage—the ancient suffrage of English freemen. Secondly, there are some of the ablest and most gentlemanly of the Radicals who do not put much faith in Radical fortunes, but prefer trusting their venture in the Whig craft. Thirdly, however willing the Whigs may be to accept support for Reform measures contrived to increase Whig influence, they will not reciprocate it: between the Whig party and any really popular party, there is an impassable gulf. Lord

John will consent to accept Mr. Cobden, and any one man or so belonging to the Radicals, but he will not associate with the party itself. Now we take the present House of Commons to be a fair specimen of the class which the present constituency is likely to return; there is no denying the fact that some of the ablest men among the Liberals are of the mind to pass over, individually, as we see in the present instance, to the exclusive faction which claims to be the head of the "Liberals:" therefore, and this is the most important fact connected with the Hume debate, that division is a tolerable illustration of the House likely to be returned by the present constituency, in the present temper of the country.

We have no expectation that the next election will return a House materially different, or at all better. On the contrary, the means which even the best candidates appear disposed to take, to conciliate electors, are likely to make the next Parliament a shade less liberal. The party in office will probably gain a few votes *ex officio*; but nothing materially to alter the relations on the subject of Protection. Some who were once Protectionists will now be prepared to vote with the majority, and will accept Free-trade as a *fait accompli*. But, following the example of Lord John, candidates are evidently inclined to traffic in "Protestantism," for which there is presumed to be a demand in the market. On the other hand, Lord John's rousing of the Protestant passion, which he did not satisfy, had the effect, by its insults and threats, of driving in the advanced guard of liberalized Roman Catholics; Ireland, as we have reason to believe, even if recent elections did not prove it, is now in the hands of the Ultramontane party, and will return an "Irish Brigade," specially elected to antagonise the Ultra-Protestant brigade of England: may we not anticipate the spirit of debates on the Maynooth grant?

Let us turn for a moment to the prospect out of doors. What is the question of all others most obvious and most urgent? Not, assuredly, the Free-trade question, which is a *settled* question. What then? Is it not the Labour question? Yet what is the conduct of candidates appealing to *Liberal* constituencies? They do not allude to that question. If they are supposed to have any connexion with attempts to solve it beneficially to all parties, not excepting the working classes, they are damaged by the supposition. The most obvious and most urgent question of the day, then, is this Labour question, and yet the Liberal constituencies flinch from entertaining it! It is the Ministerial, the Protectionist, the Tory candidates, that allude to it in their electoral addresses, with a desire to facilitate the advance towards a solution. Liberal candidates prune their talk of Reform to a "moderate" measure, which shall not alarm the middle class with fear of being swamped. Liberal candidates must appeal to self-interest, to commercial interest, or to local interest—it is interest! interest! interest! everywhere. The disease of Liberalism is Selfishness. Political impotency is the retribution for that result of utilitarian philosophy.

Not a class in the country can attain its will—not even those that lie under great wants, nor those that aspire to great things. The working-classes have most urgent need that their condition be surveyed and amended; but the Liberal classes holding political power turn from them both eyes and ears. The Liberals desire to press Reform—Parliamentary Reform, as a means to obtaining financial reform—the saving of their pockets! But although there is not the slightest doubt that the great body of the people, divide it how you will, desire reform to some extent, and at least as far as Mr. Hume's motion, every specific plan, from Lord John Russell's or Mr. Hume's, to Mr. Berkeley's ballot motion, or the so-called "Charter" itself, is miserably defeated, the people not taking sufficient interest in it to place its success beyond a doubt.

Public faith has been wearied out by the use of public "questions" as tools for oblique purposes; "movements" have been got up for pretended objects; the one tangible test of all measures has been found in "interest;" public spirit has been taught to be mean and selfish, and, like ill-bred children, it repays its parents, the intriguing Reformers, with abandonment. The best thing that can happen to "Reform" is its suspension for a season. Let the public recognise the great fact that Reform is *beaten*—beaten

whenever it shows itself bodily, and stands the trial of battle. It will recover life only when bolder and more generous candidates shall have taught the people to see once more examples of high spirit, and to sympathize with them; meanness and selfishness must be shamed out of the national presence, whose place they have usurped.

Meanwhile, there is one thing that practical Social Reformers can do, even at the next election. Let them forget as much as possible the old party nicknames, and ask the candidates what are their views on the Labour question—what they think about an amended law of partnership, of poor-law reform in the sense of reproductive employment, and such questions. Vague and pleasing generalities, such as a "desire to ameliorate the condition of the labouring classes," no doubt very sincerely entertained by all candidates of every phase, may be accepted for what they are worth, as, at least, a homage to the dawning day; but distinct declarations on special questions, and not mere phrases, however large in benevolent intention, it is the duty of electors to exact, and of professing representatives to give. And wherever it is practicable, let the Social Reformers appoint a committee of their own, and act together, for Social Reform objects. They may not be able to elect their own candidate, but they may be able to choose the better man, to turn the balance of more than one election, and thus to establish the Social Reform party as one of the political powers of the day. In doing so, we pray that they may enter the political field with the firm resolve to restore a more generous spirit to public action.

#### RECONCILIATION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS TO THE STATE.

ROMAN Catholicism has now placed itself, not only in an attitude of "defence," but in an attitude of aggression. We should prefer to write, were it not a cumbersome phrase, Official Roman Catholicism; for there are two. Ireland has seen Roman Catholic bishops who not only had no objection, but who openly lent assistance, to the scheme of mixed education, and who supported the Cork, Galway, and Belfast Colleges. These gentlemen were prepared to improve, enlighten, and elevate the people of Ireland of all ranks and classes; and under the wise administration of Sir Robert Peel much was accomplished in that direction. Liberty for all, protection of the rights of all, even assistance to all who really laboured for the common welfare of their common country, proved beneficent agents in the good work. Sir Robert Peel died, and was buried in the little unpretending Saxon church at Drayton Bassett; and it would almost seem that his policy had died and been buried with him. Russell was Prime Minister, a politician usually considered as rather pro-catholic, and whose fate it has been to stir passions and rouse animosities long sleeping in obscure minds. The Pope promulgated his bull—the Prime Minister wrote his letter to Durham—the British lion shook his Protestant mane, and growled in chorus with enraged bigotry—the country was convulsed—the parliament met, and a measure, insolent in its animus, detestable in its provisions, ridiculous in its operation, begotten by the Whigs and fostered by the Tories, received the Royal assent. Forthwith up started Ultramontanism (which we term official catholicism), the moderate Catholics were overwhelmed, Peel's policy was in spirit undone; and this work was the work of the Whigs. The Roman Catholics are at war with the State, and justly, while that detestable measure, the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Act, is on the statute-book; and nothing will reconcile them to the State but a recurrence to the policy initiated by Peel, and an enlarged application of it for the benefit of us all.

Our present state is calculated to create only regret and alarm. We have a Tory Ministry—a Ministry of the men who envenomed the sham concocted by Page Wood and Russell in 1851. We have Ireland, literally, in the hands of the Ultramontane party, commanding all the votes, ready to elect anybody, so that he be pledged to their despotic creed, menacing Irish national and mixed education, defiant, aggressive, insolent, ready to go all lengths. We have moderate Roman Catholicism swamped—we have Protestant candidates placed under a ban. The Marquis of Kildare retires before the storm raised against him in the very county whence he derives his title. Mr. Torrens M'Cullagh, a Protestant also, faithful soldier in the Irish Brigade, but what of

that? is compelled to cede Dundalk to a thick and thin Roman Catholic. The elections are to be fought as religious contests; the Papal creed, like the sword of Brennus, is thrown into the scale; it is a religious war to all intents and purposes, and once more Protestant and Roman Catholic, as such, are ranged in opposing ranks. On the other side, in England and Ireland, the Protestants have *unprotestantized* themselves; and, after twenty-three years of amity, have changed the maxims of Luther for the maxims of Dominic. For when Protestants attempt to coerce the members of another faith, and arrogate to themselves the right of sitting in judgment on another creed, then they virtually forfeit their right to be called Protestants, and place those whom they persecute in the position of Protesters. The Whigs have done this. Ultramontane and Ultra-Protestant both arose under the incantations of Lord John Russell; and for the consolation of that "indiscreet" letter-writer, we are enabled to register the broad fact, so well known to us all, that Ultra-Protestantism, as such, has had the worst of the conflict, and that Ultramontanism has gained nothing but victories.

It is no wonder that, under the influence of bigotry and prejudice, accustomed to domination, and timidity, the mother of suspicion, Lord Roden should present a petition in the House of Lords from many ladies praying for an inspection of nunneries. It is no wonder that absurd accusations are made against Roman-catholic priests, and ridiculous stories, like those inflicted on the House of Commons last year by Mr. Spooner, are told of their doings in certain religious houses. We were prepared for all this, we expected it, and are not astonished by its appearance. But did the statesmen of England expect it, and are they prepared to meet it? What measures can a Derby, avowed hater of Ireland, propose, or a Disraeli, the recalcitrant champion of his own race, support? We are hopeless of our statesmen.

But there is a way out of the anarchy, and it behoves all honest men to take it. That course is the plain, simple, and straightforward one of standing up for absolute freedom of conscience, including, of course, freedom of conscience for that extremely respectable body of men, the moderate Roman Catholics, and absolute liberty of publication as well as liberty of thought. At the same time, we must insist on the faults and abuses of Roman Catholicism being specifically dealt with. We must firmly inhibit all attempts of the priesthood to establish civil power under the guise and through the medium of spiritual power. We must resist all compulsory conventual seclusion, if such exist, and to prove that such do not exist, we must have authorized inspection of all religious houses. This is no more than we exercise in the cases of hospitals and schools. In short, wherever there is a known possibility of compulsory detention, there the civil authorities must have free access; for the security of the indwellers, who, in the eye of the law, are not Catholics or Protestants, but British subjects, and are therefore entitled to protection from the law. But we have no right to ignore or coerce our Roman Catholic brethren, passing laws which are an insult to them, and a disgrace to us.

By no other mode, as it appears to us, can we reconcile the Roman Catholics to the State; but by establishing that true catholic freedom which shall include all men, not as Roman Catholics, not as Protestants, not as members of any existing religious creed, but as British subjects, bound to obey, and in return protected by the laws of Great Britain.

#### DISORGANIZATION AMONG THE BOOKSELLERS.

IN one part or other of the trading world breaks forth, from time to time, loud evidence that the denizens of that world cannot patiently endure the laws which regulate, or rather, do not regulate industry. The booksellers are now the class that proclaim their sufferings. They did not indeed mean to exhibit their trouble to the public; but it has been done for them, by the *Times*, the *Globe*, the *Herald*, and the *Westminster Review*. In the last will be found a survey of the whole state of "the commerce of Literature," including the obstructive effect of taxation, the payment of authors, the importation of American books, the regulation of the internal trade, &c. From this story it is evident that more than one question



divides the trade; but the most pressing is a question concerning the retail price of books. For many reasons, a book, as an article of trade, is published at a fixed price; the profit of the retailer being also a fixed quantity, or nearly so, in the shape of an allowance made by the publisher, who is represented as being in the position of the manufacturer. Certain of the retail dealers desire to infringe this rule, by selling the volumes at any price they please, seeking a large range of custom in lieu of a large profit. The upholders of the old plan say for it, that it works well; that it secures steadiness in the trade; that it has lasted since the days when Dr. Johnson described it, substantially as it exists now; and that, upon the whole, it encourages production. These are precisely the arguments in favour of Protection. The opposite party replies with the arguments of Free Trade—that monopoly limits use, restrains demand, and by restraining the offer of exchange, diminishes production. Some very pushing booksellers drive a large trade at a small profit, and succeed; but the quieter kind prefer the certainty of the old system, and dread a state of things which may place them at the mercy of undersellers.

It would be a great blessing for the future of Industry, if a class so intelligent and influential as the booksellers could for a moment pause in the heat of contest, and look at the political economy of the question as it bears upon themselves. The Free-traders are right when they say that monopoly restricts production. But that mere free trade will not suffice for the regulation of industry is proved, not merely by the fact that all who are really subjected to it, cry out; and still more by the fact, that no party really permits free trade to be *thoroughly* enforced; least of all, would the Manchester men permit it. The principle of Free-trade is, that trade be "left alone," to work out itself. Now, let that principle be fully enforced, and there would be no law for the *protection* of capital against combinations of the working classes to keep up wages. Carry out the principle fully, and there ought to be no laws for the *protection* of credit, which ought to rest solely upon its natural and sole substantial basis, the confidence between man and man, and not in the unsubstantial basis of factitious laws. But poll the Manchester school, and we suspect that you would find scarcely a vote given for that complete execution of the Free-trade principle. In the meanwhile, the *partial* Free-trade, which the professed advocates of full free trade enforce, inflicts loss and injury on all classes veritably exposed to it, because no class is exposed to it with perfect impartiality and fairness.

For instance, admit free trade into the book business, and no doubt you will sweep away a number of dealers, perhaps some of the publishers. Is *that* no evil? We cannot but regard it as an evil of the first magnitude. Yet we cannot rest content with monopoly or Protection while it oppresses production, and deters immense numbers from benefits that they would otherwise enjoy.

What then is the remedy? The one which we never cease to suggest in such cases—the principle of Concert. That alone reconciles the interest of the existing producer, to which Protection specially directs itself, with the interest of the consumer, both actual and possible. In the book trade, as in every other, there are three primary classes to be satisfied—the producer, the exchanger, and the consumer; and that commerce alone can stand on a solid and perdurable basis which *equally* concerns itself for all those classes. In the book-trade, the three classes are represented by authors, booksellers, and readers; and any arrangement to endure, must consult the welfare of all three classes. Such arrangements would not be difficult. The reader's interest would be consulted in a variety of ways, but especially in the multiplication of books, and the abatement of prices. The bookseller class is subdivided into two sub-classes—the retail seller, and the wholesale publisher; and when some of the retailers violate the rules to sell cheap, they satisfy the conscience of Free-trade; but they recklessly infringe the domain of their fellows, and to satisfy their own personal and present gain, they do that which inevitably tends to pull down the whole range of prices, without providing proper arrangements for the interests at stake, or even for the wide supply of a good commodity. The authors are little consulted;

but it is evident that a very general abatement of prices would injure them, without corresponding benefit to sound literature: it would make middling talents as valuable as any other marketable commodity, and would draw into the field an immense quantity of mediocre invention; so that it would hardly benefit literature, and yet might injure existing authors. The fact is, that literature in common with the highest kind of art, has but a very imperfect relation to trading laws. In the case of authors, the object should be to leave them as free from direct share in the commercial transaction as possible. Probably the French system, of paying so much a volume for every copy printed and sold, is one that best secures the interest of the general run of authors, proportions their gains to the trader's, and yet leaves them free. But however the special interests be arranged, it is evident that the best thing for all classes is, that all interests should be brought into one view, and act together, each for the interest of all, and all for the interest of each. It would follow, that in considering their own interests, authors and booksellers should consult that of the consumer or reader.

We do not mean, of course, that it would in the present state of society be possible to bring all the classes that we have named together bodily; stragglers there would always be; but it is possible to apply the *principle* in guiding the conduct of the majority. The process would be much facilitated by some central machinery—some society, in which the several classes might all meet on a common field, open most chiefly to the interests of *literature*, and to the enduring and broad interests of the classes dependent thereon.

#### "POISON"—NOT TO BE TAKEN INTERNALLY.

ANOTHER stirring controversy is going on in the public press, about the adulteration of beer. The *Medical Gazette* quoted the statement of a scientific lecturer in Paris, that large quantities of strychnine are manufactured in France, and imported into England, for use in the making of "bitter beer." A contemporary exploded that "Paris fable of Pale Ale," admitting that there is adulteration in beer, but denying that *good* beer can be made by any process of drugging; and Mr. Bass rushes into the field to confirm that averment. One "M.D." insinuates that stomachic drugs are used; on which Mr. Allsop has a tilt at the "fable," and declares that good malt, hops, and water, with good implements, are the whole materia medica and apparatus of the brewer.

And this is true, so far as bitter ale is concerned. The palate is a sure test of the genuine article, when it is *thoroughly* genuine, without adulteration or *flaw*. It would take a Raphael to forge a Raphael, a Paganini to pass for a Paganini, and nothing short of pure excellent malt and hops to pass for bitter ale.

But what becomes of the plebeian beer,—the cloying ale, that has a fume like a sugar-cask in a tropical sun, or the impervious porter, if not as harmless as liquorice, or as purifying as sarsaparilla, emulating "coldcoloquintida and tetra mad"? The strychnine, we are told, by an Australian, who vouchsafes an explanation, goes to his country, to destroy the native dog, which is troublesome to the flock master. The beast is difficult to kill: when attacked, he lies like death, till his aggressor is gone, and then gets up, runs away, and is ready for another fling at the mutton,—cut and come again. Strychnine secures him.

But, if not strychnine, what is it that they put into the ale and porter for the million? He who can pay for Bass or Allsop, for Barclay and Perkins, is safe, because adulteration cannot equal excellence; but how is the cheap pot drinker to discriminate between flaw and adulteration, between mere inferiority, or want of absolute excellence, and the presence of alien and noxious drugs?

There is but one way of testing beer: by the taste, where it is really good; and by perfect openness in the making. But perfect openness in the making is incompatible with the exigencies of ordinary competitive trade. Adulteration is the perquisite of competition. It is only in concert between producer and consumer, as in the People's Flour Mill at Leeds, that you have absolute security against factitiously high price on the one hand, or adulteration on the other; or security, again, for the dealer, against bad debts and fluctuations of trade.

#### THE SHADOW OF THE EAGLE.

FRANCE, or the residue thereof, is restored once more to a normal condition, after four months' experience of a beneficent dictatorship, which few have been preserved alive, or at liberty, to enjoy with peaceful thanksgiving. The act of the 2nd of December is now history: let history, then, be the witness, time the Nemesis, and posterity the judge.

What is the normal condition of France? many will ask. Is it revolution or reaction? anarchy or despotism? popular insurrection or national degradation? Who shall say—his hand upon the open page of the last troubled years.

In the costly and dazzling ceremonial of Monday last, at the Palace of the Tuileries, nothing was omitted that could lend a factitious solemnity to the occasion. The traditions were faithfully copied. The booming of cannon, the clang of cuirassiers, the bursts of martial music, the paraphernalia of gold and velvet, and embroidery, were there to celebrate the nuptials of Fraud and Force, the Salvation of Society, and the rescue of Civilization.

To exercise mercy, if not to do justice, is, it seems, the privilege of the man who waded in blood to Power through depopulated streets. On the 29th of March, France, denuded, despoiled, orphaned, is relieved from the intolerable pressure of martial law, and the herds of innocents who swarm in prisons, uncondemned, unconvicted, untried, are handed over "to the ordinary tribunals," only too fortunate to have escaped Lambessa or Cayenne.

The Constitutional President who mutilated the universal suffrage he had sworn to maintain, rose to be a forsworn Dictator by its restoration, duping the People by the lawless repeal of his own false act. The Dictator pauses in the search for victims to be hailed the Emperor of an amnesty!

This is to be cruel only to be kind: but the cruelty and the kindness alike minister to the same falsehood—to the same oppression.

Nothing was omitted—did we say? Yes, the true glory of France, the virtue, the honour, the genius, the eloquence, the fearless independence, the strength of brain, and the courage of heart were conspicuous at that solemnity—by their absence! Mercenary mutes, hireling scribes, and ignoble dependents!—such are the Senators and Deputies of France, to inaugurate a new era of prosperity. The heroes of a hundred hells, and the bullies of a hundred bagnios, garnished by a few "respectable" subserviencies from the Stock Exchange. These are the elements of your new Imperial Chivalry.

Every new document of the Napoleonic régime exceeds its predecessor in comprehensive mendacity.

It cannot be denied that the opening speech of the President is ably and skilfully composed. It has an air of self-possession, of forgiveness, of regret, of forbearance, tranquil, dignified, and generous. It would be difficult to imagine any form of words more reassuring to hearers ignorant of the antecedents, and reckless of the consequences, than many passages of this speech.

From the highest point of view this beneficent ruler surveys the causes of success and decadence in men and governments. Even THE EMPEROR is not spared a passing criticism from the man who understands his age. If in 1814 parliamentary institutions were deemed tolerable, it was from the too absolute exercise of power by the Emperor. If in December, 1851, the same parliamentary institutions were found intolerable, it was from their abuse.

Why does France "remain unmoved" at the suppression of all her liberties? Because she has the right of choosing her own government. Can there possibly be a more satisfactory reply to those who fancied that France remained unmoved because she was deprived of all her powers of life? Then follows a perfect *ganglion* of amazing veracities.

"Now the French nation has given (perhaps for the first time) to the world the imposing spectacle of a great people voting in all liberty the form of its Government. Thus, the Chief of the State, whom you have before you, is truly the expression of the popular will. And before me what do I see? Two Chambers—the one elected in virtue of the most liberal law existing in the world; the other named by me, it is true, but also independent, inasmuch as it is irremovable. Around me you observe men of known patriotism and merit, always ready to support me with their councils,



and to enlighten me on the necessities of the country. This Constitution, which, from this day forward, is to be put in execution, is not then the work of a vain theory and of despotism; it is the work of experience and of reason."

What nation would not desire a *coup d'état* when the results are of this astounding description? We are almost ashamed to impress upon our readers the strict and scrupulous accuracy of every word that proceeds from this half-anointed truth teller.

In less than four months

"Confidence has been every where re-established; labour has been resumed everywhere; and for the first time after a great political change, the public fortune has increased in place of diminishing. For the last four months, it has been possible for my Government to encourage many useful enterprises, to reward many services, to relieve much distress, even to elevate the position of the greatest number of the principal functionaries—and all that without increasing the taxes, or deranging the budget, which we are happy to present you in equilibrium."

"And now, gentlemen," concludes the august speaker, adopting a figure of speech which has recently been introduced, by Ministers, into the House of Commons:—

"At the moment when you are associating yourselves with my labours, I will explain to you frankly what my conduct shall be."

Because I revive "the Emperor," I don't want to play "the Emperor" myself; I might have been Emperor long ago: notably in December, '48, in June, '49, and in December, '51: but—(here is the climax)—

"Being determined now, as before, to do everything for France, and nothing for myself, I should accept no modification of the present state of things, unless I was forced to do so by evident necessity. Whence can it arise?"

Whence, indeed, if not from such reviews as that on the 20th of March, in the Place du Carrousel, when six thousand *coquins* were summoned to shout *Vive l'Empereur*;—whence, if not from that network of conspiracy organized by a Government of conspirators; whence, if not from the stipendiary Senate, the venal Chamber, the rigged Exchange, the prostituted press, the brutish peasantry, and the decimated and terror-stricken towns.

The Empire comes; its shadow is over us; its panoply is prepared; its upholstery and furniture lie finished in the workshop of the future; its army is organized, and wants only one thing—a martial emperor!

Bid imagination draw the picture. The men and women of France walk abroad in the sunshine, and feel the warm air blowing on their cheeks, and the blithe gladness of spring in their veins; when, lo, a shadow darkens the sun, and chills the atmosphere, and cools the blood, and arrests the flow of gladness. A shadow falls upon them; they look upwards, and behold the wings of the Vulture, misnamed the Eagle of the Empire, blot out the great light of the skies. The foul bird of prey, with outstretched talons and whetted beak, prepares to swoop. Alas! there are no eagleslayers among the palsied crowd!

As it was in December, 1851, so it will be in—

For the shadow of the Vulture—not the Eagle—is over France.

#### HONNEUR AUX DAMES.

LORD CAMPBELL intercedes for the Peeresses and their daughters, who, at the last royal interview with Parliament, were excluded from the House of Lords while the Peers were at prayers; as if, said Lord Campbell, "Englishmen were Mussulmans, and held women to have no souls." The Peeresses, it seems, are worse off than their sisters of the working class, who habitually attend the political gatherings; and undoubtedly their presence is beneficial. Not only because it "softens" the men—sometimes it may have the opposite effect; since a manly spirit always finds favour with women: who as little desire men to be feminine as men desire women to be masculine: but because the women exercise a discriminating judgment, and often seize upon points which escape the rougher part of the audience. Their bearing confirms us in the conviction that if ever the franchise were extended to them, the new portion of the constituency might secure better justice to what is called "good feeling" than it now finds, and that our Parliament, with the laws it makes, and those who have to obey the laws, would benefit proportionately. But even formalist Chartism is not yet up to that mark.

#### MAZZINI'S REJOINDER TO THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

MR. MAZZINI has forwarded to us for insertion an authentic translation of his circular, printed originally in the *Nation* of Brussels. He presents it as his answer to the allegations of the French Socialists, contained in our last week's number. We regret exceedingly that the manuscript reached us so late as to prevent its being inserted in the present number; but Mr. Mazzini may rely on that "loyalty" to which he appeals for the full insertion of his paper next week.



### 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.

#### SHELLEY'S PHASES OF FAITH.

"I SHALL say what I think—had Shelley lived, he would have finally ranged himself with the Christians; his very instinct for helping the weaker side (if numbers make strength), his very 'hate of hate,' which at first mistranslated itself into delirious Queen Mab notes and the like, would have got clearer-sighted by exercise."—*Browning on Shelley.*

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

SIR,—I request permission to say a few words in your Open Council upon the above-quoted passage, which seems to me objectionable for inaccurate expression and unwarrantable speculation.

In the first place, what does "range himself with the Christians" mean? A little farther on, Mr. Browning calls Shelley "a man of religious mind," whose very denials were "interpenetrated with a mood of reverence and adoration," and finds him "everywhere taking for granted some of the capital dogmas of Christianity," whence it is plain that to be of the same spirit as Christ is not what Mr. Browning means by "ranging with the Christians." Are we, then, to consider full acceptance of the "historical basement," mentioned in the same breath, to be the essential distinction,—embracing, of course, everything from Genesis to Revelations (the Apocrypha included, or excluded, according to circumstances), and from the Three Persons to the One Person at the other extremity of the universe—plummet of the pit dependent from celestial triangle? In Shelley's native, and in his adopted country, this formula, variously modified, is ("if numbers make strength") out of comparison the strongest of creeds. In total of adherents, too, the Cross outnumbers even the Crescent. But Mr. Browning cannot be supposed to think it likely that Shelley, or any one else, looking over a statistical account of the religious denominations of the world, and finding Pagans set down at 482,000,000, and Christians at 175,500,000, should therefore feel a yearning to add his personal unit to the latter body: indeed, the Jews, numbering but 2,500,000, would, with one capable of being so influenced, have the indisputable preference. In what sense, then, is it said that "Shelley would have ranged himself with the Christians—the weaker side (if numbers mean strength)"? It must mean that he would have accepted "the historical basement," and at the same time preserved the Christian spirit which he already possessed; and that there are very few who unite in themselves the two conditions. This latter proposition is very true; but whether it makes, or ought to make, much in favour of Christianity as a creed, might be questioned.

Much could be said on the feeble and entangled tissue of the essay quoted from, in all that part which treats conjointly of Shelley and Christianity; but the book is suppressed, and I am glad of excuse to avoid more censuring of one whom I truly respect and love: not, however, omitting to declare his opinion that "Shelley, had he lived, would have ranged himself with the

Christians" (whether under the influence of a dream, an Aurora Borealis, or some slower process of conversion), to be altogether unwarranted, nay, contradicted by the evidences of the case—Shelley's character and writings, and the reports and judgments of his intimates.

To these remarks I shall only add an extract, possessing both general and particular applicability, from a letter written by Shelley at Lerici,\* June 29, 1822, but nine days before the evanishment of that noble spirit from our world:—

"Let us see the truth, whatever that may be. The destiny of man can scarcely be so degraded, that he was born only to die; and if such should be the case, delusions, especially the gross and preposterous ones of the existing religion, can scarcely be supposed to exalt it. If every man said what he thought, it could not subsist a day."

I remain truly yours,

W.

\* *Letters from Abroad.* Edited by Mrs. Shelley. No. 66.

#### LOCALIZATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

March 31, 1852.

SIR,—Much has been done to give a specific form to movements in favour of spiritual development, and you have contended consistently for equal freedom and opportunity to all sects in that process. You will observe, however, that there is one vast tangible obstacle, with a twofold operation—it is the huge property of the Church.

This acts as a bar to other sects, as a drag to the Church. It acts as a bar to other sects, because, giving the Church an immense advantage in various ways, it keeps others in an inferior position. It acts as a drag on the Church, not because endowment is in itself an evil, but because *exclusive* endowment is a premium to palter with conscience. I know of many cases in which clergymen belong to the Church really and solely through the endowment; in their convictions belonging wholly to other "persuasions."

I am not myself an enemy to endowment, precisely because I am disposed to make religious observance thoroughly voluntary; and I regard it as a bad plan, in the present trading mood of society, to associate religion with taxes or optional gratuities, like the stipends of voluntary ministers. Many a minister acts towards his audience, as a waiter towards the customers of an inn, furnishes what they call for, behaves civilly, and waits for his gratuity with countenance significant. Behaves civilly when he rates them for their sins; for there is a flattery to be wrapped up in the brown paper of reprobation; and some tastes prefer their stimulants as hot as—midnight brandy and water.

In this country we have a hundred faiths, and one endowment; which endowment is given by a capricious exclusiveness, to all such sects as can screw their consciences, with more or less difficulty, more or less ingenuity, more or less transparency, to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles; the endowment, at present, hurting equally him that takes and him that goes without.

Now, the suggestion I have to make is based on the view of that double evil, and on the dislike to impropriate property already consecrated for spiritual purposes. I would *localise the administration of church property.* Surrender it to the parish; of course under proper restrictions as to the objects to which it should be devoted, and the persons to accept duties under it. By making those restrictions apply to general qualifications rather than to spiritual distinctions—to attainments, capacity, character, &c.; and by expressly framing the regulations so as to comprehend all forms of conscientious faith, you would enable each parish to appoint its own pastor, according to the faith of the parish. To choose its pastor, but not to control his stipend. This would be to "establish" religion, but not sect; and it would reconcile many a feud now separating sects. For example, it would go far to solve the question of the reunion of the Wesleyans with the Church. But I abstain from saying any more at present; preferring to invite the comments of your readers.

CATHOLIC.

The question put to us by G. S. P. cannot be answered in our replies to correspondents. We must refer him to the general spirit of our paper, future as well as past, for the principles which guide us in the search for truth amid a labyrinth of errors and truths disguised.

The "Magnetic Evenings at Home," appeared in Nos. 95, 99, 100, 101, 102, and 103, of the *Leader*.

M. Louis Blanc's series of letters on "French Socialism," will be resumed next week.

THE GRIZZLY SEXTONS.—The instinct of burying bodies is so strong with these bears, that instances are recorded where they covered hunters who have fallen into their power and feigned death, with bark, grass, and leaves. If the men attempted to move, the bear would again put them down, and cover them as before, finally leaving them comparatively unhurt.—*Zoological Notes and Anecdotes.*



## 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*.

THERE has been a discussion opened this week by the *Times* and the new number of *The Westminster Review*, which very nearly interests all authors, and very materially affects the public: it is nothing less than the question of whether the Free Trade, so just and so beneficial as applied to Corn, would not be equally just and beneficial also if applied to Literature? Of course, the persons most interested in the monopoly loudly repudiate the justice and the benefit of free trade. But the highest literary authorities—the MACAULAYS, HALLAMS, GLADSTONES, and CARLYLES, are emphatically against the present system; and a higher authority than all, Common Sense, emphatically applauds their opposition. The case is simply this: Books are published at a price which is calculated as allowing for the enormous per centage, varying from 25 to 40 per cent., besides the 13 to the dozen: this per centage being in no way necessary to the publication and profit of the work so priced, but only to the profit of the Retail Bookseller. Get rid of the Middleman, the Retail Bookseller, and this per centage becomes unnecessary; the public may be charged so much less for the work, and by this reduction in price, the work becomes so multiplied in circulation as to pay its expenses, and perhaps leave a profit to the author. As, however, the transmission of books through the Retailers is a necessary part of our machinery, it is obvious that a per centage must be affixed, to enable the Retailer to make his profit; he must be paid for his trouble. It will, perhaps, scarcely be believed, that the Bookseller is not at liberty to take a smaller remuneration for his trouble than the sum fixed by the great monopolists! If JONES is a man of enterprise and activity, and will content himself by small profits rapidly made, he must not sell a work at fifteen shillings, because SMITH chooses to take no farthing less than twenty shillings, and SMITH "protects the respectability of the trade." Thus the public has to pay twenty shillings when fifteen would be ample; and the poor author finds his sale limited to the twenty-shilling public; and all because SMITH is so intensely respectable, and rides on "Long-Acre springs"!

We have endeavoured to express in a paragraph the situation so ably and so fully exposed in the article on the *Commerce of Literature*, which the *Westminster* has given in the April Number. To it we refer the reader. He will find therein the details of the Obstacles to Literature, truly called "Taxes on Knowledge." It treats of the paper duty, the stamp duty, the duty on foreign books, and finally, of the monopoly of the Booksellers' Association. That the *Times* has taken up this subject is sufficient to bring it into prominence; and the public need only to be instructed on the matter, to side with Lord CAMPBELL, MACAULAY, GLADSTONE, HALLAM, and CARLYLE, against "the Row."

Besides this paper on the *Commerce of Literature*, the new *Westminster* contains an elaborate survey of the *Government of India*; an extremely readable, dashing article on Homœopathy, Mesmerism, Hydropathy, Vegetarianism, in short, the *physical puritanism*, as the writer calls it, which in our day manifests itself in manias. The off-hand statements sometimes thrown before the reader perhaps contribute to the piquancy of this article, which has also some capital things in it. *The Conditions and Prospects of Europe* affords one of our most eloquent and impassioned politicians, whose signature is in every paragraph of this article, an opportunity of giving utterance to opinions which will find a deep response from the liberal party, not the less so perhaps because certain pages are insulting to certain sections of that party. The question of population has a new and most important light thrown on it by the promulgation of a new *Theory of Population deduced from the general Law of Animal Fertility*. This article is so important that we shall subsequently return to it; meanwhile we recommend the reader not to be frightened at its abstract and somewhat severe exposition, but to work bravely through it, and he will be repaid. A rambling, inconclusive paper follows, on *Shelley and the Letters of Poets*. Lord Palmerston and his Policy are considered at length. Quakerism finds an eloquent and thoughtful defender and historian; and the contemporary literatures of England, America, Germany, and France, are touched upon in a brief sketchy way. Altogether, it is an entertaining and valuable review this new *Westminster*, and worthy the support of all advanced thinkers. Of the other Magazines we will speak in our next.

In France, literature cannot hope to flourish. Are we wrong in reading the fatal signs of decadence in the moral, no less than in the political, aspects of that nation? If France sees not the danger, it will be engulfed! How can a nation prosper, how fulfil its destinies, and lead the destinies of Europe (the modest pretension of France!), when its social condition is so profoundly corrupted? The straws which indicate the direction of the wind, all point that way in France. Is there nothing terrible in their morbid delight—to pause at one example—in the pictures so constantly exposed to view of courtesan life? Is the immense success of *La Dame aux Camélias* not significant? Are men's minds so deadened to all healthy stimulus, are their emotions so "used up," that life has no longer poetry for them, unless it be the life of disease? Are Youth, and Hope, and Faith, and Love, and noble aspirations, incapable of furnishing the Artist with a subject, the public with a delight; and are we to seek Art only in

the hospital? When will Frenchmen learn that, although there are few subjects more tragic than the life of a courtesan—the tragedy social, no less than individual—yet there never was, and never can be, poetry in it; no, not even in Rome, where the idea of Woman was less reverential and less capable of poetry than with us; not even in HORACE, nor in CATULLUS, nor in TIBULLUS (whom a young poet has recently put on the stage in *Les Trois Amours de Tibulle*, and drawn forth from us these remarks)—can genius transmute that subject into poetry; or only into poetry fitted for periods of decadence. *Ne demande jamais aux femmes le plaisir sans amour*, is the profound counsel of GEORGE SAND; and there can be little doubt that every time that counsel is disregarded, something is lost of the chivalrous feeling for Woman which gives her the distinctive position in all poetic minds. A step is taken towards the degradation of Woman from that Ideal to which Humanity has raised her, and towards a recurrence to her position in pagan life!

MALLET DU PAN.

*Memoirs and Correspondence of Mallet du Pan; Illustrative of the History of the French Revolution.* Collected and arranged by A. Sayous. In 2 vols. Bentley.

THESE two handsome library volumes deserve a place in every collection, and, beside their historical interest, have a personal and anecdotal interest, always to be found in French memoirs.

Mallet du Pan was a journalist; he lived and died one. Yet, though poor, unfriended, independent, opposed by men of all parties, suspected as an aristocrat by the Jacobins, and as a Jacobin by the aristocrats, he contrived to preserve his independence, and to enforce the respect of those who disliked his counsels, and rebelled against his plain speaking. Born a republican and a Protestant, he neither fell in with the reigning infidelity, nor with the reigning fervour of revolutionary inspiration. He was something of a Whig. The old régime he saw was effete; the new he saw was an extravagance. It was in 1783 that the intrepid journalist first came to Paris, and began to write in the *Mercur de France*. In 1788, when the struggles between Parliament and the Court began the serious prelude to the Revolution, Mallet du Pan's position began to clear a space for itself. Yet all he wrote bears the impress of a sad misgiving. He looked with no love on the present, but he dreaded the future. The same hesitation followed him into the Revolution. He gained the confidence of Louis XVI. by his courageous sincerity, but he lost the confidence of all parties. The Republicans attacked his house, and vehemently ordered him to cease his diatribes against the Revolution; while at Coblenz they talked of hanging him as soon as "order was restored!" His position at last became untenable. He was forced to quit France. But wherever he went his pen was ready for the service of the Royalists, who repaid them with undisguised scorn. In Switzerland, in London, he never ceased writing. His words were prophetic, and, like most prophecies, were disregarded: events justified them; but the men to whom they were addressed neglected them. How bitterly he felt the ineptitude of these *Jacobins d'aristocratie*, as he energetically called them!

The memoirs and correspondence of such a man are pretty certain to be interesting, and the times in which he lived are sufficient to render them important. We confidently recommend the volumes. The translation is superior to the ordinary standard of translations, but is wanting in that precision, elegance and *tournure*, which form the charm of French diction; and here is a sentence unintelligible from its very awkwardness:—"His great principle in style is always to refer to man by a word, an expression, inanimate object or the themes of philosophy." We defy explanation!

Leaving to others the historical portion of these volumes we will turn to its anecdotes for an extract or so to enliven our columns. Here is

A MODEL PUBLISHER:

"M. Panckoucke was a native of Lille, in Flanders, where his father had a large book-trade. He was destined by the course of his studies, and his mathematical talents, for a professorship; but, at his father's death, he resolved on following his business for the support of his mother and family. He aimed at making his trade subservient to new and large objects. He repaired to Paris, where he settled, with two of his sisters, in the chief literary quarter, then also the handsomest, near the Comédie Française and the Procope Café. With him, and through his exertions, commenced a very remarkable amelioration in the position of literary men, kept so long in poverty by the humiliating wages they received from publishers, and by the very honourable, but insignificant remuneration of men in power. Panckoucke regarded whatever excessive profit he might derive from their exertions, as not pertaining to his personal fortune. His honourable conduct made him the equal and the friend of the men of genius for whom his presses worked. His carriage was often to be met on the road to Rousseau's house at Montmorency, Buffon's at Montbard, or Voltaire's at Ferney; and, as the works of these immortal writers had become matters of state, his carriage took him from their abodes to the King's ministers at Versailles, who received him as a functionary possessing, like themselves, a portfolio of his own."

Here again is something worth adding to the foolish list of prohibited works:—

"The publication of the '*Histoire Naturelle*' was commenced in the same year as the '*Esprit de Lois*': both works were condemned by the Sorbonne, which sent a deputation to the two authors to induce them to retract their errors. 'The deputies,' said Buffon, 'spoke very politely with me, and I retracted; Montesquieu, more quick of temper, refused.' The Abbé Tamponnet, and the Abbé Jaquet attacked him, among other things, on the ground that, not believing in the existence of matter, he could not consequently believe in the resurrection."

Two very French and very witty anecdotes we will bring together:—

"When the Abbé Delille was at Ferney, he read Voltaire a few passages of his poem of '*Les Jardins*,' and drew Voltaire's attention to a parallel between the garden of Eden and modern gardens. Voltaire began crying out against the garden of Eden. 'Oh! yes,' said the Abbé Delille to him, '*your prejudices against the gardener are known.*'"

"Piron, meeting the procession of the Host one day, took off his hat. 'What,



Piron,' said some one, 'you take off your hat to Him?' 'Oh,' replied he, 'we bow, but we are not on speaking terms.'"

Here are two anecdotes of royal heartlessness, amusing from their very intensity:—

"The Marquis de Chauvelin, whilst playing with the King, was seized with apoplexy. Some one exclaimed: 'M. de Chauvelin is ill!' The King turned round, and said: 'He is dead: remove him. Spades,' &c."

"After the death of Madame de Pompadour, her remains were removed to her mansion. The body being gone, the King, half-an-hour afterwards, pulled out his watch, and said: 'If they went fast, they must have arrived.'"

There is a detached fragment among these anecdotes, which we cannot read over without ever-renewing perception of its ludicrousness. We should premise that Mallet du Pan is quite serious, and has, apparently, no suspicion of the want of congruity:—

"M. de Buffon prefers Milton to all other epic poets. He has his hair curled with irons every day, and at a less advanced age had it twice a day."

#### HENFREY'S VEGETATION OF EUROPE.

*The Vegetation of Europe: its Conditions and its Causes.* By Arthur Henfrey, F.L.S. Van Voorst.

THIS is the first of a series, the design of which is excellent—a series, namely, of *Outlines of the Natural History of Europe*—to be composed by men of eminence, and to be "got up" in the elegant style which characterizes Mr. Van Voorst's publications.

The *Vegetation of Europe* has been confided to the competent hands of Mr. Henfrey, whose delightful volume well inaugurates the series. The three first chapters set forth general principles in a lively and intelligible exposition which will allure even the non-botanical; but in the chapters which follow there is a repulsive profusion of botanical names, which must restrict the circulation of the work. We are aware of the necessity for these details, and see the difficulty of avoiding technicalities; nevertheless, we think, with a little care in using common names instead of the botanical names—or, at any rate, in conjunction with the Latin,—this dry, repulsive aspect would have been altogether avoided.

But let us glance at the introductory chapters, which lay down the general principles subsequently illustrated in detail. When, last week, we noted the apparent hopelessness of being able to detect the constant order hidden amidst the multiplicity of varied lines on a map, we might have referred to the still more confusing multiplicity of detail presented by the vegetable world to the uninstructed eye. Nevertheless, science has found its Ariadne thread even for that labyrinth of species; although one may say that the thread is only just found. It is not more than half a century since botany became a science; the differences among the flora of various countries, and various parts of those countries, were, of course, noticed long ago, being obvious.

"Oranges will ripen on the other side of the Alps, but not on this. For those cereal grains, those corn-plants, furnishing the principal portion of the food of man, we find distinct lines of demarcation extending across Europe, beyond which, northward, each kind ceases to be capable of ripening its seed. Of trees we know that certain kinds will flourish and form fruits at points far north, where others are arrested by the cold; the firs, for instance, exclusively constitute the most northern woods of Scandinavia, while the dwarf palm, a representative of tropical climates, maintains its footing even so far into the temperate region as Italy and the southern confines of France.

"Again, as indeed must be perceptible to every one who has visited mountainous countries, vegetation alters in its characters at different elevations, and it has been shown that these variations correspond to those which are observed on the level plains in proceeding from the south towards the north; the increased severity of the climate of the higher localities acting exactly in the same way as the colder climate of the regions lying further from the equator."

At first, it was believed that these differences were owing to the differences of climate, and by climate was simply meant the heat or cold. But the course of investigation proved that, 1st, the facts were opposed to the idea of heat or cold being the sole cause; 2nd, that climate is not due to mere temperature, but also to humidity, exposure to prevailing winds, and general geographical conditions. The laurel, for instance, which lives through the winter in Ireland or the west of England, and is only affected by very severe frosts in the eastern counties, is killed by the winters of Berlin. Canada, which lies south of Paris, has the climate of Drontheim in Norway; while at New York, lying in the latitude of Naples, the flowers open simultaneously with those of Upsala in Sweden.

Further investigation led men to consider the influences due to chemical and physical conditions of the soil—a subject Professor Way is at present studying, guided by a luminous hypothesis. The result of these inquiries has been to make men

"Aware that there is some law presiding over the distribution of plants, which causes the appearance of particular species arbitrarily, if we may so say it, in particular places; and following the clue which this affords, we arrive at the conclusion that countries have become populated with plants, partly by the spreading of some special kinds from centres within those countries where they were originally exclusively created; and while these have spread outward into the neighbouring regions, colonists from like centres lying in the surrounding countries have invaded and become intermingled with the indigenous inhabitants. The modes in which these processes have gone on, the details of the migrations, and similar particulars, are matters of much debate and discussion, and require great care in their determination; but it is now generally admitted that such centres of creation do exist, and thus we have here, side by side with the climatic and other physical influences, a second and totally different set of conditions, which must be thoroughly investigated before we can clearly understand the manner in which the vegetable inhabitants of the world have acquired their present positions and relations toward each other. When we have to deal with a great extent of the earth's surface, the phenomena presented by this branch of the subject are very striking, sufficiently so to have enabled M. Schouw, one of the most distinguished geographical botanists, to lay down regions on the map of the world, in which particular forms are so predominant as to give a peculiar character to the vegetation, these peculiarities

not pointing at a difference of climate, but often indicating rather a resemblance, where certain tribes of plants are represented, as it were, by other tribes quite distinct in structure, but agreeing very closely in the habits which place them under the influence of the external physical agencies."

The reflective reader will compare this idea of special centres of creation, and subsequent migrations, with the analogous idea of the distribution of races of men. But we cannot touch on this subject, nor on that indicated in this passage:—

"Professor Schouw has attempted to deduce evidence of the comparative age of the existing floras from the relation of the character of their species to those of fossil floras, of which the comparative antiquity has been pretty certainly determined. In tracing the changes which have taken place in the constituents of the vegetation of different geological periods, it appears as if the plants of successive formations assumed higher types of organization as they were successively created; the earliest plants of which fossil remains have been found, seem to have been seaweeds and cellular plants; after these came the higher Cryptogamous plants, such as Ferns and their allies, with Conifers and Monocotyledons; the Apetalous Dicotyledons seem to have preceded the Polypetalous families, and the Monopetalous families are but sparingly represented until we come to existing forms."

We have only to recommend the volume as a lively and suggestive contribution to our natural history. The next volume of the series is to be a *Natural History of the European Seas*, by Professor E. Forbes.

#### AN AMERICAN POET.

*Poems.* By Thomas Buchanan Read. Illustrated by Kenny Meadows. Delf and Trübner.

A NOTE of music always delights the ear. No matter how humble the strain, how modest the pretensions of the musician, the genuine melody steals into your heart, and nestles there welcome. One man shall smite the sounding chords with magnificent intentions, he shall stun you with the multiplied orchestral din of his pretensions, but you pertinaciously avoid him, and the chorus of "Opinions of the Press," with which he hopes to overpower your reluctant mind; while a modest little song shall murmur in your ear until you turn to look upon the singer. Buchanan Read was a name unknown to us; his little volume has made it a pleasant name; and we announce it to you as the name of a young poet worth looking after. A small grey volume, among a mass of volumes, bearing the ominous title, *Poems*, would with difficulty have lured an over-worked reviewer, had not a casual glance satisfied him that there was something more than verse, there was actual music in the volume, the second page of which contained these lines—

"The muffled owl within the swaying elm  
Thrills all the air with sadness as he swings,  
Till sorrow seems to spread her shadowy realm  
About all outward things.

"And when old Winter through his fingers numb  
Blows till his breathings on the windows gleam;  
And when the mill-wheel spiked with ice is dumb  
Within the neighbouring stream."

And there is something more. There is poetry—the poetry of Youth and Hope. Buchanan Read—as we imagine from this volume—is still on the threshold of life, which stretches smilingly before him,—is still strong in all the eager hopes and impulses of youth, and sings from the very riot of his blood. He sings of Love, of Nature, of Beauty, and of Youth; and he sings of them lovingly, joyously, as one whom sorrow has not hurt. He tells us, indeed, that

"He wearies of the harp whose strings  
Are never tuned to grief."

But that weariness is only a dread of monotony, not a sympathy with grief itself. Sorrow he knows not in its deep impassioned forms; it has visited him, and vanished like the tears of childhood, quick-glancing as the changing hues of a dove's neck, *hinting* at experiences, never giving them. And so his volume is a dulcet hymn; gentle and sweet, not passionate and grand. It echoes melodies we have all heard before, but mingles with them a certain music of its own.

In proof of what we say, hear this:—

"Down behind the hidden village, fringed around with hazel brake,  
(Like a holy hermit dreaming, half asleep and half awake,  
One who loveth the sweet quiet for the happy quiet's sake,  
Dozing, murmuring in its visions, lay the heaven-enamoured lake.

"And within a dell, where shadows through the brightest days abide,  
Like the silvery swimming gossamer by breezes scattered wide,  
Fell a shining skein of water that ran down the lakelet's side,  
As within the brain by beauty lulled, a pleasant thought may glide.

"When the sinking sun of August, growing large in the decline,  
Shot his arrows long and golden through the maple and the pine;  
And the russet-thrush fled singing from the alder to the vine,  
While the cat-bird in the hazel gave its melancholy whine;

"And the little squirrel chattered, peering round the hickory bole,  
And, a-sudden, like a meteor, gleamed along the oriole;—  
There I walked beside fair Inez, and her gentle beauty stole  
Like the scene athwart my senses, like the sunshine through my soul.

"And her fairy feet that pressed the leaves, a pleasant music made,  
And they dimpled the sweet beds of moss with blossoms thick inlaid:—  
There I told her old romances, and with love's sweet woo we played,  
Till fair Inez' eyes, like evening, held the dew beneath their shade.

"There I wove for her love ballads, such as lover only weaves,  
Till she sighed and grieved, as only mild and loving maiden grieves;  
And to hide her tears she stooped to glean the violets from the leaves,  
As of old sweet Ruth went gleaming 'mid the oriental sheaves.

"Down we walked beside the lakelet:—gazing deep into her eye,  
There I told her all my passion! With a sudden blush and sigh,  
Turning half away with look askant, she only made reply,  
'How deep within the water glows the happy evening sky!'

"Then I asked her if she loved me, and our hands met each in each,  
And the dainty, sighing ripples seemed to listen up the reach;  
While thus slowly with a hazel wand she wrote along the beach,  
'Love, like the sky, lies deepest ere the heart is stirred to speech.'

"Thus I gained the love of Inez—thus I won her gentle hand;  
And our paths now lie together, as our foot-prints on the strand;  
We have vowed to love each other in the golden morning land,  
When our names from earth have vanished, like the writing from the sand!"

A variation of the same air is heard in this:—

"When the Spring's delightful store  
Brought the blue-birds to our bowers,  
And the poplar at the door  
Shook the fragrance from its flowers,  
Then there came two wedded doves,  
And they built among the limbs,  
And the murmur of their loves  
Fell like mellow, distant hymns,  
There, until the Spring had flown,  
Did they sit and sing, alone,  
In the broad and flowery branches.

"With the scented Summer breeze  
How their music swam around,  
Till my spirit sailed the seas  
Of enchanted realms of sound!  
'Soul,' said I, 'thy dream of youth  
Is not fancy, nor deceives,  
For I hear Love's blissful truth  
Prophesied among the leaves;  
Therefore till the Summer's flown  
Sit and sing, but not alone,  
In the broad and flowery branches.'

"Then the harvest came and went,  
And the Autumn marshalled down  
All his host, and spread his tent  
Over fields and forests brown;  
Then the doves, one evening, hied  
To their old accustomed nest;  
One went up, but drooped and died,  
With an arrow in its breast—  
Died and dropped; while there, alone,  
Sat the other, making moan,  
In the broad and withering branches."

And so on through the volume he chants of Nature and of Love—the only things known to him, and those not with any depth of experience. But one so rarely hears a strain of music, that welcome must be given to Buchanan Read, whose maturer volumes may earn for him a permanent position.

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*The Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Poets, Philosophers, Statesmen, Divines, Painters, Architects, Engineers, &c.* With Biographies originally published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Parts I. and II.

W. S. Orr and Co.

EVERY one is familiar with the Gallery of Distinguished Men whose portraits and memoirs were published by Charles Knight, under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The original cost was seven guineas. Messrs. Orr and Co. now re-issue the work in monthly parts at half-a-crown, which will bring the whole within three pounds. Amateurs can limit themselves to single parts, if their means forbid their taking in the whole gallery. Each part contains seven steel engravings, with memoirs. Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Wiclif, Chaucer, Lorenzo de Medici, and Cardinal Ximenes, form Part I. Brantome, Leonardo da Vinci, Erasmus, Copernicus, Ariosto, Michael Angelo, and Sir Thomas More, are in Part II.

*Letters from Italy and Vienna.*

Macmillan and Co

PLEASANT letters, worth reading in a leisure half hour, but claiming no serious attention. The ground has been trodden too often before; and our anonymous traveller, though an agreeable companion, has little novelty to set before us.

*The Book Case.* No. I. *Across the Rocky Mountains from New York to California* By William Kelly.

Sims and McIntyre

THE speculative publishers of the first of the cheap libraries (*The Parlour Library*), Messrs. Sims and McIntyre, have commenced a new series, under the title of *The Book Case*, which is to include works of Biography and Travel. The volume is handsomer than the Parlour Library, and printed in far better type. We should suggest the addition of Science to the departments already contemplated. Good books we are certain will pay. Mr. Kelly's spirited "Ride across the Rocky Mountains," which opens the series, has already been reviewed by us with great favour, and we have now only to announce it.

*The Four Primary Sensations of the Mind.* A Brief Essay. By John Bell, Sculptor

Chapman and Hall.

A LITTLE tract which can be read in half an hour, and will clear up subjects that have perhaps puzzled the metaphysician for years. It is an essay on the Sublime and the Beautiful, with their correlates the Ridiculous and the Unpleasant. It would lead us too far to enter into the discussion, and we simply indicate to our readers the existence of the essay, which we commend to their notice.

*Cosmos: a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* By Alexander von Humboldt. Translated from the German by E. C. Otté and B. H. Paul. (*Bohn's Scientific Library*.) Vol. IV.

H. G. Bohn.

THIS volume concludes the *uranological* portion of Humboldt's vast attempt at a physical description of the universe; and although, as in former volumes, we find frequent repetitions, yet the multitude of its facts, leads us delighted to the last page, in spite of the absence of that philosophic grasp of the subject which the book ought to have. The book, we believe to be greatly overrated, but people are afraid to hint the dissatisfaction they feel. The section on the *nebulae* is especially

interesting, though something more distinctly expressive of his own views might have been desirable.

*Self-Control.* By Mrs. Brunton. (*Railway Library*.) George Routledge and Co. WHAT need be said of Mrs. Brunton's well thumbed novel now-a-days? That it is added to the list of cheap amusing books known as the *Railway Library*.

*Two Stories for my Young Friends.* By Frances Brown. Paton and Ritchie, Edinburgh.

FRANCES BROWN, the poetess, has here given children two little stories which, on the authority of children, we pronounce delightful. *The Ericksons* is the favorite in one quarter; but in another the claim is set up for *The Clever Boy: or, Consider Another*. Parents and guardians will settle the question by buying the little volume and leaving it with the young critics.

*Life of Constantine the Great.* By Joseph Fletcher. A. Cockshaw.

ANOTHER volume of the *Library for the Times*. It is an elaborate historical biography in small compass; well suited to its purpose, but labouring under that very common deficiency—the want of an index.

*Michaud's History of the Crusades.* Translated from the French. By W. Robson. In three volumes. Vol. I. George Routledge and Co.

WHEN we consider the immense historical significance of the Crusades, and its romantic interest as a subject for the picturesque historian, it seems astonishing that our literature can boast of no better account than the lifeless inaccurate work of Mills, and perhaps even more astonishing that no one should have thought of translating Michaud's admirable book—a book that all Europe has accepted. Mr. Robson deserves encouragement for producing this work. He has translated it carefully, and avoided the unseemly imitation of French idioms which generally clings by translators. On the completion of the work we shall notice it at length.

*Battles of the British Navy.* By Joseph Allen, R.N. New Edition, revised and enlarged. In 2 vols. (*Bohn's Illustrated Library*.) Vol. II. H. G. Bohn.

THE second volume of Allen's spirited history embraces this century, or rather the first forty years of it, for since the operations on the Syrian coast there have been no Battles of the British Navy. The plates are numerous, and two ample indexes, one of names and one of events, are added—as usual with Mr. Bohn's volumes. Excellent Mr. Bohn, how the student recognises this care for his wants!

*Claret and Olives; from the Garonne to the Rhone.* By Angus B. Reach.

D. Bogue.

*Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England.*

D. Bogue.

*The Home Circle*, for April.

W. S. Johnson.

*Who are the Friends of Order?* By Rev. C. Kingsley, Jun.

E. Lumley.

*On the Management of Ships' Boats.* By W. S. Lacon.

Parker, Furnivall, and Co.

*The Enthusiast, or Straying Angel.* A Poem. By James Orton.

William Pickering.

*Cuvillion Fleury-Portraits.*

*Politiques et Revolutionnaires.* 2 vols.

W. Jeffs.

*Royal Military Magazine.*

W. Kent and Co.

*The Bookcase—Panorama of St Petersburg.* By J. G. Kohl.

Simms and McIntyre.

*The Parlour Library—Pictures of Life.* By Mary Howitt.

Simms and McIntyre.

*Periodical Savings applied to Provident purposes.* By A. Robertson.

W. S. Orr and Co.

*Report of the Liverpool Domestic Mission Society.*

E. T. Whitfield.

*Essay of Gold and Silver Wares.* By A. Ryland.

Smith, Elder, and Co.

*The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology.*

John Churchill.

*The British Journal.*

Aylott and Jones.

*Fraser's Magazine.*

John W. Parker and Son.

*Household Narrative.* Conducted by Charles Dickens, 10, Wellington-street, North.

*Biographical Magazine.*

J. Passmore Edwards.

*New Quarterly Review.* No. II.

Hookham and Son.

*Bleak House.* Part II. By Charles Dickens.

Bradbury and Evans.

*Writings of Douglas Jerrold—The Story of a Feather.* Part III.

Punch Office.

*Mr. Sponge's Sporting Tour.* Part IV.

Bradbury and Evans.

*Illustrated Exhibitor.* Part III.

John Cassill.

*Colburn's United Service Magazine, and Naval and Military Journal.*

Colburn and Co.

*Education in England.* By F. Gasc.

T. Saunders.

*The Gardener's Record.*

R. Groombridge and Sons.

*The Daltons.* No. XXIV. By C. Lever.

Chapman and Hall.

*Penny Maps.* Part XXI.

Chapman and Hall.

*The Westminster Review.*

John Chapman.

*Chambers's Pocket Miscellany.* Vol. IV.

W. S. Orr and Co.

*The Portrait Gallery.* Part IV.

W. S. Orr and Co.

*The Musical Times.* Nos. XCIV. and XCV.

J. A. Novello.

*Handel's Oratorio.* Nos. CXXXIII. and CXXXIV.

J. A. Novello.

*Railway Library—Night Side of Nature.* 2 Vols. By Catherine Crowe.

G. Routledge and Co.

## Portfolia.

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

### COMTE'S POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.

By G. H. LEWES.

#### Part I.—Biographical.

AT the close of the *Biographical History of Philosophy*, after having traversed the great epochs of speculation, I endeavoured, in a few rapid touches, to sketch the position occupied by AUGUSTE COMTE, the greatest thinker of modern times, and one whose doctrine is to the nineteenth century, something more than that which Bacon's was to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Imperfect and meagre as that sketch necessarily was in the narrow limits of a concluding chapter, it has not been without its effect in exciting the curiosity of many thinkers, whom it has incited to a more intimate study of COMTE; and I please myself with the notion that a considerable public may be found eager to hear a more ample and more detailed exposition of the Positive Philosophy. A long cherished intention to do this in some shape or other is now at last to be gratified. It is one of our noble human instincts that we cannot feel within us the glory and the power of a real conviction without earnestly striving to make that conviction pass into other minds. All propaganda is religious; all steadfast preaching of the truth, such as our minds decree it, is a human duty, a social instinct. Otherwise, why ruffle the complacency of fools by demonstrating their absurdities? Why draw upon oneself the harsh names and harsher constructions, the scorn and bitterness of those from whom we differ? For my part, I owe too much to the influence of AUGUSTE COMTE guiding me through the toilsome active years, and giving



me the sustaining faith which previous speculation had scattered, not to desire that others should likewise participate in it. For ten years it has been with me, surviving all changes of opinion, and modifying my whole mental history; and my debt of gratitude is inexpressible in words. If, after this recognition, I shall be found dissenting from some opinions energetically maintained by COMTE and his unhesitating disciples, it is only necessary to call to mind that Reverence is not incompatible with Independence.

Auguste Comte was born in 1797. His family was eminently catholic and monarchical—a detail not without its significance in considering his philosophic education; to which may be added the further detail of his collegiate education having commenced in one of those institutions wherein Bonaparte vainly endeavoured to restore the antique preponderance of the theologico-metaphysical régime. It was at college, in his quick and eager youth, that Bacon rose up in scorn against the scholastic course of study, and planned the first sketch of the *Novum Organum*. It was at college that Descartes grew painfully conscious of the incompetence of the Aristotelian method, and the vanity of the reigning sciences. It was at college Locke grew impatient at the quibbling pedantries which passed current as philosophy, and learned to despise all education except self-education. And at college Comte first felt the necessity of an entire renovation of philosophy, and, impressed with the conviction that the restriction of the scientific method to the phenomena of the inorganic world was an absurdity, he saw thus early the absolute necessity of applying that method to vital and social problems. Bacon was thirteen, Comte fourteen, when this reforming spirit awoke.

He was in this condition of mind when he became acquainted with the celebrated St. SIMON, and worked under him as one of his most active disciples. In after-life he characterized St. Simon as “a very ingenious but very superficial writer, whose nature, more active than speculative, was assuredly not very philosophic, and was really moved by nothing but an immense personal ambition.” The coincidence in their point of view, viz., the necessity of a Social Renovation based upon a Mental Revolution, brought them together; and the charm and personal ascendancy of St. Simon seems to have subjugated Comte, who considers, however, that their intercourse only troubled and interrupted the genuine course of his own speculations by directing them towards futile attempts at direct political action.

His career was interrupted in another and more painful manner in 1826, when over-work and heart-anxieties brought on a cerebral excitement, which, under the care of mad doctors, was fostered into confirmed insanity. After the doctors had declared him incurable, he was cured by domestic care and tenderness. He has himself boldly stated this episode in his life, in anticipation of the perfidy of antagonists, who would not fail to fling it in derision at him. That this insanity was but a transient cerebral disorder, no reader of his volumes need be told; for, whatever opposition his opinions may excite, however false and absurd they may appear, they assuredly have nothing of that extravagance and flightiness to which the imputation of madness can be applied.

His life appears to have been a quiet scientific life, his daily bread earned by teaching mathematics, both in private and at the Ecole Polytechnique, where he was professor; and his leisure occupied with the slow elaboration of his philosophy. He has told us the story of his persecutions, in the preface to the sixth volume of the *Philosophie Positive*; but, of course, he has only told his view of the matter, and we know that men writing the story of their wrongs are not always the most accurate of historians. That he had offended Arago, and most of his brother professors, is quite clear; and the fact of his gradual destitution from one post after another is as indisputable as it is deplorable. So that the reader will learn with pain that Comte, in his fifty-fifth year, is thrown upon the world, with no other resources than such as his friends and admirers can collect for him!\*

Besides his official teaching, Comte has for many years been accustomed to deliver gratuitous lectures on sections of the positive philosophy, every Sunday, for six months in the year, by this means, disseminating among the people general truths of the most important nature. And these avocations may be said to have constituted his life, varied by two constant recreations—Poetry and Music. His writings, which already amount to ten thick volumes, have been composed with a rapidity almost incredible. The whole of the first volume of the *Philosophie Positive* (900 pages) was written in three months! and so of the rest: a rapidity which will in some measure account for the imperfections of his verbose style.

But there are two grand divisions in his life, corresponding with the two fundamental divisions of his philosophy. The lonely man of science, whose days were passed in meditation and the task-work of tuition, who led a purely intellectual life, was well fitted for the great mission of elaborating a philosophy of the Sciences, and thereby laying the immutable basis of a new Social Doctrine,—in other words, of elaborating a Philosophy as the indispensable preparation for a Religion; but this intellectual life, in proportion as it fitted him for the co-ordination of scientific principles, rendered him unfitted, by its exclusiveness, for that intense and enlarged conception of our moral or emotional life, with which Religion and Morality are inseparably connected. I am touching here upon a characteristic of the Positive Philosophy, which, for a long time to come, will be an obstacle

to its acceptance, for men of Science will reject with a sneer the subordination of the Intellect to the Heart, of Science to Morality; and the unscientific, while they feel the deep and paramount importance of our Moral Nature, will be repelled from a philosophy which rests upon a scientific basis. Logic and sentiment—to use popular generalizations—have long been at war, and they will severally reject Comte's system, because it seeks to unite them.

That the Intellect is not the noblest aspect of man, is a heresy which I have long iterated with the constancy due to a conviction; and there will never be a Philosophy capable of satisfying the demands of Humanity, until the truth be recognised that man is moved by his emotions, not by his ideas; he uses his Intellect only as an eye to see the way. In other words, the Intellect is the servant, not the lord of the Heart; and Science is a futile, frivolous pursuit, unworthy of greater respect than a game of chess, unless it subserve some grand religious aim, unless its issue be in some enlarged conception of man's life and destiny. I say this without much fear of being misunderstood. My opinions on religion have been too often, and too unequivocally pronounced, to admit of the supposition, that in thus placing Science in subordination to Religion, I wish to countenance the current declarations of orthodoxy. I agree with the spirit of those declarations, while totally disagreeing with the opinions they imply. Although I do not owe to Auguste Comte the conviction of moral supremacy, I have been greatly strengthened in it by observing its growth in his mind.

At the age of forty-five, Comte fell in love with an unhappy and remarkable woman, separated from her husband. One whole year of chaste and exquisite affection changed his life. He had completed his great work on *Positive Philosophy*. His scientific elaboration was over. He was now to enter upon the great problems of Social Life; and by a fortunate coincidence, it was at this moment that he fell in love. It was then this Philosopher was to feel in all its intensity the truth which he before had perceived, viz., that in the mass, as in the individual, the great predominance is due to the affections, and to them the intellect ministers. A new influence, penetrating like sunshine into the very depths of his being, awakened there the feelings dormant since childhood, and by their light he saw the world under new aspects. He grew religious. He learned to appreciate the abiding and universal influence of the affections. He gained a new glimpse into man's destiny. He aspired to become the founder of a new religion—the religion of Humanity, about which I shall have to speak hereafter; my present object is a biographical sketch, not a critical investigation.

For one long blissful year, Auguste Comte knew the inexpressible happiness of a profound attachment; and then the consolation of his life was withdrawn from him—the angel who had appeared to him in his solitude, and opened the gates of heaven to his eager gaze, vanished again, and left him once more to his loneliness; but although her presence was no longer there, a trace of luminous glory left behind in the heart of the bereaved man, sufficed to make him bear his burden, and to dedicate his days to that great mission which her love had sanctified.

Such is the Philosopher; let us now try to apprehend the Philosophy.

#### THE INCREDIBLE NOT ALWAYS IMPOSSIBLE.

TO G. H. LEWES.

MY DEAR LEWES,—I have just read your article on the “Fallacy of Clairvoyance.” Certain portions of it seem to me to call for a rejoinder on my part, as the writer of the series of letters, entitled “Magnetic Evenings at Home.”

In the first place, allow me to acknowledge the liberal and temperate spirit in which you have written; and let me further admit, that I consider you, personally, quite justified in your disbelief in clairvoyance by the failure of the personal experiment which you made as a test of its truth. I am not writing to remonstrate with you; but to defend myself—or, in other words, to show that, if your disbelief is founded on what you term “a crucial instance,” my belief is founded on “a crucial instance” too.

Referring to the experiment related by me, in No. 102 of this journal, you endeavour to account for the extraordinary results which I relate as having been obtained, by assuming that the *clairvoyante* was prompted in her answers by “leading questions, by intonations, by the hundred suggestions of voice and manner.” You further admit, that the gentleman who put the questions (not the magnetizer, remember), denied your explanation, and assured you that he had remained perfectly passive. His statement does not appear to have staggered you in your theory. I suppose you doubted whether the person who put the questions was the best witness as to how the questions were put. At any rate, you resolved to “test the *clairvoyante* when she knew nothing, when her operator knew nothing, when no other human being but yourself knew what the real case was.”

It is on this part of your letter that I wish to make one or two comments.

1. I beg to repeat what I have already stated in the “Magnetic Evenings”—i.e., that in the case of clairvoyance now under review, and in the others which I have reported, I took down in writing the questions and answers as they passed, and sent them to press in the *Leader* from the notes thus taken. Is this evidence of the verbal correctness of my report of the questions, or is it not? Do scientific men, like the Dr. Cullen you quote, disbelieve other people's ears as well as their eyes; and assume

\* If any generous lover of philosophy, reading this, will forward to me his mite, it will be gratefully added to the subscriptions I endeavour in private to collect. Address, *Leader Office*, 10, Wellington-street.

that the general public are as incapable of correctly writing down what they hear, as of correctly describing what they see? I can only say for myself, that I wrote down what I heard, exactly as I heard it; that whenever a question was repeated (and that was not often) it was repeated in the same words; that no observations of any kind intervened between the questions and answers in the part of the interrogatory which produced the most astounding results; and that no interference, by word, look, or gesture, proceeded from any of the audience—for the simple reason, that none of them knew whether the answers were right or wrong. I know all this just as well as I know that I am writing to you at the present moment.

2. Now let us examine the questions taken down under these circumstances. We will only revert to two of them, in order to save time and space. But, for the sake of the point at issue between us, we will select the two questions which elicited the most marvellous answers, and one of which I know to have been *immediately* followed by the answer. They are these, (I quote from my fifth letter):—"Q. How many people were seated at table? A. (given directly) Seven. (right). Q. How many ladies and how many gentlemen? A. (after a pause of perfect silence) Four gentlemen and three ladies. (right)." First recapitulating the circumstance, that these questions referred to a breakfast-party at Paris, given while the *clairvoyante* was at a watering-place in Somersetshire; and that we knew, by every human means of knowledge, that no hint of the party, or of any matter connected with it, had been communicated to her, or to any one about her,—first recapitulating this, let me ask whether the two questions quoted are, in any sense of the word, "leading questions?" and whether they are not, on the contrary, studiously confined to the simplest, baldest form of interrogatory? If you believe that from such questions any guess could be formed by anybody, of what the required answer ought to be, I have been wasting my time in writing this letter; but I know you don't.

Having done with the "leading question" part of your explanation, let us get on to your notion that "anxious expressions, intonations, and the hundred suggestions of voice and manner," had something to do in producing the answers that we heard. If, by "anxious expressions," you mean expressions in *words*, the questions, as they stand, dispose of that hypothesis; if you mean expression by *look*, I should like to know your idea of the "look" which can so eloquently accompany the question, "how many people were seated at table?" as to inform the questioned person (previously in a state of total ignorance on the subject) that the right answer was "seven?" Or, if you would rather not tell me about the "look," perhaps you will inform me how an "intonation of voice" accompanying the same question, would be able to produce the same effect? I should like to hear you sound that "intonation," some day, after dinner, when we are in a comfortable state for judging of it,—say after a bottle of port apiece. The celebrated Irish echo, which, when a traveller says "How d'ye do?" always replies, "Pretty well, thank ye," would be nothing to the "intonation!"

As for my friend's "manner" helping the *clairvoyante*,—I wish you had seen it! He sat with both his hands on the elbows of her chair all the time, certainly "suggesting" nothing in that direction. His face, whenever I looked at it, (and that was pretty often,) always wore the same expression of rigid attention,—nothing more; and he plied his interrogatories with as much coolness and deliberation as if he had been a practised hand. But, let his *manner* have been any manner you like, if—accompanying the two questions I have quoted—it could have helped to betray what the answers ought to be, then, assuredly, one of the easiest stage-directions ever given to an actor, is that renowned direction in the old melodrama:—"Here the miser leans against the side-scene, and grows generous."

3. If you have any doubt whether our friend could be quite certain that in selecting the subject for experiment he was testing the *clairvoyante* as you tested her, "when she knew nothing of the case, and when her operator knew nothing," and I may add, when nobody present, and nobody not present connected with the magnetizer or his family circle, knew anything either.—I refer you first, to our friend himself; and secondly, to the statement of the matter contained in my fifth letter. In both cases you will find the evidence as clear and direct as evidence can possibly be.

And now I have done. If after this you still believe that, because *your* experiment failed, there must necessarily have been some failure in *our* experiment which we could not detect, I must give up all hope of convincing you. But why then did *my* experiment fail? you will say. I again refer you to my letters. You will find failures faithfully reported there; and you will find the magnetizer himself quoted as saying, that what he succeeded in at one time, he did not succeed in at another. He has failed in your case—he succeeded with us: he has succeeded with dozens of other people—he may yet succeed with you, in the manner and under the circumstances which you would imagine least likely to produce success. In the mean time, I write this letter, (my last) not with any wish to enter into a controversy on the general subject of *clairvoyance*, but simply to vindicate the special experiment to which you have referred in your letter, as a *genuine* experiment; and to try and show you, by clear straightforward evidence, that my friend and myself were not duped by our own imaginations—not misled by any deception of our own senses—and not unmindful of using every possible caution, as well as of raising every fair difficulty in selecting and prosecuting our test of the merits of *clairvoyance*.

March 20th.

W. W. C.

## BIRDS.

ONCE in my vernal youth I stood,  
In the green shadow of a wood,  
Beneath the breeze and open sky,  
And ever as the evening fell,  
More darkly over heath and dell,  
Saw the benighted birds go by.

Ah, gentle birds! I said, your nest  
Receives you soon to dewy rest;  
O fly, kind birds, into my hand!  
Some darling bird with light brown wings,  
That solely for one darling sings,  
And yet delights the listening land.

O beat within this hand of mine,  
Beat on my breast; and feeling thine,  
O winged love, I'll rest content:  
O wanderer wild, be tame with me,  
As I am tame; and I shall be  
Most happy and most innocent.

So in my vernal days I said,  
With lifted hand and straining head,  
That looked into the darkening sky.  
But never, never bird would come;  
Each found a fairer, dearer home,  
And ever, ever hurried by.

So in my summer days I said,  
To birds more dear to heart and head,  
That wandered glittering through the land.  
But all my praying was no good,  
My longing was not understood,  
I hold no bird within my hand.

M.

## SUMMER DAYS.

IN summer, when the days were long,  
We walked together in the wood;  
Our heart was light, our step was strong,  
Sweet flutterings were there in our blood,  
In summer, when the days were long.

We strayed from morn till evening came,  
We gathered flowers, and wove us crowns;  
We walked 'mid poppies red as flame,  
Or sat upon the yellow downs,  
And always wished our life the same.

In summer, when the days were long,  
We leapt the hedgerow, crost the brook;  
And still her voice flowed forth in song,  
Or else she read some graceful book,  
In summer, when the days were long.

And then we sat beneath the trees,  
With shadows lessening in the noon;  
And in the sunlight and the breeze  
We feasted, many a gorgeous June,  
While larks were singing o'er the leas.

In summer, when the days were long,  
On dainty chicken, snow-white bread,  
We feasted, with no grace but song;  
We pluck'd wild strawberries, ripe and red,  
In summer, when the days were long.

We loved, and yet we knew it not—  
For loving seemed like breathing, then—  
We found a heaven in every spot,  
Saw angels, too, in all good men,  
And dreamt of God in grove and grot.

In summer, when the days are long,  
Alone I wander, muse alone;  
I see her not, but that old song,  
Under the fragrant wind is blown,  
In summer, when the days are long.

Alone I wander in the wood,  
But one fair spirit hears my sighs;  
And half I see, so glad and good,  
The honest daylight of her eyes,  
That charmed me under earlier skies.

In summer, when the days are long,  
I love her as we loved of old;  
My heart is light, my step is strong—  
For love brings back those hours of gold,  
In summer, when the days are long.

M.



## The Arts.

## ROBERT MACAIRE.

WITHOUT *Robert Macaire* this nineteenth century of France would want a type. It is no small thing for an actor to have created such a type; and that Frédéric has done. Other parts may be played by other men, but Frédéric is *Robert Macaire*; and a more quaint, fantastic, graceful piece of philosophic buffoonery does not exist. I am not here to criticise a performance so universally known; but a word upon the celebrated snuff-box may not be out of place. To my astonishment I find a dramatic critic saying, "the snuff-box was as eloquent as ever." If you must know in what that eloquence consists, learn that whenever *Robert Macaire* opens his box, in turning round the lid it gives a squeak, and whenever it squeaks the foolish audience laughs, as if some exquisite joke were there! To my mind, so great an actor as Frédéric might very well dispense with so cheap and easy an art of tickling the ears of the groundlings; and yet, to show how some physical detail arrests the attention of the crowd, nine people out of ten, in speaking of *Robert Macaire*, will infallibly mention the snuff-box, as if Frédéric's talent were illustrated by that! I remember standing before Rauch's statue of Blücher with an Englishman, whose admiration found a vent in this remark: "Look at the *spurs*—how wonderful!" Here the detail which his practical experience appreciated was to him of more consequence than all the rest of the statue—Rauch must be a great sculptor who could represent spurs with that fidelity!

But because I think the snuff-box business trivial, I must not be supposed to depreciate a performance which is perfectly unrivalled. "Age cannot wither nor custom state its infinite variety." I think Lemaitre detestable in tragedy, and inimitable in drama and buffoonery. *Ruy Blas* was afflicting; the scenes from *Trente Ans de la vie d'un joueur*, proved that his day is passed for those great effects he used to produce; but in *Don César*, *Robert Macaire*, and *Paillasse* he must be praised in hyperboles.

Regnier, the *rif*, *spirituel*, and well-disciplined Regnier, is to be with us after Easter, with Mdle. Denain, and Paul Laba.

## OPENING OF THE ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA.

CICERO, a great wit as well as a great orator, and dearer to me in the former character than in the latter, somewhere points to the surpassing acuteness of the Greeks, as proved in their reckoning no man accomplished who was not a musician. Were I cursed with an obdurate tympanum, and the taste of a British Tenor, I might answer Cicero, and prove that by music, the Greeks understood something far more extensive and intellectual than we understand by it. Indeed, I might reasonably ask if the Greeks knew anything about music at all, in our sense of the term: simple melodies, and a rhythmic *tum! tum!* twanged on a short-stringed lyre, they had abundance of; but what dim and distant notion had they of our grand orchestral and choral harmonies, our prodigal colouring and heaven-scaling wails of passionate aspiration? What knew they of Gluck, Beethoven, Mozart, Weber, Meyerbeer? As well ask what they knew of a railroad or a post-office. For you must not take without criticism the accounts transmitted us of Greek music. It is all very well for Poets and Feuilletists to rhapsodize, but let us control their rhapsodies by Science, and ask any gentleman with profound views on the subject of Acoustics, what tone or combinations of tone are possible with a lyre such as we see the Greek lyre to have been—what could be done with those three short strings? Or what with that Pipe, (otherwise called a syringe—*σφύρις*;) upon which pastoral-minded men expended their lungs?

All that I *might* say—if I were an ass. But remembering what Genius can do, I believe what Genius is said to have done. I don't think Orpheus a fable—what was Paganini? Then, let us remember David soothing the anguish of Saul's kingly heart, by strains so touching, that Madness itself melted before them; and yet the harp he played on was, after all, nothing but a Jew's harp, you'll observe!

I wander from my point, which was Cicero's remark on the necessity of music to an accomplished mind. "The man that has not music in his soul"—the quotation is somewhat musty. Indeed, how can a man claim the recognition of well-regulated minds who does not go to the Opera? How can he hope to exist without going to the Opera? What is Life, but a Rhythm of the Divine Harmony? (I hope you understand that phrase!) What is the Metaphysic of Tone, as a profound German—Schilling—in a luminous treatise on the *Æsthetic of Music*, pertinently asked—what is the metaphysic of Tone, but the Physic of the Infinite, the Anthropology of the Soul? What, indeed! And if this be so, which you clearly see must be so, then, *argal*, the Opera is one of the grand Functions of Life!

In unphilosophic plainness, the Opera has become one of our indispensable luxuries. "*Le superflu chose si nécessaire*!" said Voltaire. The Opera is a luxury become a necessity, and therefore the opening of the Royal Italian last Saturday was "an event." It was the burst of spring sunshine heralding a summer of delight. All the "old familiar faces" were smiling there, and every one was disposed for enjoyment. The orchestra, so disciplined by Costa as to be the orchestra of Europe, was strengthened by the immense talents of Bottesini and Piatti, and one only regretted that they had not something more worthy of their powers than the noisy, meaningless music of *Maria di Rohan*, which if not Donizetti's worst opera, (a bold man he who should fix upon the worst!) is undeniably among the very bad; an occasional passage from the *Oberon*, and several from Rossini, notably in the *Otello*, were the only agreeable phrases that caught my ear. But, *en revanche*, there was Ronconi in unusually good voice (never very good), and Tamberlik singing as only Tamberlik can sing. Madame Castellan looking pretty as ever, and singing with the same charm of voice and execution (a little unsteady sometimes in her intonation, and wanting in decision in attacking the notes), and acting with the same ladylike impropriety—always one routine of looks and gestures, no matter what the part. Moreover, there was a débutante, Mdle. Seguin, a full, melodious contralto, wanting in *brio*, but

free from all affectation, and capable after a little experience of "rendering important service to the theatre," as the French critics say. The triumph of the evening was Ronconi's acting in the last scene: there he showed himself the great tragic actor, the master of irony, terror, passion, and the fine fluctuations of an agitated mind.

The *Divertissement* was an infliction. It is a mistake to lengthen out an opera by inserting dancing. Let those who delight in the galvanized grace of *pas* and *pirouettes* be treated thereto at the end of the evening!

VIVIAN.

THE Opera of *Guillaume Tell* was admirably performed on Thursday, but it was chiefly remarkable for introducing to a London audience, Herr Ander, a German tenor, whose reputation was already known. He is a truly fine singer, and the part of *Arnold* is well suited to show his qualities. He has a voice not of unlimited compass, nor is his delivery equal to that of the very happiest Italians; in both respects he might claim a second rank. But his faculties place him in the very first. Although not boundless, his voice is at once powerful and tender; his elocution is broad, clear, emphatic, yet tasteful and delicate; his style is highly animated, varied, and dramatic; his features are plain and strongly German, but his countenance is expressive, his person is graceful, his deportment is free, dignified, and manly. Here are adjectives enough to make a fine singer. Ander reads his part with a just and modest discrimination; his entrance is unobtrusive—he seeks to occupy his proper place in the scene of the moment; he does not labour to make "points;" he sings with sparing embellishment. The great trial of the piece, the scene in which he endures the reproaches of *Tell* and *Walter*, yields love to patriotism, and becomes a leader of the patriot rebels,—was a noble piece of lyric acting; forcible, finished, strongly contrasted, and yet in harmonious keeping throughout. Ander was well supported by his colleagues: Ronconi, the consummate actor and musician, is the very model of *Tell*—plain, dignified, and tender. Marini is in better voice than we have ever heard him, and in as good looks as ever—a giant of proud vigour. He was welcomed as an old friend. Castellan, ever refined and interesting—Tagliafico, sound, efficient, and conscientious, and admirably "made up"—Polonini, useful and complete—you know them already. The chorus singers themselves might be mentioned individually, so much individual co-operation do they throw in: the conspiracy scene was a triumph of dramatic chorus-singing—the whole trained to a light and shade, not always found in the part-singing even of solo performers. Need we add, that the overture, played as only Costa's glorious band could play it, was re-demanded with immense enthusiasm. After the great trio in the second act, Ronconi, Marini, and Ander were called before the curtain; nor was the excitement of the audience appeased until Costa had made his bow from the stage, his official baton in hand. Altogether, *Guillaume Tell* is a happy revival; and, we feel assured, every fresh performance will increase its attraction.

Z.

## HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE.

AFTER many rumours and some terrors lest there should be no opera this season at Her Majesty's, Thursday night settled all doubts by the opening of the dear old house; with *Maria di Rohan*, as if in rivalry of Covent Garden. Not because I have any affection for *Maria di Rohan*, but because I wished to compare notes, I went to Her Majesty's, and left *Guillaume Tell* to be treated by my colleague.

Ferlotti, the new barytone, who made his *débüt* in Ronconi's part, is what people, who like vague words with a grand sonority of no meaning, call "an artist." They admit that he has not much voice: "Oh! but quite an artist;" they admit that he sings flat: "but he is such an artist;" they admit that he languishes and shouts alternately: "but what an artist!" It may be so; but if it be so, all I can say is, I wish he were less of an artist and more of a singer. He is really a tragic actor with "fine moments," as the French say; and his third act was a thrilling performance. But his singing was throughout spoiled by a sickly affectation of tenderness, by a tedious retardation of the *tempo*—by an alternation of *forte* and *pianissimo*—and by an unsteadiness of intonation, which in any but "an artist," I should declare to be serious defects. Still, let me not exaggerate: even in his singing there were good points, and I shall be glad to hear him in another part before passing a final judgment.

Calzolari sang the music of Chalais with considerable effect; he improves every year. Fiorentini, as the Duchess, did not look so handsome as usual, but sang with unusual *entrain*, and was in capital voice. Ida Bertrand made a decided hit in the small part of the Abbé de Gondi; and, altogether, the opera—for such an opera—went off with *éclat*. But until Joanna Wagner appears, Her Majesty's trump card has not been shown.

VIVIAN.

## SOCIETY OF BRITISH ARTISTS.

THE present exhibition in Suffolk-street continues the improvement on its predecessors, and is far more rigidly freed from pictures of a merit to be retained within the scan of domestic affection; a number of the works that now adorn the walls possess merit as transcripts of nature under particular aspects. Here and there, too, we notice works of decided promise. Amongst the latter we must, unluckily, still rank Mr. Hurlstone, the president, who has been a public man for many years, and is still a promising artist. He has for years "given hostages to fortune," in the shape of innumerable children with shaded eyes, and shaded soles to their feet, that he would be a Murillo; but he has not redeemed those hostages. However, he has true feeling; he can catch a smile, seize a picturesque attitude, and hint a sentiment; and if he were a stronger man, he might convert promise into fame fulfilled.

The most extensive merit is that of painting "bits," like Boddington's "Sedgy nook in the leafy month of June"—a specimen of indigenous art. Allen's "Summer evening"—a view over a villaged valley—is more ambitious. But this artist, like J. C. Ward in the "Windy day" on the coast of Oban, needs to acquire a greater mastery over his pigment. To

reduce Ward's white paint to surf, you must go so far back, that the other parts of the picture are dimmed to the sight.

The general effect of the gallery is painful, from a certain quiet monotony: the subjects are too generally of the class of still life, not in the technical sense, but in that of presenting life, human or rural, without action or motion. A "nook," a comely face, a tranquil scene, a figure decently posed—the very step of the curator in the room, seems to break a stillness like that of the sick chamber.

Even the mannerists cannot quicken the faint atmosphere. Zeitter's dashing, splashing sketches of Hungarian life; Woolmer's Tempting Ladies, or even his epics—and the "Expulsion," is really not without a certain poetic force in the rocky desolation,—contrasted with the sugared sunshine above: or Anthony's Sampsonesque dragging down of Nature on his own shoulders, cannot stir up sufficient life for the whole. They are silenced down by the placid assemblage, like an enthusiast in the House of Lords. Anthony, who drags forth ivy-clad church and brook-side tree into a kind of black reality—who paints a leaf with painful intrusiveness of its palpable details, and unadorned eloquence of outline—who proves his branch so unmistakably that a coroner's jury would not hesitate in their verdict—but dashes in the human beings as mere accessories to the flower and the leaf—Anthony, who in moody ferocity would fain woo nature by assault, cannot disturb Hering's *blasé* Arab and Favourite, nor make those eternal four horses' heads lift themselves from the trough—or, how they would wonder!

Mogford has painted a brace of Girls' Bathing; one of them shrinking as the other helps her into the stream. The picture hangs so that we could not see it to advantage; but there appeared to us in it truth and power of action, modest, and not feeble. This painter appears to us also to be imitating nature—and Watts. A clever man is Watts, but in himself, with his panel-like surface, more than half a mannerist. Mogford is one of the promisers: we hope he is young.

#### THE NEW PRINT IN "THE VERNON GALLERY."

Among the pictures to be specially remembered by visitors to the Vernon Gallery, E. M. Ward's lively and brilliant "Scene in Change Alley, during the agitation of the South Sea Bubble," takes a foremost rank. From this work, Mr. J. Carter has just produced an engraving which will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Art-Journal*; and which is, in every respect, by far the best print that has yet been issued in the series called "The Vernon Gallery." The difficulties of the task confided to the engraver must, in this instance, have been immense. He has had to reproduce, on a surface of some ten inches by seven, a large picture, elaborately composed, filled throughout with figures, and mainly dependent for its effect, on the truth and variety of its "characters," as

represented—and admirably represented—in their faces. It is only doing common justice to Mr. Carter to say, that he has thoroughly succeeded in his undertaking. Confined as the scale is on which he has been obliged to work, he has preserved the expressions of the faces in the original picture with marvellous accuracy—not merely in the foreground figures, but in those in the background as well. Indeed, throughout the whole of this beautiful print, the conscientiousness of the workmanship is to the full as remarkable as the ingenuity. Nothing is slurred over; nothing left unequal, in any corner, look where you will; and this exquisitely high finish, like all good and genuine finish, derogates nothing from the general effect. Looked at, as a whole, the print is delightfully brilliant and harmonious, and suggests, in its sober livery of black and white, the idea of sparkle and colour, as only line engraving can, when produced by a first-rate hand. It is merely doing a duty to the public thus to draw their attention, beforehand, to this work, a work which it is no exaggeration of praise to characterize as a credit to the English School of Engraving, and as enough of itself to make Mr. Carter's reputation.

#### MR. LESLIE, R.A.

It is rumoured in the world of art, that Mr. Leslie, R.A., contemplates resigning his post as lecturer on painting in the Royal Academy. In the event of that resignation really taking place, it is hardly possible to characterize too strongly the loss that will be sustained, not merely by the students and members of the Royal Academy, but by a much wider circle to whom the art supplies one of the intellectual enjoyments of life. Mr. Leslie's lectures are invaluable as new contributions of the higher order, to the somewhat scanty literature of painting; and if he be really about to leave a vacancy in his office, we hope to see them published in an available form, by way of some compensation for what we are about to lose. The reason stated for Mr. Leslie's contemplated retirement is an unanswerable one: he finds that his labours at the desk, entailed by the preparation of his lectures, keep him too often absent from his labours at the easel.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS'S "TRAGIC MUSE."—ENGRAVED BY JOSEPH WEBB.—Reynolds's portrait of Mrs. Siddons, enthroned in a classic supremacy, has always been popular, from its freedom and breadth of effect, its life-like air, its individuality and ideality combined. There have been many versions of it from the graver, varying in their several qualities. The one before us is in the mixed line and mezzotint style; not the best style, but one which, in some degree, combines the precision and clearness of the graver with a more moderate price. The character is well caught; and the effect, of somewhat black and heavy, is not destitute of power, conveying a fair idea of Reynolds's picture as it now looks.

THE TWO WORLDS.—Europe does not astonish us by those vast spaces which the neighbouring continent of Asia possesses. Its highest mountains do not much exceed half the height of the Himalaya and the Andes. Its plateaus, those of Bavaria and Spain, hardly deserve the name, by the side of those of Tibet and of Mexico. Its peninsulas are trifling in comparison with India and Arabia. There is nothing in it to compare with those great rivers which water the boundless plains of Asia and America, and which are their pride; or with those virgin forests, which cover immense regions, and make them impenetrable to man; or with those deserts, whose startling and terrible aspect appals us by their immensity. We see in Europe neither the exuberant fruitfulness of the tropical regions, nor the vast frozen tracts of Siberia; neither the overwhelming heats of the equator, nor those extremes of cold which annihilate all organic life.—*Guyot's Earth and Man.*

THE CONTINENTAL CLIMATE.—The continental climate does not give to the vegetation an appearance of such exuberance, but the variety of the soil, the frequent alternations of plains, table lands, mountains, valleys, and of different aspects, secure to it an almost infinite variety of different species and forms. The dryer and warmer air concentrates the vegetable saps, elaborates them better, so to speak, and gives them that strong and aromatic character which the plants of the oceanic islands rarely possess. The animals are more vigorous and larger, the species more numerous, the types more varied. The lion, the tiger, the elephant, all the kings of the brute creation, have never lived elsewhere than on the continents, or on the continental islands. Man himself is more animated, more active, more intelligent, and endowed with a stronger will; in a word, life is more intense, and raised to a higher degree, by the variety and the movement impressed upon it by the contrasts that form the very essence of this climate.—*Guyot's Earth and Man.*

## Commercial Affairs.

### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

FRIDAY MORNING, April 2.  
CONSOLS opened on Monday at 98½ to 3, and closed at that price on the same and following day. On Wednesday they dropped to 98½ to 3, at which they closed on Thursday also. Throughout the week they have remained nearly fixed.

The fluctuations of the week have been, Consols 98½ to 98½; India Bonds, 70s. 80s. premium; Exchequer Bills, those dated June, from 60s. to 60s., and those dated March,

68s. to 71s. premium. This arises from a persuasion that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the period for the renewal of the June bills shall arrive, will scarcely venture to repeat the course pursued by Sir Charles Wood in February, of wasting the public money and lowering at the same time the national credit by continuing to pay a rate of interest far beyond what is demanded by the state of the market.

In Foreign Stocks the prices were—Mexican Five per Cents. at 33, 32½, 33½, and 33½; and in the Three per Cents. at 26½, 27, and 27½. Buenos Ayres, for the account, were done at 75 and 74; Ecuador, 5; Granada, Deferred, 9½ and 10; Peruvian Six per Cents., for the account, 105½, 104½, 105, and 106 ex. div.; the Deferred, 66; Russian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 103½ and 104; Sardinian Five per Cents., for the account, 93 and 93½; Spanish Three per Cents., 44½ and 45; the New Deferred, 20, 20½, 19½, and 20½; Spanish Committee certificate of coupon not funded, 2½ per cent.; Venezuela, 47½ and 48; Belgian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 94 and 94½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 60½; and the Four per Cent. certificates, 93 and 92½ ex. div.

#### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK. (CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	220					
3 per Cent. Red.						
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	
3 per Cent. An. 1751			97½			
3 per Cent. Con. Ac.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	
3½ per Cent. An.						
New 5 per Cents.						
Long Ans., 1860					6½	
Ind. St. 10½ per Cent.						
Ditto Bonds, £1000	70 p			80 p	77 p	
Ex. Bills, £1000	70 p	68 p	71 p	70 p	68 p	
Ditto, £500	70 p	71 p	71 p	71 p	71 p	
Ditto, Small	70 p	71 p	71 p	71 p	71 p	

#### FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Belgian 4½ per Cents.	94½	Peruvian, Account	106
Buenos Ayres	74	Peruvian, Deferred	66
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	60½	Russian 5 p. Cent. Acct.	104
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	92½	Sardinian 5 p. Cent. Acct.	93½
Ecuador	5	Spanish 3 per Cents.	44½
Granada, Deferred	10	Spanish 3 p. Ot. New Def.	20½
Mexican 5 per Ct. Ac.	33½	Spanish Com. Certif.	2½
Mexican 3 per Cents.	27½	Venezuela	48

#### FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, March 26.

BANKRUPTS.—J. HALL, Croydon, confectioner, to surrender April 2, May 7; solicitor, Mr. Henley, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Stansfield.

F. KING, Brighton, perfumer, April 5, May 6; solicitors, Messrs. Freeman and Bothamley, Coleman-street; and Mr. Chalk, Brighton; official assignee, Mr. Bell, King's Arms-yard, Coleman-street.

E. MORGAN, Portman-market, Edgeware-road, licensed victualler, April 8, May 6; solicitor, Mr. Pollock, Essex-street, Strand; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street.

C. GREEN, Spalding, Lincolnshire, scrivener, April 16 and 30; solicitors, Mr. Jebb, Boston, Lincolnshire; and Mr. Jabet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham.

D. H. THOMAS, Tyntwy, Carnarvonshire, draper, April 6, May 10; solicitor, Mr. Bunting, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Morgan, Liverpool.

P. HITCHMOUGH, Liverpool, corn dealer, April 14, May 10; solicitors, Messrs. Mallaby and Townshend, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool.

Tuesday, March 30.

BANKRUPTS.—J. FRASER, 33, Great Suffolk-street, Southwark, Surrey, draper and haberdasher, to surrender April 15, May 6; solicitor, Mr. Sawbridge, 126, Wood-street, Cheapside; official assignee, Mr. Bell, 3, Coleman-street-buildings, Moor-gate-street.

C. H. SIMSON, 70, Bishopsgate-street, City, provision dealer, April 8, May 6; solicitor, Mr. Keighley, Basinghall-street; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, 20, Basinghall-street.

T. HEARD, Woodbridge, Suffolk, brewer and maltster, April 20, May 18; solicitors, Messrs. Sole, Turner, and Turner, 68, Aldermanbury, London; and Mr. E. Pownall, Ipswich; official assignee, Mr. G. J. Graham.

S. L. COLEMAN, Norwich, draper, April 8, May 6; solicitors, Messrs. Sole, Turner, and Turner, 68, Aldermanbury; official assignee, Mr. J. F. Groom, 12, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street.

T. YOUNGMAN, 12, Old-street-road, Middlesex, draper, April 10, May 8; solicitor, Mr. G. Jay, 14, Bucklersbury, London; official assignee, Mr. W. Pennell, 3, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street.

G. JOHNS, 29 and 51, Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-inn-fields, Middlesex, fixture dealer, April 3, May 14; solicitor, Mr. J. S. Story, 36, Great James-street, Bedford-row, Middlesex; official assignee, Mr. W. Whitmore, 2, Basinghall-street.

M. S. HOOPER, 8, Billiter-street, City, tea dealer, April 14, May 14; solicitors, Messrs. J. C. and H. Freshfield, 5, New Bank-buildings; official assignee, Mr. H. H. Stansfield.

A. PUCKETT, 2, Melton-street, Euston-square, Middlesex, lodging-house-keeper, April 8, May 6; solicitor, Mr. H. Moxon, 27, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane; official assignee, Mr. J. F. Groom, 12, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street.

R. CHAMBERLAIN, Uttoxeter, Stafford, draper, April 3, May 3; solicitors, Mr. A. Jones, Sizelane, London; and Messrs. Motteram, Knight, and Emmett, Bennett's-hill, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. T. Bittleston, High-street, Nottingham.

J. C. REEVES, Rowham Mills, Long Ashton, Somerset, paint manufacturer, April 14, May 12; solicitor, Mr. W. H. Tyrer, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. E. M. Miller, 19, St. Augustine's-place, Bristol.

H. HAYMAN, Ottery Saint Mary, Devon, apothecary, April 6, May 11; solicitor, Mr. Gidley, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. H. L. Hirtzel, Queen-street, Exeter.

H. BATES, Victoria Brewery, Warley, York, common brewer, April 20, May 24; solicitors, Messrs. Wavell, Philbrick, and Foster, Halifax; and Messrs. Courtenay and Compton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. H. P. Hope, Leeds.

J. BARNES, Liverpool, commission agent, April 14, May 10; solicitors, Messrs. Bagshaw and Sons, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. J. Cazenove, Eldon-buildings, North John-street, Liverpool.

H. MARTIN, Liverpool and Birkenhead, carrier and leather dealer, April 14, May 10; solicitor, Mr. Tyrer, 16, North John-street, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. G. Morgan, 12, Cook-street, Liverpool.

J. L. CORPLAND, Liverpool, merchant, April 10, May 6; solicitors, Messrs. Lowndes, Robinson, and Bateson, 7, Brunswick-street, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. W. Bird, 9, South Castle-street, Liverpool.

R. JOHNSTON, Macclesfield, silk manufacturer, April 14, May 5; official assignee, Mr. J. Fraser, George-street, Manchester.



## French Plays.

Lessee, Mr. JOHN MITCHELL, 33, Old Bond-street.

Mr. Mitchell begs respectfully to announce that on Monday evening, April 12, the following Eminent Artistes, Mons. REGNIER, Mons. LAFONT, Mons. ROGER, Mons. PAUL LABA, Mlle. DENAIN, and Mlle. MARQUET, will appear together in the distribution of the Popular New Comedy of *MADemoiselle de la Seiglière*, Written by MM. Jules Sandeau and Reigner, and produced recently at the Théâtre Français, Paris, with more than ordinary success.

Mr. Mitchell begs also to announce, that from the unusual combination of Talent which will be then engaged at this Theatre, it is intended to produce, (for the first time in this country,) on Wednesday evening, April 14th, Beaumarchais' Celebrated Comedy of *Le Barbier de Séville*; or, *LA PRECAUTION INUTILE*.

The engagements of Mlle. ROSE CHERI, and Monsieur NUMA, will commence on the 1st of May. Boxes and Stalls to be had at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, Old Bond Street; and at the Box Office.

## TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

Chief Office, 40, Pall Mall, London.

Fully subscribed capital of £250,000, by upwards of 1000 Shareholders, whose names and addresses are published with the Prospectus, guaranteeing thereby most extensive influence and undoubted responsibility.

The system adopted by this Association presents unusual advantages to every class of life assurers and annuitants.

Loans are granted on personal or other securities, in connexion with Life Assurance.

Applications for Prospectuses, Forms of Proposal, Agencies, and all other information respecting the general business of the Association, are requested to be made to

THOMAS H. BAYLIS, Manager.

## INSURANCE AGAINST RAILWAY ACCIDENTS, by THE RAILWAY PASSENGERS' ASSURANCE COMPANY.—Empowered by Special Act of Parliament (12 and 13 Vic. cap. 40).—Offices, No. 3, Old Broad Street, London.

Chairman—J. D. PAUL, Esq., 217, Strand.

Deputy-Chairman—G. B. HARRISON, Esq., 24, Gt. Tower Street.

### TABLE OF PREMIUMS.

Tickets, insuring against accident for a single journey, whatever its length, may be obtained at most railway stations, at the following rates:—

- 3d. to insure £1000, in a first-class carriage.
- 2d. to insure £500, in a second-class do.
- 1d. to insure £200, in a third-class do.

For the convenience of frequent travellers, periodical tickets are issued, which give the holder the option of travelling in any class carriage and on any railway, and may be obtained of the various Agents, or at the Offices of the Company.

- To insure £1000, at an annual premium of 20s.
- To insure £200, at an annual premium of 5s.

These sums to be paid to the legal representatives of the holder, in the event of fatal accident while travelling by railway, with proportionate compensation to himself in case of personal injury.

WM. JOHN VIAN, Secretary.

3, Old Broad Street, London.

## TO DEPOSITORS AND ACTUARIES IN SAVINGS' BANKS.

A perusal is invited of the new and important plan of INDUSTRIAL LIFE ASSURANCE, which has been prepared for the purpose of extending the benefits of Life Assurance among the industrious classes. Applications for Prospectuses may be addressed to ARTHUR SCRATCHLEY, M.A., Actuary to the WESTERN LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 3, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, and Author of "OBSERVATIONS ON SAVINGS' BANKS," published by J. W. Parker, 445, West Strand, London: price 5s.

## TO THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.—

Suppose a man at the age of thirty, wishes to leave £20 to his widow, children, or any one whom he chooses, he will have to pay 10d. per month, or about the cost of one pint of beer per week, so long as he lives; but if he should die the next day after the first payment, his family will receive the £20.

Should a person be unable to continue the Assurance, the Sums paid will not be forfeited as in other Offices, as he will be granted another Policy of less amount, but equivalent to the sums already paid, and exonerated from any future payments. The Directors of the

### NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY

propose to extend the benefits of Life Assurance in all its details, to all classes of the community—in fact, to the millions generally, by adapting the modes of payments to meet their views and circumstances.

The Rates of premium for every other system of Assurance, detailed Prospectuses, containing a list of the Shareholders of the Society, and every other information, will be readily afforded on application to the Secretary, at the Chief Offices of the Society, 34, Moorgate Street, Bank, London; at the Branch Offices, Queen's Chambers, Market Street, Manchester; or to any of the Agents appointed in the principal towns throughout the United Kingdom.

**CORK HATS.**—The manufacture of these Hats was so defective last season on the part of most houses, as to lead the public, in many cases, to condemn one of the greatest improvements that has been effected since the introduction of Silk Hats, whilst the manual difficulty in learning the use of a new material still deters others of acknowledged reputation from attempting to produce them.

It is, however, now indisputable that Cork employed skillfully does form the best material for Hats, being durable from its toughness, and the only elastic and cool foundation for the Silk covering now universally in use.

The public are cautioned to purchase these Hats only of experienced makers. Exhibited at the Great Exhibition, Class 28, No. 125.

## CORK HATS.—CLASSES { G. No. 58. 28, " 125.

These Hats, shown in the above Classes at the Great Exhibition by Messrs. GAIMES, SANDERS, and NICOL, and which are now held in the highest estimation for their elasticity, lightness, and general comfort to the wearer, may be obtained, wholesale or retail, of the Manufacturers, at 22, Birch Lane, Cornhill; at their Branch Establishment, No. 111, Strand; at all the principal towns in England and Scotland; several of the continental cities; and at any of the British Colonies. Weight from 4 ounces, prices varying as with other Hats. Sample Cases forwarded on receiving remittances.

## FRASER'S MAGAZINE for APRIL, Price 2s. 6d., or by Post, 3s., contains:

1. The Colleges at Oxford.
2. The Naturalist in Jamaica.
3. Autobiography of Captain Digby Grand. Chapter X.
4. Preserved Meats.
5. Hypatia; or, New Foes with an Old Face. By the Author of 'Yeast.' Chaps. VII. and VIII.
6. Lord Holland's Memoirs of the Whig Party.
7. History of the Hungarian War. Part VI.
8. Home Dramaticæ.—The Phæthon of Euripides.
9. The East and the West.

London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand.

## On the 1st of April, price 5s., No. XL. of the BRITISH JOURNAL of HOMŒOPATHY.

EDITED BY

DRS. DRYSDALE, RUSSELL, AND DUDGEON.

(Published Quarterly.)

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.—Lecture IV. on the History of Medicine, by Dr. Scott; The Skin and its Diseases, by Dr. Russell; Six Months of Hospital Practice, by Dr. Dudgeon; Clinical Notes on Acute Pleurisy, by Dr. Beilby.

REVIEWS.—Mr. Wilkinson on the Human Body; Dr. Arnold's Idiopathic Method of Cure; Dr. Routh's Fallacies of Homœopathy.

HOMŒOPATHIC INTELLIGENCE.—British and Continental Homœopathic Congresses; A Medical Holy Office; &c.

London: Aylott and Jones, Paternoster Row.

This day is published, price 6d. each, or bound in cloth, complete in One Vol., 2s. 6d.

## HOW TO SEE THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

In Four Visits. By WM. BLANCHARD JERROLD.

Bradbury and Evans, 11, Bouverie Street.

Now ready, in One Vol. 8vo, price 11s., illustrated with Ten large Coloured Engravings and numerous Woodcuts by JOHN LEECH,

## THE COMIC HISTORY OF ROME.

By G. A. A'BECKETT.

Bradbury and Evans, 11, Bouverie Street.

Now ready, complete in One Volume, price 6s.,

## THE MONTH. A View of Passing Subjects and Manners, Home and Foreign, Social and General. By ALBERT SMITH, with numerous illustrations by JOHN LEECH.

Bradbury and Evans, 11, Bouverie Street.

## THE STRAND NEWS ROOMS, Open on and after MONDAY NEXT. ENTRANCE, 147, STRAND, Six doors West of Somerset House. The Public will find these Rooms most convenient for reference to English and Foreign Papers; Journals of Science, Commerce, and Law; Directories, Charts, Time Tables for Rail and Packet, and Indices of every description. The Inner Room is well-stocked with Reviews, Magazines, Serial Tales, &c., and affords excellent accommodation for Writing.

ADMISSION, ONE PENNY.

## MRS. GERALD MASSEY, Professor of CLAIRVOYANCE, (generally known as the CLAIRVOYANTE JANE,) announces to the Public that she has recommenced her Practice in that Science, at 75, CHARLOTTE STREET, FITZROY SQUARE. Terms:—For Manipulation, Five Shillings; Manipulation, with written deduction of Character, Ten Shillings.

Also, that by the expressed wish of numerous friends, a Séance will be held at the above-mentioned address every Friday Evening, at 7 o'clock, at which a power of Seeing beyond the ordinary visual means will be fully proven. Admission, Two Shillings and Sixpence.

Private Consultations for Disease, One Guinea. Parties attended to demonstrate CLAIRVOYANCE, One Guinea. April 2nd, 1852.

75, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London.

## STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.—

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 20th of every month, and from SUZ on or about the 8th of the month.

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

BOMBAY.—The Company will book passengers throughout from Southampton to Bombay by their steamers leaving England on the 20th February, 20th March, and of alternate months thereafter, such passengers being conveyed from Aden to Bombay by their steamers appointed to leave Bombay on the 17th February, 1st of April, and 1st of alternate months thereafter, and affording, in connexion with the steamers leaving Calcutta on the 8th of February, 20th of March, and of alternate months thereafter, direct conveyance for passengers, parcels, and goods from Bombay and Western India.

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

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA.—On the 20th and 29th of every month. Constantinople.—On the 20th of the month. Alexandria.—On the 20th of the month. The rates of passage money on these lines have been materially reduced.

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

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

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

This day, 2 vols. post 8vo, cloth, 18s.

### NARRATIVES FROM

## CRIMINAL TRIALS IN SCOTLAND.

BY JOHN HILL BURTON.

Author of "The Life of David Hume," &c.

Forming the New Volumes of Chapman and Hall's Series of Original Works.

II.

Post 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

## ROBERT BLAKE,

ADMIRAL AND GENERAL AT SEA.

BASED ON FAMILY AND STATE PAPERS.

BY HEPWORTH DIXON.

With a Portrait.

London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.

## DOWER'S GENERAL AND SCHOOL ATLASES.

Revised and Corrected to the present time, by A. PETERMANN, Esq., F.R.G.S.

Price £1 1s., half-bound,

**DOWER'S GENERAL ATLAS OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY.** Fifty-three Maps. Compiled from the latest and best authorities. With a copious Consulting Index, with the latitude and longitude.

Price 12s., coloured, half-bound,

**DOWER'S SCHOOL ATLAS OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY.** Containing Forty Maps, and a copious Consulting Index.

Price 7s. 6d., coloured, half-bound,

**DOWER'S MINOR ATLAS.** Containing Twenty-six Maps. Selected as giving the best general view of the Universe. With an extensive Index.

Price 5s., coloured; or 4s. plain, half-bound,

**DOWER'S SHORT ATLAS.** Containing a Series of Maps, calculated for the use of younger pupils, with a Consulting Index.

Selected by the National Board of Education for Ireland, and extensively used in the Schools established by the Board.

London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., Amen-corner.

In Monthly Parts, price 1s. 6d.

With Two Coloured Plates and Sixteen Pages of Letterpress, interspersed with Wood Engravings.

## THE GARDEN COMPANION AND FLORIST'S GUIDE; or, Hints on General Cultivation, Floriculture, and Hothouse Management, with a Record of Botanical Progress. By A. HENFREY, F.L.S., THOMAS MOORE, F.L.S., Curator of the Botanic Gardens, Chelsea. Conductor—W. P. AYRES, C.M.H.S., and other Practical Cultivators.

London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., Amen-corner.

Now ready, Part IV., containing Seven Portraits and Biographies.

## THE PORTRAIT GALLERY of Distinguished Poets, Philosophers, Statesmen, Divines, Painters, Architects, Engineers, Physicians, Lawyers, &c. &c. With Biographies. Originally published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. To be completed in Twenty-four Monthly Parts.

London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., Amen-corner; and sold by all Booksellers.

In foolscap 8vo, price 5s. cloth, pp. 576,

## EMERSON'S ESSAYS, LECTURES, AND ORATIONS. A Complete Edition. Including the First and Second Series of Essays, Nature, Representative Men, and Orations and Addresses; with Introductory Essay on Emerson and his Writings.

London: Wm. S. Orr and Co., Amen-corner.

This day, Third Edition, much enlarged, 4s. 6d.

## RECREATIONS IN GEOLOGY. By Miss R. M. ZORNIN.

Of the same Series,

**RECREATIONS IN PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.** By Miss R. M. ZORNIN. Fourth Edition, 6s.

**RECREATIONS IN ASTRONOMY.** By Rev. L. TOMLINSON. Third Edition, 4s. 6d.

**RECREATIONS IN CHEMISTRY.** By T. GRIFFITHS. Second Edition, 5s.

**WORLD OF WATERS: OR, RECREATIONS IN HYDROLOGY.** By Miss R. M. ZORNIN. Second Edition.

London: John W. Parker and Son, West Strand.

Just published, price 4d.

## WHO ARE THE FRIENDS OF ORDER?

A REPLY to certain observations in a late number of Fraser's Magazine, on the "So-called Christian Socialists," by the Rev. C. KINGSLEY, jun., Canon of Middleham, and Rector of Eversley.

London: Edward Lumley, Southampton Street, Holborn; and John James Bezer, 183, Fleet Street. 1852.

Now ready, demy 8vo., price 6s.,

## PERSPECTIVE, its Theory and Practice; together with the application of the same to Drawing from Nature. By WILLIAM LOCOCK, B.A. Cam.

London: Baily, Brothers, Cornhill.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE HOOPER, (of No. 3, Portland Place, Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,) at the Office of Messrs. BAYLIS and EDWARDS, No. 4, Chandos Street, in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the same County; and Published by THOMSON LEIGH HUNT, (of Broadway House, Hammer-smith,) at THE LEADER OFFICE, No. 10, WHITTINGTON STREET, ST. ANDREW, in the Precinct of the Savoy, both in the same County.—SATURDAY, April 3, 1852.