

The Leader.

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

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SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1852.

[PRICE SIXPENCE.]

News of the Week.

ALTHOUGH thoroughly used up, the English public has been a little roused this week by incidents here and there; and we are drifting towards the general election with a hope of more to quarrel about it than might have been expected a few weeks since. Mr. Disraeli's latest address to the electors of Buckinghamshire, Lord Malmesbury's last feat as Foreign Minister, Maynooth disposed of, the Militia Bill carried in the Commons, Mr. Feargus O'Connor's arrest, Lord Cathcart's new policy at the Cape, the aggression on the English daily papers by President Bonaparte,—these would be incidents enough to arouse a more excitable nation to fervour.

Yes, the Militia Bill has passed the Commons; and what then? Aye, what then? There is a statute the more, that is all; a few months hence, and some of us will see a strange awkward squad, of all sizes, exercising near the county town. Eighty thousand men, when they are caught, will be but as a drop in the ocean of English millions. However, as Mr. Disraeli says, they are "a beginning;" and as Mr. Osborne says, a real volunteer measure would be the best continuation.

Maynooth has been debated once more,—and shelved; at least, it is to be hoped so. Mr. Scully managed to speak for some hours, occupying the floor, while he touted for votes in Ireland. Ditto, Mr. Freshfield, for votes in England.

Mr. Bennett has also been debated again, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells; with no novelty. Mr. Gladstone made an admirable defence of the ecclesiastics; showing, that being technically correct, they could not be technically assailed. Mr. Horsman produced a letter, as if it had been lent to him for the purpose by the Bishop of London!—a mere stage-effect. Incapable of practical conclusion, the debate ended without result.

But in Parliament, the most extraordinary affair has been the debate on Lord Malmesbury's Surrender of Criminals Convention with France Bill; a discussion which exhibited the Foreign Secretary in a position little familiar to English statesmen. The bill purported to be the draught of a statute needed to carry out the mutual extradition of offenders, not political, between France and England; but one after another arose Peers, without distinction of party, to expose the monstrous provisions of the scheme. A vague description of offences, sufficiency of the French warrant in England but not of the English warrant

[COUNTRY EDITION.]

in France, no discretion left to the English magistrate except as to the evidence of identity, completion of the bargain on the French side left to an "understanding," with other incidents that we have discussed in a separate paper,—gave to the bill a character wholly alien to our legislature. If the measure had been drawn up by a French Prefect of Police, and advanced in the French Parliament by a Minister of Louis Napoleon, it would have created no surprise; but to discover the man with the hardihood to propose it before the English Senate might have taxed the French Government. One is almost inclined to suspect that our Foreign Secretary is so in every sense of the word, and that he must be ignorant of English usages or feelings. As Peer after Peer—Aberdeen, Campbell, Brougham, Argyle, Cranworth—arose, with calm manner, but the unflinching utterance of an English resolve, to arrest the project, the French Minister must have felt that he had wandered into the wrong Parliament. The publication of the Mather correspondence had already done serious damage to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but this debate gave him his *coup de grace*. The Peers, with a stretch of courtesy unwarranted by the facts, permitted the bill, as a Government measure, to receive its second reading; but it cannot continue to receive the countenance of the Government, now that Ministers know what it is; and therefore the talk of "improving it in Committee" must be all idle form: the only valid improvement, will be to efface it.

Mr. Disraeli's address may have served him with the electors of Buckingham; but if so, he must have them well in hand; and it has not served the Ministry to which he belongs. The public is beginning to think that each Member of the Ministry goes mostly "on his own hook," and that Mr. Disraeli, far too knowing to link his fate with that of a Malmesbury, has resolved to set up in a totally new walk of art. His address may be divided into four parts:—1. The recognition of work to be done, including the reconciliation of commerce and agriculture with the maintenance of Protestantism and the British Crown; 2. The recognition of "claims," such as claims on the part of Ireland, the landed interest, &c.; 3. A boast of three measures to be passed—the New Zealand Constitution, the Militia Bill, and Chancery Reform; and 4. A promise of revised taxation, which, being scrutinized, shrinks into an opinion that "the possibility" of such a measure "seems to loom in the future." What about Protection?

On that head, it is avowed that the tendency of the age is to free intercourse; and that "no statesman can disregard the spirit of the epoch in which he lives." Protectionists may make of this what they like: one faithful Protectionist, who was rancorous against Peel, infers from this new avowal that Protection is to be restored at such time as may permit it with least damage to the institutions of the country? Meanwhile, the public at large is scarcely so much mystified as amused.

The annual dinner of the Sanitary Reform Association, last week, happened too late for our review, and should not have passed without notice. Materially, the Sanitary Reformers may be said to hold in their hand the key of the portal from past difficulty to future contentment. Healthy towns and fertilized fields will bless their exertions. And if some of their political members learn in the difficulties that beset all contests for great good, the generous spirit of determined service and of trust in the people, avowed by more than one speaker, titled as well as untitled, the unpolitical association will aid not unfitly in breathing a more healthy spirit even into our politics.

The humiliations of MM. Véron and Granier de Cassagnac would be ludicrous enough if they were not also a lively image of the humiliations of France, suspended on the lips of a quack and a bravo. With De Véron's nod the funds are shaken—with M. Granier's frown they fall—with a government paragraph, repudiating both its instruments, the funds revive again, and Belgium is appeased. No one doubts that the repudiated articles were written to order; but when his foul task has been fulfilled, the executioner is repulsed into disgrace and obscurity; and so the hireling dagger, that stabbed in the back the bravest and best names of France, the pen that most insolently announced and savagely glorified, the 2nd of December, is cast away with contempt as soon as its dirty ink-pool of calumnies and insults is exhausted. Has not Victor Hugo been avenged by the fall of that tribune from which he had been hooted by the party of order? and is not the independent press, that perished last December, avenged once more by the "warnings" to the *Constitutionnel*? So fatal is the distrust of liberty—so rapid the proclivity of despotism. The English press is struck at last—by proxy. Correspondents in Paris, who have not learnt how to concoct official paragraphs, will have to atone for the Editors in London, until my Lord Malmesbury, that model Englishman, shall have made it

quite "comfortable" here, as in France, for "our mutual accommodation." Prodigal are the orgies of the Court of Bastards at St. Cloud; with such a restoration of the "Regency," France may well laugh and sing, while Victor Hugo's house becomes a deserted tradition, and Lamartine almost begs his bread at publishers' doors.

At the Cape, General Cathcart has come, seen, and—will conquer when he can. Meanwhile he is very vigorous with his measures—dealing out Minié rifles, calling in allies, warning off rebels beyond the Kei, abandoning the policy of capturing booty, and hanging spies and traitors. We have yet to see the effect of this terrible policy.

Less terrible perhaps to the evasive T'Slambi and fickle Kafir, than the rains which poured down upon Ascot course until the end of the third day, Ascot weeps like Epsom over the follies of the day; the jockey is sick at heart, and the baffled better, like the disappointed party man, loses faith in our institutions.

THE WEEK IN PARLIAMENT.

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

Mr. DISRAELI, on Monday, replied to Sir James Graham's attack on Thursday last. He represented the state of the public business as most satisfactory. He went through the list of measures, following the example of Sir James, and showed that, since Thursday, all the votes in Supply, except nineteen, had been agreed to; and that the main of the bills alleged to be in so backward a state had since that day been considerably advanced. He was not prepared to abandon any of the bills except the Metropolitan Buildings Bill. The Whiteboy Consolidation Bill he should not press; but, in the teeth of all the opposition of all the Irish members, he should resolutely insist on the passing of the Crime and Outrage Act. Having gone through the list of bills before the House, he wound up by a defence of the Government against the charge of bringing parliamentary government into disrepute.

"I declare, sir, that when I examine the Government measures which have not yet passed, with the most anxious desire to ask the House to support nothing which I do not suppose to be of the first necessity—with the most anxious desire that the labours of this Parliament should not be prolonged—I do not feel myself justified, with the exception I have mentioned, in recommending the withdrawal of any of those bills. They appear to me necessary measures of high policy, and in such a satisfactory state of progress that all may be passed consistently with that termination of the session which we all now anticipate. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I claim no credit to the Government for this state of the public business. I say that most unfeignedly. It is a state of public business, in my opinion, satisfactory; but it is due, and due only, to the good sense and to the good temper of the House of Commons. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) And, sir, when I see the highest authority dilating with strong feeling, and expressing his great apprehension—saying, with all the authority of his name in the senate of his country, that if we do not take care we shall bring representative government itself into disrepute—for it will appear that we cannot transact the public business—I say, sir, that I have drawn from the session which is now closing a very different conclusion and a very opposite moral. (Hear, hear, hear.) I would rather trace what has been done this session, and the manner in which it has been done, and I would rather employ it as an argument in favour of representative government—in favour, at least, of the mode in which representative government is carried on in this country—than bring it forward as an argument which should lead the House to believe that the reputation of representative government is in danger. (Hear, hear.) Sir, I will not dilate upon the fact that we have been enabled to pass already through the House of Commons thirty-seven Government measures, twenty of which have now passed into law: and when I recall to the House the circumstances of the session—that a change of Government took place, and party feelings were excited which, under such circumstances, naturally produced great delay of business, and when the fact is remembered that I and my colleagues were only enabled on the 15th of March to assume our seats in this House—I say, I think it tells very much for the good sense and the good temper of the House that we have been permitted to carry by their aid to a conclusion so many important measures, and yet have not postponed that important appeal to the people, on which we are all agreed. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) Sir, I remember some years ago, when I sat on the other side of the House, under the guidance and advice of that distinguished man, Lord George Bentinck, and when I took part in the lead of affairs, for which I was not qualified, but by the great indulgence of my friends it fell to my duty to sum up the transactions of the longest session that Parliament ever experienced—lasting, I believe, for ten continuous months—which concluded in September, 1848. At that time there were rumours abroad respecting the unsatisfactory mode in which the public affairs were conducted; you were told that the accumulation of business was intolerable, and it was proved in a manner that thrilled men with alarm, that representative government could no longer deal with the affairs of the community. It was my

duty, after a careful analysis of all the motions and measures of that remarkable session, to vindicate the conduct and character of the House of Commons. Then, sir, it was my duty also to endeavour to prove that which I gave my reasons for believing—namely, that it was to the weakness of the Ministry, and not to the inefficiency of the House, that the lamentable state of affairs then experienced was owing. Now, sir, in the present instance, I do not think it necessary to ascribe anything either to the weakness of the Ministry or to the inefficiency of the House of Commons, because I maintain that the public business was never in a more satisfactory state. Sir, I claim no credit for her Majesty's Ministers for this state; but I may say this most sincerely for them, that we have endeavoured by sedulous attention to business to merit the indulgence that we have received from the House, and even from our opponents."

It will be observed that Mr. Disraeli totally avoided any allusion whatever to the Maynooth debate, upon the dilatory character of which Sir James founded his charge. Government, he said, virtually adopts this motion, yet they either cannot or will not bring it to an issue. Let them take care that they do not bring representative government into disrepute. Mr. Disraeli replied by ignoring the charge!

PASSING OF THE MILITIA BILL.

The order of the day for the third reading of the Militia Bill was read on Monday. Mr. RICH, an understrapper of the late Ministry, moved that it be read that day six months. He made a very long and a very dull speech against the bill. His main argument was, that an invasion was not probable; that if it were, a militia was an inefficient defence, and that the proper course would be to increase the standing army.

He was seconded by Mr. MACKINNON, and supported by Mr. MCGREGOR, Mr. HEADLAM, and Mr. EWART. Lord HARRY VANE and Sir HENRY VERNEY speaking for the bill. The debate was very tame, and all were anxious for a division, when Mr. BERNAL OSBORNE rose, and amused the house for above an hour.

Sir Henry Verney had made a very warlike speech. Not content with voting for the third reading, said Mr. OSBORNE, the honourable gentleman called upon Ministers to put the Martello towers in order—to produce the swivel guns which had been laid up since the last war, and then they might laugh to scorn the French invasion. (Laughter.) He defended the Peace Society, and observed that taxes had not been raised to carry on wars, but wars had been raised to carry on taxes; and that our most expensive luxury was a successful general. (Laughter.)

"But at the same time he drew a distinction between armies raised for the purpose of aggression, and armies for the purpose of defence; and he would submit to those gentlemen—if there were any such—who doubted the lawfulness of defensive war, that in the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, though he depicted a society in all the enjoyment of perennial happiness, detesting war, despising glory, and prohibiting alike lawyers and soldiers (laughter)—neither allowing Martello towers nor briefs in Chancery—yet even he did not debar the natives of his happy island from the use of arms, nor from defending themselves when they were attacked. Now, he could not imagine that any body, either in that house or out of it, would be more Utopian than the Utopians themselves. (Great laughter.) He must say, for himself, that he could not look upon the present state of the continent of Europe with satisfaction, filled, as it was, with gigantic armies and with reactionary rulers at the head of those armies. It might be very well, though he could hardly follow the honourable baronet the member for Bedford through his medley of Martello towers, rifles, and Louis Napoleon (laughter)—it might be very well for the honourable baronet to say that he had confidence in Louis Napoleon. He (Mr. Osborne) did not wish to say anything that would trench upon the feelings of the most fastidious Frenchman, but he could not say that he shared in the hon. baronet's confidence. He thought it was natural that a man who was raised to power by the military order should act in accordance with military prejudices. And after all, what did the hon. gentleman say? I have confidence in Louis Napoleon, but for all that double your army—increase your rifle corps—man your Martello towers—get ready your swivel guns—but still I have great confidence in Louis Napoleon. (Laughter.)"

He criticised the military estimates, and asked for more information. Then riding off to the address of Mr. Disraeli to the "confiding farmers of Buckinghamshire, who were his constituents," he said:—

"The right honourable gentleman proposed to raise the militia by giving a bounty, which it was clear would operate most unequally in different parts of the country. In the rural districts it would deprive the farmer of a great deal of labour, probably when he most wanted it, while in the manufacturing districts, where the bounty would be of no avail, the Government must resort to the ballot, a proceeding contrary to the 'genius of the epoch,' which no statesman ought to disregard. (Cheers and laughter.) He defied her Majesty's Ministers themselves, though he admitted that they were active recruits, to acquire a knowledge of their profession in twenty-one days. He admitted that the noble lord at the head of the Government had shown much skill in performing a rather difficult evolution—namely, changing his front in the presence of his adversary. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) He admitted also that the right honourable gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was very skilful in light infantry movements

and that he had shown that he knew how to advance and retreat in the budget. The right honourable gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department was rather slow in his movements, but no doubt he would soon improve; and as for the honourable and learned gentleman the Solicitor-General, he was an old soldier (great laughter), who would serve under any officer, and give fire anywhere."

He denied that a good soldier could be made in twenty-one days—

"He was astonished that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have sought to imitate, not Mr. Pitt, but Pompey the Great, who vainly boasted that he could raise legions by stamping with his foot. The right hon. gentleman seemed to imagine that he could act as Pompey thought he could, but he (Mr. Osborne) cautioned him that he was more likely to fall to the level of the famous hero in the farce, and that when he had got his 50,000 men he would have to say, 'Begone, brave army; don't kick up a row!'" (Great laughter.)

He wound up by an unmeasured tirade against militia in general; and by declaring that our best defences were our "wooden walls" and volunteer corps.

A few words from the SOLICITOR-GENERAL and Mr. PETO brought this dry discussion to an end. The House divided, and there were—

For the amendment, 148; against it, 220.

Majority, 72.

The bill was therefore read a third time.

On the motion of Mr. THORNELY, a proviso was added to clause 18, exempting any member of the senate of the University of London, any examiner, professor, tutor, or lecturer of the said university, or of any college, school, or institution connected with the said university, under the provisions of any charter thereof, any student of any such college, school, or institution, duly matriculated in the said university, and actually receiving education in any of the said colleges, schools, or institutions, and any resident member of the University of Durham, from all liability to serve or provide a substitute for the militia.

An important motion was then made by Mr. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, to omit the whole of clause 18, and thus to abolish the power of conscription. A division at once ensued:—

For the omission of the clause, 142; against, 187.

Majority for the clause, 45.

A proviso, moved by Sir DE LACY EVANS, at the end of clause 35, to the effect that it shall not be lawful to order the ballot, except in time of actual war, or imminent danger of war, was rejected by 178 to 82, and the bill passed.

SUSPICIOUS INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION.

The House of Lords was the scene of a very singular proceeding on the part of the Derby Government, on Tuesday night,—a proceeding which demands the closest attention from the country.

Lord MALMESBURY moved the second reading of a bill, modestly entitled, Surrender of Criminals (Convention with France) Bill. It is noticeable, that, in making this motion, Lord Malmesbury did not, as is usual, state, in detail, the provisions of the bill, but confined himself to an account of the unsatisfactory relations at present subsisting between England and France, as regards the extradition of criminals. But he did allude to one part of the bill, which excited great suspicion. Premising that a convention had been made in 1843, he continued,—

"This new convention extended the number of crimes for which the mutual surrender of criminals was to be made, and contained some provisions by which security was given that no surrender should be demanded of political offenders against the French Government. It contained an article by which it was provided that no breach of a municipal or political law should be deemed a sufficient cause for demanding the surrender of the party who had been guilty of it. He must say this in favour of the present Government of France, that it had met him with great frankness and openness on this subject, and he was authorized by the French Ambassador to declare that to any provision which the wisdom of Parliament or the ingenuity of the legal profession could draw up to prevent the surrender of more political offenders, his Government would give a willing consent."

The Earl of ABERDEEN warned the Minister and the House of the great difficulty of the subject, while he admitted the desirability of providing for the extradition of offenders. At present, foreign prisoners were protected by the law of this country.

"By the present bill nothing was required but the establishment of the identity of the individual claimed. He entertained some doubt whether the difficulty of establishing identity was great; but was it fitting that the fugitive should have no other protection against apprehension than the production or nonproduction of the *mandat d'arrêt*, which, in point of fact, was no protection at all? He doubted whether Parliament would give its approbation and sanction to that provision of the bill which required nothing but the French letter of accusation to warrant the apprehension of the alleged criminal."

The bill had reference to some twenty different offences, and applied to all such offences, committed since 1843. He could not see the propriety of making the law retrospective.

Lord BROUGHAM urged similar objections, pointing out very strongly how little security there would be under this bill for the safety of political offenders.

On the other hand, the LORD CHANCELLOR seemed to be of opinion that, because provision for greater security than was comprised in a mere accusation would make the convention a dead letter, therefore their lordships ought to agree to the monstrous provision.

"Great care had been taken, both in the convention and in this act, as regards political offenders. We could not step in, he apprehended, between the French Government and their own subjects. We could prevent a Frenchman under our care and authority from being improperly carried to France to be tried; but if he once went to France he apprehended that we could not do more than had already been done by treaty—viz., make a solemn stipulation with the French Government that he should not be tried for a political offence committed prior to his surrender—or that, if he should be tried for a political offence, he should be at liberty to plead his surrender by us as a discharge from the offence imputed to him.

Lord BROUGHAM.—Or that he should be sent back again. The LORD CHANCELLOR.—Yes; that was a valuable suggestion.

He did not think that the French Government could be called on to pass a law for giving effect to the stipulation. He agreed that the retrospective clauses went too far back.

Lord CAMPBELL said, it was a novelty to make the warrant, or the word, of the accusing party conclusive with respect to the party accused. Hitherto it had been an invariable rule that reasonable evidence should be given to the Government, called upon to surrender a man, that the crime had been really committed by him.

"It was now for the first time proposed to make the mere assertion of the Government that claimed the alleged criminal, conclusive evidence of his guilt; and a sufficient warrant for our delivering him up to be tried in his own country. Now, it struck him as an extraordinary thing that no reciprocity in this respect had been proposed. To say that the mere warrant of the party making the demand should be held to be conclusive evidence of the guilt of the accused would necessarily lead to abuse and oppression; and if this bill passed, the result would be that we should be bound to deliver up to the French Government any Frenchman in our dominions whose presence was wanted in France by that Government for any purpose whatever."

The Earl of MALMESBURY said there was a discretionary power given to the magistrate.

Lord CAMPBELL denied that the magistrate would have any discretionary power. All he would have to do was to ascertain the identity of the individual, and, having ascertained that, he was bound immediately to order the individual to be delivered up to the French government. (Hear, hear.) Now, this was a very dangerous mode of proceeding, and very liable to be abused.

Here the LORD CHANCELLOR thought it necessary to enter into explanations in reply to Lord Campbell's pertinent remark that there was no reciprocity. He said that although the terms of the law were not the same in reference to both countries, yet it was understood that there should be complete reciprocity between them.

The Duke of ARGYLL showed that we were called upon by our Ministers to trust to the good faith of the French Government in carrying out the terms of the convention, as respected political offenders.

"With every possible respect for the French Government, they must all feel that, under present circumstances, it was impossible to feel that any act of the French Legislature could give a guarantee equal to that which an act of the British Parliament would give. There were so many and such rapid political changes in that country that, although a law might be passed at present by a large working majority, there might soon be an effectual majority in favour of a different principle."

Lord CRANWORTH said, the treaty contained "stipulations and promises which were absolutely inadmissible."

Lord MALMESBURY, whose advocacy of the bill was characterized by an artful simplicity, admitted that the question of proof before committal was the point of difficulty.

"But," said he, "it had struck the Government that by giving discretion to the magistrate upon sufficient proof, though not direct proof, to order a demand for a month, which did not exist under the old convention, time would thus be afforded for an investigation of the case."

If it were not agreed to, the convention would be a dead letter.

"To show the different view which was entertained in France with reference to the clauses in this bill, he might state that he had had some difficulty in arranging the clause which related to political offenders; not because the French Government—for he believed them to be perfectly sincere—wished to obtain the surrender of their offenders by means of any trick, but because it was possible that many of them remaining here, under a charge of high treason, perhaps, might purge themselves of that high crime by getting a friend over the water to charge them with some small offence cognizable under the convention, for which they might be prosecuted. The French Government, had they been desirous to interpose difficulties, might very well have pressed that point, and have said that it had in it the germs of too unrestrained a liberty; because, under the convention, the offender would

only have to be accused of some minor offence, which would occasion him to be taken to France, and he would be exempted for ever from all accusations standing against him for more serious crimes, committed, it might be, during the revolution."

Obviously the feeling of the House was against the bill, and its supporters appealed to the law lords, begging them to let it be read a second time, and amend it in Committee. But, said Lord CAMPBELL, and the LORD CHANCELLOR concurred, if we alter the bill we do not give effect to the convention. You will want a new convention. Earl GREY struck in with a compromise. The convention, said he, is not to take effect until a day to be named with the consent of both parties. Of course they could abstain from naming a day until the terms were finally settled. He could not, at all events, agree to the passing of the bill in its present shape.

Other remarks were made; Lord MALMESBURY, growing more courteous and supplicatory, adopted a tone of disinterested frankness, and declared that his only object was to get the best convention he could for the country. If the House would let him know what powers he should possess, and on what grounds he could propose a new convention, it would then be for France to accept it or not, as she pleased.

And he carried his point so far as to get the bill read a second time.

CASE OF THE REVEREND MR. BENNETT.

Mr. HORSMAN made his long promised motion, for "a select committee to inquire into the circumstances connected with the institution of the Reverend Mr. Bennett to the vicarage of Frome," on Tuesday.

In his method of treating the case, Mr. Horsman reverted to the discussion of the 20th of April, which we reported in the *Leader* of the 24th of that month, and gave an account of that debate, into which we need not enter. Having described the principal speeches on that occasion, he, while professing to disregard the question of Mr. Bennett's alleged delinquencies at Kissingen, endeavoured still to show that there were grounds for believing that Mr. Bennett had acted there in a way inconsistent with his character as a member of the Church of England, especially by never attending the Protestant church there, while he frequently attended Roman Catholic mass; and by carrying about with him, as is customary with Roman Catholic priests, a small stone altar, before which he and his party worshipped. In support of these allegations he noticed the expression of Mr. Bennett when he resigned the curacy of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, "that the end must be, ere long, that he must give up the conflict, and seek peace elsewhere;" expressions which, Mr. Horsman contended, could mean only that Mr. Bennett intended to seek peace at Rome. He, further, read letters from a clergyman at Trowbridge, politely requesting Mr. Bennett to contradict the statements as to his Kissingen conduct, to which letters Mr. Bennett returned no reply; a fact which could lead to only one conclusion, that a contradiction was impossible.

Mr. Horsman then set about stating what in reality was the substance of his speech—the conduct of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. He contended that the bishop had instituted Mr. Bennett with indecent haste, without due examination into his religious belief; and without giving the parishioners of Frome an opportunity of legally opposing that institution. He stated their case at great length, but it amounted to this: that Mr. Bennett's appointment to the vicarage was known on the 30th of December 1851; that on the 7th of January certain clergymen and parishioners memorialised the bishop for delay; that they in the meantime learned that the legal mode of opposing the institution of Mr. Bennett was by entering a caveat at Wells, and that on the day, the 24th of January, when the caveat was prepared, Mr. Bennett was already instituted.

The next part of the case related to the certificate of Mr. Bennett, from his former diocesan the Bishop of London. Here Mr. Horsman alleged that that document signed by three clergymen and countersigned by the Bishop of London, was also accompanied by a letter from the Bishop, warning his colleague of Bath and Wells that Mr. Bennett had resigned the curacy of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, because he, the bishop, was of opinion that "the peace and good order of the church" would be interrupted by his remaining. That he considered acquitted the Bishop of London "of being a party in any manner to mislead or deceive the Bishop of Bath and Wells" (loud cheers.) The certificate received by the latter was not the one required by law.

He thought likewise that the Bishop of Bath and Wells had not duly examined Mr. Bennett touching some extraordinary opinions entertained by him, among which was this, that "all ideas of the Bible and of the dissemination of Christianity by means of the Bible were positive fictions and absurdities." He urged that the accused prolate had not examined Mr. Bennett touching his admission of the supremacy of the Crown—a doctrine, which it was alleged, he held in a "non-natural" sense. As the parishioners of Frome had no remedy, he insisted that at least the House should inquire into the circumstances. The House was the proper tribunal. They were repeatedly told they should take no cognisance of the Church because the House of Commons was not composed of members of the Established Church. Why was Parliament not composed of members of the Established Church? because the people whom it represented were not composed of members of the Established Church; and if they said that they, the representatives of the people, were so disaffected from the Established Church that they could not take notice of the Established Church, then *a fortiori* the nation was so disaffected from the Established Church, that there should be no Established Church at all. (Hear, hear.) He held that

the Church as established by law was the creation of Parliament, and that Parliament could not undertake a more weighty responsibility than to allow the ministers of that faith to become the secret agents of another. (Hear.)

He terminated his very long speech by throwing the responsibility of the whole matter on Government.

"The question, either as affecting the sincerity of their faith, the supremacy of the Crown, or the jurisdiction of Parliament, involved most serious considerations, and he thought it would be fatal in the event of a majority deciding against his motion, for it would only show how fatal was a majority when opposed to truth. (Hear, hear.) A majority of that House could not influence public opinion; it could not acquit Mr. Bennett, for public opinion would not acquit him; nor would it acquit the Bishop of Bath and Wells, for his acts convicted him; but this a majority might do—public reprobation might be diverted from other parties, and the finger of scorn would be pointed at the House of Commons, while it would be said that their Protestantism was a pretence—that their loyalty was a sham—and that in endeavouring to screen individual delinquency they permitted a public wrong to degrade themselves and to destroy the Church."

Mr. GLADSTONE, after waiting first to see if any member of the Government would rise, and, secondly, until Mr. O'Connor was disposed of, replied at great length:—

He complained that Mr. Horsman had not confined himself to the legal question, but that he had allowed the warmth of his feelings to mix themselves up with the facts of the case. Then he replied to the concluding portion of his speech, where Mr. Horsman told the House that they must adopt his motion, or that their Protestantism was a pretence, and their loyalty a sham. "Now, sir," continued Mr. Gladstone, "it appears to me that this issue is too strong (hear, hear)—it appears to me that we should exercise a discretion—that we have a right to test whether the honourable gentleman has adhered to his own doctrines—to see that he has not overturned one portion of his speech by another, and that we are entitled to say 'yes' or 'no' on this question, regardless of the threat, that if we say 'no' our 'Protestantism is a pretence, and our loyalty a sham.' (Cheers.)"

He took Mr. Horsman to task rather severely for his denunciations of the whole bench of bishops, and pointed out how it was nothing new to find Mr. Horsman in the character of "public accuser." He then proceeded:—

"This is the dilemma which the honourable gentleman has put to the House. Either this House is fit for debates like the present, or else you ought not to have an Established Church at all. I am in fear and trembling to differ with the honourable gentleman, but it does appear to me just possible that we ought to have an Established Church, and yet that this House is not the fitting arena for discussions like the present. (Cheers.) Sir, I do not scruple to say that this House is not a fitting arena for these discussions. (Hear, hear.) I do not say that it is possible to avoid them. I admit that there is much provocation—that there have been many imprudences—that blame has been found justly, and I will admit that the Church of England is rent and torn with her dissensions; but I put it to the House, and I ask, Do you think that religious divisions are likely to be mitigated? Do you think that the sores and wounds of the Church of England are likely to be healed by rhetorical declamation, by the misrepresentation of occurrences, and the misstatement of facts. (Cheers.)"

And he laid it down as a rule that if the country was to be governed in the ecclesiastical or civil matters by the private opinions of popular men in opposition to a fixed system of law, then "representative institutions would become little better than a nuisance, and ecclesiastical discussions would become the bane and pestilence of the House." They had to decide one of two questions: have the laws been obeyed, and are the laws good? If they were good, obey them: if not good, alter them. But they had no right to correct the law by an extra legal system.

Mr. Gladstone proceeded to state, citing evidence to that effect, that the people of Frome were satisfied with Mr. Bennett; to argue that Mr. Bennett was not properly before the House; to assert that, being chaplain to a private family, Mr. Bennett was not bound to attend the English church at Kissingen; and to state that he did not believe the story of the little stone altar.

From this point Mr. Gladstone proceeded to defend the Bishop of Bath and Wells. The accusations against the Bishop of Bath and Wells resolve themselves into three distinct charges. First of all, undue haste, that haste not being needed, but being founded on a set and corrupt purpose to prevent the parishioners from having a fair opportunity of objecting to his appointment. The second charge was that he presented Mr. Bennett without requiring the proper certificate from his former bishop; and the third charge was that he presented him without a due examination into his doctrine and teaching. (Hear.) Now it appears to me that each and every one of these charges is without the slightest shadow of a foundation."

In proof of his assertion, Mr. Gladstone showed, with regard to the first accusation, that the Bishop was bound to institute a clerk under serious penalties; that the parishioners of Frome might have entered a caveat four-and-twenty hours after they heard of the intention to present Mr. Bennett, which proceeding would have furnished the Bishop with solid ground for delaying institution; but that, instead of doing this, they sought advice twenty-five days after they ought to have sought it, that is, when Mr. Bennett was on the point of being instituted. As to the accusation of an informality in the certificate, Mr. Gladstone disposed of that by showing that all the law required, and the Bishop could demand, was a certificate signed according to custom, and countersigned by the Bishop of London. The note appended by the latter was of no legal effect. The courts would not recognise it, and the signature, in point of law, remained the same whatever was appended to it. But he seemed to admit that the ex-

planatory note did impose upon the Bishop of Bath and Wells the obligation of examining Mr. Bennett; and this he had done to his satisfaction upon "all the points."

As to the motion for inquiry, he said—

If we have inquiry, we ought to have an inquiry into the state and spirit of the enactments of our law (hear, hear), which at the present moment are studiously framed, by successive acts of successive generations, to discourage bishops—to render it almost impossible for bishops to do that which you find fault with the Bishop of Bath and Wells for not doing. (Cheers.) If you like to inquire into that subject, I shall have no objection. I am not sure that bishoprics should not be included in the inquiry, where the facilities of objection are less. (Hear, hear.) If any gentleman will move for that inquiry in an impartial spirit, and investigate the state of the law, and bring the inquiry to a conclusion, he will confer one of the greatest services imaginable on this country, and greatly contribute to the stability of the Church of England. (Hear, hear.) I admit there is not sufficient scope to parishioners having canonical objections to pastors placed over them. (Opposition cheers.) I do not want to open the door to vexatious objections. I think we ought resolutely to set our faces against them! but so far as canonical objections are concerned, they ought not to be left to be thrown in the lap of the bishop, and to be maintained on his responsibility. (Hear.)

Sir J. PAKINGTON joined with the right honourable gentleman in deploring the unfortunate dissensions by which the Church of England was at present torn—dissensions which he was compelled to ascribe principally to that party amongst the clergy which had taken the same line as Mr. Bennett; a line which had led to the most serious doubts as to whether the clergymen who took it were really and sincerely ministers of the Church of England. Looking to the unhappy results which had taken place in our own Church, he could not but look upon it as a very great misfortune that any patron should have given a living of such importance as Frome to a person so situated as Mr. Bennett. On a former occasion he expressed an opinion that, the subject being once mooted, an inquiry must take place; and from that opinion he had no intention of now receding. It seemed to him that the matters alleged regarding Mr. Bennett's conduct, especially at Kissington, formed just ground for an inquiry by Mr. Bennett's diocesan. He could hardly believe it possible that the Bishop of Bath and Wells had not already instituted such an inquiry, but if not, he could not doubt that it would speedily be instituted. He could not, however, consent to make the judicial conduct of a bishop the subject of inquiry before a committee of the House of Commons.

Sir W. P. WOOD supported the legal view taken by Mr. Gladstone. Several members supported the motion for inquiry.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER thought it had been sufficiently shown that there was no ground for casting any censure on the conduct followed by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who probably would have subjected himself to very serious legal consequences had he hesitated to grant institution to Mr. Bennett. The appointment of a committee could lead to no practical good, but the state of our ecclesiastical law was such as must engage, at an early day, the most serious consideration of the Government. He trusted the motion would not be pressed to a division; but if it were, he should feel bound to oppose it.

The members of the Government who spoke pleaded to be let off from a division, deprecated an inquiry, and promised that they would consider ecclesiastical law reform; but in vain. At length Mr. GOULBURN came to their aid. He thought that what was required was, not an inquiry into the particular case, but an inquiry into the law, and he would propose, as an amendment, that the inquiry be directed to the state of the law affecting the institution of clerks to benefices in the Church of England.

Mr. HORSMAN replied, and the House divided, when there appeared—

For the amendment, 111; against it, 156;
Majority against, 45.

It was very late indeed, and Mr. BROTHERTON succeeded for once in putting a nightcap on the House. They adjourned at half-past one.

But, with this triumphant division list, Mr. HORSMAN's success has stopped. On Thursday, he proceeded to nominate a committee. He proposed—Mr. HORSMAN, Mr. Secretary Walpole, Sir David Dundas, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Strutt, Sir William Page Wood, Sir Benjamin Hall, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Abel Smith, Mr. Loftus Wigram, Mr. Evans, Mr. Packer, Mr. Langston, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. Shafto Adair. But great was his surprise and vexation, when he found that Sir William Page Wood, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Packer, and Mr. Wigram, would not serve. Mr. Walpole, on the part of the Government, said he had done his best, and could do no more, to prevail on the gentlemen who declined.

Mr. GLADSTONE said nothing short of an order of the House should make him serve on this committee;

and it was his intention, in conformity with abundance of precedents, immediately after the nomination of the committee to propose—"That the hon. member for Cockermouth do reduce into heads or articles the charges which he has made in his place against Richard Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, and do present the said heads or articles to this House." (Cheers.)

Mr. ELLICE thought that, under these circumstances, the nomination of the committee could not be gone on with. Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT said the charges had been brought, the bishop had been arraigned, and, in justice to the man so arraigned, he called on them not to shuffle out of those accusations.

Sir BENJAMIN HALL had no intention to shuffle.

Mr. DISRAELI attempted to conciliate all parties. He thought the resolution to appoint the committee was a "great mistake;" but now the committee must be gone on with. But he recommended that the construction of the committee should be so altered, as to turn the inquiry from the conduct of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to the existing state of the law.

In this state of perplexity, upon the motion of Colonel Knox, the House adjourned.

LORD BLANDFORD'S CHURCH BILL.

Lord BLANDFORD moved the second reading of his Bill, on Episcopal and Capitular Revenues, on Wednesday. He was met by Mr. WALPOLE, who recommended him to leave the matter in the hands of the Government; but, pressed by Sir BROOK BRIDGES to state the specific intentions of Ministers, he entered more fully into the question. There were, he said, four essential points comprised in the bill—first, the abolition of deaneries; second, the further reduction of canonries; third, an addition to the episcopate; fourth, a provision for the better management of episcopal and capitular revenues. For the first he saw no reason. With regard to the second, he thought it was extremely doubtful whether the number of canonries could be materially reduced. Parliament had already suppressed sinecures, and had thence obtained a fund for the augmentation of poor livings. If by this or other means a further fund could be raised whereby the third object might be carried out, he thought it would be very desirable, the episcopate not having increased with the numbers of the population and of the clergy. With respect to the last point, the management of capitular and episcopal property, two principles should be kept in view—to relieve the high officers of the Church as much as possible from the cares and troubles of temporal affairs, and, at the same time, not to make them mere stipendiaries of the State. The spirit in which the Government would look at this question was, to see whether these great institutions could not be restored more fully to the high and holy purposes for which they were founded and endowed.

A discussion followed, in which a variety of ecclesiastical topics were touched upon; but, finally yielding to the generally expressed wish of the House, Lord Blandford closed with the Government offer, and withdrew the bill.

MAYNOOTH.

Another discussion of four hours has been wasted on this absurd motion on Tuesday morning. There were only four speakers—Mr. FRESHFIELD, Mr. HENRY HERBERT, Sir WILLIAM VERNER, and Mr. VINCENT SOULLY, who spoke for three hours, that is, from one until four o'clock, the hour of adjourning morning sittings. It was observed that no member of the Government was present. The motion is not yet, therefore, disposed of, and hangs over the House, to come on again in regular course, or not, as the case may be.

NEW ZEALAND CONSTITUTION.

The House went into Committee on the New Zealand Government Bill on Thursday night. It will be remembered that last week the bill had passed through Committee as far as the 74th clause. On this clause, which purported to enact that upon all sales or alienations of waste lands 5s. per acre shall be paid to the New Zealand Company until their debt is discharged, Sir W. MOLESWORTH moved to substitute another enactment, to the effect that nothing in the act, or in any future act or local law, shall affect so much of the 10th and 11th of Victoria, c. 112, as relates to the debt in question, thereby charged upon the proceeds of sales of demesne lands of the Crown in the colony; in other words, that there should be no alteration in this matter. In the course of his speech, Sir William entered very fully into the conduct of the New Zealand Company, which, he contended, entitled them to nothing beyond their strict legal right under the act of 1847.

Mr. AGLENDY, at some length, defended the proceedings of the Company. Sir J. PAKINGTON, after hearing both sides, thought that the question did not bear sufficiently upon the bill to call for a decision of the House upon it, or to justify the proposal of Sir W.

Molesworth, which would not be fair towards the Company. After considerable discussion, in which Mr. V. SMITH, Mr. F. PEEL, Mr. MANGLES, Mr. GLADSTONE, and Mr. J. A. SMITH, took part, the amendment was negatived.

Sir J. PAKINGTON moved to substitute in the same clause for 5s. an acre, "one-fourth of the sum paid by the purchaser in respect of every such sale or alienation." Sir W. MOLESWORTH objected that this was too favourable to the Company, and proposed that they should have only one-tenth of the purchase-money. The amendment of Sir J. PAKINGTON was, however, agreed to.

Mr. GLADSTONE moved to add the words, "but so that the said payment shall in no case exceed 5s. per acre so sold or alienated." This proposition was negatived upon a division, by 120 to 51.

Sir J. PAKINGTON moved to substitute for clause 4, providing for the appointment of superintendents, a new clause, enacting that persons qualified in each province to elect members for the Provincial Councils shall, before the election of members, elect a superintendent, subject to the disallowance of the Governor within three months after the election. This clause was agreed to, and the bill was reported to the House.

HALIFAX AND QUEBEC RAILWAY.

Earl GREY moved for copies of the correspondence on the subject of this railway.

Some years ago, when Lord Derby was Secretary of State for the colonies, he had received an application from the North American colonies respecting the construction of such a railway as that now under consideration. With that view, he had caused certain officers to explore the country. Their report came to him (Earl Grey) in 1848; and in 1849 the Earl of Elgin, the Governor of Canada, sent over a resolution of the Executive Council of that province, proposing certain very liberal terms for the execution of the work, in which he had no doubt that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would have concurred. But as the scheme involved a large expenditure by this country, it was not considered advisable to adopt it at that time. In the autumn of last year, Mr. Howe brought over, on behalf of Nova Scotia, a proposal for a loan of 800,000£, to be raised by that colony, with the guarantee of this country, which would enable the colony to obtain the money at a lower rate of interest by 2½ per cent. This proposal was acceded to by the Government, and in March of last year a notification was made to Lord Elgin and the Governors of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, providing that the expense should be divided among the three colonies. At the same time, it was made a condition that the line should pass entirely through the British provinces, and that any deviation from Major Robinson's projected line should be submitted to the Government. Various communications had since taken place, and a few days before his retirement from office he had been informed by a communication from the colonial authorities that they had agreed upon the division of the expense among themselves, but that they required a different line from that proposed by Major Robinson. He was also informed that a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Hincks, Chandler, and Howe, was coming over to communicate with the Government respecting the matter. He had replied that the Government was quite prepared to consider the proposal as then made, and he had had sanguine hopes that the arrival of this deputation would have led to an arrangement; but he had been disappointed.

The Earl of DERBY vaguely said that Earl Grey's remarks involved two distinct charges, that the "substance of the negotiation had been broken off," and next, as to the "manner" of that breaking off. He began with the latter.

Referring to the letter of Mr. Hincks (noticed in the last *Leader*), in which he complained of delay, Lord Derby stated that Mr. Hincks had arrived in this country on the 15th or 16th of March, and had had frequent interviews with the Colonial Secretary, but that Mr. Chandler did not arrive till about the 15th of April. Lord Derby had an interview with Mr. Hincks and Mr. Chandler on the 30th of April, when "it was for the first time announced, that the three provinces had agreed among themselves as to the construction of the railway," and he then first learned that the colonies had decided on a line deviating very materially from that first proposed. The line now proposed was such, that for all practical purposes, it might as well have been in the United States' territory. He was surprised at the letter which appeared in the papers, in which Mr. Hincks, writing twenty-four hours after this interview, complained of delay. Lord Derby then read some passages from Mr. Hincks' letter, published at that time, and complained of the unreasonableness of that gentleman in expecting an answer upon this question in so short a period. His lordship went on to state that he had called a Cabinet on the 8th of May, at which the question was fully discussed; and it was decided, that it would not be for the advantage of this country that the Government should accede to the proposition of the colonies, as the main advantages which would have arisen from the original scheme had been lost. This decision was, in the first instance, communicated to the governors of the respective colonies, which he thought was the most respectful course, and subsequently to the deputation. This took place about the middle of the month (the 20th, according to Sir J. Pakington.) In the meantime, about the 13th of May, in answer to an application from a society, who sought to combine an emigration scheme with that of the proposed railway, his lordship replied, that he doubted whether the negotiation would lead to any result. He believed that it was through this medium that Mr. Chandler

first knew the final decision of the Government. This was where these gentlemen had felt themselves aggrieved. His lordship was quite sure that no disrespect had been intended by Sir J. Pakington; nor was there the remotest wish on the part of the Government to show the slightest discourtesy."

Turning to the merits of the projected schemes, he made a declaration of some importance:—

"He could not help saying that the first arrangement adverted to by the noble Earl—namely, that the construction of this great line of railway was to be entrusted to a company who would undertake its formation upon receiving pecuniary help from the colonies, together with a concession of the waste land on each side of the railway, to be formed for commercial and Government purposes,—he could not help saying that he thought that that was a more satisfactory footing upon which the negotiation should have been conducted than that of leaving it in the hands of the colonial Legislature, thereby excluding the advantages of emigration, and substituting for a definite pecuniary liability an indefinite liability in the shape of a guarantee for seven millions of money."

He believed that the smallest amount which could be calculated as the expense, would press very heavily upon Canada and Nova Scotia, and that the interest alone would more than absorb the whole surplus revenue of New Brunswick. He then entered into a minute examination of the new and old project for a railway; basing his objection to the former on the fact that it ran to the Maine boundary of the United States, and completed the communication between Halifax and Quebec, by passing through the United States' territory. Lord Derby repeatedly stated that he would not have hesitated to advise Parliament to sanction the guarantee which formed a part of the present scheme, provided the railway now in contemplation promised to effect the objects desired by this country—namely, the application of waste lands on either side of the line to immigrants. That was not the case with the present scheme. Government had nothing to conceal in the matter, and he had no objection to lay the papers on the table.

The only point in the subsequent remarks made by Earl Grey was a weak expression of regret that the decision of the Government should have been made known to Mr. Hincks and Mr. Chandler by the "officer of a private association."

The other speakers were Earl FITZWILLIAM, the Earl of DESART, Lord MONTEAGLE, and the Earl of POWIS. The discussion had no fruitful result. The papers were not ordered.

On the same evening, in the House of Commons, Sir H. VERNY asked the Colonial Secretary whether the letter addressed to him on the 1st of May, by Mr. Hincks, and published in the *Times* of the 31st of May, was authentic; and if so, what explanation he could give relating to it?

Sir J. PAKINGTON stated in reply, that the letter referred to was founded entirely upon a mistake, and he expressed surprise that it should have been published without any of the documents connected with it, as most erroneous inferences were likely to be drawn from it. He then went through explanations with regard to the allegation of delay, similar to those given by the Earl of Derby in the House of Lords. He had acted towards Mr. Hincks with every courtesy that he thought was due to that gentleman's distinguished station. He had been told that he ought to have resented the letter alluded to, but, though it contained expressions not borne out by the facts, which were evidently narrated under feelings of irritation, yet he thought it was most consistent with his own office and the friendly relations between this country and the colony of Canada, to continue to act in the same spirit of courtesy as before.

WEST INDIES.

Mr. BERNAL called the attention of the House, on Monday, to the distress existing in Jamaica, and in an almost equal degree in the other West India Islands, arising from a complication of causes—the imperial policy adopted within the last few years, the ravages of disease, and, above all, the want of a proper supply of labour. He inquired if the Colonial Secretary was prepared to initiate or assist in any measures for providing the colony with an adequate supply of labour.

Sir J. PAKINGTON said his attention had been kept painfully alive to the distressed and exhausted condition of the West India Islands, by the representations he had received, and the interviews he had had with delegates appointed to represent their wants in this country. Irrespective of the visitations of Providence, he considered that their distress was to be ascribed in a great degree to the policy adopted in 1846. The alteration of the sugar duties was a subject that had been earnestly pressed upon, and must receive the serious consideration of Government; but it was not the only remedy which had been proposed. He had had to deal with a great accumulation of heavy duties since his accession to office, but, whenever circumstances permitted, he should not lose a day in turning his attention

to the subject of the supply of labour, and considering whether any remedial measures could be adopted.

SUGAR DUTIES.

Several petitions were presented to the House of Lords, on Thursday, from persons of high station in the West Indian islands, complaining that the imperial policy as to the sugar duties had produced great distress, and enormously increased the traffic in slaves. The Earl of DERBY said that he had received, not a petition, but a memorial from clergymen of all denominations in Jamaica, bearing witness not only to the distress which prevailed in the colony, but also to the barbarism into which a large proportion of the coloured community were rapidly relapsing. In his opinion, the only effectual remedy for colonial distress would be to stop the progress of the reduction in the differential duties on sugar, for in spite of the assertion of Lord Grey, he believed that it was not possible to produce sugar by free labour to compete on equal terms with slave labour. At the same time he confessed that he entertained great doubt whether the public mind of this country was prepared to sacrifice the economic interests which might be involved in such a proposition.

COUNTY POLLS.

Lord ROBERT GROSVENOR's bill, for taking the poll at county elections in one day, was discussed on Wednesday, on the motion for going into committee. The opposition came from the county members, led by Mr. PACE, who, with Colonel SITHORPE, objected, that, as each had seven county votes, they would be deprived of their franchise. The other speakers against the bill were Mr. HENLEY, Mr. FELLOWES, Sir B. BRIDGES, Mr. DEEDES, and the ATTORNEY GENERAL. It was supported by Mr. BECKETT DENISON, Mr. WILLIAM BROWN, Mr. LOCKE KING, Mr. ALCOCK, Mr. COBDEN, Mr. W. MILES, and Mr. OSWALD. Mr. WALPOLE remained neuter. On a division, the motion for going into committee was carried by 166 to 82.

In committee, Mr. WILLIAM MILES attempted to delay the operation of the measure, until after the 1st of January, 1853; but he was defeated by 134 to 91; and the bill passed through committee.

SUPPLY.

VOTES in Committee of Supply were taken at the morning sitting on Monday. Mr. ANSTAY, who has taken upon himself the office of Mr. Hume, opposed almost every item, but without effect.

The committee was resumed again at the morning and evening sittings on Thursday. But all the votes were not even then got through. Mr. ANSTAY continued his opposition. The notorious vote of money to Presbyterian ministers in Ireland known as the *Regium Donum*, was carried by 57 to 34.

POSTHORSE DUTY.—Mr. DUNCOMBE brought on his motion for a committee of the whole House, to inquire into the posthorse and carriage duty with the view of modifying the same. The Government objected that the state of the revenue would not permit reductions of duties. On a division, the motion was lost by 94 to 43.

ARREST OF MR. FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

MR. O'CONNOR has been at length handed over to the keeping of the Sergeant-at-arms.

Last week Mr. O'Connor selected the Law Courts in Westminster Hall as his theatre of display; this week, he has appeared in the House of Commons. According to some accounts he has for some time been a terror to honourable members in all parts of the House; and according to others, he has been habitually drunk for some time. On Tuesday, in the midst of the debate on Mr. Bennett's case, just as Mr. Gladstone was about to rise in defence of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Mr. O'Connor's conduct became intolerable, and the following scene was enacted.

Sir B. HALL rose, and addressing the Speaker, said: Sir, I rise to order. I have to appeal to the House on the conduct of an hon. member who sits near me (Mr. Feargus O'Connor). I was calling on the House to divide, not seeing any hon. member rise to address the House, when the hon. gentleman turned round and struck me on the side. (Laughter.) Sir, I had told the honourable gentleman on a former occasion, that if he addressed me in the House, or pursued an annoying course of conduct towards me, I should call the attention of the House to the matter. (During the time occupied by the honourable baronet in his statement, Mr. F. O'Connor indulged in a series of bows and smiles, eventually adding his mite to the hilarity so generally occasioned by the reference to the immediate cause of the complaint.)

The SPEAKER: The hon. member for Nottingham has been so long a member of the House, that it is unnecessary for me to remind him that no member can be permitted to interrupt the debates, and I am sorry to say that the hon. member has so habitually violated the rules of the House, that, if he further persists in this course, I shall feel it my duty to call on him by name, and leave the House to deal with him as it thinks fit.

Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR immediately rose and ex-

claimed, in a most excited manner: I did nothing to the honourable member; I only caught him by the coat. I did nothing to him. He is my greatest enemy; he was a member of the Land Commission, and was opposed in everything to me—there, Mr. Speaker. The members of the Government were all opposed to me. I built houses (cries of "question and order") and gave money on loan (order, order), and they paid me no rent—the ruffians (order, order)—though in five years they got as much manure as would fill this room. (This idea seemed particularly to affect the hon. gentleman, for the allusion caused him to weep.) Those that paid 100% and 60% paid no rent, and a farmer who was speaking to me, by his fire-side, came up with a hatchet in his hand, and a red cloth round his head—(the remainder of the sentence was lost in the confusion which followed.)

The SPEAKER: I now must call on the hon. member by name. Mr. O'Connor, you are now called upon to apologise to the House; and if you have any apology to offer to the House, now is your time to do so.

Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR: I beg the pardon of the honourable gentleman, and now I apologise to the House. I beg pardon. You're the best Speaker that ever sat in the chair. (Loud laughter.)

But this did not end the scene on Tuesday. Mr. Gladstone had scarcely uttered ten sentences when Mr. O'Connor interrupted him by walking down the floor from his seat in the front of the Opposition bench, and endeavoured to shake hands with the speaker; but as Mr. Gladstone declined the proffered honour, Mr. O'Connor withdrew.

The climax was reached on Wednesday. During the debate in committee on the County Polls Bill, Mr. O'Connor excited the attention of the House by continually walking in and out, and offering to shake hands with the principal members of both sides of the House. About three o'clock he sat down beside Captain Fitzroy, and familiarly slapping the captain on the back, snatched an unopened letter out of his hand, which he did not return until Captain Fitzroy had mildly requested him for some time to do. Mr. O'Connor retired, and Captain Fitzroy went below the bar. As, however, Mr. O'Connor was making a pilgrimage round the House, he offered to shake hands with the captain, but the latter declined, and upon Mr. O'Connor saying something insulting, threatened to knock him down, whereupon he made a precipitate retreat.

A few minutes afterwards Mr. O'Connor again entered the House. Every one was painfully conscious that a scene was now approaching. The member for Nottingham, after tendering his hand to Mr. Cobden, who, for the twentieth time, accepted it, and to other members, who refused it, found his way to the front Opposition bench, where he took his seat beside Mr. T. Duncombe, and began conversing with him, amid cries of "Order, order!" which continuing, Mr. Beckett Denison touched Mr. O'Connor upon the shoulder, and called "Order!" when the hon. member for Nottingham, turning sharply round, struck Mr. B. Denison a slight blow upon the face, or rather conveyed his fingers to the face of the hon. member, as if he were about to pull his nose. This indignity, inflicted under the eye of the chairman and of a full House, elicited loud and indignant cries of "Order, order!"

Mr. B. DENISON hereupon rose and said,—Really, Mr. Bernal, I must appeal to you. (Hear, hear.) I do think that when the Attorney-General of her Majesty's Government is addressing the committee, if I call an hon. member to order, and he puts his hand in my face, I think that—the rest of the sentence was drowned by loud cries of "Hear, hear." I have myself experienced considerable inconvenience, and I have seen other gentlemen experience the same inconvenience from the same cause. (Loud cheers.) We have endured this system of interference with the greatest goodwill, and kindness and forbearance, but there is a point beyond which we ought not to go. (Hear, hear.) I regret that I am in the unfortunate position of being obliged to make this observation, but I cannot help it.

Mr. BERNAL.—The power of a chairman of committees is limited. What the chairman can do is to report to the House the conduct of any hon. gentleman. If the House should consider that I ought to report the conduct of any hon. member, they will be kind enough to instruct me, and I will report it accordingly.

On the recommendation of Mr. WALPOLE and Sir JOHN PAKINGTON, Mr. Bernal was directed to report progress, and the Speaker was sent for. On Mr. O'Connor's conduct being reported to him, Mr. WALPOLE moved that Mr. O'Connor be ordered to attend in his place. This was objected to by Mr. JACOB BELL, who thought that, as Mr. O'Connor was evidently labouring under a misfortune, his case ought to be referred to two medical men. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL, on the contrary, argued, from what had taken place on Tuesday, that Mr. O'Connor was evidently master of his own acts.

Mr. T. DUNCOMBE.—I think I was partly responsible for his retirement. I was sitting here (on the front Opposition bench), and after conversing with the hon. member, who talked an extraordinary quantity of nonsense, he gave me a blow in my side. (A laugh, and cries of "Order, order!") I said to him, "If you repeat this you will get yourself into a scrape, and will get yourself shut up," upon which he laughed and turned round to the hon. member on his right (Mr. B. Denison) and struck him in the

face. It is a painful and difficult question—whether, if a man would do such an act after the warning he had just received, he can be a free agent. I should say that he is not. To call upon the hon. member to make another apology after what took place last night, really appears to be a waste of time. (Hear, hear.) Then again, supposing the hon. member should say that he will not appear in his place in obedience to our summons, what are we to do in that case? I am of opinion that it is necessary for the House to take decisive measures at once, not only for our own sakes, but also for that of the hon. member himself. (Hear.)

Mr. R. C. HILDYARD thought it would be a perfect farce to request the presence of Mr. O'Connor, and tell him he must make an apology; and he therefore moved that Mr. Feargus O'Connor be committed for contempt to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

The SPEAKER.—It is perfectly competent to the House to take the course suggested by the hon. member for Whitehaven. It is usual, when a charge of misconduct is made against an hon. member, to hear any explanation which that member may offer. On that account I suggested that the hon. member for Nottingham should be ordered to attend in his place; but if the House should be of opinion that the offence which the hon. member has committed is flagrant and culpable, and admitting of no apology, it will be competent first, without directing him to attend in his place, to order him to be committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Here Mr. O'Connor re-entered the house, and took his seat on the front Opposition bench, where he indulged in some irregularities, which elicited cries of "Order."

Mr. ANSTEY suggested that his seat should be sequestered. Mr. AGLIONBY considered that Mr. O'Connor was not a free agent.

"If an order for the hon. member's commitment would have the effect of placing him under the care of medical attendants (hear), and the protection of his friends, I would not hesitate to assent to it; but, if otherwise, it would be abhorrent from my feelings, believing as I do that the hon. member labours under an aberration of intellect, to consent to his being committed for contempt. I think that while providing for our own protection and the maintenance of the dignity of the House, we should use our power with due regard to humanity."

Some further conversation followed, and, as Mr. WALPOLE was speaking, Mr. O'Connor again entered, and, walking up the House, placed himself on the left of the chair, and addressed the Speaker amid cries of "Order!" and "Chair!" "Under these circumstances," said Mr. Walpole, "I think it my duty, without further debate, to move that Mr. Feargus O'Connor be committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, for disorderly conduct and contempt of this House." (Hear, hear.)

Sir J. PAKINGTON.—I have no hesitation in saying that I feel it my painful duty to second the motion.

At this moment Mr. O'Connor escaped; and the motion was instantly agreed to. But he had the start of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and after drinking some brandy at the bar of the lobby, he went down into Westminster Hall, whither he was followed by a few gentlemen, some of whom were magistrates, known to the police. The constables on duty, therefore, acting upon the information which they then received, told Mr. O'Connor that his presence would soon be required in the House, and that he must not quit the Hall; on receiving this intimation he began to howl so loudly and vehemently that a considerable crowd soon assembled. At this spot Mr. O'Connor remained for a few minutes, in the course of which the Speaker's warrant for his committal was made out. Armed with this authority, Mr. Clementson, the Deputy-Sergeant, accompanied by several officers of the House, proceeded to Westminster-hall, took Mr. O'Connor into custody, and removed him without any resistance to the rooms of Mr. Gosset, the Assistant-Sergeant. In a little time those chambers became filled with members, anxious to learn the particulars of the arrest. Their presence seemed violently to excite Mr. O'Connor, who called them ruffians, villains, murderers; at times shouting furiously, at others groaning most heavily, and occasionally giving expression to his feelings in tones of triumph and rejoicing. After a short time the gentlemen who had crowded into Mr. Gosset's apartment were induced to withdraw, and Mr. O'Connor was left in the care of five officers. But in less than an hour from that time, when Mr. O'Connor had been somewhat calmed, he was removed to the prison rooms in the upper story of the building, towards the river front; and the whole of these proceedings were completed before the adjournment of the House.

A large proportion of the Members, and almost all the officers of the House, believe, from the extreme cunning which he manifests, that his madness is feigned, or at least that he is sufficiently sane to be considered a responsible agent; while, on the other hand, those accustomed to persons of unsound mind are not surprised at his artfulness, and think the sooner he is placed in a lunatic asylum the better.

Two medical gentlemen were, on Thursday, called

in to visit Mr. O'Connor. They both agree as to the state of his mind. His conduct during the interview led Dr. Tweedie "to infer unsoundness of mind, and to fear that, unless restrained, Mr. O'Connor may become dangerous to himself and others." In like manner, Mr. Lawrence is "of opinion that Mr. O'Connor is of unsound mind, and not fit to be at liberty, nor capable of managing his own affairs."

ELECTION MATTERS.

MR. DISRAELI'S MANIFESTO.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer has issued the following address to the electors of the county of Buckingham:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I take the opportunity of returning to the county to inform you that, on the dissolution of Parliament, which may be shortly expected, I shall again solicit the distinguished office of being your member, an honour which you have twice unanimously conferred on me.

"The occasion is critical, and it is as well to disentangle from the misrepresentations of ignorant or interested persons, what is really at stake.

"In 1842, Sir Robert Peel, at the head of the Conservative party, converted a considerable and continuous deficiency in the public revenue into a surplus, by the imposition of an income tax, which also permitted him greatly to mitigate our tariff.

"These measures realized all the success which the Conservative party anticipated from them. In the course of four years 7,000,000*l.* of Customs-duties were repealed, without materially diminishing the revenue derived from that branch, and no domestic interest in the country suffered from the change.

"The principles on which these alterations were effected were the removal of all prohibitions, the reduction of duties to such a scale as admitted 'fair competition' with domestic produce, and the free admission of all raw materials.

"I had the satisfaction of voting for these measures in company with those gentlemen who now honour the present Government with their support.

"Since the four years, closing with 1845, during which the Conservative party carried these wise and beneficial measures, two great changes in our commercial system have taken place—the free introduction of foreign corn and of slave-grown sugar.

"The first of these arrangements was not originally contemplated in the commercial policy of Sir Robert Peel, for he opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws within a few months previously to his abrogating them. When he recommended their repeal it was to meet an emergency; and he stated to Lord George Bentinck, in my hearing, that he believed that repeal would not materially affect the prices of agricultural produce.

"The admission of slave-grown sugar was not approved of by Sir Robert Peel.

"These two measures, unlike the preceding ones, have occasioned severe suffering among the producing classes which they affect. The distress of the agricultural classes has been admitted, announced, and deplored from the Throne, under the advice of a Whig Ministry; and the consequences of the alteration of the sugar duties were so disastrous to our free-producing colonies that, within two years after the passing of the act of 1846, a Whig Ministry also found it necessary to modify their own measure.

"The sufferings of the agricultural and colonial classes have arisen from their being thrown into unlimited competition with the foreigner on unequal terms with the rest of their fellow-subjects. Those unequal conditions result in great measure from the peculiar imposts and the vexatious regulations to which our agricultural and sugar-producing industries are subject.

"The same precipitation which attended the repeal of the protective duties on corn and sugar accompanied the repeal of the navigation laws. Even the proposers of that measure now admit that 'the shipping interest, exposed to severe rivalry, is subject to burdens and restrictions which impede its prosperity.'

"This is the language of the Minister who himself repealed the navigation laws, and yet left the burdens and restrictions which impede the prosperity of our mercantile marine. This opinion will be found in the recent address of Lord John Russell to his constituents. That address deserves the attentive study of the shipping interest.

"Her Majesty's Ministers would consider these burdens and restrictions with a view to their removal.

"The farmers hitherto have been the persons who have been most injured by the repeal of the Corn Laws, but the diminution of rent in Great Britain is greater than is generally supposed. In preparing the financial statement for this year, it was officially represented to me, that I must contemplate in estimating the produce of the Income Tax, a diminution of rent not much less in amount than 5,000,000*l.* sterling. Practically speaking, in this country, rent has become a return for the capital invested in the improvement of land. Laws to secure a return for such investment are not for a moment to be tolerated, but laws which, by imposing unequal taxes, discourage that investment, are, irrespective of their injustice, highly impolitic; for nothing contributes more to the enduring prosperity of a country than the natural deposit of its surplus capital in the improvement of its soil. Justice to the land, in all systems of finance, is equally the interest of the proprietor and the farmer, but it is also equally the interest of the community.

"There is no portion of the United Kingdom that has suffered more from the precipitate repeal of the corn laws than Ireland. The claim of that country to the consideration of Parliament is irresistible.

"The time has gone by when the injuries which the great producing interests endure can be alleviated or removed by a recurrence to the laws which, previously to

1846, protected them from such calamities. The spirit of the age tends to free intercourse, and no statesman can disregard with impunity the genius of the epoch in which he lives. But every principle of abstract justice, and every consideration of high policy, counsel that the producer should be treated as fairly as the consumer, and intimate that, when the native producer is thrown into unrestricted competition with external rivals, it is the duty of the legislature in every way to diminish, certainly not to increase the cost of production.

"It is the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to recommend to Parliament, as soon as it is in their power, measures which may effect this end.

"One of the soundest means, among others, by which this result may be accomplished is a revision of our taxation. The times are favourable to such an undertaking; juster notions of taxation are more prevalent than heretofore; powerful agencies are stirring, which have introduced new phenomena into finance, and altered the complexion of the fiscal world; and the possibility of greatly relieving the burdens of the community, both by adjustment and reduction, seems to loom in the future.

"But nothing great can be effected by any Ministry unless they are supported by a powerful majority in Parliament. Our predecessors were men who, for personal honour and administrative ability, need not shrink from a comparison with any body of individuals qualified to serve her Majesty, but they were never sure of a Parliamentary majority; hence much of their unsatisfactory conduct. They were justified, from the broken state of parties, in their continuance in office, which they never evinced any unworthy readiness to retain; but it is far from desirable that such indulgence should become a chronic weakness of our constitution.

"In the brief period during which we have held the reins, although placed in a position of great embarrassment, from the impossibility of at once appealing to the country, we have introduced three measures, which it is hoped will soon become the law of the land. One is a measure of internal defence, which, it is believed, will soon prove both popular, economical, and efficient: the second would confer on an interesting and important colony a constitution founded on the right principles which should govern dependencies; the third will at length achieve a complete reform of the Court of Chancery.

"There was a fourth measure which we proposed. Two petty boroughs, long infamous for corruption, had been justly and wisely disfranchised. We recommended to Parliament that these forfeited seats should be transferred to two of the most important communities of the country, distinguished not only for their vast wealth and teeming population, but by all the enduring elements of national greatness. A combination of Parliamentary sections defeated, on a technical pretext, this wise and generous proposition, which would have added strength and lustre to the House of Commons, and have asserted the popular principle in a manner consistent with that maintenance of classes which becomes a free and ancient Monarchy, and which is the best security for order and liberty.

"The time of the House of Commons has been much occupied of late by a discussion, whether the management of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth requires investigation. Without prejudging the question, Her Majesty's Ministers have felt it their duty to support such an inquiry. We have been anxious to subdue the heat of religious controversy, and to deal impartially with all Her Majesty's subjects whether in communion with the Church of Rome or the Church of England; but we cannot sanction an opinion now in vogue, that since the act of 1829 the constitution of this country has ceased to be Protestant. By the Act of Settlement, our form of Government is that of a Protestant monarchy; and it is our belief that the people of this country are resolved so to maintain it, not only in form, but in spirit.

"Various schemes have been devised for the extension and improvement of the education of the people; and among others, a measure was proposed by an intelligent community, during the present session of Parliament, to the principles of which we could not accede. The only principle in the present diversity of religious opinion which seems to be just, is that of encouraging the voluntary efforts of the several religious bodies by grants of public money in proportion to the extent to which those efforts have been made. In asserting for all this universal right, we claim for the Church, the national depository of sacred truth, that the freedom of her efforts in the cause of education should not be fettered by regulations and restrictions which are not required to afford security for a due application of the public funds.

"I have touched, gentlemen, on most of the topics which now engage the attention of the country. They are not mean issues. The country will have to decide whether it will maintain a Ministry formed on the principles of Conservative progress; whether it will terminate for ever, by just and conciliatory measures, the misconceptions which have too long prevailed between producer and consumer, and extinguish the fatal jealousy that rankles between town and country; whether our colonial empire shall be maintained and confirmed; whether the material development of Ireland shall at length be secured; whether such alterations as time and circumstances may appear to justify and require in the construction of the House of Commons shall be made in that spirit of revolution which has arrested the civilization of Europe, or in the spirit of our popular though not democratic institutions; whether the Church of England shall still remain a national Church; whether the Crown of England shall still be a Protestant Crown.

"I believe that the county of Buckingham is not in doubt on these heads, and therefore I appeal to you with confidence for your support. I cannot vie with the patriots and the statesmen whom, for so many generations, you have sent up to Parliament, but I will promise you this, on my own part and on that of my colleagues, that if public opinion ratify the choice of our gracious Sovereign, we will earnestly endeavour that the honour and the in-

terests of the country shall not suffer by our administration.

"I remain, Gentlemen,

"Your obliged friend and servant,

"B. DISRAELI.

"Hugghenden Manor, June 2."

LONDON.

FINSBURY.—At a meeting of the electors, on Tuesday evening, a letter from Mr. Wakley was read, in which, in accordance with the urgent desire of his family and medical friends, he declines to stand as a candidate for re-election. He says—

"While relinquishing the important distinction of representing you in Parliament, I am cheered by the reflection that during the seventeen years that I have occupied a seat in the House of Commons as your representative, I have never intentionally spoken or voted in antagonism to your best interests, or in opposition to those rational and just principles of government which you have always patriotically and most zealously advocated."

The meeting, however, passed a resolution not to accept the honourable gentleman's resignation, and appointed a deputation to wait upon him, with a view to obtain his consent to again become a candidate.

LAMBETH.—A meeting of the electors was held at the Horns Tavern, on Tuesday night, at which the following resolution was passed:—

"That this meeting having heard the explanations of Messrs. D'Eyncourt and Williams records its approbation of their conduct, and expresses its determination to secure their return at the coming election."

As considerable dissatisfaction is felt with the mode in which Mr. D'Eyncourt has discharged his parliamentary duties, Mr. Harvey's chance of success is considered by no means desperate.

ENGLAND AND WALES.

BERKS.—Viscount Barrington and Mr. Robert Palmer have solicited re-election. The former, in his address, says that it was in the sincere hope of cementing more strongly the bonds of union between Ireland and this country, that he voted for the endowment of Maynooth College, but that for the future a very strong case must be made out before he will again consent to such a use of the public money. He makes no allusion to free-trade or protection. Mr. Palmer writes in his address that he has seen no reason to regret his opposition to the free-trade policy, and that he will support Lord Derby in any measures he may propose for the relief of the agricultural class.

BRIGHTON.—Captain Pechell has announced his intention of again offering himself as a candidate. Mr. Ffooks, who is connected with a large brewery establishment in Dorsetshire, has come forward, and declares himself a free-trader, and desirous of repealing the malt duty, an advocate for a reform in the representation of the people, and for extension of the suffrage, and an opponent of the Militia Bill.

BRISTOL.—A numerous meeting, attended by many influential persons, took place on Monday evening. The Honourable F. H. Berkeley expressed his determination to support a free-trading policy. He would, if possible, abolish the church-rates, and "cashier" the bishops of the Church of England. Mr. Berkeley, as well as the other candidate, Mr. Langton, was warmly applauded.

CHICHESTER.—Lord Henry Lennox offers himself for re-election. In his address to the electors, believing that the late change in the commercial policy of this country has operated in some degree both for good and for evil, he expresses his opinion that it is the duty of the present administration, while securing to one class a continuance of the benefits which they now enjoy, to extend to the other a participation in those benefits from which they have heretofore been unjustly excluded. He continues—

"Our present system of taxation displays so many anomalies as to demand at an early period a complete and searching revision; it is to this that the farmers of England should turn their attention, and their efforts in this cause, if directed by that energy and perseverance in which they have never yet shown themselves wanting, cannot fail before long to restore to them that share in the general prosperity to which they are of right entitled."

DEVONPORT.—Mr. Tufnell and Sir John Romilly come forward for re-election, on Free-trade and Liberal principles. Mr. Tufnell will uphold "those Protestant principles which have ever proved the firmest bulwark of civil and religious liberty, and hopes to see law reform carried out in our law courts. Sir John Romilly will resist, to his utmost power, any attempt by the court of Rome to acquire spiritual or temporal authority in this realm. Although desirous that the finances of the country should be carefully and frugally administered, he was not disposed, by shortsighted economy, to neglect the great defences of the kingdom against the possibility of foreign aggression. He says further—

"But while I am disposed to support any well-considered measure for this purpose, I doubt whether that object can be obtained by the formation of any militia, which even under the best regulations appears to me to

be more likely to oppress and injure the people, than to conduce to the security of the country.

"I cannot but observe, also, the position of almost every foreign State on the Continent of Europe, and the causes which have produced that condition; and, warned by their example, I shall carefully guard against organizing any system of a permanent standing force in this country, of such a nature and so constituted as in the hands of an unscrupulous and despotic Government might in the course of time become the instrument of oppression, and the means of subverting the liberties of the country."

ESSEX (SOUTH).—Sir Edward Buxton has issued an address soliciting re-election. He would oppose any return to protection, and considered that a reduction of the malt-tax would be beneficial to the community at large. Moreover, he says—

"I am favourable to any decrease of this impost which the finances of the country will permit. The time has come when the suffrage may safely be extended, especially in county constituencies, and I would vote for any reasonable and well-considered measure to that effect. If again returned to Parliament, I shall be prepared to advocate an extensive and efficient system of education, a liberal and progressive policy, a careful economy in the national expenditure, and the reduction of those taxes which restrict the industry of the people."

FLINTSHIRE.—Mr. Edmund Peel, in his address accepting the invitation of the electors, writes—

"I am a churchman. I love the church, because I believe it to be the safeguard of the Reformation and the most powerful bulwark of Protestantism, and therefore of our liberties—civil and religious. I participated strongly in the indignation felt by all ranks of sincere and loyal Protestants at the audacious attempt made by the Bishop of Rome last year to bring us under the dominion of his slavish rule. I will be no party to any grant of public money towards the support of that religion, and if returned to Parliament I will vote unequivocally against the Maynooth endowment. Attempts have been made to admit the Jews into Parliament; I will never be a party to what must un-Christianise the Legislature. I cannot assent to what would be neither more nor less than an indirect denial of that Saviour on whom alone our hopes rest. I have viewed with real regret the depression which has so materially affected agriculture, but I look forward with hope and confidence to those future measures contemplated by Lord Derby's Government for its relief."

HERTFORD.—Viscount Mahon and the Honourable W. Cowper have solicited re-election. Mr. Charles J. Dimsdale, a conservative, and Mr. T. Chambers, of the Home Circuit, a Liberal and Free-trader, have offered themselves as candidates. A stout contest is expected.

HULL.—Mr. J. Clay, one of the present members, and Lord Goderich, are the Liberal candidates. Mr. J. B. Moore, of Liverpool, a follower of Mr. G. F. Young, and a supporter of the present ministry, is also a candidate. The contest is expected to be a sharp one.

LANCASHIRE (SOUTH).—A numerous meeting of the electors was held on Wednesday, and gave a cordial reception to Mr. Cheetham, the new Liberal candidate. He addressed the meeting, speaking in the highest terms of the late Sir Robert Peel's policy, and declaring his conviction that it should be carried out to the utmost possible extent. He was opposed to the Maynooth grant, as he was to all religious endowments, and advocated an extension of the suffrage, and vote by ballot.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.—Mr. William Jackson has again offered himself as a candidate. He is more than ever satisfied with the expediency of Free-trade, and wishes to see a thorough investigation of the general taxation of the country, with a view to apportion each class with its fair share of the burden.

NOTTINGHAM.—The Chartists of this town have issued an address, dated June 4, calling upon the electors not to "be in a hurry," as a candidate after their own heart is expected to offer himself.

PONTEFRAC.—Mr. Monckton Milnes has issued an address to the electors, announcing his intention of being a candidate for their re-election. The address contains the following passage:

"My votes in Parliament, and the part I have taken in debate, are the evidence whether or not I have maintained the principles on which you chose me to represent you. Those principles were the full acceptance of the commercial policy of the late Sir Robert Peel; the diffusion of popular education, without distinction of class or creed; the extension of the electoral franchise to all who can give satisfactory guarantees for its independent and intelligent exercise; and the sincere support of that civil and religious liberty which shines as a beacon at once of warning and consolation amid the political darkness of Europe."

He further says, that upon the question of the vote by ballot, he would think it his duty to defer, in great measure, to the opinion of the majority of his constituents.

WEST SURREY.—Mr. Drummond and Mr. Evelyn addressed a meeting of their constituents, on Saturday, at Guildford. The former called upon the electors to support Lord Derby's administration. He condemned the Reform Bill as without principle, but thought that every man who contributed to the rates had a right to vote. Resolutions were carried, recommending the re-election of both candidates.

SURREY (EAST).—It is still doubtful whether Mr.

J. W. Freshfield will, as had been anticipated, withdraw from the representation of Boston, to stand as a candidate for this constituency. In a letter to the chairman of the East Surrey Election Committee, he expresses his dissatisfaction with the requisition inviting him to do so, as not affording a sufficient proof of the wishes of the general body of the electors.

TAMWORTH.—Sir Robert Peel and Captain Townshend, both offer themselves for re-election, and have made an encouraging canvass. Sir Charles Clarke, the new candidate, has withdrawn. Sir Robert Peel has issued an address, in which he says—

"Gentlemen, my own political impressions have undergone but little modification, except, perhaps, to be candid, as regards the vote by ballot, which, in some modified form, will ere long be adopted by the Legislature as essential to the independence of a numerous and important class of electors. A liberal conservative free-trader, I am for social progress, and for the maintenance, in its unabated vigour, of that policy which has secured improved facilities of existence to the immense majority of the people of England. Naturally an enemy to whatever has, or seems to have, a reactionary tendency, I shall never hesitate to sacrifice to expediency as to the widest principle of political science; and whilst I shall have the advantage of enjoying a seat in Parliament I shall be a steady, unflinching advocate of temperate advancement, and shall give a cordial adhesion (always, of course, with a due observance of the public interests) to all measures tending to favour the social and religious condition, and to promote the political liberties, of my fellow-countrymen."

SCOTLAND.

EDINBURGH.—It is now ascertained that Mr. Macaulay has consented again to be a candidate, but he will not consent to canvass or to take any active part in seeking his election. A requisition is being got up by the conveners of the old whig committee. Lord Melgund has been spoken of as a second whig candidate. Lord Provost McLaren has been nominated, representing the radicals and dissenters. Mr. Cowan is also a candidate, supported by the free-church party.

STIRLINGSHIRE.—Mr. Forbes, of Callendar, a Derby-Disraelite protectionist, has asked for a renewal of the confidence the electors placed in him in 1847. He considers the stability of Lord Derby's government the "best security for our civil rights and protestant institutions." He opposed the late changes in our commercial policy, adding, "from all I can learn, it appears to me that the reversal of this policy is, in the present state of feeling in the country, impracticable." He thinks the Legislature, however, is bound to consider the claims of the suffering interests, and remedy their grievances as far as possible."

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER XXIV.

Paris, Tuesday Evening, 8th June, 1852.

"LETTERS of resignation" are still pouring in upon the Government. General Charras, ex-Minister of War in 1848, in his refusal of the oath, avoiding the self-complacency with which Lamoricière, Bédau, and Leflô recalled their services, addresses himself to Bonaparte, man to man, and demands by what right he, the violator of the constitution which he had sworn to defend, and the destroyer of public tranquillity, can call upon any man to swear fidelity to him. It is estimated there are sixty other letters clandestinely circulating in Paris. Amongst them is one from M. Michelet, the celebrated professor of history. Bonaparte had some time since taken away his professorship at the Collège of France, where he used to thunder forth his denunciations against the priests and the jesuits. His only remaining source of subsistence was a situation as director of manuscripts in the National Archives, which he had held since 1830. This he has voluntarily relinquished rather than take "the oath" to Bonaparte. M. Jules Simon, Professor of Philosophy at the Sorbonne, has also refused, and his example has been followed by MM. Magy, Barsot, and Burni, Professors of Philosophy in Paris, Versailles, and Rouen; Despois, Professor of Rhetoric in the Collège Louis-le-grand; Serval, of the Collège Rollin. There are also resignations of an unexpected kind coming in. A certain number of Legitimists, who had taken the oath in order to qualify themselves to sit as members of general and municipal councils in the provinces, have, in consequence of the express command of the Comte de Chambord, withdrawn the pledge they had given to the Government. The following is a copy of a letter, addressed by the Comte de la Suze to the editor of the *Maine*:—"I have just sent in my resignation, as member of the municipal council of Courcelles, to the mayor of that place, and have cancelled the oath I took a month ago. By this step I conform to wishes which were only made known to me yesterday, the 26th of May." Besides the letters which are in circulation, a mass of pamphlets are being handed about, secretly, containing *revelations* in connexion

with the recent events in France. One of these, written by a soldier belonging to the 6th Regiment of Light Infantry, proves that the *coup d'état* of the 2nd of December, was to have taken place on Saturday, the 15th of November. Orders had at that time been issued, recalling all the men absent on leave, to their respective regiments; that the *coup d'état* had been postponed from the 15th to the 17th of November, and then again to the 22nd. In order to accomplish the *coup d'état*, the regiments had been carefully isolated from each other, and from the people, and then, in the absence of any communication, or means of knowing the truth, the soldiers had been told, each regiment separately, that the army of Paris had declared unanimously for the President against the Assembly; that their regiment was the only one which had not pronounced, and it was dangerous for them not to join the rest. The men had then declared their willingness to act with the rest of the army. It is also proved, by the same document, that the 42nd Foot, commanded by Colonel Espinasse, was the only infantry regiment favourable to Bonaparte. The most murderous orders were given to the troops by certain colonels. "You are about to engage in a sanguinary struggle," cried Colonel Gardarens, to the men of the 6th Regiment: "the anarchists and the rabble have sworn to be revenged of their defeat in June, 1848; spare no one; make no prisoners! You understand me, no prisoners! Kill! kill every man, woman, and child you see in the streets." A representative having presented himself at the entrance of the Assembly, in the Place de Bourgogne, where the 6th Regiment was stationed, Colonel Gardarens galloped up to him, and, in a very coarse manner, said, "Now, sir, don't come here propagandizing! You had better be off, or I will have you laid hold of by four of my men, and put into prison." "But, sir," replied the representative, "who are you, who thus address me?" "I am a Colonel!" "And I," said the other, "am a representative of the people, and am going to the Assembly." "A representative! there are none now!" "But if there are no representatives there is a constitution—there is law!" "You are mistaken! there is neither one nor the other!—there are only bayonettes."

The same letter also furnishes some curious details as to the manner in which the voting of the army was managed. "Colonel Gardarens first began by closing the register in which would have been entered the names of those who voted against Bonaparte. 'It is quite useless to keep any such register, as I do not for one moment doubt the enthusiasm of the men whom I have the honour to command. We are the soldiers of Order, let us vote for Order!' He then signed the book, and passed the pen to the Lieutenant-Colonel and the other officers of his Staff; to the Captains, Lieutenants, &c. As for the soldiers, as each man answered 'present,' to the roll-call, his name was entered by the sergeant-major. A corporal having expressed a desire to write his name in the register himself, in order to see how the thing was done, was denied by the colonel." This method of election in the army confirms all that has been said about the voting in the rural districts during the election of Louis Bonaparte.

I have something of importance to communicate to you on the subject of the late presidential elections. The Emperor of Russia, being anxious to be able to judge of the rumours which had reached him affecting Bonaparte's popularity in France, and being desirous of knowing how the elections really did take place, has employed a number of secret emissaries, whose business was to proceed into the departments, to learn the real opinions of the people. The reports of the emissaries unanimously prove that the peasants generally are opposed to Bonaparte, that those who had voted for him now regretted it, and that many had not voted at all. The result of this information will doubtless be to influence the relations of the Emperor of Russia and the northern powers. The Czar has fixed upon holding another conference on this subject, at Warsaw, between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. It is said that a manifesto is being seriously contemplated, in which, after having laid bare the usurpation and imposture of Bonaparte, he would be placed beyond the pale of the law [*hors la loi*], and war would be declared against him. The invasion of France by the allied powers would follow the manifesto. The pretext would be personal hostility to Bonaparte, the real motive the re-establishment of the Bourbons on the throne of France. The Comte de Chambord, it is said, has recently received an assurance to that effect. He is about to proceed from Frohsdorf to Wiesbaden, to receive the homage of the Legitimists, to whom he will point out, *viva voce*, the line of conduct they must follow in future. This clever manoeuvre compels every Legitimist openly to come forward at once, and take a part in the grand drama which is being prepared. From this time there will be a Legitimist Army and a Legitimist General.

The Princes of Orleans, as representing the hitherto dissidents, will be the first to render homage to the King of France. They will be followed by the rest of the Orleanists.*

While the storm gathers, Bonaparte is philosophically enjoying life. This new Louis XV. has installed his *Duchess*, Miss Howard, in the Palace of Saint Cloud. It is there he proposes to spend the summer with her. *Cottillon IV.* will give a series of fêtes, at which the faithful will be allowed to assist. It was at one of these fêtes last week Bonaparte and his *roué* intimates—Saint Arnaud, Maupas, the Comte d'Orsay, Lavalette, and De Morny, each man bringing his mistress—enacted the most frightful orgies. Everything which frenzied debauchery can conceive was perpetrated. It would shock your English ears to hear what has perhaps happened a score times already since the 2nd of December. All Paris knows of the *soirées* of Madame Lehon, Morny's mistress. We are too well accustomed to the eccentricities of the *entourage*, to be surprised at the orgies of Saint Cloud.

A vast system of *espionage* is organized throughout France, the ramifications of which extend to the small towns and villages—"where," says the circular creating a large addition to the number of the commissaries of police, "the spirit of hostility and anarchy still holds its ground." We have now the police of the *gensdarmes*, the police of the commissaries, the police of spies and informers, and the police at the post office. France is now a complete net-work of police and *espionage*. The effect of this deplorable state of things is to destroy all private confidence. There is safety nowhere—neither with relations nor friends. All conversation is completely stopped. In the *salons* of the fashionable world, at the least word bearing upon political matters the guests withdraw in fear, as though they were about being seized by *gensdarmes*, to be conveyed to Lambessa or Cayenne. The only confidences made are within doors, between sworn friends. Yet notwithstanding all these obstacles, pamphlets and letters circulate in Paris with extraordinary rapidity. Every man has four or five trustworthy friends, to whom he communicates, or from whom he receives all the news. These, in their turn, have other friends. An invisible chain links these persons together, and it requires but a moment for any information to reach from one end of the chain to the other. In the provinces, however, the government measures destroy these facilities of communication; for if two persons are seen much together they become the object of administrative rigours, and are immediately placed under the *surveillance* of the police. From that moment an agent of police fastens himself on their footsteps, and follows them like a shadow. It happened thus at Metz, where several persons belonging to the advanced democratic section have been placed under the eye of the police. Incredible difficulties attend the leaving or returning to France. Women, who had hitherto been allowed to move about without passports, have been deprived of this privilege. Two ladies were arrested in Havre last Friday, and marched through the streets of the town in the custody of seven *gensdarmes*, because they had not provided themselves with passports for England. The transportations are still going on. The steamship, *La Ville de Bordeaux*, has just embarked 24 political prisoners for Lambessa.

While Louis Bonaparte is revelling in wealth and debauchery, Lamartine is suffering the privations of poverty in Paris, and the furniture of Victor Hugo is being sold.

The "warnings" to the press still continue. The *Emancipateur* of Cambrai having presumed to say that the new reduced tax upon wine had not brought any relief to the people (it having been shown that the diminution only amounts to one per cent.), the prefect sent a "warning" to the imprudent journalist, accusing him of endeavouring to throw odium upon the President. The *Aube* has also had "warning," for having said that M. Montalembert desired the postponement of the law on education, but that some one more powerful was of a different mind. The prefect saw in the last phrase "an allusion and insinuation too evident for the Government to tolerate." The same paper had said that, according to Bonaparte's constitution, the budget must be voted before the 29th of June, otherwise the Government would dispense with the consent of the Legislative Body. The prefect accused the *Aube* for these statements, "of having lowered the dignity of one of the great powers of the State, and of having endeavoured to 'attach to the government of the Prince-President an allegation, the principle of which, if true, would prove the arbitrary substitution of one power by another.'" As though Bonaparte had allowed

* We have good reason to believe that the Fusion is less in favour at Claremont than at Frohsdorf.—[Ed. of Leader.]

any such considerations to weigh with him on the 2nd of December!

The Legislative Body will, on the 15th or 16th of June, discuss the budget. Many reforms, as I have already told you, have been introduced into it by the committee. But we have yet to see whether the Legislative Body will adopt them.

It has been clearly shown that the floating debt amounts to 750 millions, not 520 millions, as had been stated by the Government. It has also been proved that the deficit for 1853, estimated by the Government at 80 millions, will in reality exceed 85 millions. Louis Bonaparte knew very well he was attempting a barefaced imposition upon the nation, as proved by his intention to levy 70 millions of additional taxes. 1. A duty on dogs; 2. A duty on horses and carriages; 3. A duty on domestic servants; 4. A new tax on sugar. The three first are calculated to bring in 10 millions, and the last 60 millions. By this means the deficit would be nearly covered, and the revenue increased to 1500 millions to suit the convenience of M. Bonaparte. The Elysée is extraordinarily tenacious of having these 70 millions; and, to such an extent, that, in spite of the constitution, the Legislative Body will meet again in October for the purpose of voting the new taxes by which they are to be raised.

The Government, seeing the end of the session at hand, has quickly expunged from the "project of law," on the departmental and communal administration, the clauses relating to the nomination of general and municipal councillors. The "resignations" which continue to come in, threaten to leave the departments and communes without any local government whatever; to obviate this inconvenience, Bonaparte proposes to assume the right of selecting from a list three persons, chosen by universal suffrage, the councillors required to fill the vacancies in the departments and communes. S.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

ENGLISH EDITORS PROSECUTED IN PARIS, BY PROXY.

THE other most prominent fact in the Parisian news of the week is the invitation to the correspondent of the *Daily News*, and of two other London daily papers (the *Chronicle* and *Advertiser*), to visit the Director of the Press at the *Préfecture de Police*. The Director, M. Latour Dumoulin, received them, we are told, with the most perfect courtesy. He stated that the tone of correspondence, and of the leading articles traceable to that correspondence, has become so outrageous in its attacks on the "elect of eight millions," that the French Government can no longer tolerate such an abuse. That, however, willing to allow the English correspondents to send news, and even to furnish them with early and exclusive information forbidden to French and continental journals—however indisposed to deprecate opposition—it would not suffer the name of the "chief of the state" to be "dragged in the mire." The correspondent of the *Daily News* says, he was then given to understand that if either the Paris letter of the *Daily News*, or the leading articles of that paper, contained any expressions outraging the person of the Prince-President, he would be considered as the responsible person, and be forthwith expelled from France. If it was found that this measure did not suffice to put an end to the practice of insulting the head of the French state in the English press, it would then become the duty of the French Government to deliberate upon what further measures would be necessary.

The correspondent explained how completely foreign to the political direction of the journal was his office, and that the true remedy of the aggrieved Government lay either in an English court of law, as in the Emperor's case, or in diplomatic representations. But M. Latour Dumoulin concluded by declining to accept the irresponsibility of correspondents. So the first blow at the English press is struck.

We briefly alluded in our last number to an offensive article in the *Constitutionnel*, by Granier de Cassagnac, threatening Belgium with a war of tariffs, if not of cannon, and even the closing of the frontiers and ports of France against all trade with that kingdom, if the Belgian electors did not, at the approaching elections, choose candidates opposed to their present Ministry and favourable to the present Government of France, to which the maintenance in office of a liberal Belgian cabinet would be considered an act of hostility.

The Belgian Minister in Paris made a formal complaint of this insult to an independent state, and was informed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that, as the *Moniteur* was the only official organ of the Government, no complaint could be founded on an article in the *Constitutionnel*. Last Saturday, however, M. Granier returned to the charge, declaring that it was not in his own name that he had written; but that, before venturing on so grave and delicate a subject, he had taken care "to ascertain the sentiments of the Chief of the State." He even invited the Belgian Minister, if he should have any doubt on the subject, to ascertain their correctness by applying to the President himself. Such an affirmation, coupled with the President's name, compelled the Belgian Minister to demand further and more categorical explanations; and on Sunday last the *Moniteur* contained the following communicated paragraph:—

"It is very natural that people should attribute to the Government the ideas put forth by the journals which

support it in general; but when they give these ideas as the particular expression of the sentiments of the Chief of the State, they expose themselves to the reproach of infidelity or exaggeration. They thus adopt, in fact, an official language which gives to their articles an importance which they should never have.

"When the Government wishes to make known its variable thoughts, it confides them to the *Moniteur*, its only organ. Any publication in any other paper cannot engage its responsibility. The article of the *Constitutionnel* of this day obliges us to make this declaration."

It will be observed that this evasive answer tacitly avows as much as it denies; it leaves Granier de Cassagnac's assumption of direct reference to the President's opinion untouched. Thereupon the *Constitutionnel*, in the person of Doctor Véron (whose style of journalism preserves the character of his Pâté Regnault), maintains the accuracy of M. Granier de Cassagnac's statement, in spite of the official denial, in an article composed of a curious mixture of pomposity, bitterness, snivelling, and servility. It appears that since the re-election of the President on Dec. 20, Dr. Véron had ceased to have any personal interviews with the President; but in his place M. Granier de Cassagnac had constantly derived from conversations with Louis Napoleon the ideas which regulated his policy, and these were faithfully reflected in the articles signed by M. Granier in the *Constitutionnel*. Upon one occasion, notwithstanding the high source from which these communications issued, an article was refused. But he had not the least doubt that all of those productions had been authorized by the head of the state. Such, at least, was the statement of M. de Cassagnac, whom he implicitly believes, notwithstanding the *Communiqué* of the *Moniteur*. The Doctor then declares it to be high time to clear up the mystery attending this official signature, and to find out whether the notes that are stamped therewith emanate from the President or from the Cabinet.

This article was followed by a paragraph, signed by M. Granier de Cassagnac:—

"It will be remarked that the *Communiqué* in the *Moniteur* in no respect disavows the policy which we think it the interest of the Government to pursue with regard to Belgium.

A. GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC."

For this perseverance on the part of Dr. Véron, the *Constitutionnel* received a first "warning" from the police.

Dr. Véron does not let slip such an occasion of lofty pathos as a "warning" to the *Constitutionnel*; but, acknowledging the pain he feels at a reprimand which menaces the existence of a journal hitherto devoted to Louis Napoleon, still persists in the expression of his belief that M. Granier de Cassagnac's articles, objectionable in themselves, were dictated by the Government, and on that account alone admitted to publication. In corroboration of his belief he appeals to a note addressed by M. Macquard, secretary of the Elysée, to M. Denain, the *gerant* of the paper, for 100 copies of the number of the *Constitutionnel* which contained the first article directed against Belgium. However, in obedience to the warning he has received, he closes the *Constitutionnel* against M. Granier de Cassagnac.

But the tragedy is not yet played out. To prove the gratitude of princes, the *Constitutionnel* receives a "second warning" from the police, in consequence of the second article of Dr. Véron's: and at this moment, the broadsheet, *par excellence*, of the *coup d'état* is exposed to immediate suspension, or even suppression, like any mere independent journal. What a lesson for the drudges that do the dirty work of despotism! So much for the "oily gammon," of Dr. Véron, and Granier de Cassagnac, the Jonathan Wild of Napoleonism!

The Chateau d'Eu was seized by the local functionaries on the 5th inst., in virtue of the decree of Jan. 22. The officers at first knocked and demanded admission, which was refused by the steward of the Duke of Nemours, who had given him peremptory orders not to open the gates. Forceful entrance was then obtained, the object of which was to prevent the sale of the furniture announced to be sold in two days by command of the Duke.

M. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire, of the College of France, has refused to take the oath.

The President paid a visit some days ago to the Invalides to examine the tomb of the Emperor. He remarked with much surprise that two of the bas-reliefs represented subjects connected with the Orleans family. In fact, upon one of these slabs was sculptured the Prince de Joinville receiving the remains of the Emperor at St. Helena; and on the other, Louis Philippe receiving the same remains at Paris. On a preceding visit, Louis Napoleon had remarked to M. Visconti, the architect of the tomb, that the bas-reliefs in question were anything but indispensable. M. Visconti replied that they figured in the programme settled by the Council of Civil Buildings. The Prince then expressed his desire for their removal. He was therefore not a little displeased, upon returning to the tomb, to find that his wish had not been complied with, and left the chapel in no very pleasant mood.

We learn from Vienna that the ordinances on the press have been published, and are less severe than was expected. The principal articles are—first, that political and religious journals must deposit caution-money to the amount of 10,000 florins; and secondly, that journals of a dangerous and hostile character can be suppressed after two warnings.

The journey of the Empress of Russia to Schlaugenbad is described by loyal journals as a continued ovation.

M. Emile de Girardin, in the *Presse*, reiterates his assertion that in March, 1848, General Changarnier proposed to Ledru-Rollin to put himself at the head of 12,000 troops, to invade England, and to proclaim the republic. He further asserts that the general frequently boasted on the benches of the National Assembly of having made the proposal, a fact that is certified by the disinterested testimony of M. Mathieu (de la Drôme). Thus the story rests.

The Belgian elections are hitherto in favour of the present liberal Government.

The trial instituted by the government on the demand of M. Louis Bonaparte against the editor and publisher of

the *Nation*, took place at Brabant on the 7th. The defendants were charged with writing and publishing an article characterized as an outrage upon the President. The jury acquitted both the accused.

The *Moniteur* contradicts a rumour that the government had determined to forbid work on Sundays. It will only set the example of repose.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Daily News* reports the increase of Jesuitism in Protestant Prussia, whilst all free dissenting congregations are rigorously prosecuted.

SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

THE first annual meeting of this Society was held in the Music Hall, Store-street, on Wednesday evening last—Mr. P. A. Taylor, the Treasurer of the Society, in the chair. Notwithstanding the extreme wetness of the evening, the meeting was exceedingly well attended by members of the Society and their friends. The chairman having opened the meeting, called on the Secretary to read the Society's First Annual Report. The Report gave a full account of the proceedings of the Society during the past year, and contained also a balance-sheet of the Society's receipts and expenditure. Dr. Epps then moved, and Mr. E. Craufurd, barrister, seconded, a resolution to the effect, "That the Report now read be adopted; and that the gentlemen forming the Society's present council be re-elected members of council for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number." This formal resolution having been put and carried, M. Mazzini presented and read an address of thanks and congratulation to the Society, drawn up in the name of the Italian National Committee, composed by himself, M. Jaffi, and M. Montechi, and signed also by M. Quadrio and M. Agostini, as secretaries of the committee. M. Mazzini, before reading this address, explained the origin of the body from which it had emanated. The National Italian Committee, he said, had been formed on the very day when the Roman Triumvirate resigned their powers, the very day in which the French entered Rome; it was destined to be a perpetuation in exile of the activity of the Roman Republic, a kind of link between the past and the future; and it had been, at the very moment of its institution, accepted and empowered by a large number of the representatives of the Roman assembly, and by a large number of the most influential men in the Roman dominions. These explanations and the address itself were received by the audience with the most enthusiastic applause,—the appearance of M. Mazzini being hailed with long and continued cheering, which was repeated at the close of the address. Professor Newman then moved the second resolution, as follows: "That the recent alarming successes of despotism, civil and ecclesiastical, make it the duty and the interest of England to be ready to incur sacrifices for continental freedom, and especially for the freedom of Rome, which has been unrighteously overthrown by foreign interference, in order to keep up the temporal Papacy." In moving this address, Professor Newman made some highly valuable and interesting observations, which were all the more effective from the evidence afforded by them of the extreme fairness and candour of the speaker, in the midst of his strong feeling. The resolution having been seconded by Mr. Henry Jansen, A.M., was unanimously carried. Mr. George Dawson, M.A., of Birmingham, then moved the third resolution, which was as follows: "That it is incumbent on the constituencies of this country, on the eve of a general election, to be prepared to test the opinions of candidates with respect to the leading questions of our foreign policy and relations, and to require from them declarations on these topics, as explicit as those they are in the habit of demanding on home questions." Mr. Dawson addressed the audience on this resolution in his usual striking and happy manner. One of his hits told with particular effect. Speaking of the pecuniary compensation in the Mather case, and of the conduct of Lord Malmesbury in regard to that case, he compared England at the present moment to a dog who first presents himself to be kicked, and then turns round to the kicker, holding a tin canister in his mouth, that halfpence may be dropped into it. Mr. W. Shaen having seconded the resolution, it was carried, and the meeting thereafter separated. The Society of the Friends of Italy now enters on the second year of its existence with renewed energy. It is to be hoped that, in the words of the Report read at the meeting, this Society may continue to exist and to flourish as long as it is needed, and that it will not be dissolved till that hour when Italy shall no longer require foreign friends, and when the national Italian tricolor shall wave, as it did before, over the walls of Rome.

PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

THE SOCIALIST UNION.

Articles of Agreement (Acto de Societá).

THE undersigned, LOUIS BLANC, ETIENNE CABET, PIERRE LEROUX, yielding to the desire of many of their brethren in proscription, actuated by the hope of

being useful, and thinking to accomplish a duty, have agreed to the following:—

ART. I. They wish to form a Society for the publication of a weekly journal, under the title of "FREE EUROPE," a quarterly review, under the name of "THE SOCIALIST UNION," and occasional pamphlets.

ART. II. The purpose of the Journal, the Review, and the Pamphlets in question will be—1, To encourage the peoples to brotherhood, and to record the social progress in Europe. 2, To defend France, and to publish interesting facts respecting her state. 3, To expound French Socialism. 4, To make Socialism known among the different peoples, and more particularly in England. 5, To assist the proscribed in finding work.

The Society will publish a Socialist programme in concert with a council of co-editors.

ART. III. Every article of the Journal, and of the Review, will be published simultaneously in French, English, and German. If, however, at first, the publication in German should entail too many difficulties and too great an expense, the Journal and the Review would appear in French and in English; but the German Review would be added as soon as feasible.

ART. IV. The three associates will manage and direct in common.

The FIRM will be LOUIS BLANC, ETIENNE CABET, and PIERRE LEROUX.

The signature of the firm will belong to the three partners conjointly. In case of the absence of one or two of the three partners, the signature of the two partners present, or of the one present, will suffice.

ART. V. The partners will engage regular co-editors for the editorship. They will accept articles that may be remitted to them by any person giving his name.

ART. VI. The place of meeting for the Society is the office of the Journal.

ART. VII. The Capital of the firm is fixed at a Hundred Thousand Francs, or Four Thousand Pounds sterling.

It is formed by all persons willing to facilitate the enterprise. For that purpose 2,000 subscribers' warrants (*bulletins de souscription*) are created, of 50 francs, or 2*l.*, each. These tickets will be extracted from a stock-book, and will each bear the number of the order. They will be signed by the firm, and attested by one of the trustees hereinafter mentioned.

ART. VIII. The undertaking is for none concerned a speculation of self-interest, but a work of sympathy, of generosity, of devotedness, in behalf of which the associates invite the concurrence of all friends of progress.

The subscriptions, although they give a claim to the premium indicated in Article XIII. below mentioned, are considered as donations, and are, consequently, not reimbursable, except in the case provided by Article X.

ART. IX. The list of subscribers will be published, omitting the names of such persons as may desire to remain anonymous.

Art. X. The journal will not commence publication until subscriptions to the amount of one thousand pounds (25,000 francs) shall have been paid up.

If the journal should not appear before the first of August of the present year, the subscriptions would be returned to the subscribers.

To that effect, the total amount of subscriptions will be deposited with a banker, in the name of the trustees, and will remain inactive till the publication of the journal, which will consequently take place before the first of August.

ART. XI. Independently of the capital of 4000*l.* (100,000 francs), 500 foundation warrants (*bulletins de fondation*), of 1*l.* sterling each, are created, constituting a sum of 500*l.* sterling to provide for advertisements, prospectuses, and all other preliminary expenses relating to the undertaking, which forms the object of the present association. The subscribers of this class will bear the title of FOUNDERS; the *bulletins* which will be delivered to them will bear the name of Founders Warrants, *bulletins de fondation*.

These *bulletins de fondation* will be, like the *bulletins de souscription*, drawn from a stock-book, registered *à souche*, and stamped with the signature of the firm, and the *visa* of the trustees.

A correct statement will be published of the disposal of the last-named fund, which can in no case be reimbursable.

ART. XII. Every subscriber of either class will receive the journal, gratis, for one year.

ART. XIII. All the operations of the society will be for cash.

ART. XIV. All operations of the society will be entered regularly into a register, or registers, daily.

ART. XV. Statements of receipts and expenditure will be published in the journal every three months.

ART. XVI. The association will exist till the first of May, 1854. It may be prolonged by the consent of three associates.

ART. XVII. In case of the decease or retirement of one of the three partners, the Society may be continued by the two others, who will have power to take a third.

ART. XVIII. In case of the decease of two of the partners, the undertaking may be continued by the survivor, who may take to their number two new associates.

ART. XIX. At the expiration of the Society, such sum as, after payment of all debts, may remain in hand, shall be devoted, under joint advice of the council of co-editors and the council of trustees, to an object of general charity or utility. The method of its disposal will be made public.

ART. XX. A special regulation will determine all matters respecting the Journal, the Review, and the council of co-editors.

ART. XXI. The council of trustees is at present composed of Messrs. Edward Vansittart Neale and William Coningham, who have accepted the office. London, May 10, 1852.

FRENCH REFUGEES.

A *soirée*, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to the French Refugee Fund, was held on Tuesday at the Literary Institution, John-street, Tottenham-court-road. Mr. Robert Le Blonde, having been called to the chair, read a letter from Viscount Goderich, inclosing 10*l.*; another from M. Mazzini, inclosing 1*l.*, as well as letters from Ledru Rollin, and Mr. T. Duncombe, M.P., explaining the cause of their absence. After some preliminary remarks, and the adoption of a sentiment pledging the meeting to use their efforts for the support of the refugees now in this country, M. Louis Blanc, addressing the meeting in English for the first time, spoke of the sufferings endured by the French refugees in London, and expressed his gratitude for the kindness which they had experienced. He said:—

Allow me to remind you of a recent and very striking fact. At the time of the Revolution of February, when, in consequence of the foolish alarms spread everywhere by the reactionary party,—when, I say, manufactories were closed, when commerce stopped, when money was hoarded up, it happened that in some places French workmen began—in a very small number, and misguided, alas! by starvation—to complain of the competition of the foreign operatives. But what was, on that occasion, the conduct of the *délégués du Luxembourg*, who had been elected by all the corporations in Paris to represent the sacred cause of labour? They protested indignantly, in the name of the whole body of the people, against this impious complaint; and it was with their unanimous support that the member of the provisional government who is now speaking issued a proclamation, in which a question was put to the people—Are the foreign workmen your brethren, yes or no? Yes! yes! Such was the moving answer of the people, and an agitation quite incompatible with the genius of France was immediately stifled.

He was followed by M. Pierre Leroux, M. Cabet, and several others.

It is no insignificant fact with respect to the progress of Association in this country, to find the subject earnestly taken up by the resident members and students of our universities. We hear that the Oxford Union Debating Society has devoted, lately, three of its weekly meetings to discuss the Associative principle and Christian Socialism. The question opened by the leader of the debate was, that Association is the best remedy for the industrial and social evils of the present time. The controversy was most animated, the audience numerous and attentive, and the two parties almost equal; the supporters of association taking their ground especially from the Christian socialist tracts, and from Mr. Kingsley's works; the opponents keeping the more easy field of merely negative political economy. Some gentlemen, and they were perhaps the more lucid and practical in their argument, took the *via media* advocated by the *Edinburgh Review*, namely, that although industrial partnerships between working men may not produce great results, the experiment is worth a fair trial, and should have it. A ridiculous rumour was circulated, that the Vice-chancellor would have forbidden the discussion, but nothing of the kind occurred; and it was for the best, for it is altogether wise and timely that questions having such a lively interest for the public mind, should be early and openly considered by young minds in their period of formation and expansion. It is only to be regretted that the student-advocates of Association knew little of the subject-matter but by hearsay, and so fell into the fallacy of setting up a subversive opposition between labour and capital, whereas, as we are constantly saying, the proper field lies between two modes of employing capital and labour—the competitive mode which now prevails, and the co-operative mode which is the new and higher form to which human society progressively aspires.

METROPOLITAN SANITARY ASSOCIATION.

THE second anniversary festival of this association was celebrated on the 4th inst., at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, under the presidency of the Earl of Harrowby. The noble Earl was supported by the Earl

of Shaftesbury, Viscount Ebrington, M.P., Lord James Stuart, M.P., the Hon. Dudley Fortescue, Sir W. C. Ross, Mr. Chadwick, Mr. F. O. Ward, Mr. Mechi, Mr. Brassey, and about sixty other gentlemen.

After the customary loyal toasts, the Chairman proposed "Prosperity to the Metropolitan Sanitary Association," in a speech full of point, good sense, and public spirit.

"It was, he said, a fact that, although much had been talked about, little had been done. The water supply, the drainage, and sewerage, were in nearly the same state as before. The stimulus given by the cholera had been speedily extinguished, and unless some new force was applied the same *vis inertiae* would still prevail. The influence of public opinion was transient, but that of vested interests was permanent. The influence of public opinion had in some measure counteracted the latter, and it was the duty as well as the interest of the press and the intelligent portion of the community—of the clerical and medical professions—of the army and navy—to come forward boldly in the matter of sanitary reform, and make it impossible for any interest to withstand them. He proceeded to show that it was a public and not a private matter, and he must say that this institution did good service, and he hoped it would do more still, by showing what ought to be and what might be effected. The association, he was afraid, would never be popular. In fact, it was not an agreeable duty that was required from them, to recapitulate a number of odious facts, which might be wholesome, but were certainly not pleasing. (Hear, hear.) He was afraid that the public would be tired of sanitary reform, and say that they were always repeating these odious details, which they thought had been settled long ago. It required great exertions to keep the matter before the public, and he hoped that the reaction from the provinces would give increased vitality to their operations in the metropolis. He also referred to the slight exertions of the majority of the metropolitan members in promoting the movement amongst their constituencies, and hoped that by next year the great powers possessed by the city of London would not be left inactive, but extended all over the metropolis. In conclusion, he called upon those gentlemen, to whose noble exertions in supporting the many charities for which this city was celebrated they were so much indebted, to unite in lending their assistance. For by this movement the necessity for these charities would be greatly diminished. (Hear, hear, hear.) The evils were rapidly increasing every year with the increase of population, instead of being lessened; and he drew a fearful picture of the evils resulting from the number of destitute widows and orphans haunting the metropolis. Space was becoming more valuable—rents were higher, and the condition of the great towns was bringing on a state of national deterioration. It might be seen in the countenance and physical condition of the urban population—and he instanced the increasing crowded state of Bethnal-green. Strong measures were required, and the Ministry only could deal with it. They themselves could not interfere with vested interests, and it was only by working upon public opinion and by their co-operation that they could effect any good at all."

Mr. Mechi proposed "The Sanitary Reformers of the House of Lords," and alluded to the great benefits which would result to agriculture from the application of the sewerage to the soil, and stated the results of his own experiments on the subject.

The Earl of Shaftesbury returned thanks, feelingly and earnestly deploring that "all efforts to elevate the lower orders were in vain so long as their present domiciliary and sanitary condition was left untouched."

Mr. Brassey then proposed, "The Sanitary Reformers of the House of Commons," to which Viscount Ebrington responded, rebutting the charges of monopoly and centralization brought against the sanitary party, and declaring that sanitary consolidation increased competition and responsibility, and strengthened, instead of subverting, local self-government.

Mr. Edwin Chadwick proposed "The Literary Supporters of Sanitary Reform," coupling with the toast the names of Mr. Charles Dickens, and Mr. F. O. Ward, whom he eulogised in connexion with the press of this country generally for the power and independence with which they had attacked the vested interests opposed to sanitary progress, and spread abroad, not only in Europe, but also in America, the great sanitary principles of the preventibility of disease, and of sanitary consolidation, which England has had the honour of first originating.

Mr. F. O. Ward, in the absence of Mr. Charles Dickens, whom he warmly eulogised as one of the staunchest friends of sanitary progress, responded on behalf of the press, and dwelt with great force on the fearful fact, that a rapid Degradation of Race is taking place in the low crowded town districts of England, by which not only the physical powers of the people are impaired, but their susceptibility of lofty aspirations and emotions, their love of virtue, and their capacity for freedom. He showed how, by the combined sanitary and agricultural movements, henceforth united in one grand organization, this great national calamity might be averted; and he appealed to every Englishman who desired to transmit his race and his blood as pure to his children as he had received it from his ancestors, to aid the sanitary party in putting a stop to those fearful evils of filth, and consequent crime, misery, and degeneration, which must else increase

upon us, and destroy at once the elevation of the British character, and the prosperity of the country.

The subscriptions announced during the evening amounted to between 400*l.* and 500*l.*

THE CAPE WAR.

News from Kafirland reached home by the *Hellespont*, which arrived at Plymouth on Sunday afternoon. General Cathcart has begun to act with great vigour; and Macomo, who had been driven from the Waterkloof by General Somerset, had returned to his old quarters as the troops retired. But the policy of General Cathcart is best described in an address which he issued on the 12th of April, from King William's Town.

"Chiefs, amapakati, and people who dwell between the rivers Kei and Keiskamma—

"Our great and good Queen Victoria has sent me, George Cathcart, to be your great chief and governor.

"I am come among you to do good to all those who are faithful and true to their word.

"Therefore, Pato, Siwani, Toise, Umkai, and all those chiefs and men of the T'Slambie tribes who have been faithful during this war—I am your good friend so long as you, your amapakati, and people, will allow me to be so. I will also be the friend of Umhala, provided that his future conduct be such as to acquire my good opinion.

"But as for Sandilli, and all the Gaika chiefs and people, also the T'Slambies Seyolo and Umfundisi, and their followers, they have rebelled against their Sovereign, Queen Victoria, and have suffered rebel Hottentots and others to join them in fighting against her soldiers.

"That is a great crime, and cannot be forgotten; therefore, though I wish for peace, and that all bloodshed should cease, Sandilli, and all those who have taken part in this wicked rebellion, must go beyond the Kei, and none of them will ever be suffered to return and live in peace in the country they occupied before the war.

"GEORGE CATHCART, Lieutenant-General,
"High Commissioner."

By general order from head-quarters, dated April 21, it appears that 500 Minié muskets are in hand. Six of them are to be given to each of the 62 companies of battalions under General Cathcart's command. They are to be given to the best marksmen, one of which, and one only, to be a non-commissioned officer; the present arms to be placed in store. No two marksmen are to stand as front and rear rank relatively to each other. The selected men at the word of command are to be ready to spring in front, but never to be made a substitute for an advanced guard. When the special service is over the marksmen are, at the sound of the bugle, to return to their respective places. Commanding officers are enjoined to be careful and scrupulous in the selection of marksmen for this important service, which will carry with it high honorary distinction, and entitle those selected to favourable consideration.

Colonel Michel had a brush with the enemy on the 17th of April, near Fort Cox. The enemy mustered very strong. One company of the 6th, and one of the Rifles were on the left flank, well covered by rocks. While the main body were moving to take a fresh position to the right front, the two companies became severely engaged, and for some time no advantage was gained by either side, until a sub-division of the 6th light company, making a desperate charge, drove the enemy with heavy loss from their position. Eight were killed by the bayonet, and one man, named Kelly, captured a musket ready capped and loaded by dashing out a Kafir's brains with the butt of his piece. During this time the Colonel ordered a company of Rifles into ambush, and to wait till he ordered them to rise. The column moved off, and when the Kafirs thought all was clear, they came on for the purpose of having a few partial shots; but, sad to state, upon their arrival within 100 yards of the company of Rifles, they received a volley, which drove them headlong down the cliffs, leaving some twenty killed, besides others wounded.

The gallows has been erected at King William's Town, and General Cathcart has resolved to hang two of the councillors of Stock and Seyolo who have been captured.

Sandilli, as soon as General Cathcart arrived, sent to Commissioner Brownlee to ask for peace, "as the land had been disturbed long enough." But the messenger was sent back to say that the Governor would take no notice of the Gaikas on this side of the Kei; when he and all his people were on the other side they might then negotiate, but not before.

A WHITECHAPEL ROMANCE.

MAHOMET ABRAHAM, a jet black beggar-man, who is usually led through the streets by a brown dog, and Eliza —, aged 23, the daughter of a gentleman who resides in London, were brought before the LORD MAYOR, by Henry Major, an officer of the Mendicity Society, on Saturday. Abraham is a very different looking fellow from the "blind beggar of Bethnal-green." His head is covered with long matted hair, and the rags which do duty for clothing are tattered and filthy in an extreme degree. The woman is small—

sized and pretty-faced, presenting a remarkable contrast to the strange being who accompanied and was cherished by her.

The mendicity officer said:—At twenty minutes past eleven o'clock I saw the two prisoners together in Bishopsgate-street. They had come from Halifax-street, where they live together; and the girl fastened a petition to the man's breast, and placed him and his dog near the Sir Paul Pitard public-house, in an attitude of supplication. As soon as she had deposited him to her satisfaction against the wall, she retired from him. I soon saw him receive a penny, and I apprehended them both.

The LORD MAYOR: Is it possible that those two persons have been living together?

The Mendicity Officer: I have traced them to their very bad, and have been particularly informed of their habits.

Captain Wood, of the Mendicity Society: The case is certainly the most extraordinary I have met with in all my experience, and discloses not only a singular instance of perverted taste, but other peculiarities calculated to excite surprise, and illustrate the begging system. Perhaps the most explicit way of informing your Lordship of the circumstances of the case is by reading a letter which I received from the young woman's father, who is present in the justice-room:—

"TO THE SECRETARY OF THE MENDICITY SOCIETY, RED LION-SQUARE.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to submit the following distressing case to your sympathies, and to solicit from you the advice and assistance which I am led to understand are kindly afforded by your society in extraordinary cases out of the pale of parental authority. By birth and education a gentleman, I married in the year 1829 a lady in the same sphere of society, by whom I had issue two daughters, the eldest of whom (the unfortunate subject of this application), now 23 years of age, was, from the age of three months, brought up and educated in the first style by her maternal grandfather and grandmother. At their decease, about seven or eight years since, she became an unwilling inmate of her parents' dwelling, from which she contrived to get away with a married man, and was not heard of (having eluded the efforts of the police to trace her for many months) until the receipt of a letter in the *Times* newspaper, from Mr. D'Arcy, our solicitor, at Newton Abbott, in Devonshire, in which paper a detailed and humane account of the distressing condition of a young lady then lying at St. Luke's Workhouse appeared under the assumed name of Elizabeth Allen. This account, as regarded my daughter, abounded with the most atrocious falsehoods, as detailed by herself to the Board of Guardians of St. Luke's. My wife (having a cousin of the name, to whom the solicitor suggested it might apply) went to St. Luke's, and found our daughter to be the person whose case had been detailed in the *Times*, and on her being brought before them and her mother, was there and then convicted of deliberate falsehood and fraud, and handed over to her mother. Exortions were then successfully made to get her cured of a complication of loathsome disorders at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, whence, after being brought to a state of convalescence, and robbing some of the nurses of small sums of money, she escaped, and again was lost sight of for many months, when a gentleman, a friend of the family, saw her and gave her into custody of the police, who restored her once more to her afflicted parents. Her conduct from this period was infamous in the extreme, and, on her coming of age, she threw off all restraint, and having a small house property in Devonshire, subject to her parents' interest, but which was waived in her favour, she left us, nor did we know of her whereabouts until, about ten months since, I met her in the streets of Whitechapel, in the last stage of destitution, filth, and rage, singing ballads. My humanity once again led me to speak with her, and to remonstrate, the result of which was that we took her home, cleansed, clothed, and cared for her. This lasted but a short time, and her recurrence to her former habits again precluded all knowledge respecting her until, a few days since, we received a letter from our solicitor, saying that he had heard from our daughter, as the wife of a Mr. Abraham, desiring the sale of her property, and requesting him to take the necessary steps,—one of these, and the preliminary step, being our signatures and consent.

"My first impulse was to visit the locality specified in the solicitor's letter, '7, Little Halifax-street, Whitechapel,' and there, in one miserable room, cohabiting with a black blind beggar who perambulates the streets with a brown dog, this wretched girl is to be found. The parties who live in the same house say that she has been cohabiting with this monstrous, loathsome being for two months, and that they live most luxuriously. Her mother, who has had an interview with her, states that she boasts of this man's bringing her home from the West-end frequently 15s. per day, and on an average 7s. or 8s. per diem. She stated herself to have been married to him seven months since at Whitechapel church, which, on careful inquiry, I find to be false, having examined the church books and seen the officials on the subject. These latter circumstances induce me to think that the humanity and exertions of your society may be made available for the suppression of so much vice and the salvation of this unfortunate child."

The LORD MAYOR: Certainly this is the most horrible piece of London romance I ever heard of, and it would be quite incredible if I had not here before me all the persons concerned. Is it possible, young woman, that you can have any respect or affection for the miserable creature at your side?

Eliza —: Yes, I have both respect and affection for him. I have no idea of leaving him. We can do very well together (and she pressed the hand of her singular companion).

The Mendicity Officer: The man has been begging about for several years, and I have no doubt is well able to keep a woman in great luxury. I am convinced that the girl has been attracted by the excellent living with which he indulges her. They have been in the habit of getting the best, and she does not deny it.

Eliza —: Well, I can't go home, and I won't go home.

The black said he had been dog-led through the streets of London for eight years; that there could be no mistake about his blindness, and if any one knew how a blind man was to support himself, except upon the kindness of those who were not blind, he would be much obliged to be informed in what way.

The Lord Mayor then communicated privately with the father of the girl, and both prisoners were remanded.

This interesting couple were brought up for further examination on Wednesday. On this occasion Mahomet Abraham had paid a little more attention to his personal appearance. From the evidence of police-officers it appeared that the girl used to follow him at a little distance when he was on his begging excursions, and to lead him over the crossings. Mahomet stated that he had been a sailor, and had come from Calcutta. He had entirely lost the sight of one eye by a cold, and the other was so far injured as to be useless. He first met with Eliza on the occasion of his inquiring of those passing by, "Where he could get any dogs' meat?" Eliza heard his inquiry, and took him to a shop. He asked her to go home to tea with him, which she did, and has remained with him ever since.

Mr. Coleman, of the office of Registrar-General of Seamen, stated that by the 7th and 8th Vic. c. 12, Mahomet could be sent back to India as a Malay by the Lords of the Admiralty. Mahomet seemed to dislike this proceeding, but the Alderman said he should remand him for a week in order to make arrangements for carrying out this plan.

Eliza was then placed at the bar, and confirmed the statement of Abraham. She gave as the motive for leaving home, that she could not bear to be confined to her own room, the treatment to which she was subjected at home, "because she said something which was not considered proper in the presence of children." She admitted that she had known a married gentleman, but that as soon as she ascertained that he was married she dropped his acquaintance. Alderman Hooper stated that he had understood that her relations and friends were still willing to act for her benefit, which they thought would be best promoted by her going abroad. She expressed her willingness to go as soon as possible. The Alderman said he would communicate with her friends, and that he thought preparations would soon be made for her departure.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Jenny Lind, now Madame Otto Goldschmidt, arrived at Liverpool in the *Atlantic* steamer on Wednesday.

Mr. W. M. Thackeray arrived at Antwerp on Monday, by the London steamer *Baron Ozy*.

Mr. Macdougall has been elected to the Edinburgh Chair of Moral Philosophy by a majority of 20 to 13, against Mr. Ferrier, the other candidate.

The Right Honourable David Boyle, lately Lord Justice General and President of the Court of Session, who was offered the title of a baronet, on his retiring from office, has declined that dignity.

The avenue of trees leading to the Farm of Hougemont has been cut down: and the timber purchased by Messrs. Jones, the English coachmakers, at Brussels. A subscription is to be opened for the purpose of having an elegant carriage built, in Brussels, of this Hougemont wood, to be presented to the "Duke."

Lieut.-General Sir George H. F. Berkeley, K.C.B., one of the most distinguished officers in the British army, has been appointed Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, in the room of Major-General C. R. Fox. Sir George Berkeley left town on Wednesday night, by mail train, to contest the borough of Devonport on behalf of the Government.—*Morning Herald*.

An attempt is again being made to complete the approaches to the Thames Tunnel. It has been ascertained that a great traffic exists between the places connected by the tunnel. This measure will at the same time greatly relieve London-bridge, and in many cases save a distance of several miles.

The case of Sir Charles Napier and the East India Company, the facts of which were briefly given in last week's *Leader*, came on for judgment on Saturday last, in the Court of Queen's Bench. Lord Campbell, in giving judgment, after referring to the various statutes that bear upon the question, decided, that the Company were under no legal obligation to pay the money claimed by Sir Charles Napier, and that consequently the Court could not interfere. The rule was refused.

The annual meeting of the National Society was held, on Thursday, in the Central School Rooms, at the Sanctuary, Westminster. The upshot of the meeting was, that

the High Church party carried their candidates for the committee by large majorities; and that the famous resolutions regarding the management clause were withdrawn. In fact, Lord Derby has agreed propose some modifications of these clauses, and to inquire into the alleged systematic suppression of the catechism in church schools.

The Protestant Alliance held its annual meeting in the Freemasons' Tavern, on Saturday. It was the first anniversary. Lord Shaftesbury presided; Mr. Bevan moved the first resolution, the Earl of Roden seconded it; another resolution was spoken to by the Honourable and Reverend Baptist Noel; Sir Culling Eardley was also a speaker, and Rear-Admiral Harcourt proposed the vote of thanks to the chairman. From the enumeration of these names the reader will understand that the speeches were very Protestant, and the feeling insolently anti-Catholic.

Ascot Races is, after the Derby, one of our greatest national festivals. Royalty makes a point of always attending the course on the "Cup day." The races came off this week amid showers of rain. Nevertheless, the Queen went to the Heath on Tuesday and Thursday; and the titled crowd who frequent race-courses were present in good numbers. This year the Cup, on Tuesday, was won by the Marinella colt, and the Vase of the Czar by Joe Miller. The rain spoilt the running, and beat the best horses.

The Rev. H. Mackenzie, vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-fields, met a number of his parishioners on Wednesday evening, to inaugurate a library and reading-room for their use in the building of the Northern Schools, Castle-street. He was supported by the Earl of Harrowby, Viscount Ingestre, Sir Walter James, Bart., Rev. T. Jackson (Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral), Dr. Jelf, Dr. Wainwright, Rev. Professor Maurice, Capt. Townshend, M.P., and several other clergymen. He announced a valuable contribution of books from Prince Albert, a donation of 5l. from the Bishop of London, and read also letters expressing sympathy and countenance from the Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Goderich, Lord J. Manners, Sir W. P. Wood, and other gentlemen.

The exhibition of the works of the students of the several schools of ornamental art recently opened at the Department of Practical Art at Marlborough-house, has been closed to the public, having been visited by several thousands of persons. The works will be forthwith returned to the local schools, in many of which, as at Cork, Birmingham, &c., they are wanted for exhibition. In order to complete the cases for the Museum of Ornamental Manufactures, and prepare the rooms for study and drawing, the Museum is closed until further notice. The course of Mr. Owen Jones's Lectures on true and false principles of design, however, is not interrupted by these arrangements.

The Senate of the United States has at length passed the bill granting Collins's line of steamers 33,000 dollars for each voyage.

Casolani, the contra-basso, died at New York, after much suffering, on the 20th ult., of consumption. Signor Casolani was a native of Bologna, and had played in the principal orchestras in Italy, in North America, the Havannah, &c.; he was recently in the orchestra of her Majesty's Theatre, and afterwards, at the opening, of the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden. He was a great favourite of the celebrated Dragonetti, who called him "his child," and bequeathed him his second best double-bass, the first being restored to the convent of St. Mark's, Venice, whence Dragonetti had it. "His death was long expected," says a New York paper, "as consumption had been at work for years past upon his once hardy frame. He was about 45 years old when he died, and his loss will be felt and regretted by thousands of friends and brother artists on both sides of the Atlantic. May he rest in peace, as he was kind and gentle on earth."

An attempt was made last week to burn a steam-ship building establishment at Cork.

A party of four young men were on the river, at Chelsea, in a small boat, on Sunday afternoon. In playing and splashing each other with the oars, they capsized the boat, and two of them were drowned.

A lady of Laverstock, named Mrs. Targett, has recently committed suicide in a fit of insanity, the latter being caused, as it is supposed, by her two children by a former husband being taken from her.

A tremendous fire on Thursday destroyed two large warehouse floors in the great printing establishment of Messrs. Clowes, Stamford Street, Blackfriars Road. The rooms contained many tons of paper, and the sheets of several books. The property, fortunately, was insured.

A young man, who had been concerned in a robbery, pursued by a police-officer on Saturday afternoon, took refuge in the Stock Exchange, to which he obtained admission under some pretence. The policeman, who was in private clothes, was refused admittance by the beadle, and was referred to the Secretary; and when at length he obtained an entrance, the man he was in search of had, of course, taken flight.

A fire broke out on Wednesday morning between two and three o'clock in a long range of premises between Bennett-street and Stamford-street, Blackfriars-road. In a short time the flames had extended so far that the whole neighbourhood was lighted up. Several engines quickly arriving, the fire was brought under in about an hour. The damage done is found to be very great.

A gentleman, some days ago, accidentally left a dressing-case in one of the carriages of the Shrewsbury and Birmingham Railway. James Pearce, an engine-driver, and Richard Pugh, a stoker, happening to alight upon the article, converted it to their own use, and divided between them the contents, including jewellery of the value of 20l. or 30l. The criminals were detected through the pawing of some of the articles, and have been committed for trial.

It is said that the shock of an earthquake was distinctly felt in Swansea last Tuesday week, about half-past seven in the morning. The effect was sufficient to bring some persons out of their beds to see what was going on. The bells in one place were set ringing, and the windows shook violently. The shock seems to have extended over a line of 26 miles.

The workmen engaged in repairing a house in Glasgow had been in the practice of jumping through the front windows, finding this more convenient than the ordinary entrance. This habit was so strong upon one of the men that he bounded through after the window had been glazed, clearing away about 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ worth of plate-glass.

Two officers of the Royal First Devon Yeomanry Cavalry, quartered in the town of Teignmouth, who had quarrelled over the bottle, determined upon deciding the matter "honourably." Their seconds, however, provided that the pistols should be harmless, and to improve the joke, explained the state of things to one of the combatants, arranging that he should fall as if mortally wounded, while the other should be hurried away to France. The affair accordingly came off a few days ago, at three o'clock in the morning, but, unfortunately, as the unhappy man was about to fly the consequences of his supposed crime, the preventive officers appeared, drawn by the reports, and disarranged the plot.

It appears from a Parliamentary paper that the expenses incurred in the removal of the marble arch, and in the recent alterations of the grounds of St. James's Palace, and the buildings connected with it, as well as those of Buckingham Palace, amount to 11,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ l., which has been already voted, with an addition of 2283 $\frac{1}{2}$ l., not comprised in the estimate submitted to Parliament.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

A THOUSAND deaths were registered in the Metropolis in the week that ended last Saturday, showing an important increase on the previous week, in which the number was only 883. In connexion with this result it will be remarked that the mean weekly temperature fell from 52.7° and 55.6° in the second and third week of May to 50.8° in the fourth, whilst last week it was 52.5°, having been during the last fortnight about 6 degrees below the average, to which atmospheric change the increase of mortality is probably to be attributed. In the four weeks now mentioned the rain that fell amounted to 2.21 in., though in the previous twelve weeks the entire amount was less than one inch.

In the ten weeks corresponding to last week in the years 1842-51 the average number of deaths was 877, which, if raised in proportion to the increase of population, becomes 965; the present number, therefore, exhibits an excess of 35 above the estimated amount.

In the present Return the number of cases in which small-pox was fatal amounts to 40; those of 32 children, and 8 persons of fifteen years of age and upwards. Five of the sufferers are reported to have been previously vaccinated: their ages were 6 months, and 5, 15, 16, and 35 years.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 3rd inst., in Grosvenor-street, Lady Edward Fitzalan Howard: a son.

On the 4th inst., at Malahide Castle, Lady Talbot de Malahide: a son.

On the 5th inst., at Halswell House, the seat of Colonel Kemeys Tynte, the wife of Captain Kemeys Tynte: a son and heir.

On the 6th inst., at Wilestead Vicarage, Beds, the wife of the Rev. Frederick C. G. Passy: a son.

On the 8th inst., at 70, Chester-square, the wife of Charles McCulloch, Esq.: a daughter.

On the 8th inst., at Weybridge, Mrs. W. H. Martineau: a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

On Wednesday, the 19th ult., at Boston, U. S., the Hon. Edward T. B. Twisleton, to Miss Ellen Dwight, daughter of the late Hon. Edmund Dwight, of the State of Massachusetts.

On the 4th inst., at 28, Drummond-place, Edinburgh, James Tait, second son of Adam Black, Esq., to Charlotte, third daughter of Maurice Lothian, Esq., Procurator Fiscal for the county of Edinburgh.

On the 5th inst., at Walcot Church, Bath, Thomas Kitchingman Staveley, Esq., of Old Blenheim and Stainley Halls, Yorkshire, to Ann Elizabeth, only daughter of the late Michael Andrew Burmester, Esq., M.B., Surgeon to the Forces.

On the 5th inst., at St. Nicholas's, Brighton, George Leslie, Esq., H.M.'s 77th Regiment, elder son of Major-General Leslie, K.H., to Elizabeth, daughter of the late William Beebe, of Grove House, Ham, Esq.

On the 7th inst., at St. George's, Hanover-square, George Owston Newton, Esq., of Croxton Park, Cambridgeshire, to Mary, eldest daughter of Wyndham Berkeley Portman, Esq., of Hare Park, in the same county.

On the 8th inst., at Rath, William John Sands, Esq., eldest son of Warren Hastings Sands, Esq., of the Royal-circus, Edinburgh, to Augusta Sophia, second daughter of Major-General Wemyss, C.B., of Green Park, Bath.

DEATHS.

On the 19th of September last, whilst bathing at Bhoj, India, in the 22nd year of his age, Edward Tracy, of the Bombay Artillery, eldest son of the late Martin Tracy, Esq., of Stoke Newington, great grandson of the Hon. Robert Tracy, deeply lamented by his family and friends.

On the 31st of March, at Barbadoes, in her 84th year, Kotah Shephard, wife of William Murray, Esq., late of H.M.'s Civil Service, granddaughter of the Right Hon. James Bruce, of Gartlet, county of Clackmannan, N.B., and grand-niece of David Bruce, Esq., of Kennet, in the same county, an estate possessed by the family since the time of King Robert Bruce.

Sierra Leone, on the 15th of April, Captain John Julius Pennell, commanding Her Majesty's brig Crane, second son of the late Colonel MacDonnell, and grandson of the late Sir John Johnson, Bart.

On the 2nd inst., at the house of his mother, 32, Burton-street, Eaton-square, Henry Hay Darling, aged 21, youngest son of Major-General Henry Charles Darling, Lieut.-Governor of the Cape.

At Foyle Park, county of Londonderry, in the 45th year of his age, Alexander, Esq., D.L. and J.P. for the county, and deservedly regretted.

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

Postscript.

SATURDAY, June 5.

THE morning sitting of the House of Commons yesterday was occupied in voting supplies.

At the evening sitting, on the order of the day for going into committee upon the New Zealand Government Bill, Sir J. PAKINGTON explained certain changes which he proposed to make in the bill. Since the second reading, he observed, he had received suggestions, intrinsically valuable, from several quarters entitled to the greatest weight. These suggestions he examined in detail, arriving at the conclusion that he preferred the bill as it stood to either of the alternatives they offered; but, having had an opportunity, he added, of consulting parties connected with the different provincial localities in New Zealand, as well as others interested in the colony, he had taken their opinions, and was able to say that they unanimously desired that the bill should be proceeded with as it stood rather than that either of the alternatives should be adopted. Anxious, however, to meet the suggestions he had referred to as far as he could, he had determined, with the consent of the parties he had consulted, to make an important alteration, namely, that instead of the superintendents of the provinces being nominated by the Governor, they should be elected. He proposed likewise to leave to the different localities the question of salaries. Sir JOHN further explained his final opinions respecting the New Zealand Company, namely, that, instead of 5s. per acre, the company should receive one-fourth of the purchase-money on sales of waste lands; his object being, he said, to secure to that company whatever it was entitled to under the act of 1847. With respect to the disposal of lands in the colony, he intended to place at the disposal of the local Legislature all revenues derivable from any mineral discoveries.

After an irrelevant discussion, the House went into committee. Sir W. MOLESWORTH moved the omission of the second and all the succeeding clauses before the 32d, referring to the provincial councils, substituting a clause empowering the General Assembly to incorporate the inhabitants of any district, and to establish therein a council for its local government, with power to make orders and by-laws for any matters specially submitted to the direction and control of the council by any law of the General Assembly. This amendment was opposed by Sir J. PAKINGTON, and negatived.

In going through the clauses, the following alterations were made:—In clause 22, the quorum of the provincial councils was reduced from half to one-fourth; in the 29th clause, the period for disallowing bills was reduced from two years to three months; in clause 33, the words limiting the number of the members of the Legislative Council were omitted.

In considering the last-mentioned clause, the question whether the members of the Upper Chamber should be nominated or elected, underwent much discussion, the elective principle being advocated by Sir W. MOLESWORTH, Mr. F. PEEL, Mr. ADDERLEY, and other members; and opposed by Sir J. PAKINGTON, Mr. WALPOLE, and Lord J. MANNERS. The committee divided upon the clause, which was carried by 132 against 89. In point of fact, there was a very strong feeling in favour of an elective Upper Chamber, but many of the dissentients gave way, because they were anxious the bill should pass; and others, on account of the declaration of Sir John Pakington, that he would not accept any alteration in this particular.

On arriving at the 74th clause, the CHAIRMAN reported progress, and had leave to sit again on Thursday.

In reply to a question put by Lord D. Stuart, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said the Government had placed upon the table all the papers relating to the case of Mr. Mather, and among them a despatch specifying "the ulterior measures" which they were disposed to take.

Several bills were forwarded a stage, and the House adjourned at two o'clock until Monday.

Mr. WYLD last night asked if orders had been given from the Home-office to disperse, by large bodies of police assemblages of people in Bonner's-fields, met for the purposes of peaceful lecture and discussion? (Cheers.)

Mr. WALPOLE said, he had answered the question already, but he would repeat his reply for the information of the hon. member. Information had been received at the Home-office in reference to certain meetings in Bonner's-fields, where people lectured on blasphemous, obscene, and immoral subjects, to the great annoyance of the respectable inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and the police thought it right to stop these meetings or assemblages, as they had been stopped in St. James's Park, Hyde Park, and the Green Park, to the great advantage of the public morality. (Cheers.)

ELECTION MATTERS.

CITY.—Last night a meeting was held in the ward of Bishopsgate, to protest against the late London Tavern meeting respecting the candidates for the City, and a resolution came to, vaguely expressing the sense entertained by the meeting of the elective franchise, and their resolve to exercise it in a manner to secure a real representation in the great council of the nation, and exhibit the wishes and will of the city of London. An attempt was made to get a declaration of opinion in favour of Lord John Russell, but it signally failed.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.—It is reported in Oxford that it has been found necessary to withdraw Mr. Colquhoun, in consequence of the general disfavour with which his name has been received, and that it is intended to put forward Dr. Bullock Marsham, warden of Merton College, in his stead. This is very honourable to the University, certainly! Dr. Bullock Marsham is the man who, in 1843, made the famous speech at Buckingham, in which he said "five millions of Irishmen rejoiced in potatoes."

SCARBOROUGH.—Mr. George Frederick Young has issued a long address to the electors of this borough, in which he declares himself still a thorough Protectionist, and says—"I repeat, therefore, my earnest recommendations to every Protectionist to support Lord Derby, as the only possible means of regaining Protection in any form."

LINCOLNSHIRE (NORTH).—Mr. Christopher, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Sir M. Cholmeley, the present members for this division of the county of Lincolnshire, addressed a large gathering of the electors on Wednesday afternoon in the Mart-Yard, Gainsborough. Mr. Christopher spoke on two points chiefly—Protection and the Maynooth grant. With reference to the former, he threw the whole responsibility of the course which the Government might pursue on the verdict of the country at the ensuing elections. As to the latter, he expressed himself strongly in favour of a searching inquiry, and said he was prepared to sanction either a reversal of the grant, or that the college should be subjected to an inspection which should render it no longer dangerous to the privileges of the Sovereign.

Sir M. Cholmeley addressed the meeting after Mr. Christopher, and having characterised the opposition got up against him in the person of Mr. Stanhope as "most trifling," proceeded to say that when Lord Derby nailed his colours to the mast he did think his Lordship would have stood or fallen by protection to agriculture—that that course would have been his pride and his policy, and in that policy Lord Derby should have had his support. (Cheers.)

"But now Lord Derby had got into office he found all things changed—all things altered; and after numerous charges and explanations of what one hon. and right hon. gentleman had said in one House and another House—after explanations to explain away explanations, he was literally so mystified that he did not know what conclusion to come to with respect to the policy and intentions of the Government. (Cheers and laughter.) He viewed with dismay the declaration of the Premier, made some days since in the House of Lords. During the time that he had represented them in Parliament he had voted against the late Administration on the vital question affecting the interest of agriculture. He would ask, was it likely that he should submit to becoming the servile supporter of a Cabinet who did not know or would not explain their own measures? No, he would maintain his right to vote for such measures as were good and against such measures as he considered wrong, whatever Ministry was in power. (Cheering.) He had already told them that they could not get pure agricultural protection, and he would tell them the same again. He had no hopes that it would ever be proposed by the Derby Administration. He had no hopes it would be obtained, although he would still vote for it, but he would support the Earl of Derby in any measure for the relief of agricultural distress.

A very numerous gathering of the freeholders of the Isle of Axholme took place at Epworth, on Thursday afternoon, on which occasion the three candidates met by appointment for the purpose of explaining their sentiments to the electors. Although all three candidates profess to be Protectionists and opposed to the grant to Maynooth, party feeling runs as high among their respective adherents as if they were divided by much wider differences of opinion. It is alleged against Sir M. Cholmeley that he is the nominee of a free trade peer, the Earl of Yarborough, and that he almost invariably supported the late Free Trade Administration, for which reasons it is sought to displace him by a candidate in whom greater confidence can be placed. On arriving at Epworth on Thursday afternoon, the respective parties took up their positions on and around the hustings erected in the Market-place, and Sir Robert Sheffield was about to open the proceedings by a few words in favour of Messrs. Christopher and Stanhope, when loud and repeated calls were made from the Cholmeley side of the hustings that the horses on which two or three hundred of the other party were mounted should be taken away. This not being

complied with, a rush was made upon the latter by the blue (Cholmeley) party, with a view to drive the horses back. This was resisted, and the horsemen charged the ranks of the blues with great vigour, laying about right and left with their heavy riding whips and sticks. A general fight was the consequence, in which the horsemen, after being driven back two or three times, rallied in a body, and drove their assailants up Church-street, towards Sir W. Cholmeley's committee-room. After awhile, however, something like order was restored, and Sir R. Sheffield again essayed to address the assemblage. The blues, exasperated at being ridden down, demanded more vehemently than before that the horses should be removed, and declared that not one word should be heard until they were taken away. Mr. Christopher then presented himself, but he also was unable to obtain a hearing. The band of the blues struck up "Oh dear, what can the matter be?" and a party of men, armed with formidable bludgeons, made another attack upon the horsemen. Rotten eggs and stones were also showered at them, and a regular hand-to-hand fight commenced. The blue flags were torn down, and the poles converted into staves. The horses and their riders received some terrible blows, and many were struck with stones. The front of the hustings was demolished, and those upon it had to beat a hasty retreat to escape the dangerous missiles which were flung in all directions. The windows of the Red Lion (Mr. Christopher's committee-room) were smashed, and for about a quarter of an hour the greatest uproar and violence prevailed. After repeated attempts to drive back the blue mob, without any marked success, the horsemen at last made a general charge, which had the effect of completely dispersing them, and soon afterwards the pinks returned to the market-place completely masters of the field. Mr. Christopher and his friends then re-appeared on the platform amid the most vociferous cheering from their supporters. Many parties were injured in this disgraceful *mêlée*—one old man, Mr. John Maw, of Epworth, was carried home senseless; and another, Mr. Hutton, of the Levels, was removed in a similar state. In the course of the afternoon we observed many patched heads, and several of the horses were badly hurt.

Mr. Henley, M.P., presided over a meeting held yesterday at the Mechanic's Institute, Great Smith-street, Westminster, for the purpose of inaugurating an elemental drawing school in connexion with the Government Schools of Design.

Sir William Page Wood, M.P., congratulated the meeting on the appearance of the President of the Board of Trade as chairman.

Mr. Henley said he had much pleasure in giving his cordial co-operation in establishing this connexion between the Westminster Institution and the Metropolitan Schools of Design. It would be felt by all that it was a matter of the greatest importance that all who had a turn or taste for drawing should receive an elementary instruction in the art, based upon sound and correct principles; and such an arrangement as that just made with the Government schools was the best possible means of securing this end. He would call upon Mr. Cole, general superintendent of the central school, to explain the principles on which that connexion had been founded.

Mr. Cole then addressed the meeting at considerable length. He said the Central School of Design, at Somerset House, had been instituted in 1837, and its establishment was speedily followed by that of twenty-one other schools located in all other parts of the kingdom. It was at first assumed that there existed students already qualified by sufficient elementary knowledge to enter these institutions, but the experience of fourteen years had shown that that assumption was unfounded. It had been found that the students had to be trained, not merely to be able to understand and practise the principles of design, but often to learn the very elements of drawing, so that, instead of affording instruction in the higher departments of art, the schools became, what they had been officially and truly reported to be, "mere drawing-schools." It was this feeling that had induced the Government now openly to recognise for the first time the want of elementary instruction in art for all classes, and the present meeting might be viewed as the beginning of a systematic effort on the part of the Government to supply that acknowledged deficiency.

Other gentlemen spoke, and resolutions were agreed to approving of the object of the meeting.

Dr. Cullen has received the Pope's brief appointing him Roman-catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

General Changarnier has given an authoritative contradiction to the statement that he ever proposed an invasion of England to the French Government.

Her Majesty gave a private concert at Buckingham Palace on Tuesday evening. Among the performers was M. Prudent, who obtained an encore in the famous "Reveil des Fées."

Mr. James Goulston, of the Old Kent-road, ascended in a balloon, on Wednesday, from the Belle Vue Gardens, Manchester. He descended on the Stone Break Hills, but owing to some accident the grapnels would not catch; the balloon continued its course, and Mr. Goulston fell over into the netting. He was dragged over three fields, his head striking against the stone walls as he passed along. Ultimately some men came to his rescue, but he was found dead.

The Leader

SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 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.

MALMESBURY AND MATHER—CASS AND INNES.

GOVERNMENT has actually published the official correspondence between Mr. Mather and Lord Malmesbury; though under what impulse we cannot conjecture. We know not whether Lord Malmesbury's colleagues give him up to public contempt, or whether he himself is unconscious of what he is doing in letting any person see at one view what he has written. We will, however, scarcely venture to characterize this remarkable set of epistles: the only safe, and indeed the only adequate description of it, will be the plainest recital of its chief points.

The narration may begin with a minute by Mr. Mather. He had an interview with Lord Malmesbury at the Foreign Office, on the 4th of March, and was there and then invited to state what he deemed redress and reparation for the outrage upon his son at Florence. Mr. Mather respectfully submitted that some marked punishment should be inflicted on the offender; and he left it to Lord Malmesbury, who is supposed officially to represent British honour, to decide what that should be. But Lord Malmesbury looked at the matter from a different point of view: he thought "personal reparation" should be obtained; meaning thereby the imposition of a fine on the Tuscan Government; and moved by the "views and wishes," obedient to the "official commands" of Lord Malmesbury,—who represents British honour, you will remember,—Mr. Mather, with the "utmost pain," deviates from the course he had hitherto invariably pursued, of refusing to mix the personal with the national question, and names 5000*l.* as a reparation. So ended the interview.

Lord Malmesbury then writes a note to be presented by Mr. Scarlett to the Tuscan Government, in which he does not scruple to say—"The father of Mr. Mather (who is a minor) is himself inclined to consider that the injury done to his son may be atoned for by a pecuniary payment on the part of the Tuscan Government;" and that he [Mr. Mather] "would be satisfied if a sum of 5000*l.* was paid to his son." But this representation of Mr. Mather's views is followed up by an obliging suggestion: "Her Majesty's Government, however, consider that sum *greater* than they ought to demand of the Tuscan Government to pay."* In a subsequent despatch, urging "reparation" from the Tuscan Government, Lord Malmesbury takes pleasure in repeating his opinion that Mr. Mather's claim is "exorbitant."

The course of correspondence now digresses to Vienna, and we are introduced to Prince Schwarzenberg and Lord Malmesbury, reciprocating compliments, and assuring each other that they do not believe the outrage arose out of any feelings of "national animosity," or of "hatred towards England." The Prince expresses a haughty regret, and imputes the assault to a "fortuitous concourse" of atoms. The Earl accepts the regret, and the most friendly feeling emerges from the momentary official cloud.

Meanwhile Mr. Scarlett had fallen ill; and on the 9th of May, Mr. Barron, in his name, informed the Earl of Malmesbury that Mr. Scarlett had terminated the dispute by accepting 1000 francsconi (about 22*l.* 4*s.*) as an indemnity for Mr. Mather; coupling with it the release of the two Stratfords, who had been imprisoned for political accusations. And these magnificent

* It will be observed from the correspondence, that on neither side is there any dispute as to the outrage—even Radetzki himself admitting it, by placing the primary offender, not the brutal assassin, under arrest.

concessions were all that "could possibly be obtained by negotiation."

Information of these flagrant proceedings reached Lord Malmesbury on the 17th of May, and four days after he wrote a despatch to Sir Henry Bulwer finding fault with Mr. Scarlett for mixing up the Mather and Stratford cases; which, as he very properly says, had no connexion. But although he disapproved, he would not "of course" refuse to recognise the proceedings.

On the day after he had penned this despatch came letters from Florence, and Lord Malmesbury then learned that Mr. Scarlett had abandoned the question of principle entirely, and had accepted the money compensation on account of "the importance of cultivating (he might say restoring) friendly relations with this (the Tuscan) Government, and in order to avoid the appearance of driving a hard bargain."

"The appearance of a hard bargain!" Why, how had Mr. Scarlett put the demand for reparation? He had expressly waived the discussion of principle, and had submitted the claim to the "gracious consideration" of Duke Leopold; hoping that through the "known liberality" of the Grand Duke, the claim might meet at once with a favourable issue! The bargain is negotiated in private notes between the "Dear Duke" and "Dear Scarlett;" and then publicly listening, in the condescending spirit evoked by the British Minister, the dear Duke announces that the Grand Duke "influenced by a sentiment of generosity which is not to be appealed to as a precedent in similar cases," accords—what? that very boon of 1000 francsconi as "an act of generosity" which he insultingly hopes will draw more closely the bonds uniting England and—Tuscany!

Meanwhile, the negotiation gets wind; Mr. Mather, the father, is indignant, and, on the 29th of May, Lord Malmesbury writes two despatches, as if to re-establish a better position for himself. One is addressed to Sir Henry Bulwer, explaining, in a strange and minute way, the ins and outs of his own private correspondence with Mr. Mather, in order to show that his letter to Mr. Mather was not written on the 24th, though so dated, but on the 22nd; and that when he wrote, though the requisite despatches from Florence arrived on the 22nd, he was not aware "of the objectionable concession of principle made by Mr. Scarlett, and for the first time reported in those despatches." In the other despatch of May 29, also addressed to Sir Henry, Lord Malmesbury announces, "with great regret," that he has "found it necessary to disavow Mr. Scarlett's proceedings."

So the question is all thrown open again; but remember, British public, the affair is still in the hands of Lord Malmesbury.

While Mr. Mather is vainly appealing for redress to national honour, which has been so lamentably left in the hands of such an agent as Mr. Scarlett, and such a minister as Lord Malmesbury,—while foreign countries are learning that English subjects are but a more expensive kind of game, about which, however, the gamekeepers for the time being are too polite to enforce the fines, save in rare instances,—Americans are feeling that there is still that true protection under the star-spangled banner which was once found under the British flag. While English subjects are left to feel their unprotected state in Florence, Rome, Hungary, and Spain,—are left to feel that the official class of London have far more community of sentiment with officials in Vienna than with free-born uncontaminated Englishmen,—the American is beginning to taste the sweets of conscious national power and independence, once the luxury of the Englishman, as it was in old time of the Roman. But England, like Rome, has been; and we have not even an Emilius to put his sword into the scale. England is drifting into the imperfect tense; the present is for America. In the American instance, too, a plain recital will best fetch out the contrast in the remarkable parallel which we trace; parallel save in the real provocation given by the aggrieved man, in the comparative slightness of the grievance, and in the result.

In Rome, Mr. Innes, an American artist, refused,—erroneously, we think,—to lift his hat to the Pope, and he was assaulted by a French officer, and imprisoned. The American Minister, Mr. Cass, demanded his release, and was referred to the French authorities. Mr. Cass said that he knew nothing of the French, but held the Roman authorities responsible. Mr. Innes was trans-

ferred from French to Roman custody, and released. Mr. Cass next challenged the French officer; but there could be no duel, because the French officer had already been placed under arrest.

Now, why did that American Minister succeed where the British Minister failed so long, and then attained a success more ignominious than failure itself? Because, as Kossuth said, the American called out "stop," with the intention of enforcing his demand if it were not heeded; but it was heeded.

There is yet another contrast. A Dr. King has fallen into trouble with the Greek Government at Athens, and has been sentenced to imprisonment and banishment. The Government of the United States "has taken effectual measures to have the facts in relation to the treatment of Dr. King inquired into;" and the Greek Government is receding before the attitude of America: the imprisonment has been converted into a brief matter of form,—a friendly visit to the chief of the police, without seclusion; and the banishment will probably be pretermitted. But that does not satisfy American honour: the *Cumberland* frigate is ordered into the Mediterranean, and is on the way thither.

Will the great American Republic lose, even commercially, by these spirited vindications of its power and honour? Will England gain, even commercially, by truckling to Vienna, and bartering British honour for 222l. 4s.?

Perhaps it would be a wise course to take down the old flags in St. Paul's Cathedral, with other relics of our old glories elsewhere, and send them over to Washington for preservation henceforward. Our enfranchised sons might value them; and, at all events, they would be safe in the midst of those who still are what Englishmen have been.

WHAT IS DISRAELI?

MR. DISRAELI, Chancellor of the Exchequer, fighting man of the present Ministry, representative of every influence that can be brought to bear upon the Government of the country, unbosoming himself to the electors of Buckinghamshire, thus lays down the proposition before the people, to be solved by the next election:—

"The country will have to decide whether it will maintain a Ministry formed on the principles of Conservative progress; whether it will terminate for ever, by just and conciliatory measures, the misconceptions which have too long prevailed between producer and consumer, and extinguish the fatal jealousy that rankles between town and country; whether our colonial empire shall be maintained and confirmed; whether the material development of Ireland shall at length be secured; whether such alterations as time and circumstances may appear to justify and require in the construction of the House of Commons shall be made in that spirit of revolution which has arrested the civilization of Europe, or in the spirit of our popular, though not democratic, institutions; whether the Church of England shall still remain a national Church; whether the Crown of England shall still be a Protestant Crown."

Mr. Disraeli believes that "the county of Buckingham is not in doubt on these heads;" and it is to be hoped that her Majesty's Ministers will derive every inspiration from that sagacious county: perhaps after a visit of a few more days, inspired by the *genius loci*, he might be able to issue a new address, not to the electors of the county for his reelection, but to the empire, as his warrant for staying in office, and promulgate in the new document the means which Buckingham may suggest for performing the task described by himself.

That he went down at Whitsuntide for instruction we gather from his own statement respecting the measures which Ministers are accomplishing, and intend to accomplish before Parliament closes. They expect to carry three measures—a measure of internal defence, the New Zealand constitution, and "a complete reform in the Court of Chancery." The last is the best. The Militia Bill is not yet "popular," and if not very expensive, is not yet big enough to be "efficient;" it is, as Mr. Disraeli himself has said, no more than a beginning. The New Zealand constitution Bill makes no great way in the task described above.

One great good, indeed, the leading Minister has performed, in explicitly taking his stand side by side with Sir Robert Peel. As to the expediency of Sir Robert Peel's measures he retains doubts: as to two—the admission of slave-grown

sugar, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, he observes, that neither of them was originally contemplated by that Minister; but, says Mr. Disraeli, with the candour belonging to a clear intellect—"The time has gone by when the injuries which the great producing interests endure can be alleviated or removed by a recurrence to the laws which, previously to 1846, protected them from such calamities. The spirit of the age tends to free intercourse, and no statesman can disregard with impunity the genius of the epoch in which he lives."

There is another thing, therefore, that the leading Minister does not intend to do—he does not intend to reverse Sir Robert Peel's policy. He proposes to offer a supplement to it, which he prefaces thus:—

"Every principle of abstract justice and every consideration of high policy, counsel that the producer should be treated as fairly as the consumer, and intimate that when the native producer is thrown into unrestricted competition with external rivals, it is the duty of the Legislature in every way to diminish, certainly not to increase, the cost of production."

"It is the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to recommend to Parliament, as soon as it is in their power, measures which may effect this end."

How, or where, are to be found the means "to effect this end," the Minister does not explain; he only hints at "one of the soundest means by which this result may be accomplished," namely, "a revision of our taxation." Under favour of "the times," which he considers "favourable," and of "powerful agencies" which have "altered the complexion of the fiscal world," "the possibility," he thinks, "of greatly relieving the burdens of the community by adjustment and reduction, seems to loom in the future." "Nothing however can be effected by any Ministry, unless they are supported by a powerful majority in Parliament;" so that if the electors, on the next appeal to the country, supply Ministers with a powerful majority, they will endeavour to reduce the cost of production; one of the soundest means of doing which "seems to loom in the future." This is the only distinct pledge as to that future which we collect from Mr. Disraeli's present address.

We are at a loss to discover where the foreshadowing of the ulterior manifesto can lurk among the paragraphs of the present. A revision of taxation cannot be all that "seems to loom in the future," nor all that is described by a statesman who scans the horizon of unacted history with systematic science. The grand reconciliation which he contemplates between Conservatism and Progress, between producer and consumer, town and country, England and Ireland, aristocracy and popular freedom, national Church and religious concord, may be possible; but it seems to loom in the future only to social reformers adhering to doctrines which we will not obtrusively associate with Mr. Disraeli's name. He evidently sees the magnitude of the work to be done, and he talks about the possibility of performing it as if he were a—

But we must not let our sympathies hurry too fast towards an avowal. Even if Disraeli is to be the Constantine of this age, he must take his own time.

Time indeed presses; for we have arrived at a strange juncture in our history. The ground has not been more rotten under the unseasonable rains of June than it is under the feet of the practical politician. Free trade and Protection have both come to an end: thoroughly enjoyed, men find that absolute freedom in mere exchange is not absolute prosperity; but they have also discovered that a systematic check to production is not the way to "let live." Protection is left behind, Free trade cannot go any farther; and what beyond? is the question. We are without a doctrine, except only that known to the economical sect whose name courtesy forbids us from prematurely associating with Mr. Disraeli's. He is an historical philosopher, and he knows, as well as we do, how our aristocracy is worn out, effete, lost to influence with the people, in danger of tumbling, dragging in the mud, and lying, a wretched rag, like a forgotten banner in the rear of a hurried army. No one values "the families" any more—even the heralds are giving their "achievements" to any Snooks or Briggs that wants the traditional symbols of illustrious exploits "found" for him. The middle class, sitting without a faith or a will for any national or decisive purpose, has little dictatorial power; inasmuch

that Lord John Manners can send the favourite summer-house of its "arts and commerce" to Sydenham. The working class of the towns is discontented, unattached, and, alas! as a body, though there are "splendid exceptions," without any generous faith or patriotic devotion. The peasantry, "the bold peasantry, its country's pride," has become the weary laughing-stock of easy wit. For the next Future, we are without doctrine, faith, or spirit,—without measures or men,—without agreement or will. Mr. Disraeli indeed is a keen-sighted politician, an eager scientific philosopher, an ambitious patriot, an Alcibiades capable of wishing to be a Constantine; and he speaks with hope, with confidence, with evident purpose. Therefore he at least has a spirit, a faith, a doctrine. How can we explain the enigma? Surely he must be a—

But let us not culpably tear open the disclosures sacred to time.

MALMESBURY'S NAPOLEONIC IDEA: FRENCH PROJET DE LOI DETECTED IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

To Lord Aberdeen we owe it that the first move was made to tear the mask from the measure which Lord Malmesbury endeavoured to pass in an English House of Peers, under cover of a plea which few will deny, that civilized countries near together must have some provision for the mutual surrender of gross offenders against the ordinary laws. A long-standing desire to that effect has been impeded through a series of years by practical difficulties, which have altogether prevented its consummation; but Lord Malmesbury, over-riding the obstructions that have hindered men more experienced and more trusted, has promptly arrived at a convention with France. The fact would in itself excite suspicion amongst the English people; but when the public learns the character of the measure which has been unmasked by Lord Aberdeen and his Peers, suspicion will be converted into indignation.

The Earl of Malmesbury invited the House of Lords to sanction a Parliamentary bill for giving legal effect to his new convention; and it was in the debate on Tuesday evening, that the scope and tendency of that measure came out. In previous conventions with France, three offences have been named,—murder, forgery, and fraudulent bankruptcy—as recognised causes for the reciprocal extradition of offenders; but, such have been the practical difficulties in reconciling the administration of French law to the English sense of personal liberty and individual justice, that the performance of that convention in this country has been virtually a dead letter.

In the new convention, however, the legal power for which was to be embodied in the new bill, the provisions, as Lord Aberdeen says, might apply not to three, but to twenty different "crimes;" and "he did not feel certain that, under the offences named in the bill others also might not be included which were not named." Such is the power which a Malmesbury, in convention with the government of a Louis Napoleon, asks the English Parliament to sanction!

It appears, also, from the speech of Lord Aberdeen, that the bill is not prospective only, but that it reaches back some eight or nine years; for what object, we presume the French ruler only can tell. The Lord Chancellor admitted this retrospective effect, but averred that "it could only take place with respect to offences included in the former treaty, and not to the whole of those enumerated in the present convention." He did not, however, explain how this distinction could be enforced; and a remark by Lord Brougham involves in suspicion even the enumeration of the old treaty with the new face put upon it. Under a new administration of the convention, the offence of fraudulent bankruptcy would leave "a large margin, within which a number of persons might be improperly and unjustifiably arrested." Add the spirit of the new convention to the letter of the old treaty, and Englishmen may find some difficulty in forecalculating the consequences of the combination.

The very apologies for the scheme with which Parliament is surprised, stamp it with new suspicions. Along with this new bill, presented to Parliament by Lord Malmesbury, we must take the bill recently carried by Louis Napoleon in that "Legislative corpse," where, as Lord Brougham says, "he always has 'a working majority,' in the proportion of something like 249 to 3." Under the new bill carried by the French Par-

liament,—if we can call such a thing Parliament,—not only may Frenchmen be tried in France for political offences committed by them in England,—a provision totally at variance with the spirit of our own law,—but accomplices in those offences, Englishmen, may also be tried in France. Nay more: “Englishmen not charged as accomplices of Frenchmen; Englishmen themselves without any accusation that they are in complicity with Frenchmen, may be tried in France for political offences committed by them in England, provided those offences are against the French Government.”

Lord Malmesbury “thought his noble and learned friend was mistaken; the bill which had now passed was confined to Frenchmen.” We are surprised to see that Lord Brougham did not repel the epithet cast at him, of being a “noble and learned friend” to the speaker: we are not less surprised to see him accept Lord Malmesbury’s contradiction, although it was totally at variance with the way in which the bill stood when Lord Brougham saw it last; and the public will put more confidence in Lord Brougham’s revision of the bill, whatever its date, than in Lord Malmesbury’s. By the most probable evidence, it appears, that the editor of the *Times*, or any speaker at a public meeting who denounces the French government, or Lord Harrowby himself maintaining the rights of the press in the House of Peers, might be tried for an offence, and punished under French law—under French law for which Lord Malmesbury is inviting the English House of Peers, descendants of the Barons, to pass a convenient supplement. But we are not left in doubt, at least, as to the present practice and construction of the law in France; for we see that the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* is specifically made answerable, not only for his own letters, but for leading articles in that journal; exactly the law supposed by Lord Brougham, and denied by Lord Malmesbury. And Lord Malmesbury is asking the English Parliament to co-operate with the Legislative Assembly in carrying out such a law.

From the testimony of Lord Campbell, it appears, that “any individual who may be obnoxious to the French government is to be surrendered upon the simple presentation of a document alleging his guilt.” Lord Malmesbury endeavours to extenuate even this atrocious violation of personal right on English soil: the surrender, he pleads, “would be at the discretion of the [English] magistrate.” “The discretion of the English magistrate,” replied Lord Campbell, “could only be exercised with respect to the identity of the person claimed; if that were established, he must be surrendered.” Such is another incident in the law for which Lord Malmesbury has asked the sanction of an English Parliament!

Lord Campbell cited a case in which a fugitive slave prosecuted in Canada for “stealing a horse,” upon which, in fact, he had escaped, was released by the magistrate, on the plain dictate of English law. Lord Malmesbury has been endeavouring suddenly to obtain from the English Parliament the reversal of that just decision; the reversal of a right upheld in the best incidents of our history.

But we have not done yet. This measure appears to be as inexhaustible as Fortunatus’s cap, or as Pandora’s box, not, indeed, of wealth, nor, as yet, of actual disaster, but of intended disgraces, and dishonour prepense. Lord Campbell was struck with the fact, that, under the bill, there was to be *no reciprocity*: the warrant of the French Minister is to be conclusive before the English Magistrate, but the warrant of the English Secretary of State, or of the English Magistrate in France, is not to be deemed positive or conclusive evidence of the guilt for the purpose of the extradition. Lord Chancellor Sugden gravely replies to this objection against a formal statute, that “it is understood that there should be complete reciprocity between them,” the two countries, “and that on the actual working of the French law, we should have just the same facilities for the apprehension of our criminals there, as we gave for the apprehension of French criminals here.” It is for the English public to say, whether it values as equivalent to the guarantee of a statute, or the sanction of its long cherished traditions, an “understanding” between the Government of Louis Napoleon, and the Government of which Lord Malmesbury is Foreign Minister?

But there is something *more* alarming beneath the assurance of the Lord Chancellor! “The clauses,” he says, “had been framed with a view to obtain this object;” meaning, by “this object,” the “understanding” in question. From the clauses of the statute, therefore, thus deliberately affirmed, and deliberately submitted to the British Parliament, we have a right to extract the spirit of the understanding established between the Government of Louis Napoleon, and the Government of which Lord Malmesbury is Foreign Minister—and the body of that spirit we recognise in the provisions already described, namely, those permitting the extradition of offenders under twenty different denominations of crime; permitting Englishmen to be tried in France for offences in England against the French Government; stretching back the provisions retrospectively for nine or ten years; giving the English magistrate no discretion, and so forth. These provisions form the body from which we may extract the spirit of the understanding vaunted by the Lord Chancellor. From gentle and ingenuous Argyll, Lord Malmesbury may judge how the English public will be inclined “simply to trust in the good faith of the French Government.”

But we have not done even yet. Supposing a man were wrongly surrendered: what redress would this Government obtain? “He might,” said the Lord Chancellor, “plead his surrender by the English Government under this treaty as a defence against the charge;” “or,” said Lord Brougham, “he should be sent back.” “That is a valuable suggestion,” rejoined the Lord Chancellor, snatching at a better reply. “But,” said Lord Brougham, “under the convention a person improperly surrendered, and subjected to a political charge, shall be entitled to an acquittal, which is manifestly beyond the power of the French law, if it at all resembles ours.” Thus professionally pushed, the Lord Chancellor at last gave forth this confession: “*It will be for the French Government to regulate their own law, as between themselves and their subjects.*” Surrendered, therefore, by English instrumentality, to Parisian justice, the appeal of the wronged Frenchman is to be—to Napoleonic law.

Thanks to Lord Cranworth for judicially declaring, that the measure, taken with the treaty, “appeared to contain stipulations and promises which were absolutely inadmissible; nor did he know of any power which they [the Peers] had, to legislate so as to modify the terms of that treaty.” As Lord Aberdeen said, “The Foreign Secretary had not been sufficiently impressed with the great difficulties incident to the subject;” the first and foremost difficulty being that of reconciling any British assemblage to his Napoleonic or Austrian law.

The result of the debate, however, may inspire hope into the bosom of a Malmesbury; for it marks the backsliding of our Barons, when they consented to the second reading of such a bill—“to improve it in Committee,” forsooth! It is a mischief and a dishonour; every hour that it remained in their House, after it had been exposed, was a submission to shame; and if that shame inevitably follows from the longer sufferance of its denationalized author in the Cabinet, the disgrace upon the English Parliament presses its scorching brand with a heavier weight.

OSBORNE’S MILITARY STUDIES.

MR. OSBORNE can present a fallacy in so lively a manner, that he will make people love it more than the truth; and on the strength of that privilege, desiring to rake up authorities against the Militia Bill as the bill of an adverse ministry, he drags in the names of Pitt, Frederic Hill, Washington, and General Grammont; a strange assortment—used for purposes as strange.

General Grammont is quoted to show, that out of 237,000 men of the National Guard in Paris, on the 28th June, 1848, only 8000 “descended into the streets to fight for their homes,” a fact which shows that the middle class of Paris had no clear course before it at that crisis of its fate. But the fact shows no more. A militia must always be, exactly in proportion to its extension, a national force. Including all classes without distinction of rank, it would then have the fairest chance of acting according to the popular opinion of the nation, at the dictate neither of faction nor of individuals. A merely military man, like Mr. Osborne, may regard that incident of a national force as an objection, but the public will

regard it in the very opposite sense. The National Guard of Paris was a class militia, and it shared in the perplexities of its own class; that is the exact interpretation of its conduct in June, 1848.

Mr. Pitt is the authority quoted with the least twist by the speaker; but a plan for organizing a militia quoted by the Whig member for Middlesex from the Heaven-born Minister of the Tory party, quoted by the retired young officer who laughs at a Home Secretary’s notions of military matters from a most civil Chancellor of the Exchequer, is in itself a joke. Nobody else would value Mr. Pitt’s authority, which is actually advanced on the subject of “drill”; but Mr. Osborne is an indefatigable collector of facetiæ.

The citation of Frederic Hill is simply irrelevant. Mr. Hill proposed a specific plan for raising a defensive force of respectable residents, paid according to time, and well paid; liable to summons as a sort of military constabulary, and constituting the permanent nucleus of any civil or suddenly raised force. We regard that measure as more complete in itself than the Ministerial measure for the militia; but instead of being incompatible with the national militia, it would be a practical facility towards the organization and working of a national body. In the meantime, the two measures have scarcely any points of comparison.

Washington comes humorously amongst the antiquities of Mr. Osborne’s “Joe Millers.” He is cited for complaining against a militia. Harassed between his own absconding armies and the English, who were inactive sometimes because they could not believe the extremities of his position, Washington did complain of the militia, because they wished to go home; he also complained of short supplies and short enlistments. If Mr. Osborne desires, and if he diligently scours Washington’s correspondence, he may gather authorities for grumbling on almost any other popular question. Washington complains of almost everything; and if his complaints were to be final, they might be levelled at very high institutions. Washington complains of the paper currency, which got into a very bad state during the war. Mr. Osborne might level that complaint at our bank notes. Washington complains of the American parliament, which was undecided, vacillating, and tardy with its supplies: Mr. Osborne might use that authority against representative government. Washington complains of the English monarch: Mr. Osborne might discover how to avail himself of these aspersions as against Queen Victoria. Washington complains of unpunctuality: Mr. Osborne might cite him against Members who cannot make a house. Being an exact master, we have no doubt, though we could not lay our finger on the passage, that Washington complained of his own slaves: Mr. Osborne might return that shaft across the Atlantic. In fact, the correspondence of the father of his country is rather full of passages in the complaining vein, and a facetious gentleman like Mr. Osborne might find it an inexhaustible store for his sarcasms.

But what has all this to do with the Militia Bill? If Washington complained, even *he* conquered. If Washington complained of a militia trained under English government, Zachary Taylor has made conquests for his country by a militia trained under democratic institutions, which have called to the active service of their land the immense mass of its young and active men. The militia men of America are ready to defend the principles and institutions of their land equally against every external invader and internal traitor; they have proved the true indomitable guardians of liberty; and if Mr. Osborne were not prepared to turn liberty into a joke called “Liberalism,” he might find more substantial authorities, fresher for his purpose, than the “Tristia” of Washington, or the soldierly reminiscences of Mr. Pitt.

CHURCH ANARCHY.

HOPELESSLY confused are all the relations of the Church of England, as well to the State and the country, externally, as to its members one towards another, internally. There is not only not a oneness of doctrine, which the Bishop of Oxford deems impossible,—there is not even a decent approach towards unity. Mr. Gladstone admitted, in the Bennett debate, that the Church is “torn and rent from head to foot with her dissensions;” that she is smarting all over with

"sores and wounds." Nobody can deny, nobody does deny the existence of Tractarianism, and of its opposite in the same diocese, in the same county, nay, in the same town. Oxford University itself is represented by two members as different in belief as they are in mental stature. The Church of England, indeed, includes in her wide embrace the Atheist and the Trinitarian, the Christian Platonist and the disciple of Calvin, the preacher of a religion of material comforts, and the dealer-out of abstract and abstruse doctrines, the high and dry and the low and humid churchman, and every one of these men has sworn, in a natural or "non-natural" sense, that he believes in the Thirty Nine Articles!

And all our active public men are alive to this state of things. Parliament takes note of it; orators deplore it; sometimes even the Courts of Law ring with it; the public journals comment upon it and register the progress of the disease. Yet so large, and so complicated, and so widespread is the evil, that no one authoritatively attempts to deal with it, or enable others to do so. Lord Derby professes gigantic but vague intentions; even Mr. Disraeli prattles of a "national" Church, to be evolved from Derby-Disraelite governance; and Sir John Pakington, with a touch of epic woe, refers all the misery to "that portion of the clergy of the Church of England who have pursued the line which Mr. Bennett has taken." But neither Lord Derby, who rejoices in a "compromise," nor Mr. Disraeli, who suffers the word "national" to flow so softly from his pen, nor the heavy baronet of the Colonial Office, who has so magically discovered the cause of the evil, attempts to propound a remedy. We look abroad for that in vain.

The fact is, that at the present moment there are not ten men in the House of Commons who can agree upon a definition of the Church of England.

We have nothing to do with this, we have no interest in it, except in so far as every man has an interest in that which concerns humanity. But being out of the fray, and having eyes undimmed by the dust of the conflict, we do see that there is but one honest course for the Church to take in its extremity. It is not, certainly, the building of churches for the poor in Portman Market, and charging pew-rents, or the coming round for 1000*l.* more to complete the endowment thereof, as we see by an advertisement certain well-intentioned low church sympathisers are doing in Marylebone. It is not by harrying this or that bishop; providing for this or that distribution of revenue; instituting this or that inquiry by select committee of a secular House of Commons, which can have no practical result. It is not by repealing the grant to Maynooth, and bullying the Roman-catholics; nor is it by fostering a certain kind of political churchmanship prevalent among lay patrons and their nominees. But it is by following that course which we have pointed out before, and which reckons among its advocates some of the most honest, and some of the bravest of churchmen; it is by granting to the Church of England power to regulate her own concerns, and thus, if possible, to reduce her affairs to order, and her ministers to peace.

NOTES FOR THE ELECTIONS.

I.

PROPORTION THE ONLY PRACTICAL POLICY.

THERE are two kinds of advocacy ever going on in a free state—one speculative, the other practical. The first is intended to act upon the people: the second upon the Government. When these modes are confounded together—as they often are—confusion ensues, and progress is delayed. The first kind of advocacy is personal; it includes the propagation of all those views which have penetrated the conscience—all those aspirations which the patriot entertains for the future of his country—all that *ought* to be, in contradistinction to what, at the present point of transition, *can* be. The dream of the poet—the Utopia of the philanthropist—the millennium of the Christian—are included in this advocacy. To forbid these speculations—to discourage them—to disparage them—would imply great want of insight into the processes of amelioration: great want of statesmanly sympathy with the natural developments of civilization. Hence all free governments, and all wise rulers, have left free this species of speculation; but though it is of the utmost importance, though it is the source of inspiration to a people, it has its *place*: for if it comes to over-ride practical realizations of principles, it delays rather than stimulates improvement.

The less grand, but not less useful kind of advocacy,

is that which keeps a steady eye on what is *possible*—which distinguishes between what is desirable, and what is practical at the present hour. All progress is a series of steps, and to be ever intent on taking the *next*, is neither to stand still, nor to retreat. Thanking the philosopher for the chart, the practical politician is occupied in making the voyage: and if he cannot induce the public to accompany him to his extremest destination, he will carry as many as he can as far on the way as possible. A survey of his impediments and conclusions may not be out of place at this season of reviving political action.

Many of my readers may be astonished to hear that there are certain theorists who feel that the long agitated "Six Points" would ill satisfy them as a *final* measure. They deem it unmanly, unfair, selfish, contrary to private interest, to family independence, to public progress, that the suffrage should be denied to Women. Yet it is equally plain to these politicians, that to insist upon the double suffrage, would be, in effect, to adjourn the Male suffrage indefinitely, and to raise up a premature and prolonged, if not a fatal prejudice against the possible claims of Women.

From one point of view it does seem absurd to demand Political reformation as a *means* to an *end*, and keep silence as to the end sought. It is now well understood, that no political reform can be more than a *means*. The Six Points, as Cobbett once outraged Mr. Attwood, and the Birmingham Political Union, by saying of the Reform Bill—might as well be a blank paper, unless they insured something beyond. Political Reform were worthless, unless as the precursor to Social Reform. From the social point of view, unquestionably, it seems absurd to keep silence on the Emancipation of Labour—and not to demand the abolition of the restrictions which favour the monopolies of Land, Capital, and Knowledge. The omission of these demands in a popular political programme, has, indeed, been made an offence by the Government, who say, (as Colonel Thompson expresses it) "Do you think we are going to put knives into your hands to cut our throats? What do you want to do with your Universal Suffrage?" is their imperative challenge. Let us guard against being drawn from the right line of practical success, either by the seduction of our own desires, or the taunts of our adversaries.

To others, all demands for national representation seem narrow and ill-considered, which make no claim for the representation of our Colonies—peopled as they are with English citizens, who carry with them British rights, and who, it is affirmed, should therefore forfeit no portion of their title to share in the Government of the Empire to which they belong by blood, language, and habits—and who would so well repay imperial protection with colonial energy of progress. However just this last demand may seem, even "Six Point" men have been silent upon it, seeming to care only for themselves.

The great domestic wants of the day are still more numerous. Yet because a man *believes* in them *all at once*, is he to *demand* them *all at once*? If we are to accept the doctrine of the Six Point men, it would seem so.

Now, the most ultra man of principle, if compelled to swallow his repast at *one* mouthful, would pray for "concessions, instalments, and compromises." Therefore if it be humane not to choke your friend, may it not be patriotic not to choke the nation? The people whom we seek to enfranchise may be fit for it, but the question is—are all other persons, who have quite as much right to be consulted, fit to concede it? If not, we have to do one of two things—either to reason them out of it, or to fight them out of it. If our policy is to be (as we insist it ought to be) peaceable and orderly, we have to consider how large a measure of what we want the nation is able to bear, and willing to concede. We must decide upon that measure which the body of the people, of all classes, would be likely to support. For to force upon the nation more than the nation feels the want of, or desires, is simply tyranny under the name of democracy, and would lead to another of those fatal reactions from which honest and practical Reform has suffered too much already.

There are not wanting people to whom it seems that to demand less than you believe to be just and right, is expediency. Be it so. We tell such persons, that a just and considerate expediency is of more worth than an intolerant adherence to impossible principle. The politician of the ultra school thinks it derogatory to accept less than he deems right to be demanded—but if all men act on the same rule, their common rights will not be won for centuries to come. Most of those who accept the "Six Points," accept much more besides; and if each insists upon *all* he holds to be just, the already divided political ranks will be split up into a hundred new sections. To denounce a wise expediency, which merely means—proportion in demand—calcu-

lation of the chances of success—unity of action, and the acceptance of what you *can* get, when you cannot get all you want—to denounce this policy may be "standing by principle," but it is *obstructing progress*.

There is no occasion to suspend the advocacy of even extreme conscientious opinion. We owe all civilization to men who, to borrow the words of Milton, "prompted the age to quit its clogs." It is more than ever necessary, that each man having advanced notions, should strive to educate the people up to his level, in order that to-morrow the common demand may be higher than to-day. But unless politicians consent to realize what they can as they go along, the world will owe them nothing but a barren admiration for excellent promises, never ripened into the smallest practical performance. Without the capacity to realize what we can, as instalments of what we want, every new thinker becomes an impediment rather than a helper—his theory not so much a benefit as a crotchet—and the public, afflicted by a new distraction, are bound over to the guidance of those political obstructives—the direct invention of a declamatory demagogism—your self-styled "men of principle." ION.

SIMILE FOR POPULAR USE.

"SHE lies like a chamber-maid," says an angry dupe of the frail girl who gives the name to Mrs. Opie's *White Lies*. We do not see why poor Fielding should cast such a backhander on the chamber-maid, and in our day we shall be more scrupulous towards the unappreciated class; but yet we shall not be without a model for the comparison demanded by Fielding. "Lies like a chamber-maid," we shall no longer say; but a substitute will easily be found for the last word.

By the bye, you have read the official correspondence in Mr. Mather's case: does not Malmesbury, the vendor, appear before England under an aspect too ancillary to Austria?

SAY NOT A CHANCELLOR IS ILL.

SOME old ladies are offended at being thought to be well, others cannot abide being supposed to be ill; and a reporter of the *Morning Chronicle* seems to have encountered one of the latter species. On the 31st of May, the Lord Chancellor came into court, "pale, and apparently feeble, speaking with a weak and broken voice, and occasionally leaning his head on his hand, as if exhausted."

The reporter of the *Morning Chronicle*, "moved by no unkindly feeling," expressed "regret that the Lord Chancellor appeared to be still suffering from the effects of his recent illness; and it was by a strong effort that he got through the duties of his office." The consequence was, a cross-examination at the next sitting of the court, by the Lord Chancellor's Secretary, as to "the fairness and propriety" of the remark, and the reporter's intention of "inserting such paragraphs in future." Undismayed by the menacing character of these questions, the reporter firmly replied, "Just as I think fit." The answer was alarming—"Oh! very well."

THE MORAL OF THE MATHER OUTRAGE.—Let us recommend to the attention of our readers, the two last letters published in the newspapers on Mr. Mather's case—the one from the Foreign Office, dated May 24, in which Mr. Addington, writing for Lord Malmesbury, informs Mr. Mather's father that "after long and vexatious negotiations with the Tuscan Government, Mr. Scarlett has succeeded in obtaining a practical atonement for the unmerited and brutal treatment Mr. Mather received at Florence, by the payment by that Government of the sum of 1000 francsconi" (240*l.*); the other the admirable and spirited reply of Mr. Mather's father, dated May 27, in which, with true English feeling, he scouts the proposed atonement as totally wrong in kind, and points out to Lord Malmesbury that the true satisfaction to have been insisted on was the punishment of the offending Austrian officer. "This man," says Mr. Mather, "I frequently saw in all the pride of military array and overbearing insolence in the streets of Florence; a public example to his brother officers and the world of the impunity with which British subjects may be treated, and an evidence of the low estimation of his superiors for British honour and British power—this, too, all the while that British statesmen and diplomatists were making urgent demands for redress—yourself among the number." Mr. Mather is right; in his just indignation as a father, he has seized and stated the real fact of the case, which our diplomatists, with their complaisance and their "1000 francsconi" would mince and pass over. The fact is this—and Englishmen should not lose sight of it—that, in proportion as a state becomes despotic it becomes also the insolent enemy of England. And the inference—let Englishmen lay this to heart likewise—is, that we ought to seek our allies in *nations* which are eternal, rather than in *governments*, which change with the persons of the men in power.—*Monthly Review of the Friends of Italy.*

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.*

THE Bookselling Question still remains the great topic of our world of Letters. The Association is dissolved: Free-trade is inaugurated, and upon what system the publishing shall be carried on now comes into debate. The old system was so imperfect that it needed only a clear statement of the case, and the energetic expression of a few publishers and authors to decide its fall. In the remarks we have made on this point, we have unwittingly passed over the very energetic and decisive services rendered by Mr. BENTLEY, who was the first to join Mr. CHAPMAN in his demand for unrestricted trade, and whose name and influence were of too much weight in the cause for us to have been insensible to the importance of his accession; but it is never too late to be just, and our contemporaries who have shared our forgetfulness with regard to Mr. BENTLEY may still pay a graceful compliment of acknowledgment to one of the most indefatigable movers of the reform. That done, we may turn to a consideration of the future. What discount shall be allowed to retail booksellers? Ten or fifteen per cent. is thought ample allowance for mere portage, and when to portage be added enterprise in speculation, of course equivalent advantages will be offered. In the case of periodicals, especially scientific periodicals, the mere reduction of the discount will make all the difference between loss and profit, if the price to the public remain as at present; and as the publisher is always at liberty to fix his own price, there can be no objection to the old price being retained. In the case of new works, the reduction will also frequently make all the difference between profit and loss, so many copies now remaining unsold on account of the high price. And this will be more frequently the case with works of unknown authors, or with works of a serious scientific character, than with the works of those celebrated writers who command a sale irrespective almost of price. There has been an amount of fiction circulated with respect to the "speculation" of booksellers in unknown works, which to all behind the scenes has not been without amusement; but in the *Morning Herald* of June 2nd there was a statement of this kind, worthy of preservation as a specimen of unintentional irony. The writer, after saying how the unknown author, unable to print his work "with assurance of its sale," comes to the publisher for advice and assistance, adds with a calmness of assured conviction delightful to contemplate:—

"Now the sort of assistance which the publisher was always giving to cases of this kind, was of this sort. If he thought well of the general character of the work, and believed it to possess merit, he devoted some attention to the getting-up of the book, announced it extensively in his lists, and at last brought it forth and offered it to the trade. To induce booksellers generally to assist its sale, he gave a liberal allowance; and in this way a respectable publisher would dispose of 500 or 600 copies of a book on the day of publication, before the public knew anything about it, or had ordered a single copy.

"It was the possibility of doing this which encouraged publishers to undertake works of young or unknown authors. They could thus distribute the risk among the trade."

It is impossible to convey to those unacquainted with the book-trade the ludicrous effect of this passage; but the "facts" of Protectionist arguments are mostly of that kind.

Desirable as it is to facilitate the distribution of books, and to encourage speculation among retailers is one mode, the great objects to be kept in view are—1st, cheapness to the public, that the largest public may be secured; 2nd, limitation of intermediate channels, that no waste of money may go towards the support of unnecessary middlemen.

The Countess D'Orsay, emboldened by the success—*succès de salon*—of her novel, *L'Ombre du Bonheur*, has just given the world three volumes more, *La Fontaine des Fées*, which we announce, reserving till some future time, any opinion of its merit, should we be induced to read it. Le Marquis de FOU DRAS, who created a scandal by his *Caprice de Grande Dame*, has endeavoured to revive that fugitive popularity by a continuation of it, under the suggestive title *Une Madeleine Repentante*.

Of very different quality, and addressed to very different audiences, is MAGUIN's new work, *Histoire des Marionnettes en Europe depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos jours*, a reprint of some elaborate articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, wherein a vast and piquant erudition, aided by a clear and lively style, gives philosophic dignity and interest to a subject which might seem frivolous.

When a man, deeply moved by his convictions, devotes himself to their propagation, and wanders from city to city, calling unto men to listen to him, we call him a Missionary, and aid him with our money and respect; but if his convictions are antagonistic to our own, we call him a Demagogue, or an Anarchist, and use our utmost to discredit his character and his aims. We forget that man is accountable for the uprightness, not for the rightness of his creed—to use the noble words of Channing; we forget that the sincerity and devotion to truth remains the same under all varieties of opinion; we forget that the man who comes amongst us eager to destroy our faiths by preaching his faith, is doing precisely what in the Missionary we applaud as heroism. The "heathen" whom we wish to convert, has he

not "the religion of his fathers," to console and to guide him? But the religion is false, you say! Granted. The Missionary desires to open the heathen mind to the light of truth. Granted also. But apply the same rule to GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE, a wandering missionary, of the sincerest kind, who, for years, has been preaching what he believes to be the truth, and who has suffered for it in imprisonment, in contempt, in personal danger of various kinds, but who has persisted with mild manful courage, till, from a name of terror, his has become a name of wide-spread respect, even among adversaries. It may be startling to call him a missionary, but he is one, and all minds large enough, and generous enough, to admit the sincerity of adversaries, and to appreciate the man, while disowning the man's opinions, will recognise him as such. His position is peculiar. He believes in his opinions, and considers the expression of them a duty. On the one hand, he is opposed by the orthodox, who are horrified at his opinions; on the other, he is unsupported by the lukewarm heterodox, who, in these days of compromise and want of faith, discourage discussion on religion, and think it better "to leave religion to die out by itself." He has clearly and forcibly stated his case in the new volume of *The Cabinet of Reason*, which he edits. It is entitled, *Why do the Clergy avoid discussion, and the philosophers discountenance it?* No man's sixpence should be grudged for this little volume, so calm, so temperate, so sincere. The closing passage has a swelling eloquence, which forces us to quote it:—

"False is the tongue which tells us that we implore debate in vanity. Let our lives bear witness whether we have idly entreated the privilege of controversy. We sought it for light, we coveted it for direction, and we maintain it for self-defence. We have won the privilege dearly, and shall not resign it. We appealed to the clergy, and they would not heed us. Standing on the dim and shadowy verge of the future, where every man must tread for himself and alone the vestibule of the eternal labyrinth, we appealed to our brother traveller for light and help. We trusted to his Christian profession of love and truth, of service and gentle speech, and he turned from us in contempt, bestowed no word upon us, but went and denounced us to those who had influence—and abandoned us to the fury of the bigot and the vulgarity of the rabble, and we were driven away like a plague ship to carry our agony into the loneliness of the sea. But we did not perish—we conquered truths which are light and safety to us, and which Christianity will never more conceal, and which we shall not cease to proclaim."

THEOLOGY IN NATURE.

The Natural History of Animals: being the Substance of Lectures delivered before the Royal Institution. By T. Rymer Jones, F.R.S. 2 vols. Van Voorst.

THESE two volumes of an elaborate history of animals, exceeds in interest and excellence of popular treatment every work of the kind we are acquainted with; and we preface our remarks by this emphatic commendation, that we may have more freedom in the objections which certain passages force from us. In a subsequent article we shall take a general survey of the contents; our present purpose is with the theological and declamatory passages so frequently and so improperly dragged in.

Mr. Rymer Jones may plead very high authority for his errors in this respect; but the higher authority of Reason very distinctly condemns the search after "final causes" as beyond our ken, and very plainly declares it to be dangerous, when not absurd. To ascertain functions is the office of the physiologist, not to ascertain final causes; and it is owing to the confusion of these two, that final causes are for a moment tolerated. To our minds, the whole language of Natural Theology is repulsive when demanding our admiration for the "admirable contrivances," and the "skill" with which God has overcome the difficulties of his task. Human intellect "contrives," and human intellect admires the contrivance; and Natural Theology, descending on the marvels of life, is in a perpetual state of anthropomorphism, and seems to say, "What a great Being is this, who can so astonish Man, and so greatly surpass the ingenuity of Man!" How else are we to read these exclamations?

"The ingenuity of Man has enabled him to discover one means of combining these two apparently incompatible qualities, in the construction of pipes which he employs for certain mechanical purposes. Into a leathern, or other flexible tube, he introduces a spiral coil of wire, the stiffness of which is sufficient to prevent the walls of the tube from collapsing, without interfering much with the flexibility of the pipe. Little, perhaps, did the inventor of this ingenious scheme imagine how long the contrivance had been anticipated, and how infinitely the execution of it was surpassed by the Designer of an Insect's tracheæ. Take any fragment of one of these air-carrying canals from trunk to branch—from the main stem to the most microscopic ramification—and you will soon perceive, by the aid of a microscope, that a most delicate elastic filament, a wire of almost invisible dimensions, coiled in close spiral turns, extends from end to end of its whole length, giving sufficient firmness to keep the bore permanently patulous, and at the same time allowing all freedom of motion in every possible direction."

And elsewhere Mr. Rymer Jones says—

"Man with his paddle-wheels must have his furnaces, his boilers, [and his clumsy enginery; But Nature's paddles are themselves alive, can move or stop at will, act singly or coöperate with all the rest, and thus impel the bark and steer it too."

Indeed his book is one incessant laudation of God's superior ingenuity. To us that tone is not reverent, but irreverent.

The danger to which we alluded is this:—If the celebrated argument of design is to hold good as evidence in favour, it must hold equally good as evidence against the wisdom and beneficence of the Creator. A startling proposition, and one, we believe, never made before; but one from which Logic has no escape. If from a watch, I infer a watchmaker, and if from the ingenuity of that design, I infer the 'skill' of the designer, must I not also accuse the watchmaker of imperfect skill, if the watch goes wrong? In other words, when you point to the perfection of organizations, as evidence of wisdom, and to their manifold enjoyments as evidence of goodness, you force the reflective mind to think of the imperfections and the misery so abundantly displayed;—when you take your rela-

tive good for the *absolute* good, you must equally accept your relative evil for the absolute evil. Now this is shocking; the mind refuses to accept such a conception; and would be plunged in despair, did it not learn that Wisdom, Goodness, Evil, are but *relative* terms, and pertain to our human finite conditions, not to the Infinite; yet, if men *will* persist in measuring the Infinite according to their finite standard, they must do so in the one case as in the other. If the argument of design is good in one case it is in the other. Theologians usually escape from the dilemma by saying, when any case of manifest evil is propounded, "God's ways are inscrutable;" and they are right. But, if inscrutable in one direction, inscrutable in all. We do not understand Evil, nor do we understand Good; the Finite *cannot* understand the Infinite. A loftier conception of the Deity than this of a Contriver, and a profounder theory of the Universe than the common mechanical one, would emancipate men from this tendency to see in Nature nothing but a reflection of human powers. But we have formerly touched on this topic, and may now quit it.

As a fair specimen of the absurd interpretation of Nature in the search for final causes, let us quote this:—

"The most interesting part of the anatomy of the Leech relates, however, to the structure of its mouth, which presents a piece of mechanism that is quite unique in the animal creation. In the medicinal Leech, which alone possesses the apparatus we are about to describe in a complete condition, the mouth is a dilatible orifice, situated near the centre of the anterior sucker, and would seem, at first sight, to be but a simple hole. Just within the margin of the aperture, are situated three beautiful little semicircular horny saws, arranged in a tri-radiate manner, so that their edges meet in the centre. It is by means of these saws that the Leech makes the incisions whence blood is to be procured, an operation that is performed in the following manner: no sooner is the sucker firmly fixed to the skin, than the mouth becomes slightly everted, and the edges of the saws thus made to press upon the tense integument, a sawing movement being at the same time given to each, whereby it is made gradually to pierce the surface, and cut its way to the sluices of blood beneath. Nothing could be more admirably adapted to secure the end in view than the shape of the wound thus inflicted, the lips of which must necessarily be drawn asunder by the very contractility of the skin itself; nor can we doubt that the enormous sacculated stomach, which fills nearly the whole body of the Leech, is equally a contrivance to render these creatures efficient as medicinal agents for the use of mankind. That it was for man, and not for the Leech, that this structure was designed, there can be no reasonable question. The Leech, in its native element, could hardly hope for a supply of hot blood as food; and on the other hand, its habits are most abstemious, and it may be kept alive and healthy for years, with no other apparent nourishment than what is derived from pure water frequently changed; even when at large, minute aquatic insects and larvæ form its usual diet: whence, then, the necessity for this curious cupping apparatus?"

"Another convincing proof of the adaptation of the economy of these Leeches to the necessities of mankind, rather than to their own support, is the remarkable disproportion between the quantity of blood swallowed at a meal, and the slowness of its appropriation as nutriment. A Leech, in the course of half an hour, will gorge itself almost to bursting; while observation proves that it requires a whole year to digest the quantity of food thus rapidly imbibed, during the whole of which time the blood remains in the body of the Leech in a fluid condition, instead of coagulating or becoming putrid, as it would inevitably do under any other circumstances."

There is something so laughable in the first portion of this that we cannot gravely answer it; as Goethe says, there are men who think cork trees were invented to stop ginger-beer bottles. With regard to the second "convincing proof," we would ask Mr. Rymer Jones how so accomplished a naturalist could forget that the boa-constrictor stands in similar relations to its food?

The idea of the universe being subordinate to Man, made for him and for his wants—so that no flower blooms save for his delight, no leech lives but as a possible cupping-machine to be called upon when wanted—is not the idea which our minds can accept; and although we study every feature of the divine face of Nature with a love as fervent, and with emotions of wonder and joy as deep as those that move the natural theologian, seeking for "contrivance," and ostentatiously applauding "skill"—although we know that, being human, we have only human language wherewith to translate our feelings, and that we *must* employ the words Beauty, Goodness, and Wisdom, when speaking of the thousand-fold activities of the great Life which encompasses and sustains us—still we reprove as necessarily erroneous and certainly dangerous, all speculation founded on a *mechanical* theory of the universe and a great Designer who "contrives" in human fashion. We will accompany Mr. Rymer Jones into the remotest recesses of Nature, and admire with him the marvel of beauty and fitness there displayed; but when he pretends to be admitted into the secrets of the Creator, there we leave him. Beauty and fitness, he may reply, are they not human conceptions also? They are. Wherein, then, lies the difference between us? In this: we use language which we know to be human, and incommensurate with the Deity; the natural theologians use the same language, and insist upon its being commensurate. We "sit down in quiet ignorance," as Locke advised; they declare their ignorance to be final truth.

THE STORY OF NELL GWYN.

The Story of Nell Gwyn: and the Sayings of Charles II. Related and collected by Peter Cunningham, F.S.A. Bradbury and Evans.

THAT it is Character more than Conduct which guides our affections, may be seen in the affectionate regard which, in History as in Life, accompanies certain persons whose career has not perhaps been that of all others suited to illustrate the beauty of rigorous morals. Mirabeau was, conventionally, a far less virtuous man than Robespierre; Camille Desmoulins far less so than St. Just; yet we all love the genial reprobates, and grudge our praise to the inflexible patriots. There is Nell Gwyn too, whom the English people loved, and will love, let moralists sermonize with "forty parson power" against her. As Peter Cunningham remarks:—

"The English people have always entertained a peculiar liking for Nell Gwyn.

There is a sort of indulgence towards her not generally conceded to any other woman of her class. Thousands are attracted by her name, they know not why, and do not stay to inquire. It is the popular impression that, with all her failings, she had a generous as well as a tender heart; that when raised from poverty, she reserved her wealth for others rather than herself; and that the influence she possessed was often exercised for good objects, and never abused. Contrasted with others in a far superior rank in life, and tried by fewer temptations, there is much that marks and removes her from the common herd. The many have no sympathy, nor should they have any, for Barbara Palmer, Louise de Querouelle, or Erengard de Schulenberg; but for Nell Gwyn, 'pretty witty Nell,' there is a tolerant and kindly regard, which the following pages are designed to illustrate rather than extend."

This is not the time, or we could show that, on a deeper view of morals, the apparent contradiction disappears, and that it is our healthy moral sense which awards this praise to Character over Conduct, perceiving that Life is a Problem not a Theorem, a thing to be acted, not a thing to be prescribed; and that truly speaking, kindness, tenderness, charity, and joyousness are really of more consequence than the rigorous adherence to a code of maxims, admirable and necessary as those maxims may be.

The coal-yard in Drury-lane—a low alley on the east side of the lane, and famous, among other things, as the residence of Jonathan Wild,—claims the honour of being Nelly's birth-place; but while seven cities claim a Homer, may not two dispute about a Nelly? and there is Hereford, the birthplace of Garrick, equally proud of its traditional claim to be the mother-city of Nell Gwyn. Peter Cunningham tells us that "oddly enough, one of Nelly's grandsons died Bishop of Hereford," a detail which all right-minded persons will at once pronounce decisive in favour of the Hereford claim, in spite of pertinacious antiquaries. At any rate Nell was born on the 2nd February, 1650; her father, we are told, belonging to an ancient Welch family; but the Captain, if captaincy there was, must have dragged his lineage somewhat through the dirt, as Nell's early life was spent in company *not* precisely the most choice, and in avocations not usually regarded as favourable to the culture of female purity. We find her as an "Orange girl, holding her basket of fruit covered with vine-leaves, in the pit of the King's Theatre, and taking her stand with her fellow fruit-women in the front row of the pit with her back to the stage." How fashions change! The Young Heavies, who, now-a-days, stroll into the stalls of Her Majesty's with a quill tooth-pick ostentatiously protruding from their foolish mouths, as if to announce to the mild public that they, the Heavies, have just left their club, and have "dined, damme!" would be thrown into fits at the idea of being offered "oranges, apples, ginger beer, bill of the play!" and of being suspected of eating oranges there. Yet as our biographer says:—

"With the orange-girls (who stood as we have seen in the pit, with their back to the stage) the beaux about town were accustomed to break their jests; and that the language employed was not of the most delicate description, we may gather from the dialogue of Dorimant, in Etherege's comedy of Sir Fopling Flutter.

"The mistress or superior of the girls was familiarly known as Orange Moll, and filled the same sort of office in the theatre that the mother of the maids occupied at court among the maids of honour. Both Sir William Penn and Pepys would occasionally have 'a great deal of discourse' with Orange Moll; and Mrs. Knep, the actress, when in want of Pepys, sent Moll to the Clerk of the Acts with the welcome message. To higgie about the price of the fruit was thought beneath the character of a gentleman. 'The next step,' says the Young Gallant's Academy, 'is to give a turn to the China orange wench, and give her her own rate for her oranges (for 'tis below a gentleman to stand haggling like a citizen's wife), and then to present the fairest to the next vizard mask.' Pepys, when challenged in the pit for the price of twelve oranges which the orange-woman said he owed her, but which he says was wholly untrue, was not content with denying the debt, 'but for quiet bought four shillings' worth of oranges from her at sixpence a piece.' This was a high price, but the Clerk of the Acts was true to the direction in the Gallant's Academy."

Nelly is always associated in the public mind with the gaieties of the Restoration:—

"She was ten years of age at the restoration of King Charles II., in 1660. She was old enough, therefore, to have noticed the extraordinary change which the return of royalty effected in the manners, customs, feelings, and even conversation of the bulk of the people. The strict observance of the Sabbath was no longer rigidly enforced. Sir Charles Sedley and the Duke of Buckingham rode in their coaches on a Sunday, and the barber and the shoe-black shaved beards and cleaned boots on the same day, without the overseers of the poor of the parish inflicting fines on them for such (as they were then thought) unseemly breaches of the Sabbath. Maypoles were once more erected on spots endeared by old associations, and the people again danced their old dances around them. The Cavalier restored the royal insignia on his fire-place to its old position; the King's Head, the Duke's Head, and the Crown were once more favourite signs by which taverns were distinguished; drinking of healths and deep potations, with all their Low-Country honours and observances, were again in vogue. Oughtred, the mathematician, died of joy; and Urquhart, the translator of Rabelais, of laughter, at hearing of the enthusiasm of the English to 'welcome home old Rowley.* The King's health—

'Here's a health unto his Majesty, with a fa, la, la,†'

was made a pretext for the worst excesses, and irreligion and indecency were thought to secure conversation against a suspicion of disloyalty and fanaticism.

* "Welcome home, old Rowley," is the name of the well-known Scottish tune called "Had away frae me, Donald." See Johnson's *Scott's Musical Museum*, iv. 318.
† One of the seven "Choice New English Ayres" in *Songs and Fancies* in three, four, five parts, both apt for the Voices and Viols, with a brief Introduction to Musick, as taught in the Musick-School of Aberdeen, third edition, enlarged, Aberdeen by Jo. Forbes, 1682, is—

"Here's a health unto his Majesty, with a fa, la, la.
Conversion to his enemies, with a fa, la, la.
And he that will not pledge his health,
I wish him neither wit nor wealth,
Nor yet a rope to hang himself.
With a fa, la, la, la,
With a fa, la, la," &c.

The music appears to have been the composition of "Mr. John Savile." Shadwell refers to the song, *Works*, ii. 208; iii. 52.

Even the common people took to gay-coloured dresses as before; and a freedom of spirits, rendered familiar by early recollection, and only half subdued by Presbyterian persecution, was confirmed by a licence of tongue which the young men about court had acquired while in exile with their sovereign.

"Not the least striking effect of the restoration of the King was the revival of the English theatres. They had been closed and the players silenced for three-and-twenty years, and in that space a new generation had arisen, to whom the entertainments of the stage were known but by name. The theatres were now re-opened, and with every advantage which stage properties, new and improved scenery, and the costliest dresses, could lend to help them forward. But there were other advantages equally new, and of still greater importance, but for which the name of Eleanor Gwyn would in all likelihood never have reached us.

"From the earliest epoch of the stage in England till the theatres were silenced at the outbreak of the Civil War, female characters had invariably been played by men, and during the same brilliant period of our dramatic history there is but one instance of a sovereign witnessing a performance at a public theatre. Henrietta Maria, though so great a favourer of theatrical exhibitions, was present once, and once only, at the theatre in the Blackfriars. The plays of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson,

'Which so did take Eliza and our James,'

were invariably seen by those sovereigns, as afterwards by Charles I., in the halls, banqueting houses, and cockpits attached to their palaces. With the Restoration came women on the stage, and the King and Queen, the Dukes of York and Buckingham, the chief courtiers, and the maids of honour, were among the constant frequenters of the public theatres."

Nelly became an actress, a pet of the town, and the mistress of Lord Buckhurst; the details of which, with much else that is curious, you must seek in the volume before us. Here is one we will introduce for its piquancy:—

"The citizens of London were hated by the players. They had successfully opposed them in all their early attempts in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. to erect a theatre within the jurisdiction of the city; and at no time had they ever encouraged the drama by their presence. The poets and actors lived by the King and court, while they repaid their opponents and gratified the courtiers by holding up every citizen as a cuckold and a fool. So long was this feeling perpetuated on the stage (it still lives in our literature), that Garrick, in his endeavour to supplant the usual performance of the 'London Cuckolds,' on the 9th of November (Lord Mayor's day), was reduced to play first to a noisy and next to an empty house."

How she passed from Lord Buckhurst to the King is also told; and the introduction of Charles upon the scene gives the author an occasion for sketching his character, and collecting together his "sayings." The orange-girl had become a mother—mother of the Duke of St. Albans, and her behaviour in this position has won universal praise.

"There is no reason to suspect that either Nelly or Louise was ever unfaithful to the light-hearted King, or that Charles did not appreciate the fidelity of his mistresses. The people (it was an age of confirmed immorality) rather rejoiced than otherwise at their sovereign's loose and disorderly life. Nelly became the idol of 'the town,' and was known far and near as the Protestant Mistress; while Mrs. Carwell, or the Duchess of Portsmouth as she had now become, was hated by the people, and was known, wherever Nelly was known, as the Popish Mistress. It is this contrast, of position which has given to Nell Gwyn much of the odd and particular favour connected with her name. Nelly was an English girl—of humble origin—a favourite actress—a beauty, and a wit. The Duchess was a foreigner—of noble origin—with beauty certainly, but without wit; and, worse still, sufficiently suspected to be little better than a pensioner from France, sent to enslave the English King and the English nation."

But the King died; her reign ceased; and in her thirty-eighth year this loving, joyous Nelly died of apoplexy.

To Peter Cunningham's book we refer the curious reader. It is full of agreeable antiquarian prattle, and brings the period before us in a style seldom achieved by antiquaries.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Suitor's County Court Guide. By W. W. Charnock.

C. Mitchell.

WE sincerely hope none of our readers will have any need of the information so clearly and carefully compiled for them in this little Hand-book to the County Court; but should they need it, here it is, compact, clear, detailed, ample. All necessary directions for the recovery of debts, damages, &c., with the forms to be used, and the amounts of the fees (ugly sound!) payable on such occasions. Mr. Charnock is a County Court Attorney, and teaches us how to do without him.

The Emphatic New Testament, according to the Authorized Version, compared with the various Readings of the Vatican MS. The Four Gospels. Edited, with an Essay on Greek Emphasis, by John Taylor, Author of "Junius Identified."

Taylor, Walton, and Maberley.

ALTHOUGH somewhat beyond our competence—our jurisdiction not extending to Theology when it traverses the limit of Philosophy—we will not withhold our verdict on this extremely ingenious and curious work, wherein the subtle author of *Junius Identified*, has endeavoured to restore to the English text of the Gospels certain peculiarities of expression noticeable in the Greek text, which are not without their significance as affecting the meaning of the text. In the execution of this design, Mr. Taylor has undertaken a most laborious collation of texts; and by the introductory essay he has enabled the unlearned reader to follow him on his path. It is a curious book: to the theologian both a suggestive and useful book.

Children's Books.

Addey and Co.

It was an excellent idea to bring out a collection of Grimm's *Household Stories* in shilling parts, each part complete in itself; and Messrs. Addey and Co. have added to the attractiveness of their publication some humorous illustrations by Wehnert. The translation is now and good; the stories are delightful.

The *Picture Pleasure Book* seems a mode of using up old plates in a new form; children, however, are very glad to linger over these books; a more interesting work is that magazine for children, *The Charm*, which, besides its pictures, contains stories and useful information.

The Two Books of Francis Bacon: of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human.

J. W. Parker and Son.

BACON'S immortal treatise on the *Advancement of Learning* has here for the first time been properly edited: the text is carefully collated, the numerous quotations which vary it have their precise reference added in foot-notes, and the contents of each page are indicated by headings. In Bacon's time it was thought sufficient to quote, without always indicating the source of the quotation; the present editor has undertaken to supply the deficiency. The volume is compact, useful, and very cheap.

A Stroll through the Diggings of California. By W. Kelly, Esq. (*The Bookcase*.)

Simms and M'Intyre.

THOUGH forming a separate work in itself, this is really the continuation of Kelly's *Ride Across the Rocky Mountains*, and is perhaps the most interesting account of the Diggings that has yet been published.

The Italian Captain: a Drama.

Chambers's Pocket Miscellany.

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.

Mr. Sponge's Sporting Tour. Part VI.

Writings of Douglas Jerrold—*Cakes and Ale*. Part I.

The Bookcase—A Stroll through the Diggings of California. By W. Kelly. Part IV.

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Why do the Clergy avoid Discussion, and the Philosophers discountenance it? By G. J. Holyoake.

J. Watson.

The Parlour Library—Forest Days. By G. P. R. James.

Bentley's Miscellany.

A Theory of Population. By H. Spencer.

Lawson's Merchants' Magazine.

Witchcraft: a Tragedy. By C. Mathews.

The Reasoner. Part LXXIV.

Fraser's Magazine.

The British Journal.

Colburn's United Service Magazine.

The Catacombs of Rome. By C. Macfarlane.

A Life of Marlborough. By C. Macfarlane.

The Biographical Magazine. Part VI.

Penny Maps. Part XXIII.

Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.

The Charm. Part II.

The Valiant Little Tailor. Part II.

The Picture Pleasure Book. Part II.

Great Britain One Empire. By Captain M. H. Syngé.

Life of Napoleon Buonaparte. By W. Hazlitt. Vol. II.

The Illustrated Book of Scottish Songs.

Life of Gilbert Arnold. By S. Earle.

Corneille and his Times. By M. Guizot.

Hungary in 1851. By C. L. Brace.

Why do the Clergy avoid Discussion, and the Philosophers discountenance it? By G. J. Holyoake.

Vol. II. of the *Cabinet of Reason*.

Portfolio.

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

COMTE'S POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.

By G. H. LEWES.

PART XI.—General considerations on Chemistry.

WITH Chemistry we enter upon a science where the complexity of phenomena is greatly augmented, and where the nature of the phenomena are so sharply defined by peculiarities as to seem the result of essentially different forces, although, profoundly considered, there is no further difference than the variety of direction of the forces. Physics treats of Masses acting at sensible distances; Chemistry of Molecules acting at insensible distances. The Telescope and the Microscope are not more obviously separated, not more identical. Indeed, that conception of the German philosopher, which illustrates the chemical atom, by a sort of microscopic exaggeration, into the analogue of a planet, has deep meaning in it. He compares the atoms to the heavenly bodies, which are in truth but atoms in infinite space. Innumerable suns, with their planets and satellites, move at definite distances from each other, as the atoms of terrestrial masses do. The Methods in which these masses move, Science attempts to ascertain; but in Astronomy we speak of Motion, in Chemistry of Combination: both are but Methods of the unknown unknowable Force, the variety of whose directions constitutes the variety of all phenomena.

I am only hinting here at a conception which hereafter will find its application; and hint it that the reader may follow out this long chain of scientific evolution with some sense of continuity, and of the grand unity of Nature. Having done so, let me open Comte's third volume, the first half of which is devoted to Chemistry.

He commences by remarking how the science of Chemistry is less advanced in its progress and more wanting in positivism than the other parts of inorganic physics. This is owing to its greater complexity, and to the fact that when the phenomena are intense in action they bear a striking resemblance to those of life, to which it is the very spirit of the Theological and Metaphysical philosophies to assimilate all phenomena. Chemistry labours also under this disadvantage, that a knowledge of its most important phenomena is only obtained by artificial means far from self-evident; while those chemical phenomena spontaneously presented to observation, such as fermentation, are the most complicated, and the last in the science to be analyzed.

And, first, as to its definition. The general character of its phenomena distinguishes Chemistry very distinctly from Physics and Physiology, between which it stands. A comparison of the three makes the real nature of this science very apparent. The ensemble of the three sciences can be conceived as having for its object the study of the molecular activity of matter in all the different modes of which it is susceptible. Now, under this point of view, each of them corresponds to one of the three principal and successive degrees of activity, which are distinguished from each other

by the broadest and most natural differences. In chemical action we have evidently something more than simple physical action, and something less than vital action, notwithstanding the vague analogies that may be drawn between these three orders of phenomena on purely hypothetical considerations. The only molecular perturbations which physical activity, properly so called, can produce in bodies, are nothing more than modifications of the arrangement of the particles; and those modifications which are generally of no great extent are most frequently of a temporary nature; in no case is the substance altered. Chemical activity, on the contrary, always produces an essential and permanent change in the very composition of the particles, over and above the alterations in structure and in the state of aggregation; the bodies which were used in the phenomena are not now to be recognised, so much has the ensemble of their properties been altered. Finally, physiological phenomena manifest material activity in a degree of energy still greater; for as soon as a chemical combination is effected the bodies become completely inert; whereas the vital state is characterized, not only by the physical and chemical phenomena which it constantly produces, but also by a double movement, more or less rapid, but always necessarily continuous, of composition and decomposition, capable of sustaining within certain limits of variation, and for a period more or less considerable, the organization of the body, by entirely renewing its substance without end. We thus conceive, in a way admitting of no exception, the fundamental gradation of these three essential modes of molecular activity, which true philosophy can never permit of being confounded together.

There are also two secondary considerations to be noticed respecting chemical phenomena.

First—Every substance is, doubtless, susceptible of chemical action, and this is why chemical phenomena have been properly classed among *general* phenomena. They are unlike physiological phenomena, these being peculiar to certain organized substances. But still, in each case of chemical phenomena a *specific* difference is found. Physical properties, on the other hand, show only differences in degree.

Second—In order to produce chemical phenomena it is requisite that the antagonistic particles be brought into immediate contact. When the structure of the substance does not spontaneously permit this, it must be artificially attained by liquefaction.

The ensemble of the foregoing considerations may be exactly summed up by defining Chemistry as having for its general object, *the study of the laws of those phenomena of composition and decomposition, which result from the mutual molecular and specific action of different substances, natural or artificial.*

There is reason to fear, from the extreme imperfection of this science, that it will not permit, for a long time, of a more exact and more precise definition, capable of characterizing plainly what are in general the indispensable data, and the final unknown terms, of every chemical problem. But the idea of *science* is always combined with that of *prevision* in true philosophy, and the final aim of Chemistry ought, therefore, to be thus conceived:—*Given, the chemical properties of certain substances, simple or compound, placed in chemical relation, under well-defined circumstances, to determine exactly in what their action will consist, and what will be the principal properties of the new products.*

We easily conceive that if such solutions were actually obtained, the three great and fundamental applications of chemical science—to the study of vital phenomena, to the natural history of the terrestrial globe, and, in the last place, to industrial operations—would be thereby rationally organized, instead of being, as at present, the almost accidental and irregular result of the spontaneous development of science; seeing that in every one of these three general cases the question immediately falls within our abstract formula, the data of which are directly furnished by the particular circumstances of each application.

In examining more profoundly this rational definition of chemical science, and carrying out the principle of it another step, we shall find it susceptible of an important transformation; for all the fundamental data of Chemistry could thus be reduced to the knowledge of the essential properties of simple substances solely, which would lead to that of the different immediate or primary combinations, and thence to the most complex and most remote. We should then have to make each simple substance the direct object of experimental study by itself. It may be that there is a certain general and necessary harmony between the chemical and physical properties of each chemical substance; but we cannot go the length of saying that this harmony would ever dispense with a distinct and independent chemical examination of each of these substances. But if once our knowledge of the chemical qualities of each simple substance were completed, by observation and experiment, all the other chemical problems, notwithstanding their immense variety, would become susceptible of purely deductive solutions, by means of a small number of invariable laws, established by the true genius of Chemistry for the different classes of combinations.

Under this point of view compounds naturally present two general modes of classification, both of which necessarily require marked notice.

First, The simplicity or the greater or less degree of composition of the primary combinations.

Second, The number of the combined elements.

Now, observation has shown that the higher the order of composition of any substances the more difficult does chemical action between them become; the majority of compound atoms belong to the two first orders,

and beyond the third their combination seems almost impossible; while, under the second point of view, compounds very rapidly lose their stability, in proportion as the number of elements is increased. Most frequently there is only a simple dualism, and scarcely any body is more than a quaternary. Hence the number of general chemical classes to which this twofold and necessary distinction can give room can never be much extended. To each of them there would correspond a fundamental law of combination, which, when applied to any case in hand, would deductively make known the result from the elementary data. It is to our own radical feebleness, and partly to the vicious direction of our intelligence, much more than to the peculiar nature of the subject, that we must specially attribute the cause of our being yet so very far from such a method of philosophising. However difficult it may appear at present, we ought not to forget that we find it realized, to a certain extent, in a very important though secondary category of chemical researches—the study of proportions. By the aid of a chemical co-efficient, evaluated empirically for each simple substance, we are able, in numerous cases, with sufficient exactness, to determine deductively, from a small number of general laws, the proportion according to which the compounds previously known unite in each new product. Why should not all the other branches of chemical study allow in the end of a perfect analogy? We may then sum up these observations by defining Chemistry, in the most rational way possible, as having this for its ultimate object:—*Given, the properties of all simple substances, to find those of all the compounds which they can form.*

Chemistry, when compared with the preceding sciences, affords a strong verification of the law that the complexity of the sciences, and their means of exploration, increase together.

It is here that the first and the most general of the three essential modes of investigation, which we have distinguished in Natural Philosophy, begins to receive its integral development; until arrived at this science, *observation* is in fact always more or less partial. In Astronomy, it is necessarily limited to the exclusive employment of a single one of our senses; in Physics, hearing, and particularly touch, come to the aid of sight; but taste and smell remain essentially inactive. In Chemistry, on the contrary, all the senses simultaneously concur in the analysis of its phenomena. We can form a correct idea of the increase of power which results from this convergence, by trying to picture, as far as possible, what would become of Chemistry if it were there necessary to renounce the use of smell and taste—these very often furnishing us with the only characteristics by which we could recognise and distinguish the different effects produced. But what the philosophical mind ought especially to observe on this subject is, that in this correspondence there is nothing accidental, nor even empirical. Because the true physiological theory of sensation, clearly shows that the apparatus of taste and smell, unlike those of the other senses, acts in an eminently chemical way, and that, consequently, the nature of those two senses specially adapts them for perceiving the phenomena of composition and decomposition.

With regard to *experiment*, according to his definition of it, Comte repeats that the part it plays in Chemistry is altogether overrated, great though its efficacy undoubtedly is, and greater though it will be when the science is cultivated more philosophically; for chemical effects usually depend on too great a concurrence of different influences to make it easy to throw light on the production of them by true experiments. We should have the difficult task of instituting two parallel cases, exactly identical in all their characteristic circumstances, save in that one of which we desire to find the value; this being the fundamental condition of all unexceptionable experiment. The nature of philosophical investigations presents a complete obstacle to the purely experimental method, the use of which is almost always illusory there; and it is in Chemistry, owing to the complication of its phenomena, that we first meet with this same impediment, although to an infinitely less extent.

Finally, with regard to the third fundamental mode of rational exploration, *comparison*, properly so called, the least general of all; it is of importance to consider here, that if this process is essentially destined for physiological studies, its employment first begins to acquire a real efficacy in chemical researches. The essential condition of this precious method consists in the existence of a sufficiently extended series of analogous but distinct cases, where a phenomenon common to them all is more and more modified, both by simplifications and by a successive and almost continuous decrease in the degree of its manifestation. Evidently, physiological phenomena can alone give complete scope for the employment of this method. But the admitted existence of natural families in Chemistry makes it probable that, in the future progress of this infant science, a corresponding classification will yet be made, which will lead to the use of the comparative method in Chemistry, both being founded on the common considerations of uniformity in certain preponderating phenomena displayed in a long series of different bodies.

Chemical investigations enjoy the advantage of a verification by means of the double process of *analysis* and *synthesis*. Strictly speaking, the process of synthesis, though useful, may be dispensed with when the object of the experiment is to discover the simple elements of a given substance; whereas, when the experiment is made to find out what are the compounds which immediately form the given substance, we may in appearance obtain them, but in reality have got compounds produced by new combinations in the course of the process. In the latter case, therefore, synthesis is gene-

The position of Chemistry in the hierarchical scale, and its influence on our intellectual development, have now to be considered, and these will occupy us next week.

THE TRIAL OF LOVE.

As to the acting, it rests with the Keans. Ever since Charles Kean quarrelled with me he has taken a base advantage of me by acting so well that I have had to *praise* him. Now is that fair? But my time will come! Meanwhile, with my usual ferocity, I declare that his *Sir Herbert Tyrrell* was decidedly effective—one of the best things I have seen him do. It was earnest, not too violent, and occasionally dignified. I might qualify this praise by one or two remarks, but they would only point to *general* defects, not to defects peculiar to this performance, so I will be silent. Mrs. Kean, who has grown stouter, played more like her old self again. She wore a charming blond wig, dressed in the fashion Lely has immortalized, and looked several years younger. Miss Marshall threw great vulgarity and incompetence into the part of a comic

GERMAN PLAYS.

"And Duty draws me with a single Herr!"

ELLA'S MATINEE MUSICALE.

MADemoiselle VAN DER MEERSCH.

VIVIAN.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA.

ROBERT LE DIABLE was given on Tuesday night at Covent Garden, with two important changes in the distribution of last year: one, however, was purely accidental. Madame Jullienne was *Alice*, replacing Grisi, who, with all her admirable resources, was never, as it seemed to me, at home in this part; or perhaps I should say, neither *Alice* enough, nor Grisi enough to do the part, or herself, entire justice. Nor did I find Madame Jullienne to my taste. That she was immensely superior to many; that she sang with force, mastery, and ease, and with that perfect confidence and command of voice and style, which is so grateful to an exacting audience, you will be ready to believe from your recollections of the *Martiri*; that she acted with intelligence and unassuming conscientiousness, I need not add; but with all her great merits, Madame Jullienne was not the *Alice* of the story, however efficient an *Alice* of the Grand Opera. *Alice* has no business to be showy, brilliant, and effective; she must be all simplicity—the simplicity of the pure heart, and the gentle courage of the artless faith. Now, in Madame Jullienne, excellent as she was from a strictly operative point of view, I could not lose sight of the deservedly successful prima donna.

Marini, having undertaken the part at a very short notice, owing to the illness of Formes, deserves a kind judgment. Formes is *Bertram*, as Jenny Lind is *Alice*; but even Formes makes up *Bertram* as a star-spangled fiend, when he should be the high born, high bred, courteous nobleman, and quite a man of this world, as well as a fiend of the other.

Castellan's voice is always delicious to listen to. The orchestra and chorus were irreproachable; the dancing of the resuscitated nuns, as unlike ladies from the tomb as *corpses de ballet* can be, and as gauze petticoats are to grave-clothes. Of all Meyerbeer's operas, commend me to *Robert le Diable*. It is more melodic, more richly flowing, more spontaneous, than the *Huguenots* or the *Prophète*, and he will not easily excel the instrumentation of this, his first and freshest work.

QUARTETT ASSOCIATION.

THE fourth performance of the Quartett Association was (if possible) even more delightful and interesting than the three preceding. The unknown work in the programme was a bold and original quartett in C, by Cherubini. Beethoven's Trio in B flat (dedicated to the Archduke Rudolf), so well beloved by aspiring amateurs, not because it is less difficult, but because it is more clear and melodic than the rest, was the gem of the concert, played by Sinton, Piatti, and Madame Pleyel—the great pianiste waking worlds of beauty at every touch. Every finger seemed to be tipped with the fire of genius irrepressible. The execution of this trio was indeed a triumph of strength and beauty met together. Madame Pleyel held us captive at the close of the concert, with a brilliant solo on movements of *Lucia*, the *Huguenots*, &c.; and sent us all away exclaiming, What marvels of force and suppleness of wrist! What *largo*! what strength! what decision in rapidity! what passion! what tender delicacy! what reckless abandon! what impetuous defiance of difficulties, attacked only to be disdainfully conquered! Flashing down the scale like a ray of light, or pausing to die in some cadence of divinest beauty, that lingers like a regret on the artist's quivering brow, and expires like a farewell on her parted lips. And so we came out again into the blank street, inwardly thanking M. Sinton and his associates for one more of these concerts, which, so unaffectedly announced, and so faithfully performed, rescue us for a brief moment from the turmoil of London life, and from the draggetailed misery of London streets in rainy weather!

THE NEW PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY

Closed the series of six concerts, on Wednesday, with a magnificent performance of Beethoven's Choral Symphony (sufficient, alone, to establish the fame of the Society), and Fragments of Hector Berlioz's *Faust*, which fairly transported the immense audience to an enthusiasm rarely known in England. Madame Pleyel's appearance at the piano nobly crowned the success of the evening, and of the season. The success, as a matter of art, cannot be doubted; pecuniary success is quite another standard, and, I should think, had never entered into the expectations of the directors—at least, for their first campaign. Of course, all the promises of their programme were not fulfilled. What programme ever was fulfilled, except Mr. Mitchell's? But Berlioz and the Choral Symphony may fairly represent a great promise, and a very admirable result. Now, in taking leave of this Society, with best wishes for its future success (for the sake of art in this country), I must emphatically remind all who are concerned, that it is not enough to bring together a superb orchestra, under one of the most remarkable musicians in Europe: it is not enough to perform the best music in the best style. You must condescend to make the public, who come to listen and to pay, tolerably comfortable. You must condescend to study the convenience of the public.

Now, what did I witness the other night! In that most detestable hall in Europe, scorched as it is by the flaming reminiscences of the platform, some two thousand fellow-mortals were jammed together. It was a seething Pandemonium. What with the crash of the orchestra, the glare of the gas, and the sense that when once you are seated you cannot find your way out again, do you wonder at ladies being ready to faint before the concert is half over? Then, the comfort of an enormous room, to which there is only one impracticable entrance, through a labyrinth of rooms, and staircases, and passages: of a room into which you enter as through a trap-door, close under the orchestra! But I have a worse complaint to bring against the Secretary, or whoever that young man was, with fair hair, confident exterior, and complacent whiskers, who appeared to pass his evening in asserting his person and prerogatives, and bullying the door-keepers, when he should have been attending to the reserved seats. A gentleman and lady have taken "reserved seats:" they enter, confiding in the reserved seats. When they hand the tickets to one of the countless and useless officials, he glances at them and

at the tickets with a bewildered stare; he gives them the seats named in their tickets. Presently, for some unexplained cause or other, they are politely requested to move, as these seats are taken; and away they go, all across that staring, glaring, Pandemonium, backwards and forwards, consigned from one useless and bewildered official to another, until at last, in sheer desperation, they sink into the first vacant corner, and vow they will go no further. And all this dreadful time, Beethoven's Choral Symphony is being played! Now, is this common decency in the management, or common good faith? Depend on it, if the New Philharmonic Society is to succeed, as I hope it will, you must look to your reserved seats, and not boil your public alive.

LE CHAT-HUANT.

ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION.

V.

WEBSTER'S PLAYGROUND.

HISTORICAL painting, if we understand by the term the representation of human life in action, under movements of passion, or important influences, has contracted to the style which is so admirably represented by Mr. Webster. In English society, perhaps, there is no field for the genuine display of natural passion or masculine energy, bestowed without stint upon objects of enthusiastic devotion, like the school playground; and Webster has rendered himself the first master of historical painting, according to the present English style. Besides his larger picture, he has, indeed, two others in the present exhibition—the "Letter from the Colonies," and one of those studies of homely domestic life, which exercise rather than exhibit the powers of his painting. The "Letter from the Colonies" is a close companion to the "Game of Whist," without, however, the vividness of that composition, either in the character set forth, or in the colouring, or the costume. It is upon the "School Playground" that he has bestowed the full force of his power for the year.

Let us understand why it is that pictures like these are valued. There is a pleasure in the contemplation of life reflected in painting, even when that is no more than the mere copy of tangible and superficial objects; and the pleasure is all the greater to many minds, inasmuch as it is easily comprehended within a grasp. However long it may take a spectator to learn the meaning of a picture, there should be some point of time by which he may arrive at the comprehension of the whole in one view; and evidently, with a small object, that point of time arrives the sooner—is, indeed, to many minds, a point of time attainable only for small subjects. But when to that material imitation of natural objects you add the beauty of natural effects, especially the play of light and shade in masses, you introduce new pleasures of a double kind—admiration at the skill with which the difficulty of imitation is overcome, and the instinctive delight at the aspect presented; as in Rembrandt. Add beauty in the object itself, and you admire the skill of Nature, as well as the emulating skill of the painter. In the vivid, yet delicate crocus, in the sharp, firm, yet fragile fibres of a mayblossom, W. Hunt makes you feel the beauty of Nature, the organic force, the life; and you admire Nature and the painter in one object.

If we add the feelings in which human nature itself shares, the passion of emulation, of pleasure, of triumph, we extend the double admiration to a much larger field. In this field the painter encounters new difficulties, not only in the changeable aspect of the traits by which he is to express his object, but also in the constant tendency of art to be depraved, by substituting conventional or artificial mockings of the real aspect, for that which he intends to paint; and his difficulty is increased when he lives not only amidst a school of art, corrupted by many departures from the natural standard, but also in a society itself under constraint in the outward expression of feeling, and under the aberrations of fear or hypocrisy.

To study nature in its higher workings, the artist must go to scenes where it is less restrained, or, backed by the force of his own instinct and imagination, to times when a rougher freedom prevailed. But then, in proportion as he arrives at a region more congenial to art, he departs from the experience and the daily view of those who are to understand his picture. It is in the field which Webster cultivates that you get the full swing of human activity in a form familiar to present spectators: hence the admirers that surround his pictures; hence the value attached to painted truisms which all can understand, so few fix and retain upon the canvas.

The boys who are engaged in watching the conflict of peg-top, are in the attitudes, and under the emotions that all of us who are men at least, have witnessed hundreds or thousands of times; and yet, because we thoroughly enter into the feelings of anxiety or triumph, because we recognise unchecked human nature in its genuine impulses which we ourselves have felt, we can understand what the painter has done, and live again—in his work.

If you give a high sense to the phrase, a picture is admirable in proportion as it is matter of fact. The weaknesses of Webster's picture lie in its departure from strict fact. The painting of the boy who is gone aside to speak to his mother, for example, and still more, the painting of the mother herself, must be regarded as conventional and vague; for they are painted after the fashion so common for getting over the ground in English pictures. There is a certain handwriting in the set of the costume, and in the sweep of the handling in the flesh, which stands for certain expressions of form very well understood amongst painters, and tolerably intelligible to ordinary spectators, but yet having a very faint alliance with actual nature. The twist of the fingers in the boy who is grasping his top, the twist of the features in the mild boy who is going to buy pastry, are matters of fact so strictly within memory, that we can all swear to them. Such passion and incident must be studied on the eventful field, and there alone; the artist must acquire by patient labour the power to observe, to remember, and to reproduce; for he is no master who cannot work without pencil, as well as make his pencil obey his mind. Such history as this, in the field of school chivalry, is better than dead diagrams called by classic names.

EDWARD MURRAY'S CASE.—An Englishman, Murray, has been condemned to death at Rome. We have not here to judge of his guilt or innocence. But what ought to revolt English feeling is, that he has been kept in a horrible prison for three years, that his trial has been conducted in secret, without the assistance of an advocate of his own choice, he being also deprived of the materials for his defence, and left without any of those guarantees and judicial forms, ensuring a fair trial, which are recognised as essential throughout all civilized Europe. In this case, England has to decide a very important question—whether, namely, it is only within her own territorial boundaries that she guarantees to her subjects free trial, public indictment, public examination of witnesses, the right of confronting accusers, and openly making defence; all those privileges, in short, which secure men against fraudulent and judicial assassination: or whether she binds these rights as clothing round the persons of her subjects, wherever they go—incorporates them, as it were, with their very denomination as Englishmen—so that, let them wander where they will over the globe, and penetrate the most lawless and despotic regions of it, they shall still travel in the shelter of a power emanating from their native island? How English legists may answer this question we do not know: we know how a Roman would have answered it. But, apart from a question so large and abstract, there is another reflection suggested by this case of Mr. Murray. There was a time, and that not long ago, when Rome spontaneously would have granted to any accused Englishman a trial as fair as he could have had in England itself. Under the brief but glorious Roman Republic of 1848-9, judicial secrecy, inquisitorial trial, arbitrary imprisonment, and all the other mouldy constituents of a hideous system of Jesuit conspiracy against human liberty of thought and action, were swiftly and almost instantaneously swept away. For a brief period there was promise, as regards civil institutions, of a little England in the heart of Italy: the sun of a new day shone over Rome. And what did we do then? This is what we did—we allowed, nay we encouraged, France and Austria to lift the Pope back from Gaeta to Rome; and no sooner was this done than the spot of sunshine was overclouded—the incipient England arising in Central Italy was destroyed—the spiders and reptiles crept back to re-spin the web of despotism, and re-open the subterranean labyrinth of secretaries—and Rome became what we now see it. It is fitting that England should have the benefit of her own work.—*Monthly Record of the Friends of Italy.*

THE IDEAL MODERNIZED.—This year Mr. Bailey takes no very lofty ground; his "Infant Bacchus, a portrait," does not bid high for art. Next year we shall probably have "Jupiter, a portrait of John Smith, Esq.," or "Mars, a portrait of Major Jones." The idea of making a Bacchus and a portrait at the same time, is as good a specimen of modern ideas of the Greek ideal as we have encountered for a considerable time.—*Morning Chronicle.*

RANK.—*Apropos* to this subject, at a later date I had the pleasure of making the ocular acquaintance of a lady in a neighbouring colony, who, on some question of female precedence, did undoubtedly assert that she was "the rankest lady present!"—*Our Antipodes*, by COLONEL MUNDY.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE

FRIDAY, June 11.

Consols have attained to 100½ to ¾; Bank Stock, 222, 223; Exchequer Bills, 75s. to 77s. premium.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	222½	222½	223	222½	222½	.....
3 per Cent. Red.	89	90½	90½	90½	100½	.....
3 per Cent. Con. Ans.	100	100½	100½	100½	100½	.....
3 per Cent. Con. Ac.	100	100½	100½	100½	100½	.....
3½ per Cent. An.	102½	102½	102½	102½	102½	.....
New 5 per Cents.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Long Ans., 1860	6½	6½	6½	6½	7½	.....
India Stock	.....	.....	.....	shut	.....	.....
Ditto Bonds, £1000	.....	92	89	90	89	.....
Ditto, under £1000	88	88	88	88	80	.....
Ex. Bills, £1000	83 p	83 p	81 p	79 p	76 p	.....
Ditto, £500	.....	.....	81 p	79 p	76 p	.....
Ditto, Small	83 p	80 p	81 p	79 p	76 p	.....

FOREIGN FUNDS.

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

Austrian Scrip, 1½ pm.	.....	Granada Deferred	8½
Brazilian 5 per Cents. ... 100½	.....	Mexican 3 per Cents.	23½
Ditto (Rothschild's) 100	.....	Peruvian, Account 103½	.....
Brazilian New Bonds, 1850 and 1859	100	Peruvian, Deferred 63½	.....
Dutch 2½ per Cents. 63½	.....	Russian 4½ per Cents. 104½	.....
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif. 65½	.....	Sardinian Bonds, Acct. 94½	.....
Rounder	41	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def. 21½	.....
		Venezuela	30½

The Zoological Gardens,

REGENT'S PARK,

are Open to Visitors daily. The Collection now contains upwards of 1500 Specimens, including the HIPPOPOTAMUS presented by H.H. the Viceroy of Egypt, ELEPHANTS, RHINOCEROS, GIRAFFES and young, LEUCORYX and young, ELANDS, BONTES, CAMELS, ZEBRAS, LIONS, TIGERS, JAGUARS, BEARS, OSTRICHES, and the APREYX presented by the Lieut.-Governor of New Zealand. All Visitors are now admitted to Mr. Gould's Collection of HUMMING BIRDS without any extra charge.

The Band of the First Life Guards will perform, by permission of Colonel Hall, on every SATURDAY, at Four o'clock, until further notice.

Admission, One Shilling. On MONDAYS, SIXPENCE.

MR. BRINLEY RICHARDS' THIRD PERFORMANCE OF CLASSICAL AND MODERN PIANOFORTE MUSIC, at the HANOVER SQUARE ROOMS, WEDNESDAY Evening next, June 18.—Family Tickets, to admit Four, 24s.; Reserve Tickets, 10s. 6d.; Single Tickets, 7s. To be had at Cramer's, at Chappell's, and of Mr. Richards, 6, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

TO LIBERAL CLERGYMEN.—The GLASGOW UNITARIAN CHURCH is at present in WANT of a MINISTER, and the Committee of Management will be glad to entertain proposals from gentlemen qualified for the Office.

Particulars may be learned on application to Mr. Laidlaw, 21, Maxwell-street, Glasgow.

STRAND NEWS ROOMS.—Alterations, giving increased accommodation to Visitors, are now complete. On Monday next, both Rooms will be opened, with an additional supply of Papers, Magazines, &c. Entrance, 147, Strand, six doors west of Somerset House. Admission, One Penny; Monthly Subscription, Two Shillings.

HEAL AND SON'S ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE of BEDSTEADS, sent free by post, containing designs and prices of upwards of 100 different Bedsteads, and also their Priced List of Bedding. They have likewise, in addition to their usual Stock, a great variety of PARISIAN BEDSTEADS, both in wood and iron, which they have just imported.

Heal and Son, Bedstead and Bedding Manufacturers, 196, (opposite the Chapel), Tottenham Court Road.

FOR PORT PHILIP, SYDNEY, and the GOLDEN REGIONS.—The Australian Gold and General Mining and Emigration Company, 6, Austinfriars, will dispatch (monthly) first-class fast-sailing SHIPS of 1000 tons, from London to Australia. The ships will be ably manned and commanded, and will carry experienced Surgeons. The Provisions, Fittings, and Ventilation will be unexceptionable, combining comfort, regularity, and economy. For freight, passage, and particulars apply to C. J. Tripe, Superintendent of Shipping, at the Company's Offices; or to Tomlin and Co., 68, Cornhill.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.—

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

The next extra Steamer will be dispatched from Southampton for Alexandria on the 3rd October next, in combination with an extra Steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about the 20th September. 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 July, and of alternate months thereafter, such passengers being conveyed from Aden to Bombay by their steamers appointed to leave Bombay on the 14th of July, and of alternate months thereafter, and affording, in connexion with the steamers leaving Calcutta on the 3rd of July, 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.

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